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**Eating and Drinking Expressions in Mongolian:
A Corpus-based Study**

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*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores semantic and grammatical features of eating and drinking expressions in Modern Written Mongolian. Eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian are divided into two types based on their semantic and structural features: (i) free word combinations and (ii) phraseological expressions. A sketch of Mongolian grammar is provided as a guide to discuss the grammatical properties of EAT and DRINK verbs. Free word combinations and phraseology lie at two poles on the continuum of semantic transparency and structural fixedness in a language. I move from the analysis of free word combinations at one pole of the continuum to phraseological expressions at the other pole in my analysis.

The data in my analysis chapters mainly come from the Corpus of Modern Written Mongolian. The examples used for the sketch of Mongolian grammar are either taken from the reference books cited or created by myself.

In the chapter on free word combinations containing EAT and DRINK verbs, I discuss the following issues in Mongolian: (1) verbs of consumption and their semantic categorization in Mongolian; (2) semantico-grammatical properties of the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’; (3) grammatical means of expressing direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-*; (4) nominalisation of participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*; (5) cleft constructions which include *ide-* and *uuyu-*; and (6) topic-focus structures which include *ide-* and *uuyu-*. Of these, (4), (5) and (6) are closely interrelated, as nominalisation, topicalisation and cleft constructions which include the two verbs lie at different levels of analysis: the former two are interrelated syntactic (grammatical) processes, and syntactic structures containing cleft constructions are used to express topic-focus structures which function at a pragmatic level.

The study of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian is grounded in the Eastern European framework of phraseology. The first part of the chapter analyses linguistic features of idioms, proverbs, slogans, routine formulae, similes, exaggeration, riddles and two part allegorical sayings which relate to *ide-* and *uuyu-*. The second part of the chapter explains the cognitive mechanisms.

To František (Frank) Lichtenberk for his kind help and guidance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	EXCL	exclusive	PN	proper noun
2	second person	EXCLM	exclamation	POSS	possessive
3	third person	EXIST	existential	POST	postposition
ABL	ablative	FIN	finite	PRF	perfective
ACC	accusative	FUT	future	PROH	prohibitive
ADJ	adjective	GEN	genitive	PROP	proprietary
ADV	adverbial	HON	honorific	PRS	present
AFFM	affirmative	IMP	imperative	PRSP	prescriptive mood
AGT	agentive	IMU	Inner Mongolia University	PST	past
ASP	aspect	INCL	inclusive	PTCL	particle
AUX	auxiliary	IND	indicative	PTCP	participle
BEN	benedictive	INST	instrumental	Q	question marker
CAUS	causative	INTJ	interjection	RECP	reciprocal
COLL	collective	INTR	interrogative	REF	reflexive
COM	comitative	IPFV	imperfective	S	subject
CONC	concessive	MIR	mirativity	Sb.	somebody
COND	conditional	MOD	modal	SG	singular
CONJ	conjunction	N	noun	Sth.	something
CONN	connective	NEG	negation, negative	TN	toponym
COOP	cooperative	NP	noun phrase	TOP	topic marker
COP	copula	NR	nominalizer	Tv	stem of the verb
CVB	converb	NUM	numeral	VOL	voluntative
DAT.LOC	dative-locative	O	object	VP	verb phrase
DER _n	derivative noun	ONOM	onomatopoeia	∅	zero
DER _v	derivative verb	OPT	optative	→	governs
DIM	diminutive	P	predicate	~	alternates with
DIR	direct case	PERM	permissive	>	develops into
DO	direct object	PFV	perfective	<	develops from
DUB	dubitative	PL	plural	*	reconstructed form
EVI	evidential	PLV	pluritative voice	[]	signals contexts
{ }	is formed by the syntactic structure enclosed in the curly brackets			=	correlates with

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Cultural Importance of the Verbs EAT¹ and DRINK for the Mongolians

Eating and drinking are undoubtedly experientially-basic activities in any culture; both activities “play a fundamental, life-sustaining role for humans” (Newman, 2009, p. vii). As nomadic people, the Mongolians had a long history of living in the steppes. Originally, hunting was the basic way of living for them; then, animal husbandry gradually replaced it and became an indispensable part of the Mongolians’ livelihood. Hence, certain food items such as beef, mutton, milk and Mongolian varieties of cheeses and yogurt, which are related to cattle and sheep, the important livestock of the Mongolians, became an important part of Mongolian food culture. Other culturally-significant items include alcohol (known as *ariki*), tobacco and tea, the latter two were borrowed from foreign cultures. Given the close interrelation between culture and language, it would be interesting and important to explore how the Mongolians express the concept of ‘consumption’ (or ‘partaking of’) in their language by means of EAT and DRINK verbs.

Notably, by studying the verbs EAT and DRINK and their relevant expressions, we can have a better understanding of how verbs function in general in Mongolian.

1.2 Research Aims

As is indicated by Newman (2009), EAT and DRINK predicates display complex semantic characteristics and important clausal properties in many languages. Although there are a number of cross-linguistic studies of EAT and DRINK verbs, there is still no in-depth study of the ‘ingestive’ verbs in the Mongolian language to date.² Thus, the aim of my present study is to analyse the semantic and grammatical features of EAT and DRINK verbs in the relevant expressions, as displayed in both free word combinations and phraseological expressions in Mongolian. Then I will concentrate on explaining the cognitive mechanisms underlying the metaphorical and metonymic extensions of

¹ The capitalised EAT is used to refer to the concept of eating crosslinguistically, i.e. verbs meaning ‘eat’, whereas *eat* refers to the lexical verb of eating in English.

² Sometimes EAT and DRINK verbs are called ‘ingestive verbs’ or ‘verbs of consumption’. Ingestive verbs refer to “a small set of verbs...having in common a semantic feature of taking something into the body or mind (literally or figuratively)” (Masica, 1976, p. 46).

Mongolian EAT and DRINK verbs, which contribute to the establishment of relevant phraseological expressions. My focus will be on exploring the function of the semantically neutral verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ (see Section 4.1.4 in Chapter 4 for the verbs of consumption with honorific and depreciative semantics).

1.3 Source Material

The current research is corpus-based in the sense that examples of eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian are extracted from an existing corpus, the Corpus of Modern Written Mongolian (abbreviated as CMWM). This corpus was developed in the early 1990s by a team of scholars from the Mongolian Language Studies Institute at Inner Mongolia University in China. It contains 1,060,000 word tokens and comprises textbooks (50.3%; 22 books), political writings/documents (22.9%; 10 volumes), literary works/literature (19.6%; 4 books/volumes) and newspapers (9.8%; 10 issues). Currently, it is the most widely-used Mongolian corpus in China, although a 5-million-word-token Mongolian corpus, which covers materials dealing with mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine and law, was developed later to widen the scope of the corpus. Based on the former work, after a decade’s collaborative efforts, a larger corpus of 80 million word tokens has been built only recently by the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Science, China, according to an online instant news report which was released on 22nd January, 2016.

CMWM was established in Latin transliteration, so it enabled me to adopt the software AntConc 3.4.3w (Windows) 2014 to extract data from the corpus. This is a freeware which was developed by Laurence Anthony to deal with electronic sources of texts which are unavailable on-line. It can provide the user with data frequency and some other statistical information. The basic concordance tool of the AntConc toolkit was used to extract the relevant eating and drinking examples from the corpus. To ensure the extraction of all the lemmas of EAT and DRINK verbs, I inserted the node word *ide-* and *uuyu-* (i.e. the stems of general EAT and DRINK verbs) into the search term box in the software, so I could have a concordance list of all the eating and drinking examples. Consequently, some items needed to be deleted manually, because they happened to share the same orthographic form with the node word *ide-* in Mongolian, although they did not have the meaning of ‘eat’. For example, in *ide čidal* ‘strength and power’, *ide* means ‘strength’, while in *ide qalayun* ‘extremely hot’, *ide* means ‘at the exact point of; extremely’; hence these items were deleted. After deletion of such examples, there were a total of 954 concordance hits left for eating examples in Mongolian in comparison to the original 996 concordance hits. As for drinking examples, there were 443 concordance hits, meaning that there are altogether more than 1,000 eating and drinking examples for the purpose of data analysis.

In the meantime, it is interesting to note that approximately 110 sentences include both *ide-* and *uuyu-* in the same sentences.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

My thesis structure is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides a sketch of Mongolian Grammar. Chapter 3 is a literature review of cross-linguistic studies of EAT and DRINK verbs and phraseological research in general. Chapter 4 focuses on semantic and grammatical categorisation of EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian, dealing with various semantic aspects of these verbs and discussing grammatical structures which mainly contain free word combinations of EAT and DRINK verbs. Chapter 5 discusses linguistic features of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian and explains the relevant cognitive mechanisms underlying some kinds of phraseological expressions. The final conclusion chapter lists: (1) findings and contributions to: (a) contemporary research on Mongolian grammar and in particular on the semantic and grammatical features of constructions with EAT and DRINK verbs; (b) the investigation of phraseological expressions containing the verbs in question and the cognitive mechanisms involved; (2) implications and limitations of the current study.

CHAPTER 2 A SKETCH OF THE MONGOLIAN GRAMMAR

2.1 What Is Mongolian?

The Mongolian language belongs to the so-called Altaic language family, which comprises the Mongolic, Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic languages.¹ The Mongolic languages include Mongolian and related Mongolic languages and dialects such as Dagur, Moghol, Khamnigan, Buryat, Oirat, Kalmuck and so forth (Poppe, 1970, Janhunen, 2003). As one of the Mongolic languages, Mongolian is spoken in the Mongolian People's Republic (presently known as Mongolia) and in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China (abbreviated as Inner Mongolia, China). However, the standardised oral languages used in the two areas differ slightly in terms of lexicon, phonetics and morphosyntax, for they are based on different Mongolian dialects; the normative language used in Mongolia is based on the Khalkha dialect, while the counterpart in China is based on the Chakhar dialect. The most noticeable difference between the two varieties of the Mongolian language lies in their different writing systems. The Mongolian Cyrillic alphabet has been used in Mongolia since 1941, while Written Mongolian script (also known as the Classical Mongolian script), a Semitic script with an Uighur origin, is still used by the Mongols in Inner Mongolia, China.

The term "Written Mongolian" can either refer to the script or the literary language in contrast with the colloquial languages. In the current study, I regard Written Mongolian as a literary language in its own right and Modern Written Mongolian refers to the Written Mongolian used from the 20th century. Written Mongolian has gone through several stages of development, i.e. the Pre-classical, the Classical and the Modern periods, but different scholars estimate these periods differently.² The current study deals with Modern Written Mongolian and it is primarily based on the Corpus of Modern Written

¹ In contemporary Altaic studies, Korean and Japanese are sometimes added as quasi-Altaic languages.

² Janhunen (2012, p. 6) divides the history of Written Mongolian (or Written Mongol in his terminology) into the following periods: the Preclassical (13th-15th centuries), Classical (17th-19th centuries) and Postclassical periods (20th century). Hsiao (2013) divides the history of Mongolian into Old Mongolian (~12th century AD), Middle Mongolian (13th to 16th centuries), Late Mongolian (17th to 19th centuries) and Modern Mongolian (20th century~). According to Vladimirtzov (1929, pp. 20-24), the history of the written language of the Mongols covers the following periods: the ancient (from unknown times to the beginning of the 14th century), the Middle Mongolian (from the beginning of the 14th century to the second half of the 16th century) and the classical (from the end of the 16th to the 20th century) periods. Poppe (1937, pp. 13-14) gives the following estimate: ancient (13th – 15th centuries), pre-classical (15th – 17th centuries), classical (17th century – the beginning of the 20th century). Orlovskaya (1999, p. 50) adds the modern period to the above-mentioned periods; according to her, the frequently used terms "ancient Mongolian" and "middle Mongolian" refer to a general, albeit dialect fragmented language of the Mongolian tribes which existed before the 13th century and in the 13th – 15th centuries respectively.

Mongolian which is grammatically very similar to the Classical Written Mongolian as described by Poppe (1954; 1970).

Poppe (1954) considers Written Mongolian to be a different variety of the Mongolian language, which exists only in the written form. Therefore, it differs from the colloquial languages which are different from each other. Janhunen (2012, p. 30) also maintains that Written Mongolian “is best understood as a Mongolic language in its own right, used as the principal literary vehicle by the speakers of several historical and modern spoken languages”. However, it should be noted that Janhunen’s (2012) definition of the Mongolian language is much broader than the Written Mongolian that we examine here. According to him, Mongolian is “the complex of Common Mongolic dialects that morphosyntactically correspond to the principles underlying Written Mongol and/or Cyrillic Khalkha” (Janhunen, 2012, p. 8), while our definition here excludes the other Mongolian dialects.

As was noted by Janhunen (2012), there are some inconsistencies in the orthographical system of Mongolian: there is both under-differentiation and over-differentiation in regard to phonology, i.e. sometimes phonemically relevant oppositions are lacking in the orthography, while in other cases phonetic details which lack phonemic relevance are distinguished. Since there is no phonemically-adequate official system of Romanization for Mongolian, I will follow Poppe’s (1954, p. 17) transliteration of the Mongolian alphabet in this thesis.³ It should be noted that this transliteration is based on the orthography of Literary Mongolian, whose reading differs to some extent from the actual pronunciation of words in different Mongolian dialects.

2.2 General Typological Characteristics

Generally speaking, the Altaic languages display a nominative-accusative grammatical system, whose structural components express the syntactic opposition of subject and object. All of these languages exhibit subject-object-verb type word order and they are agglutinative, i.e. a string of suffixes can be attached to a nominal or verbal stem. Normally, a suffix expresses only one grammatical meaning. However, Mongolian (like Manchu) applies more analytical devices than other Altaic languages. Neither Mongolian nor Manchu indicates subject-verb agreement of person and number.

In the following, I will briefly introduce the nominal and verbal morphosyntax and the types of syntactic links in Mongolian which may be relevant to a better understanding of my current study.

³ A different convention is used for the transliteration of Mongolian in *Corpus of Modern Mongolian*. I did not follow the original transliteration, because the letters used there are all capitalised and seem hard to follow.

2.3 Nouns

Nominal categories include number, case and possession, all of which can be combined together. The use of stems ending in *-n* will be discussed separately.

2.3.1 Stem-final *-n*

Historically, nasal stems end in a dental nasal (*n*) at the lexical level. Based on their morphophonological behaviour, nasal stems are subcategorised into stable and unstable stems: the nasal (*n*) is preserved in all or most of their forms in stable nasal stems, while the final *-n* is dropped in unstable nasal stems, depending on the morphophonological environment of the nasal segment.⁴ The unstable nasal is also known as the “fleeting” or “hidden” nasal; it is a special group of nasal stems, because the nasal is only found in certain forms of the nominal paradigm (Janhunen, 2012, p. 66). The behaviour of the unstable nasal stem *-n* in the Mongolian nominal declension has undergone some changes, following the evolution of the spoken language, i.e. the nasal can be present in all case forms in Classical Mongolian, while in Modern Mongolian it is absent in various case forms such as the nominative, accusative, instrumental and comitative cases (Janhunen, 2003, p. 46).

The final *-n* in the nominal stem serves different functions in Written Mongolian in Inner Mongolia: (a) it serves as a derivational suffix (e.g. *noγoy_a* ‘vegetables’ + *-n* = DERn > *noγoyan* ‘green’); (b) it can appear in the function of attribute (e.g. *morin* [horse] *terge* [cart] ‘horse cart’). In addition, the final *-n* can be unstable, as can be seen from the following example: *mori yi* ‘horse ACC’ and *morin u* ‘horse GEN’ (IMU, 2005, p. 378).

2.3.2 Number

The category of number in Mongolian has singular and plural forms. The singular form of nouns coincides with the stem, e.g. *emči* ‘doctor’. There are the following plural suffixes: 1) *-nar/-ner*; 2) *-s*; 3) *-d*; 4) *-ud/-üid*; 5) *-nuγud/-nüγüid*; 6) *-čüd/-čüid ~ -čül/-čül* (Garudi et al. , 2001, p. 401, IMU, 2005, p. 372).⁵ The use of particular plural suffixes depends on “word-specific structural and semantic factors” (Janhunen, 2003, p. 45). Some suffixes are used only after nouns denoting humans and deities, e.g. *baγši nar* [teacher-PL] ‘teachers’, while others are used after nouns regardless of their animacy, e.g. *kömös* ‘people’ < *kömön* ‘person’ + *-s* = PL, *noqas* ‘dogs’ < *noqai* ‘dog’ + *-s* = PL, *üges* ‘words’ <

⁴ See Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 178) for the conditions when the final *-n* is required to appear in a nominal form.

⁵ Poppe (1954, pp. 70-72) also mentions the plural suffixes *-nad/-ned*, *-mad/-med* and *-n* which are no longer widely used.

üge ‘word’ + *-s* = PL. Many words allow different plural forms; e.g. both *bičig üd* ‘letters’ and *bičig nügüüd* ‘letters’ are acceptable. It should be noted that more than one plural suffix can be used with a word at the same time, e.g. *baγši nar ud* [teacher-PL-PL] ‘teachers’.

The plural meaning of nominals can also be expressed by reduplication of words, i.e. the repetition of the same nominal stem, as in the following sentence:⁶

(2-1) *kegere tal_a du süriüg süriüg aduγu qoni belči-n_e.*
 field land DAT.LOC herd herd horse sheep graze-PRS
 ‘Herds of horses and sheep are grazing in the fields.’

Plural suffixes are not used in the following circumstances (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 404):

a) when numerals are used to modify nominals:

(2-2) *qoyar γurban imay_a*
 two three goat
 ‘two or three goats’; ‘several goats’

b) when a nominal denotes an obvious plural meaning or is an uncountable noun:

(2-3) *ebesü* ‘grass’, *oi* ‘forest’, *usu* ‘water’, *aγar* ‘air’

c) when referring to something with a definite number:

(2-4) *nidü* ‘eye’, *γar* ‘hand’

d) when the plural meaning of a nominal is clear from the context:

(2-5) *kömön čuylara-n_a.*
 person gather-PRS
 ‘People are gathering.’

Generally speaking, the number of different plural suffixes in Mongolian is decreasing in the modern language in comparison to the Classical language; some plural suffixes have become derivational, e.g. *-s* and *-d*, *üiles* ‘work; cause’ (< *üile-* ‘manual labour’ + *-s* = DERn) or *eres* ‘abrupt’ (< *ere-* ‘male’ + *-s* = DERn).

2.3.3 Case

In modern linguistics case is defined as a grammatical category which expresses syntactic (and/or semantic) roles of the noun (Blake, 2001; Comrie, 1991). The grammatical status of Mongolic case markers is treated differently by specialists. In some old grammars they are analysed as ‘particles’ (cited in Janhunen, 2003, p. 45). However, in later grammars the grammatical status of case markers is defined as suffixes (Poppe, 1954, p. 73; Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 36; IMU, 2005, p. 377). Janhunen (2012, p. 105) also prefers to regard most case markers in Mongolic as suffixes with the exception of

⁶ Examples listed in Chapter 2 are either taken from the relevant reference books or created by myself. The examples where no references are given are created by myself.

the form of the privative case in *-güi* (transcribed as *=gwai* by Janhunen), which he considers to be a (post)clitic. Case markers can occur not only with nouns but also with action nouns/participles. In the traditional Mongolian script they are written independently (i.e. separately) from the stem, with the exception of the declension of some pronouns, e.g. in *namayi* [*nama-* ‘1SG’ + *-yi* = ACC] where the accusative case marker is combined with the stem and written as one word.

There are seven cases in Modern Written Mongolian: 1) nominative; 2) accusative; 3) genitive; 4) dative-locative; 5) ablative; 6) instrumental; and 7) comitative.⁷ According to IMU (2005, p. 386), an attributive case with the suffix *-n* (or *-un*, which shares the same suffix with the genitive case) is in the process of formation in Written Mongolian in Inner Mongolia, but currently it cannot be entirely distinguished from the genitive in some usages and its use is limited at present. However, in my opinion, this is disputable and it can be analysed as the stem-final *-n*, which appears in the position of attribute. For instance, in *morin terge* ‘horse cart’, the noun *morin* ‘horse’ with the final *-n* serves as an attribute to the noun *terge* ‘vehicle’. The nominative and the accusative are major cases in the Altaic languages which are accusative-nominative languages.

While the nominative, accusative and genitive are the main syntactic cases, there exist another group of cases in Mongolian which represent more peripheral semantic roles of arguments. They are the dative-locative, the ablative, the instrumental and the comitative cases. These latter cases also constitute a special subsystem which specialises in expressing circumstantial roles such as spatial, temporal and some other relations.

1) The nominative is used to express the syntactic role of the subject.⁸ The nominative case is characterised morphologically as having \emptyset -expression. For instance, the nominative of the noun *suruyčĭ* ‘student’ is still *suruyčĭ* ‘student’; and the nominative of its plural form is *suruyčĭd* ‘students’. For those stems which end in unstable *-n* (e.g. *modu/modun* ‘tree’), there are respectively two forms of the nominative case (e.g. *modu* ‘tree’ and *modun* ‘tree’).

2) The most important grammatical function of the accusative is that of the direct object. The accusative case is formed with the suffix *-yi* or *-i*: the former suffix is added to stems which end in vowels and diphthongs, while the latter suffix occurs after stems that end in consonants. Another important function is to indicate the agent as an embedded subject in participial relative clauses. The

⁷ Another case (i.e. “privative” case) is included in Janhunen’s (2012) version of Mongolian grammar, where he treated it as the only case whose morphological status is (post)clitic. Two of the cases are termed differently by him: while the term “possessive” is used to refer to the Modern Mongolian “comitative” case form *-tai*, the other term “dative” is used instead of the “dative-locative” case. He states that, “the Mongolian case system is characterized by systematic multifunctionality” (Janhunen, 2012, p. 104), with which I agree. He also mentions two other marginal cases, i.e. “directive” and “equative” cases, which only occur in certain dialects. An allative case form has recently been postulated in the Khalkha variety of Mongolian language (Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 36). However, such a case is not documented in Modern Written Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia.

⁸ For the nominative/genitive alternation in Mongolian, see Hsiao (2012).

accusative case can be followed by the reflexive suffix; sometimes the reflexive suffix occurs by itself (Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 58). The synthetic marker for the reflexive genitive can also be used instead of the accusative (Janhunen, 2003, p. 46).

Some scholars (Dixon, 1994; Blake, 2001, and others) have discussed a phenomenon of a direct case which is often analysed as the nominative or the absolutive case. However, the direct case is not a nominative; it only coincides with the nominative at a superficial level. The direct case is an unmarked case which coincides with a bare nominal stem on surface and functions like the accusative in the first place and some other cases like the dative-locative (under certain semantic-pragmatic circumstances).

The phenomenon of differential object marking (DOM), i.e. “where some direct objects are marked differently from others” has been widely discussed crosslinguistically (Thomson, 1909, 1912; Comrie, 1979, 1989, Aissen 2003, cited in Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 68). Following the modern approach of DOM, Guntsetseg (2016, p. 77) maintains that this phenomenon is also found to exist in Khalkha Mongolian, where direct objects can be either marked with the accusative case marker *-(ij/y)g* or occur without any case suffixes. In her opinion, the unmarked form of the direct object “coincides with the nominative case form”. However, in my study, I use the term “direct case” to refer to an alternative of an accusative case and some other cases like dative-locative. I support the view that nominative case is used only for subject marking. Poppe discussed this phenomenon in his works, using the term “suffixless oblique case”; this case may indicate a direct object whose use is related to indefiniteness, and temporal and spatial adjuncts as well (Poppe, 1954, p. 149).

IMU (2005, p.382) maintains that sometimes the direct object can occur with the \emptyset -suffix (the direct case in my opinion) instead of the accusative case in Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia and the accusative must be used in the following situations:

(1) when the direct object is a noun which can refer to the agent, as in the following causative construction:

(2-6) *aq_a yi oro-γul-qu ügei yum uu?*
 elder.brother ACC enter-CAUS-FUT.PTCP NEG PTCL INTR.PTCL
 ‘Won’t (you) let the elder-brother get in?’

(2) when the direct object is modified by a demonstrative pronoun, a genitive form of personal pronouns or a predicative attribute formed by a participle as a head, e.g.:

(2-7) *tere kömön i tani-*
 that person ACC know
 ‘know that person’

(2-8) *miniü nom yi üje-*
 1SG.GEN book ACC see/read
 ‘read my book’

(2-9) *gota ača ire-gsen kömön i dayila-*
 city ABL come-PRF.PTCP person ACC treat/entertain
 ‘entertain the person who came from the city’

(3) when the direct object occurs before the possessive particles *mini*, *čini* and *ni*, e.g.:

(2-10) *nom i čini ab-qu*
 book ACC 2POSS take-FUT.PTCP
 ‘will take your book’

(4) when the direct object occurs before the subject, e.g.:

(2-11) *modu yi bide tari-n_a.*
 tree ACC 1PL.INCL plant-FUT/PRS
 ‘We will plant trees.’ (‘As for trees, we plant/will plant (them).’)

(5) when there are a series of parallel direct object nouns, the accusative case marker follows the last noun, e.g.

(2-12) *bi alim_a tuyur almurad i ab-čai.*
 1SG pear peach apple ACC take-PST
 ‘I took pears, peaches and apples.’

Poppe (1954, pp. 147-149) relates differential object marking to definiteness/indefiniteness. However, I maintain that DOM is related to specificity/non-specificity (see Section 4.3 in Chapter 4 for the discussion of this issue).

3) The genitive, which is formed with the suffixes *-yin*, *-un/-ün* or *-u/-ü*, whose use is determined by the final sound of the stem, is another major syntactic case in Mongolian. The main syntactic function of the genitive is to express the dependence of one noun on the other. It expresses the semantic role of a possessor. It can also function as the agent of a subordinate clause. On the whole, the function of the genitive can be summarised as follows:

a) acts mainly as an attribute, expressing the possessive relationships of various kinds between two nouns, e.g.:

(2-13) *baγši yin nom*
 teacher GEN book
 ‘the teacher’s book’

b) expresses the agent of a subordinate clause, e.g.:

(2-14) *bi batu yin yabu-γsan i mede-n_e.*
 1SG PN GEN go-PRF.PTCP ACC know-PRS
 ‘I know that Batu has left.’

c) links a noun and a postposition, which is governed by a verb, the whole complex functioning as an indirect object, e.g.:

(2-15) *ulayan ü tuqai asayu-*
 PN GEN about/concerning ask-
 ‘ask about Ulaan’

It should be noted that when the genitive acts as the attribute, it can express four kinds of special usage:

a) occurring in toponyms, e.g.:

(2-16) *tuyur un γool*
 peach GEN river
 ‘the river of Peach’ or ‘The Peach River’

b) indicating the possessor of an object, denoting several kinds of possessive relationships, such as ‘owner of something’ or ‘the person acting’ e.g.:

(2-17) *kögjil ün nom*
 PN GEN book
 ‘Khugjil’s book’

c) expressing quantity, e.g.:

(2-18) *qoyar edür ün čay*
 two day GEN time
 ‘two days’ time’ (lit.: ‘the time of two days’)

d) partitive meaning, i.e. either fractions or the superlative, e.g.:

(2-19) *tabun u nigen qubi*
 five GEN one part
 ‘one fifth’ (lit.: ‘one part of five’)

(2-20) *qamuy un sayin*
 all GEN good
 ‘the best’ (lit.: ‘the best of all’)

4) The dative-locative (or the dative), formed with the suffix *-du/-tu* (and *-dii/-tii*), expresses the semantic role of recipient, beneficiary and experiencer. It can also denote stimulus. When indicating adjuncts (circumstants), the dative-locative case can express the semantic roles of place, time and cause. The suffixes *-dur/-diür*, *-tur/-tüür*, and *-a/-e* are used to mark the dative-locative case in Classical Mongolian. Although *-dur/-tur* is shortened as *-du/-tu* in Modern Mongolian, the former suffix variants are still occasionally used in some texts of archaic literary style. However, the suffix *-a/-e* is used less often nowadays.⁹ The functions of the dative-locative can be summarised as follows:

a) expresses the spatial relation, including both location and direction/destination:

(2-21) *ta surγayuli du bayi-n_a uu?*
 2SG school DAT.LOC be-PRS PTCL
 ‘Are you at school?’

(2-22) *bi marγasi kökeqota du oči-n_a.*
 1SG tomorrow Hohhot DAT.LOC go-FUT
 ‘I will go to Hohhot tomorrow.’

b) expresses location in time:

⁹ The suffix *-a/-e* only has a locative meaning in Modern (i.e. Postclassical) Mongolian (Janhunen, 2003, p. 46).

(2-23) *bi qoyar čay tu yabu-n_a.*
 1SG two o'clock DAT.LOC go-FUT.PTCP
 'I will go at two o'clock.'

c) expresses the recipient, marking an indirect object (complement):

(2-24) *bi baysi-nar tu nom ög-čei.*
 1SG teacher-PL DAT.LOC book give-PST
 'I gave books to teachers.'

d) expresses beneficiary:

(2-25) *bi baysi-nar tu dayuu dayula-ju ög-čei.*
 1SG teacher-PL DAT.LOC song sing-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-PST
 'I sang songs for the teachers.'

e) denotes the experiencer of an action:

(2-26) *ene yabudal nada du yeke sonin sana-γda-n_a.*
 this incident/thing 1SG DAT.LOC very strange feel/think-PASS-PRS
 'This thing feels very strange for me.' (lit.: 'This thing is felt strange by me.')

f) designates the agent in a passive construction:

(2-27) *ene čerig dayisun du ala-γda-qu yum.*
 this soldier enemy DAT.LOC kill-PASS-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 'This soldier will be killed by the enemy.'

g) expresses the semantic role of stimulus governed by emotive verbs such as *qaramsa-* 'regret', *γomoda-* 'complain', *aγurla-* 'be angry', *bayarla-* 'be happy', *talarqa-* 'thank; be grateful' and *osolda-* 'be sorry' etc., syntactically serving as an indirect object, as seen in the following examples:

(2-28) *kögjil degüün ü ben kele-gsen ügen dü ayurla-ba.*
 PN younger.brother GEN REF.POSS say-PRF.PTCP words DAT.LOC be.angry-PST
 'Khögjil was angry with what his younger brother has said.'

(2-29) *batu šangnal ol-o-γsan du ban bayarla-l_a.*
 PN prize gain-CONN-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC REF.POSS be.happy-PST
 'Batu was glad to receive a prize.'

h) expresses cause (the following example is taken from Garudi et al. (2001, p. 411); the translation is mine):

(2-30) *olan u küčün dü önödör sig bol-o-l_a.*
 all/everybody GEN power/strength DAT.LOC today like become-CONN-PST
 '(Things) became (good) as it is today because of everyone's help.'
 (lit.: '(Things) became like today due to the strength of everybody.')

5) The ablative, formed with the suffix *-ača/-eče*, participates in the subsystem of peripheral semantic roles. Its main function is to express the semantic role of source, which has either actant or circumstant value. Being an actant, the ablative can express source of an action and is governed by some special verbs. It is questionable whether the ablative case may be assigned to the subject,

denoting the semantic role of source rather than agent.¹⁰ As a circumstant, its main function is to indicate the starting point (source) in space or time. As an object, the ablative can express partitive meaning of the object. It could also express comparison and cause. To illustrate, it can express the following grammatical meanings:¹¹

a) As an adverbial, it can express both spatial and temporal source of an action (‘starting from; since’):

(2-31) *bide ger eče yar-u-y_a.*
 1PL.INCL house ABL go.out-CONN-VOL
 ‘Let’s go out of the house.’

(2-32) *bide yurban čay ača ekile-n qural ki-y_e.*
 1PL.INCL three o’clockABL start-CVB meeting hold-VOL
 ‘Let’s hold a meeting since three o’clock.’

b) source:

(2-33) *surγayuli ača eyimü dürim toytayal i toytaya-ǰai.*
 school ABL these regulation rule ACC enact-PST
 ‘The school enacted such regulations.’

c) oblique object, mainly being governed by verbs of fearing or precaution:

(2-34) *ulaγan batu ača asaγu-b_a.*
 PN PN ABL ask-PST
 ‘Ulaan asked Batu.’

(2-35) *bi noqai ača ayu-day.*
 1SG dogs ABL fear-PRS.PTCP
 ‘I am afraid of dogs.’

(2-36) *ta ebedčile-kü eče kičiye-ø de.*
 2SG get.sick-FUT.PTCP ABL watch.out.for-IMP PTCL
 ‘You watch out for being sick.’

d) expresses the partitive meaning of an object by the action, meaning ‘some’:

(2-37) *tede boyorsoγ ača ide-be.*
 3PL pastry ABL eat-PST
 ‘They ate some of the pastries.’

e) cause of an action:

(2-38) *bi γaltu tergen eče qočor-o-γsan učir ača qota du*
 1SG train ABL be.late-CONN-PRF.PTCP reason ABL city DAT.LOC

¹⁰ According to Guntsetseg (2016, p. 143), the ablative expresses the role of source (instead of agent) in Khalkha Mongolian. Guntsetseg (2016, pp. 138-163) systematically describes the differential subject marking, viz. the alternation between the nominative and accusative case markings of embedded subjects in Khalkha Mongolian, where she excludes the genitive and ablative case markings of the embedded subject from the differential subject marking. The same situation holds in Written Mongolian.

¹¹ For more elaborated functions of the ablative in Written Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia, see Chenggeltei (1991, pp. 168-171); for those of Khalkha Mongolian, see Poppe (1954, pp. 150-152) and Luvsandagva & Khangaisaikhan (2015, p. 152).

oči-γsan ügei
go-PRF.PTCP NEG

‘I did not go to the city because I was late for the train.’

f) expresses comparison:

(2-39) *odon nada ača öndör.*
PN 1SG ABL tall

‘Odon is taller than me.’

g) links nouns and postpositions:

(2-40) *bi önödör eče qoyi-n_a surγayuli du oči-n_a.*
1SG today ABL after school DAT.LOC go-FUT

‘I will go to school after today.’

6) The instrumental case can indicate both actants and circumstants. It is formed with the suffixes *-bar/-ber* or *-iyar/-iyer*. It is mainly used to express the semantic role of instrument; it can also express the semantic roles of cause, purpose, time, path and manner etc (Garudi et al. , 2001, pp. 415-416). Note the following examples:

a) expresses time:

(2-41) *solongγ_a erte yin tabun čay iyar bos-o-l_a.*
PN early GEN five o'clock INS get.up-CONN-PST

‘Solongga got up at five o'clock in the morning.’

b) expresses path, i.e. “the way of someone’s motion or the place over which something is scattered” (see Poppe 1954, p. 153):

(2-42) *bide tal_a nutuγ iyar naγad-čai.*
1PL field INS play-PST

‘We played along the field.’

c) acts as the oblique object, with the semantic role of instrument, indicating the tools used when performing an action or means of transportation:

(2-43) *modu bar čoki-*
tree/stick INS hit/beat-

‘beat with a stick’

(2-44) *duγui bar yabu-qu*
bicycle INS go-FUT.PTCP

‘will go by bike’

d) serves as an agent in a causative sentence:

(2-45) *tede tuyay_a bar dayuu dayula-γul-ba.*
3PL PN INS songs sing-CAUS-PST

‘They asked Tuya to sing songs.’

e) denotes cause of an action:

(2-46) *soyoltu unta-γsan u ursiy iyar qoγiγda-ba.*
PN sleep-PRF.PTCP GEN trouble/hassle INS be.late-PST

‘Soyoltu was late because he slept.’

(lit.: ‘Soyoltu was late because of the problem of sleeping.’)

f) denotes the purpose of an action:

(2-47) *abu eji mini aji iyar yabu-γsan.*
 father mother 1POSS work INS go-FUT.PTCP
 ‘My parents went for work.’

g) expresses manner of an action:

(2-48) *tede yangju bōri ber aγasila-n_a.*
 3PL shape every INS lose.one’s.temper-PRS
 ‘They are losing their temper at their will.’
 (lit.: ‘They are losing their temper with all shapes.’)

7) The comitative, formed with the suffixes *-tai /-tei* and *-luγ_a/-lüge*, expresses companionship with someone or something, ‘together with’.¹² Therefore, it serves either as the oblique object or an adverbial, which expresses the semantic role of manner. Note the following examples: 1) as an oblique object; 2) an adverbial respectively.

(2-49) *oyun olan tai oyirad-čai.*
 PN crowd COM approach-PST
 ‘Oyun approached the crowd of people.’

(2-50) *soyol bar bayasqulang tai ger tegen qari-b_a.*
 PN joy happiness COM house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS go.back-PST
 ‘Soyol went back to his house happily.’

The comitative can also be used in expressing comparison (Garudi et al. , 2001, p. 417):

(2-51) *bi minü degüü tei ben adali öndör.*
 1SG 1SG.GEN younger.brother COM REF.POSS same tall
 ‘I am as tall as my brother is.’

Notably, the suffix *-tAi* is multifunctional.¹³ In some grammar books such as Garudi et al. (2001), the comitative with the suffix *-tai/-tei* and the comitative with the suffix *-luγ_a/-lüge* are treated as two independent cases. The comitative with the suffix *-luγ_a/-lüge* can be treated as a remnant case from Classical Mongolian, which was frequently used in the past, but which has been mostly replaced by the comitative in *-tai/-tei* (and sometimes by the dative-locative suffix *-du/-tu*) in current usage (IMU, 2005, p. 386).

¹² Poppe (1954, p. 76) notes the use of the colloquial suffix *-la/-le* instead of *-luγ_a/-lüge* in informal texts of Modern Mongolian.

¹³ The suffix *-tAi* forms the nouns of possession from nouns. It can be characterized from both derivational and word formation aspects. The question is that either we have the derivation or word formation in regard with the form in *-tAi* and there are many words regarding which the question about derivation is pretty problematic. In order to avoid this problem, specialists introduced the proprietive case in *-tAi*, which is totally a word formation process; the privative case signifies ‘having something’. From the latter perspective of word formation, the form in *-tAi* can serve as an attribute, a nominal predicate or as a dependent predicate taking some other cases (sources from private communication with E.K. Skribnik).

Table2.1 Case system in Written Mongolian

Cases	Corresponding Forms
Nominative	∅
Accusative	-yi or -i
Genitive	-yin, -un/-ün or -u/-ü
Dative-Locative	-du/-tu, -dū/-tü (-dur/-tur, -dür/-tür; -a/-e) ¹⁴
Ablative	-ača/-eče
Instrumental	-bar/-ber or -iyar/-iyer
Comitative (proprietary/abessive)	-luγ_a/-lüge; -tAi/-güi

Apart from the above simple declension, there is also the double declension and the reflexive possessive declension.¹⁵ The combination of certain case forms with markers of other cases is called double case declension. There exist the following case combinations in Mongolian: a) the genitive-dative (-yin-du; -u-du); b) the dative-ablative (-dAčA/-tAčA);¹⁶ c) the comitative-instrumental (-luγ_a-bar; -lüge-ber). The proprietary/abessive case in -tAi/-güi¹⁷ can be used with all case suffixes except for the nominative.

a) The genitive-dative denotes the meaning of ‘whither/where to’ or ‘at whose’ and its formation is influenced by the colloquial language. Such a double case functions as locative. When the dative-locative suffix is added to the genitive case, the genitive can indicate a certain derivational meaning (IMU, 2005, p. 388). For instance, in *ǰakirul un du* [director GEN DAT.LOC] ‘to the director’s (house), at the director’s (house)’, the genitive occurs in the suffix -un; in *čolmon u du* [PN GEN DAT.LOC] ‘at Cholmon’s (house)’, the genitive is marked with the suffix -u.

b) The dative-ablative sometimes occurs in pre-classical Mongolian (e.g. *morin-dača* ‘from the horse’), but it is now rarely used in Modern Mongolian. The combined suffixal form is -dača/-deče, -tača/-teče.¹⁸

c) The comitative-instrumental has the same functions as the simple comitative, answering the question ‘with whom’. The combined suffix is either -tai-bar/-tei-ber or -luγa-bar/-lüge-ber.

¹⁴ The forms used in the Classical Mongolian are given in parentheses. This notation is also used in the tables which follow.

¹⁵ Besides the declension of nouns, there are also the simple declension of pronouns and the reflexive-possessive declension of pronouns in both Khalkha Mongolian (Poppe, 1954, p. 73, pp. 85-88) and the Written Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia (Chenggeltei, 1991, pp. 226-228).

¹⁶ Dative is the abbreviated form of ‘dative-locative’.

¹⁷ The abessive (caritive or privative) case expresses the absence of a marked noun.

¹⁸ These suffixes are derived as follows: *dača* < -du + -ača; *tača* < -tu + -ača; the same derivational process is found in both Written Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia (IMU, 2005, p. 388) and Khalkha Mongolian (Poppe, 1954, p. 78).

Postpositions such as *qamtu* ‘together, together with’ which govern the comitative can also govern this double case. Note the following examples:

(2-52) *baysi tai bar*
 teacher COM INS
 ‘with the teacher’

(2-53) *baysi luyā bar qamtu*
 teacher COM INS together with
 ‘together with the teacher’

The comitative can occur with all case suffixes with the exception of the nominative, so the following double cases also exist: comitative-ablative (*-tAi-AčA*), comitative-accusative (*-tAi-yi*), comitative-dative (*-tAi-dur*) and comitative-genitive cases (*-tAi-yin*).

Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 177) records the existence of another double case, i.e. the genitive-ablative (*-yin-ača*), which I think is a modern form of the double declension, as in the following example:

(2-54) *aq_a yin ača*
 elder.brother GEN ABL
 ‘from the elder brother’s (house)’

Another kind of declension is connected with the reflexive possessive suffix, the relation between the marked noun and the subject of the clause. The reflexive possessive allomorphs are: *-ban/-ben* (used after nouns ending in vowels) and *-iyan/-iyen* (used after nouns ending in consonants). Note the following example:¹⁹

(2-55) *nom iyan delge-ϕ!*
 book REF.POSS unfold/open-IMP
 ‘Open your book!’

2.4 Pronouns

In Mongolian, there are the following kinds of pronouns: personal (*bi* ‘I’, *či* ‘you’, *bide~bida* ‘we’ (INCL), *man* ‘we’ (EXCL), *ta* ‘you’ (SG), *ta nar* ‘you’ (PL)); possessive (e.g. *miniiki* ‘my own; mine’, *činiiki* ‘yours’, *manayiki* ‘ours’, *tanayiki* ‘yours’); demonstrative (e.g. *ene* ‘this’, *tere* ‘that’, *ede/edeger* ‘these’, *tede/tedeger* ‘those’, *eyimü* ‘such as this’ and *teyimü* ‘such as that’); interrogative (e.g. *ken* ‘who’, *yayu/yayun* ‘what’, *ali* ‘which’, *yamar/yambar* ‘what’, *kejiy_e* ‘when’, *kedüi* ‘how much’, *kedün* ‘how many’); reflexive (*öber-iyen* ‘oneself’, *öbesiid-iyen* ‘oneselves’); and indefinite (INTR.PRON + *ba/ču/nige*) pronouns (Garudi et al., 2001; IMU, 2005). In Modern Mongolian, the demonstrative pronouns *ene* ‘this’, *tere* ‘that’, *ede* ‘these’ and *tede* ‘those’ are used in place of the third

¹⁹ Reflexive-possessive suffixes can be added to various case markers; consequently, a number of concretion forms have been formed, e.g. *-yuyan/-yügen* < *-yi/-i* = ACC + *-ban/-ben* = REF.POSS (IMU, 2005, p. 389).

personal pronouns. Poppe (1954, p. 50) also records the use of *ba* ‘we’ which appears in ancient books. Some scholars identify two other kinds of pronouns: (a) distinctive (e.g. *jarim* ‘some’ and *busud* ‘other’) and (b) collective pronouns (e.g. *bökö~bükü* ‘all’ and *čöm* ‘all; everything’) (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 368; IMU, 2005, pp. 455-456).

Like nouns, pronouns also have a simple declension and a declension with the possessive suffix. The nominative form of the personal and demonstrative pronouns differs from their stems; in particular, the personal and demonstrative pronouns have different stems in different cases (see Poppe 1954, p. 50, pp. 85-86). In the following, I will discuss personal possessive particles and reflexive-possessive suffixes respectively.²⁰

2.4.1 Personal possessive particles

There is currently no uniform understanding of the grammatical status of personal possessive forms in Mongolian. IMU (2005, p. 388) analyses *mini* ~ *mani* (1st person), *čini* ~ *tani* (2nd person) and *ni* (3rd person) as personal possessive particles.²¹ However, *mani* and *tani* are seldom used now. Janhunen argues that whether these postnominal pronominal genitives are seen as suffixes or (post)clitics (i.e. “enclitic pronouns”) is a matter of interpretation. He prefers to consider these markers as possessive suffixes in his works (Janhunen, 2012, p. 137; Janhunen, 2003, p. 49). According to IMU (2005, p. 390), the forms *mini*, *čini* and *ni* are treated as particles and are derived from the genitive case forms *minu~minü*, *činu~činü*, *inu* ‘his’ and *anu* ‘their’. Poppe (1954, p. 139) discusses the pronouns *inu* ‘his’ and *anu* ‘their’ and regards them as genitive forms of the personal pronouns **i* ‘he’ and **a* ‘they’ which he reconstructed for the third person singular and plural. In my study, I consider the forms *mini* (1st person), *čini* (2nd person) and *ni* (3rd person) which follow nominals to be personal possessive particles. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns *minü* ‘my’ and *činü* ‘your’ when they appear before the nominals, modifying them, are regarded as possessive pronouns here. Compare the following examples:

(2-56) *baγši mini ire-be.*
 teacher 1POSS come-PST
 ‘My teacher has arrived.’

(2-57) *minü baγši ire-be.*
 1SG.GEN teacher come-PST

²⁰ Guntsetseg (2016, p. 49) argues that there are four means of expressing possession in Khalkha Mongolian, viz. possessive pronouns, possessive determiners, possessive particles and reflexive suffixes. The same is true in Written Mongolian. However, different suffixal forms are used for the reflexive possessive suffixes, i.e. in Khalkha Mongolian the suffix *-AA* replaces the forms *-ban/-ben* and *-iyan/-iyen* which are still used in Written Mongolian.

²¹ See also Guntsetseg (2016, p. 49) for a discussion of possessive particles in Khalkha Mongolian.

‘My teacher has arrived.’

(2-58) *degüü* *čini* *inggi-jü* *keleg-sen.*
younger.brother 2POSS like.this-IPFV.CVB say-PRF.PTCP
‘Your younger brother said so.’

(2-59) *činü* *baγši* *ire-be.*
2SG.GEN teacher come-PST
‘Your teacher has arrived.’

(2-60) *egeči* *ni* *ger* *tegen* *bayi-n_a.*
elder.sister 3POSS house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS be-PRS
‘His/Her elder sister is at home.’

The particle *ni* is changed into *kini* when it follows the genitive case (IMU, 2005, p. 392). Note the following example:

(2-61) *egeči* *yin* *kini* *ger*
elder.sister GEN 3POSS house
‘his/her elder sister’s house’

The personal possessive particles *mini* (1st person), *čini* (2nd person) and *ni* (3rd person) may be used both as nominalisers and topicalisers (see Section 4.6 in Chapter 4 for the use of possessive particles functioning as topicalisers). Janhunen (2012, p. 138) also suggests that, in the modern dialects of Mongolian, these possessive markers are used to display a strictly possessive function when they are used to denote kinship terms, whereas in other circumstances they serve as “functionally complex deictic and discourse markers, which convey notions of definiteness, specificity and/or topicalisation”.

2.4.2 Reflexive-possessive suffixes

Unlike other pronouns, the reflexive pronouns *öber-iyen* ‘oneself’, *öbesüd-iyen* ‘oneselves’ (or occasionally *ögesüd-iyen* ‘oneselves’) have only a reflexive-possessive declension and do not have a simple declension, with the exception of the genitive case as in *öber-ün* [oneself-GEN] and *öbesüd-ün* [oneselves-GEN] (see Poppe, 1954, p. 89, for the reflexive possessive declension of reflexive pronouns).

2.5 Postpositions

Postpositions are grammatical devices additional to the system of case which are used to express additional meanings that are not expressed in the case system. Postpositions in Mongolian can occur

after the bare stem of the nominal. For instance: *qori γarui* ‘more than twenty’ < *qori* ‘twenty’+ *γarui* ‘more than’.

Some postpositions require special case markers of the dependent noun: a) most postpositions (e.g. *tula* ‘for the sake of’; *qoyin_a* ‘behind’, ‘after’) occur after the genitive case; b) a few others such as *γadan_a* ‘besides’ and *qoyiši* ‘after’ govern the ablative case; c) the only postposition which can govern the dative-locative case is *kürtel_e* ‘until’, which was originally a converbal form of the verb *kür-* ‘reach’ (Poppe, 1954, pp. 145-147; p. 152); d) the comitative is used often with postpositions such as *qamtu* ‘together with’ or *čuy* ‘with’ (Poppe, 1954). Some postpositions can also function as a means of linkage between the predicative constructions (clauses); when functioning like this, they often occur together with case suffixes and can be analysed analogous to conjunctions, e.g. in the following complex sentence:

(2-62) *odon yi unta-γsan u qoyin_a bi ger eče γar-čai.*
 PN ACC sleep-PRF.PTCP GEN after 1SG house ABL go.out-PST
 ‘After Odon fell asleep, I went out of the house.’

A particular characteristic of postpositions is that many of them can be followed by personal possessive particle or the reflexive-possessive suffix, indicating that the object belongs to someone, e.g.:

(2-63) *siregen deger_e ni*
 desk on 3POSS
 ‘on his desk’

(2-64) *siregen deger_e ben talbi-γsan*
 desk on REF.POSS put-PRF.PTCP
 ‘(Someone) has put (sth.) on his (own) desk.’

Some constructions that involve postpositions are formed according to a special pattern “N1-GEN + N2-POSS”, which is widely known as “izafet” in Turkology (see Section 2.7 for the kinds of syntactic links in Mongolian, including “izafet”).²² The pattern expresses possessive relationships between the two nominal components:

(2-65) *morin u ükül ni*
 horse GEN death 3POSS
 ‘the death of a horse’

Based on such constructions, a structure which involves the use of postpositions can be formed:

(2-66) *naran u siregen deger_e ni*
 PN GEN desk on 3POSS
 ‘on Naran’s desk’

²² For more information about the notion “izafet”, refer to Nichols (1986) and Maizel (1957).

Most postpositions developed from nouns, while others originated from adverbs and verbs. For instance, *boltal_a* ‘until’ and *kürtel_e* ‘until’ are converbs of the verbal stems *bol-* ‘be’ and *kür-* ‘reach’ respectively; and similarly *šiltaya bar* ‘as a consequence of’ is derived from the combination of the noun *šiltayan* ‘cause; reason’ and the instrumental case marker *-bar*. Some postpositions (such as *tula* or *tulada* ‘because; for the sake of’) can only be used as postpositions, but there are also many postpositions which can act as independent words. For instance, *emün_e* ‘front/south; in front of’ and *qoyin_a* ‘back/north; after’ can be either nouns of place or postpositions (Poppe, 1954, p. 60).

2.6 Verbs

Like many other agglutinative languages, Mongolian developed two different verb subsystems in terms of syntactic function: finite and non-finite verb forms. Both finite and non-finite verb forms possess some general verbal properties, viz. voice, aspect, mood (modality) and tense. Regarding finite verbs, we can speak of absolute temporal characteristics. In several moods, their markers can combine modal meanings with temporal ones. However, several participles can express both relative and absolute tenses (these could be the basis for changing their status to verbs proper) (see Section 2.6.2.1 for the functions of participles).

2.6.1 Finite verb forms

Finite verb forms possess the categories of aspect, mood (modality), voice, and tense. They serve as finite predicates (either main predicates of complex sentences or predicates in simple sentences), denoting absolute aspect-tense meaning. The following paragraphs introduce the grammatical categories of a) voice, b) aspect, c) mood and modality.

2.6.1.1 Voice

Among linguists there once existed an opinion that the category of voice has no semantics, and the function of this category simply consists in a transformation of the syntactic structure of the sentence. The subject and the object change places, and this fact is reflected in different verbal forms at the morphosyntactic level. In the course of time the notion of diathesis was developed: a morphosyntax of voice is intended to change the verbal diathesis, i.e. expression of semantic roles (e.g. agent or patient) in relation to syntactic roles (e.g. subject or object). Usually such a transformation occurs at the level of information structuring of a sentence for pragmatic purposes.

According to modern linguistic ideas, two classes of forms, i.e. the categories of voice proper and actant derivation, are distinguished in the semantic space of voice (Plungyan, 2000).

Voice can be defined as a verbal category, whose forms are designed to reflect changes at the level of topicality of the participants inside the same situation (the term “topicality” was suggested by Givón, 1976; 1983, see also Plungyan, 2000, pp. 198-219). Voice transformations never affect the semantic interpretation of the situation; however, actant derivation means a transition to a new situation (of the outside world).

All verbal forms can display the grammatical category of voice. Traditionally voices in Mongolian include: active, passive, causative, cooperative (or sociative)²³, reciprocal and pluritative voices; however, the causative and the cooperative could be interpreted as markers of actant derivation.²⁴

1) The form of the active voice coincides with the verbal stem, i.e. it has \emptyset morphological expression. All verbal stems with no other voice suffixes can be considered as verbs in the active voice.

2) The suffixes for the passive voice are *-yda/-gde-* and *-da/-de-*. The suffix *-yda/-gde-* is normally added to stems that end in vowels, as in the following example:

(2-67) *qarayda-* ‘be seen’ < *qara-* ‘see’ + *-yda-* = PASS

(2-68) *uriyda-* ‘be invited’ < *uri-* ‘invite’ + *-yda-* = PASS.

If the suffix *-yda/-gde-* is used after *l*, the connective vowel *u/ü* is inserted, e.g.:

(2-69) *tasul-* ‘cut’ > *tasuluyda-* ‘be cut’.²⁵

If the stem ends in *b*, *s*, *d*, *g* or *r*, the suffix *-ta/-te-* takes the place of *-da/-de-*, e.g.:

(2-70) *kürte-* ‘be reached’²⁶ < *kür-* ‘reach’ + *-te* = PASS.

The distinction between active and passive voices concerns not only the forms themselves but the whole clause in general. In passive constructions, the noun phrase (NP) which is the direct object in the active voice becomes the subject, and the subject of the active verb becomes an optional indirect agentive object expressed in Mongolian by the dative-locative case. All NPs have their own level (hierarchical status) of topicality. The active voice keeps the initial state of topicality; however, the so-called “indirect” or “derivative” voices (i.e. voices other than active) indicate the transfer of the status of the participant with the highest level of topicality from one verb argument to another. The passive voice transfers the topical participant to the subject position of the clause. In this sense the main purpose of the classic (canonical) passive voice is to deprive the agent of its privileged status. When

²³ Nedyalkov (1994, pp. 12-13) uses the term “sociative voice” to refer to the cooperative voice. He argues that the sociative voice denotes “the existence of at least two agents with one and the same role” and it may express the reciprocal function, namely “two participants have two symmetrically intersecting semantic roles”, i.e. agent and object of action.

²⁴ Causative voice is referred to as “factitive” by Poppe (1954, p. 60). The term “pluritative” is used by Janhunen (2012, p. 147).

²⁵ Notably, the verb *tasul-* can have another passive form, i.e. *tasulda-* ‘be cut’.

²⁶ *kürte-* sometimes means ‘get’.

the direct object in an active construction becomes the subject in a passive construction, the topicality of the original noun phrase is increased, because the subject is characterised by the highest level of topicality (Givón, 1976; 1983). Given that the notions of subject and object are not universal (Keenan, 1976), we can say that the function of voice is more about the redistribution of arguments at the level of topicality than redistributing syntactic roles such as subject and object.

In a sense, it is possible to see the category of voice as a special case of topicality marking, which embraces a broader class of phenomena that are normally described as the so-called “transformation of structure of actants/arguments”, and such notions as “verb-deriving morphology”, “valence-increasing morphology” and “valence-decreasing morphology” that were suggested by Comrie (1985). The valency-increasing derivation refers to the occurrence of a new situation, which is reflected by the verb morphology, after a new obligatory participant is added to the initial situation. The valency-decreasing derivation is related to the exclusion of one of the participants from the situation, which also results in the appearance of a new situation.

The types of valency-increasing derivation differ according to the semantic role of the new participant. Derivative causative verbs constitute one type of valency-increasing derivation in Mongolian, for the added participant plays the role of agent.

3) Causative voice with the suffixes *-γa-/-ge-*; *-γul-/-göl-* and *-lγa-/-lge-* can express “the idea of causing (letting, ordering, permitting) someone to perform the action expressed by the primary verb” (Poppe, 1954, p. 61).²⁷ These causative suffixes can generally follow both transitive and intransitive stems which end in vowels, and *-γa-/-ge-* can also follow stems ending in *l* or *r*. If the stem ends in *γ* (or *g*), a connective vowel is required before adding the suffix *-lγa-/-lge-*. It is essential that the added participant occupies the privileged syntactic position: a new agent becomes the subject, and the previous subject decreases its topicality.

There is another group of voices, namely the cooperative and the reciprocal, which are used to express special relationships between participants of the situation (the so-called “interpreting actant” derivation). In a number of languages, the same marker is used to express both voices (Plungyan, 2000, p. 214-217); however, in Mongolian, we can find separate markers for each of them.

4) Cooperative voice with the suffix *-lča-/-lče-* indicates that participants perform the action together, cooperating with others. The adverb *qamtubar* indicates the cooperative voice:

(2-71) *qamtubar* *yari-lča-*
together talk-COOP-
‘talk together’

²⁷ The suffix *γa-/-ge-* is changed into *-qa-/-ke-* if the stem ends in *b*, *d* or *s*. The equivalent of the suffix *-lγa-* is *-l-* in the pre-classical language (Poppe, 1954, p. 61).

The cooperative is another kind of valency-increasing derivation. It is not related to the appearance of a participant with a new role, but a new participant with the same role. However, the new participant and the initial participant do not become completely identical. The new added participant is perceived as a secondary one. The cooperative occupies the boundary place between the area of actant derivation and the area of verbal derivation.

5) The reciprocal suffix *-ldu-/-ldü-* expresses the mutual interaction of participants to perform an action.²⁸ Normally *qarilčan* ‘mutually; reciprocally’ is an indicator of the reciprocal voice:

(2-72) *qarilčan* *maqta-ldu-*
 mutually praise-RECP-
 ‘praise each other’

In the reciprocal (or mutual) situation, the number of participants is not reduced to one, (unlike reflexive situations, which have a single participant with a role split in some languages), but each participant takes on the role of another participant, and his/her and other roles are carried out at the same time. A role-based split of participants occurs also in reflexive situations, which is why in many languages the markers for reflexive and reciprocal situations often coincide (Lichtenberk, 1985).

6) The pluritative voice with the suffix *-čaya-/-čege-* expresses actions with many participants (agents) involved. The suffix can be changed into *-jaya-/-jege-*, when the stem ends in vowels, which is not mentioned by Poppe (1954). The status of the pluritative voice as a voice is disputed and it is also treated as an “aspect of collective action” (Janhunen, 2012, p. 151, citing Kullmann & Tserenpil 1996, p. 134). However, Janhunen (2012) argues that the pluritative voice is obviously connected with the system of actants and it can be considered as an indirect approach to distinguish plural agents (subjects) from singular ones.

In addition, it should be noted that one verbal stem may take several voice markers. For instance, a verb which is in the cooperative voice may take the causative suffix:

(2-73) *yari-lča-γul*
 say-COOP-CAUS
 ‘let (people) talk’

A passive verb may take the causative suffix and so forth:

(2-74) *bari-γda-γul*
 catch-PASS- CAUS
 ‘let be caught’

An example of the passive suffix attached to the causative suffix is shown below:²⁹

²⁸ The suffixes of the reciprocal and the cooperative voices can be interchanged under certain conditions (IMU, 2005, p. 475).

²⁹ For the different combinations of the suffixes marking causative, passive, reciprocal and cooperative voices, refer to Poppe (1954, p. 63).

(2-75) *kemji-gül-ü-gde*
 measure-CAUS-CONN-PASS
 ‘be made to measure’

The above examples show that the forms that traditionally belong to voice may be interpreted as derivational suffixes. Voice suffixes can serve as derivational suffixes to form new words (IMU, 2005, p. 477).

2.6.1.2 Aspect

In Mongolian the following suffixes are used to express verbal aspects (Garudi et al., 2001, pp. 443-445): the suffixes *-l-*, *-la-*, *-balja-/belje-*, *-γalja-/gelje-*, *-lja-/lje-* are attached to the verbal stem to indicate the frequentative aspect, expressing repeated actions;³⁰ the suffix *-čiqā-/čike-/či-* denotes the perfective (completive) aspect, i.e. the meaning of complete state of actions, e.g.:

(2-76) *tere* *dasqal* *iyan* *ki-ǰü* *bara-čiqā-γsan.*
 that > 3SG homework REF.POSS do-IPFV.CVB finish-ASP-PRF.PTCP
 ‘He/She has finished doing his/her homework.’

Additionally, the suffixes *-ski-* or *-bki-* express the momentary, instant aspectual meaning:³¹

(2-77) *ta* *baqan uda-ski-γad* *yabu-γarai.*
 2SG.HON a.little linger-ASP-PRF.CVB go-PRSP
 ‘Please leave after a while.’ (lit.: ‘You leave, having lingered a little.’)

Some of the suffixes (*-l-*, *-lja-/lje-*, *-balja-* and *-γalja-*) were noted by Poppe for Khalkha Mongolian to form “iterative verbs” and “durative verbs” (Poppe, 1954, p. 64).

In addition, two grammatical means can be used to express aspects, i.e. reduplication of verbal stems and analytical constructions formed using auxiliary verbs (this construction will be discussed in Section 2.6.2.3).

Garudi et al. (2001) maintain that reduplication of verbal stems with the same or different converbs can express various aspectual meanings:

a) converbal suffixes *-ǰu-/ǰü* and *-γad/-ged* are successively added to the same word stem to express the meaning of ‘A certain action is lasting for a period of time’.

(2-78) *üǰe-ǰü* *üǰe-ged*
 look-IPFV.CVB look-PRF.CVB
 ‘looking for some time’

³⁰ The suffix *-γan_a/-gen_e* is treated as another frequentative aspectual form in Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 289). Moreover, according to them, the suffix *-ǰan_a/-ǰen_e* expresses the momentary aspectual meaning; and the suffixes *-lkila-/lkile-*, *-bkile-* and *-ni-* denote the continuous aspectual meaning.

³¹ The momentary aspectual meaning can also be expressed by the suffix *-ske* (IMU, 2005, p. 478). IMU (2005) also notes the word-final variants of the perfective aspectual form *-čiqā-/čike*, viz. *-čiq_a/-čik_e* and *-čiy/-čig*. According to IMU (2005), *-γada-/gede-* and *-γadaqa/-gedeke-* are aspectual forms used in colloquial Mongolian to denote desiderative modal meanings.

b) reduplication of the same suffix (either in *-n* or *-γad/-ged*) with the same verbal stem means ‘(Someone) has done something repeatedly many times’.³²

(2-79) *üĵe-n* *üĵe-n*
 look/see-CVB look-CVB
 ‘looking at something again and again’

(2-80) *üĵe-ged* *üĵe-ged*
 see-PRF.CVB see-PRF.CVB
 ‘(Someone) has seen something many times.’

c) reduplication of the same stem and the suffix (either in *-γsayar/-gseger* or *-ĵu/-ču/-ĵü/-čü*) or combination of suffixes in *Tv-n + Tv-γsayar/-gseger* with the same stem expresses the meaning of ‘continuation of an action for a long time’ (Garudi et al. , 2001, p. 447).³³

(2-81) *üĵe-gseger* *üĵe-gseger*
 look-CVB look-CVB
 ‘while looking (at something) for a long time’

(2-82) *üĵe-ĵü* *üĵe-ĵü*
 look-IPFV.CVB look-IPFV.CVB
 ‘looking (at something) for a long time’

(2-83) *üĵe-n* *üĵe-gseger*
 look-CVB look-CVB
 ‘(Someone) has been looking (at something) for a long time.’

Lexical meanings of verbal stems can express something comparable to aspectual meanings (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 443); however, this problem has not been further investigated to date.

2.6.1.3 Mood and modality

Modality can be seen as a semantic notion which comprises three basic modal categories; epistemic, deontic and dynamic modality. Mood is a morphological way of expressing modality, along with other expressive devices of modality, such as modal adverbs and adjectives (Nuyts, 2006; de Haan, 2006).

(1) Mood

Mood is a grammatical category which is designed to express modal meanings; in other words, mood is the grammaticalised modality (Lyons, 1977; Bybee 1985; Palmer 1986; de Haan, 2006, p. 33). In Mongolian (like in other languages) the category of mood is divided into realis and irrealis moods. (The irrealis modality describes situations which do not occur, cannot occur or should not occur in the real world. In other words, modal forms of this type describe an alternative world which exists only in

³² In Tianfeng et al. (2013) and IMU (2005), reduplication of words ending with *-n* (*Tv-n Tv-n*) and *-γad/-ged* (*Tv-γad/-ged Tv-γad/-ged*) are treated as two different aspects. The former indicates that the same action is repeatedly happening, while the latter denotes a frequentative action.

³³ Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 288) maintain that the combination of a verbal stem and the suffix *-γsayar/-gseger*, viz. *Tv-∅ + Tv- γsayar/-gseger* expresses a non-stop continuous aspectual meaning.

the minds of speakers in the moment of speech/utterance.) The category of realis includes only the indicative mood, while the category of irrealis consists of several moods, viz.: the imperative, the permissive, the prescriptive, the optative and the dubitative (apprehensive) moods. Every language possesses its own range (set) of irrealis moods. Notably, different classifications of irrealis moods have been proposed in Mongolian. For instance, Wu (1998) includes into irrealis moods the following ones: the imperative, the optative, the hortative, the permissive, and the admonitive moods.³⁴

1) The indicative mood is used to describe real, factual events and it is opposed to all other (oblique) moods. This is the only mood which develops the whole range of temporal meanings, i.e. the present, future and past tenses. There is no person and number agreement for indicative forms. The indicative includes the following tenses (cf. Brosig, 2014, p. 13):

a) The suffix *-mui/-müi*, whose pre-classical variants are *-m*, *-mu/mü*, expresses actions which happen either in the present tense or in the future tense. Brosig (2014, p. 13) maintains that the present tense suffix *-mU* is used for progressive and habitual situations. See the following example:

(2-84) *asayu-mui*.
ask-PRS/FUT

‘(Somebody) asks.’ or ‘(Somebody) will ask.’

The suffix *-mui* and the interrogative particle *uu/üü* can be fused into the suffix *-muu/-müü*. For instance, the suffix *-mui* in *asayumui* ‘ask/will ask’ (< *asayu-* ‘ask’ + *-mui* = PRS/FUT) can be fused with the interrogative particle *uu* to form *asayumu* ‘Will (sb.) ask?’ or ‘Does (sb.) ask?’

b) The suffix *-nam/-nem*, indicates both the present and future tenses. Brosig (2014, p. 8) tentatively considers this suffix to be a progressive form. It can also be fused into *-nuu/-nüü* with the interrogative particle, viz. *-nam/-nem* + *uu/üü* > *-nuu/-nüü*. Notably, this indicative form is less commonly used in the classical language. Poppe (1954, p. 91) considered these two indicative forms, i.e. *-mui/-müi* and *-nam/-nem*, to be the “narrative present”,³⁵ while Janhunen (2003, p. 52) refers to *-mui/-müi* as “narrative” but *-nam/-nem* as “durative” in Classical Mongolian. The latter form has a modern suffixal counterpart *-n_a/-n_e*.

The above two indicative forms are rarely used in modern Mongolian. The suffix *-n_a/-n_e* mainly expresses actions which coincide with the moment of speech; it can also express habitual present, broad present, historical present and future actions (IMU, 2005, pp. 501-502). In Modern Mongolian, all the present temporal meanings, with the exception of broad present, are expressed by the analytical verbal form *Tv-ju bayi-n_a*; and the future tense is expressed by the suffix *-n_a/-n_e* per se (IMU,

³⁴ Song (2011, pp. 106-108) divides the imperative mood in Khalkha Mongolian into the following: the directive, the voluntative and the optative moods.

³⁵ According to Janhunen (2003, p. 51), Written Mongolian has six finite tense-aspect markers (temporal aspectual forms), i.e. the narrative, durative, deductive, terminative, confirmative, and resultative; these markers realise different meanings relying on the context.

2005, p. 502). Janhunen (2003) also suggests that the durative present suffix *-n_a/-n_e* has become the predominant form of the present tense in the modern language.

c)The suffix *-yu/-yü* is known to express the “deductive present”. It denotes the action which is a logical consequence of previous actions, used to mark either the present or future tense (Poppe, 1954). It could be seen as denoting the evidential meaning of “inference”. According to Brosig (2014, p. 13), the present tense suffix *-yU* is used to express generic situations. See the following example:

(2-85) *tede ene čimege yi sonos-o-γad ire-yü.*
 3PL this news ACC hear-CONN-PRF.CVB come-PRS/FUT
 ‘They will come because they have heard the news.’

This indicative form is rarely used nowadays.

The following indicative forms express only past actions:

d)The suffix *-ba/-be* is used to denote a meaning which is very close to what we call “present perfect” in English grammar, as in the following example (taken from Tianfeng et al., 2013, p. 260):³⁶

(2-86) *času jɔɣso-ba.*
 snow stop-PST
 ‘The snow has stopped.’

It also allows fusion with the interrogative particle, forming *-ba-uu* or *-buu*. The suffix *-bai/-bei* is a past tense suffix which is used in Classical Mongolian, but it is no longer used in Modern Mongolian (IMU, 2005, p. 503).

e)The suffixes *-luya/-lüge* and *-juqui/-jüküi* (or *-čuqui/-čüküi*) exhibit evidentiality and mirativity respectively. Brosig (2014, p. 8) and Brosig & Skribnik (2018, p. 554, p. 557) consider that *-IUGA~ -IUA* is a “Direct Past” suffix which is used to denote “directly perceived information”, whereas *-JUGU ~ -JUU* is an “Indirect Past” suffix used for “inference and hearsay”; in contrast, they consider *-bA* to be a “Factual Past” suffix, which is evidentially neutral. According to Poppe (1954, p. 93) the suffix *-luya/-lüge* is used to denote that the speaker should have witnessed the action; if not, there is at least a reliable source for the speaker’s knowledge of the action; the indicative form *-juqui/-jüküi* expresses unexpectancy from the speaker’s viewpoint (mirativity). While the suffix *-luya/-lüge* expresses “present perfect”, the suffix *-juqui/-jüküi* can be treated as a pluperfect form, as in following examples taken from the corpus:

(2-87) *eljige teskel ügei ayur-la-n teyir-lüge.*
 donkey impatiently anger-DERv-CVB kick-EVI.PST
 Note: *teskel ügei* ‘impatiently’ < *teskel* ‘patience’ + *ügei* = NEG
 ‘The donkey has kicked (its heels),after getting angry without being tolerant.’

³⁶ Opinions differ about the use of the past tense marker *-ba/-be*. According to Garudi et al. (2001) and IMU (2005), the suffix *-ba/-be* expresses past tense, but Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 260) maintains that this suffix expresses only present perfect tense.

(2-88) *naran barayun dur tasi-tal_a ide-ged kü yaryaçin*
 sun west DAT.LOC fall.obliquely-CVB eat-PRF.CVB PN butcher
šal soyto-juqui.
 extremely get.drunk-MIR.PST
 ‘(Someone found that) Butcher Ku had got extremely drunk, after dining/drinking for a long time (lit: till the sun sets in the west).’

(2-89) *er_e em_e qoyayula yasal-u-n emgeni-ju*
 husband wife two-COLL.NUM grieve-CONN-CVB mourn/grieve-IPFV.CVB
ide-kü uuju-qu ban umarta-n dub duyui saju-juqui.
 eat-FUT.PTCP drink-FUT.PTCP REF.POSS forget-CVB quietly sit-MIR.PST
 ‘It was found that both the husband and wife had sat quietly, grieving and mourning, forgetting about their eating and drinking.’

The suffix *-juqui/-jüküi* is often used with second or third person subjects (Poppe, 1954).

It should be noted that both the suffixes *-luya/-lüge* and *-juqui/-jüküi* (*-čuqui/-čüküi*) are used in Classical Mongolian. In modern Mongolian the suffix *-l_a/-l_e* (or *-lai/-lei*) is used instead of *-luya/-lüge* and the suffixes *-ji/-či* and *-jai/-čai* have replaced *-juqui/-jüküi*.³⁷ Some scholars consider the suffix *-l_a/-l_e* to be a past tense suffix (Wu, 1995; Tianfeng et al., 2013), but a few others (Chenggeltei 1981, p.298, cited in Wu, 1995; IMU, 2005) believe that this suffix indicates the aspectual meaning of phase, i.e. the beginning and end of an action.³⁸

The suffix *-jai/-čai* expresses remote past tense (Garudi et al., 2001, pp. 432-433). However, IMU (2005, pp. 503-504) maintains that the suffix *-jai/-čai* indicates simple past tense and it can be used interchangeably with the suffix *-ba/-be*. The current study adopts the latter view.

Wu (1995) believes that it is hard to give a separate definition for each past tense form; the exact meaning of each form depends on the context in which the suffixes are used. In his opinion, *-jai/-čai* is the most frequently used past tense suffix; the suffix *-ba/-be* occurs mostly in written language; in comparison, the suffix *-l_a/-l_e* is a past tense suffix which may express different meanings in different contexts, and it typically refers to “an event that has been witnessed or is commonly known” (Wu, 1995, p. 96), which can be analysed as an evidential meaning; however, he argues that such a view is difficult to argue for on the basis of Modern Mongolian.

Apart from the finite verbs, participles with suffixes *-γsan/-gsen*, *-day/-deg*, *-qu/-kü*, and *-mar/-mer* can function as finite verbs in Mongolian (Garudi et al., 2001; IMU, 2005). The participle suffixed with *-γsan/-gsen* can express both the absolute and relative past tense; the participle suffixed with *-day/-deg* can express the broad present tense (both absolute and relative); the participle in suffix *-qu/*

³⁷ The suffixes *-ji/-či* and *-jai/-čai* differ slightly in use: the former suffix is used when a particle or an auxiliary follows it; the latter suffix is used in other circumstances (IMU, 2005; Garudi et al., 2001).

³⁸ Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 260) maintain that the suffix *-la/-le* (*-luya/-lüge*) indicates a past tense meaning.

-kii can express both the absolute and relative present and future tenses (IMU, 2005, p. 505) (see Section 2.6.2.1 for the functions of participles).³⁹

Table 2.2 Indicative forms in Written Mongolian

Semantic types of Indicative forms	Suffixes	Temporal (or/and aspectual) meanings
Narrative Present	(<i>-mui/-müi</i>) ⁴⁰	the present or future tense
Narrative/Durative Present	<i>-n_a/-n_e, -nai/-nei</i> (<i>-nam/-nem</i>)	the present tense or future tense
Deductive present	(<i>-yu/-yü</i>)	the present tense; (with evidential shade of meaning)
Present	<i>-day/-deg</i>	broad present tense
Present and future	<i>-qu/-kii</i>	absolute and relative present and future tenses
Past	<i>-ba/-be</i> (<i>-bai/-bei</i>), <i>-l_a/-l_e</i>	past; present perfect
Past	<i>-l_a/-l_e</i> (<i>-luyā/-lüge</i>)	recent past/ present perfect; evidential (a reliable source)
Past	<i>-jai/-cai ~ -ji/-či</i> (<i>-juqui/-jükiü; -čuqui/-čüküi</i>)	remote past/simple past/ pluperfect; mirativity
Past	<i>-γsan/-gsen</i>	absolute and relative past tense

The negative forms of the indicative mood are expressed by the negative particles *ülü*, *ese* and *ügei*.⁴¹ The particles *ülü* and *ese* occur before verbs and participles, while the particle *ügei* follows participles. This point will be brought up again in Section 2.6.2.1.

2) Imperative forms are used to express orders (or a direct command).⁴² The imperative has several forms according to the grammatical category of person (2nd or 3rd). The direct order imperative form, which coincides with the stem of the verb, is used to express a strict order to the second person (both singular and plural), as in the following example:

(2-90) *unta-ø!*
sleep-IMP

³⁹ The participial suffix *-qu/-kii* normally occurs with the particle *yum* (IMU, 2005, p. 499).

⁴⁰ The forms in the round brackets () in Table 2.2 indicate the Classical Mongolian forms.

⁴¹ In Modern Mongolian, the use of *ügei* is preferred to *ülü* and *ese*, which are mainly used in archaic texts.

⁴² According to Janhunen (2003, p. 50), the imperative forms in Classical Written Mongolian include one unmarked form for the second person and six other suffixally-marked modal forms, i.e. voluntative (1st person), optative (1st person), benedictive (2nd person), prescriptive (2nd person), concessive (1st to 3rd persons), and dubitative (1st to 3rd persons). In addition, in the postclassical language (i.e. modern Mongolian), there is another imperative modal form, i.e. the desiderative (1st to 3rd persons).

‘Sleep!’

The imperative mood of the second person plural form is known as the benedictive mood, which expresses a polite request to the second person. According to Poppe (1954, p. 89), the suffix *-γtun/-gtiin* is used to form the benedictive in Classical Mongolian. However, the meaning of this suffix changes nowadays, viz. it expresses an appealing command to the second person plural in Modern Written Mongolian and is only used in the literary language (IMU, 2005, p. 509; Garudi et al., 2001, p. 437), as shown below (this example is taken from IMU, 2005, p. 509, with my own translation):⁴³

(2-91) *maγu sedkil iyen quriya-γtun!*
bad thought REF.POSS put.aside-IMP
‘Please put your bad thoughts aside!’

Currently, the benedictive is expressed by the newly-formed suffix *-γači/-geči*, which was not noted by Poppe (1954). IMU (2005, p. 510) argues that this suffix expresses the speaker’s request for the second person to let him/her do something. Note the following example:

(2-92) *qurdun yabu-γači.*
quickly walk/go-BEN
‘Walk quickly please.’

The suffix *-γ/-g* is mainly used to indicate the permissive mood, which expresses the speaker’s approval for the third person’s action (IMU, 2005, p. 511).⁴⁴

Notably, both the imperative and benedictive forms are closely related to the honorific meanings (the grammatical category of politeness); in other words, the category of politeness is expressed by the imperative forms themselves.

3)The prescriptive mood expresses the speaker’s commission to the second person (Poppe, 1954). In Modern Written Mongolian, the prescriptive is expressed by the suffix *-γarai/-gerei*, which is used to denote the speaker’s wish/advice addressed to a single addressee (IMU, 2005, p. 510). Notably Garudi et al. (2001) suggest different interpretations to the meanings of the prescriptive suffix *-γarai/-gerei* and to the above-mentioned benedictive suffix *-γači/-geči*. In their opinion, the suffix *-γarai/-gerei* can express either the prescriptive mood or the benedictive mood, and the suffix *-γači/-geči* should be used to express the prescriptive mood.

4)The optative mood expresses the speaker’s wishes. There are two kinds of wishes: attainable and unattainable. The first kind of optative mood is called the voluntative, indicating that the speaker wishes the addressee (hearer) to perform an action which is attainable. The voluntative suffix *-y_a/*

⁴³ The singular form of the suffix *-γtun/-gtiin* is *-γtui/-gtüi* (Poppe, 1954, p. 89).

⁴⁴ I adopt the term “permissive mood”, which is in accord with Wu (1998). Wu (1998) considers the suffix *-γ/-g* as the permissive mood. The suffix *-mayiči* is used in colloquial languages to express a similar meaning with *-γ/-g* (IMU, 2005, p. 511).

-y_e indicates that the speaker either wants to perform the action by himself/herself or advise (appeal to) the addressee to join the speaker for the action (Garudi et al., 2001, p.435). The suffix *-suyai/-sügei* expresses the same basic meaning with *-y_a/-y_e*, however, it is rarely used in Modern Written Mongolian (Garudi et al., 2001; IMU, 2005, p. 508). Nowadays, the suffix *-suyai/-sügei* is occasionally used in newspapers to express the writer's wish and appeal to accomplish an action together with the the reader, viz. second person (IMU, 2005). Note the following example:

(2-93) *bi/bide* *oči-y_a!*
 1SG/1PL.INCL go-VOL
 'Let us/me go!'

The second kind of the optative applies the suffix *-yasai/-gesei* to express a wish, which is usually impossible to attain, referring to the third person, e.g.:

(2-94) *batu egün i üjē-gesei!*
 PN this ACC see/look-OPT
 'Ah, if only Batu looked at something!'

The suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* expresses the speaker's blessings (wishes) to the third person, singular and plural (IMU, 2005, P. 511). Note the following example (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 438, translation is mine):⁴⁵

(2-95) *sayin sayiqan maryasi yi uytu-n uri-qu bol-tuyai!*
 good beautiful tomorrow ACC welcome-CVB invite-FUT.PTCPbe (AUX)-OPT
 'May there be a promising future for him/her!'

This is different from Poppe's (1954, p. 90) interpretation of the suffix; he considers this suffix to be a third-person imperative form. In addition, Poppe (1954) suggested the occasional confusion between the suffixes *-tuyai/-tügei* and *-suyai/-sügei*, viz. the indiscriminate use in reference to person, but my current study suggests that the suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* is used only for the third person and the suffix *-suyai/-sügei* is only used for the first person; moreover, the suffix *-suyai/-sügei* is currently scarcely used in Modern Mongolian, either in colloquial or written language.

Some suffixes such as *-ytun/-gtün* and *-tuyai/-tügei* which are used to denote irrealis moods have changed their meanings in Modern Written Mongolian; other suffixes like *-suyai/-sügei* become less popular in use; and new suffixes like *-yači/-geči* which are not documented by Poppe (1954) are coming into being.

In addition, the forms *Tv-bel e/da* (< *Tv-bel* = COND.CVB + *e/de* = PTCL), *Tv-γsan bol e/da* (< *Tv-γsan* = PRF.PTCP + *bol* = COND.PTCL + *e/da* = PTCL) and *Tv-day bol da* (< *Tv-day* = PRS.PTCP + *bol* = COND.PTCL + *da* = PTCL) are used to express wishes to all persons (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 436).

⁴⁵ Garudi et al. (2001) maintain that the suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* also expresses the speaker's approval and wish for the third person to do something.

5) The dubitative (apprehensive) form with the suffix *-γuǰai/-güǰei* expresses the speaker’s concern that someone might perform something undesirable for the speaker. See the following example:

(2-96) *dayisun* *ire-güǰei*.
 enemy come-DUB
 ‘(I) am afraid that the enemy comes.’

This form can be used both in the second person and the third person (IMU, 2005, p. 512).

It should be noted that the negative form of the irrealis moods is built with the prohibitive particles *büü* and *bitegei*; the latter word is the colloquial form of the former, however, *büü* tends to be used more frequently nowadays both in Written and colloquial languages (IMU, 2005, P. 513).⁴⁶ To sum up, the use of the irrealis moods is closely related to the category of person and politeness (Garudi et al., 2001; IMU, 2005).

It is important to note that I mainly adopt Poppe’s (1954) terminologies in the current study to distinguish the irrealis moods in Modern Written Mongolian. None of the above terms (the imperative, prescriptive, voluntative, optative moods and so forth) is used in the works by Garudi et al. (2001) and IMU (2005), who apply an umbrella term “imperative-optative mood” (this is my translation of the Mongolian terminology *ǰakirqu küsekü tölöb*) to cover all these irrealis moods in Mongolian; and their distinction of irrealis moods is based on the category of person.

Table 2.3 below is my summary of irrealis moods in Modern Written Mongolian.

Table 2.3 Irrealis moods in Modern Written Mongolian

Moods	Suffixes	Meanings
Imperative	∅	A direct order to the 2SG/PL
Permissive	-γ/-g	Speaker’s approval for 3SG/PL (main function); Unwilling approval, disregard or blessings for all persons
2 nd person imperative	-γtun/-gtün	An appealing command to 2SG/PL
Benedictive	-γāči/-geči	A polite request for 2PS
Prescriptive	-γarai/-gerei	Speaker’s commission/advice to 2SG/PL
Voluntative	-γ_a/-y_e, -suyai/-sügei (rarely used nowadays)	Attainable wish for 1SG/PL; appeal and suggestion to 2PS

⁴⁶ Prohibitive particles *büü* and *bitegei* do not occur before the dubitative form *-γuǰai/-güǰei*; sometimes the particle *ülü* is used before the optative form *-tuǰai/tügei* (IMU, 2005, p. 513). The particles *ülü* and *ese* can be used before the dubitative form *-γuǰai/-güǰei* to express the prohibitive meaning (Tianfeng et al., 2013, p. 266).

Table 2.3 (Continued)

Moods	Suffixes	Meanings
Optative	<i>-tuyai/-tügei</i>	The speaker's approval, wish and blessings for 3SG and 3PL (attainable & unattainable)
	<i>Tv-bel e/de; Tv-γsan bol e/de; Tv-daγ bol de</i>	Unattainable wish for all persons
Dubitative/Apprehensive	<i>-γujai/-güjei</i>	'I'm afraid that...'; used for 2/3PS

(2) *Types of modality*

The semantic area of modality comprises different kinds of modal meanings. They are: epistemic, deontic and dynamic modality. In the current study, evidentiality is also considered to be a modal category, which is in accord with a number of typological studies (e.g. Palmer, 1986, 2001; Bybee et al., 1994; Willett, 1988).⁴⁷

In accordance with Palmer's (2001) classification of modality in modal systems, a basic distinction is made between 'propositional modality' and 'event modality'. The former type covers epistemic modality and evidentiality (or evidential modality); the latter covers deontic and dynamic modality.⁴⁸ Propositional modality is concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth value of the proposition; in contrast, event modality refers to events which are merely potential, i.e. not actualised (Palmer, 2001, p. 8; see the relevant examples of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.3).

Epistemic modality is concerned with speakers' judgments about the factual status of the proposition while evidential modality indicates the speakers' source of evidence for the factual status of the proposition; deontic modality concerns obligation or permission, whose conditioning factors emanate from an external source. In contrast, dynamic modality concerns the relevant individual's ability or willingness, which is an internal conditioning factor (Palmer, 2001) (See the relevant examples of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.3).

⁴⁷ In recent analyses of evidentiality, some scholars exclude the grammatical category of evidentiality from the set of modal categories (de Haan, 2001, 2005; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2003; Aikhenvald, 2004; Aikhenvald 2018).

⁴⁸ *Root modality* is an alternative terminology, which covers both deontic and dynamic modality (de Haan, 2006).

Table 2.4 Modal meanings and forms in Modern Written Mongolian

Modal Meanings	Modal forms and other ways of expressing modal meanings
Epistemic modality	(1) participial suffixes such as <i>-mar/-mer</i> and <i>-γusitai/-güsitei</i> (2) particles such as <i>baiq_a</i> ‘probably; may; might’ and <i>bije</i> ‘perhaps; maybe’ (3) adjectives such as <i>bololčayatai</i> ‘possible’ (4) adverbs such as <i>labtai</i> ‘surely; certainly’ (5) phraseological expressions such as <i>yariyan ügei</i> ‘it goes without saying that’ and <i>kelelgen ügei</i> ‘it goes without saying that; it is certain that’
Evidential modality	(1) verbal suffixes expressing evidentiality: <i>-la/-le (-luγa/-lüge)</i> ; <i>(-yu/-yü)</i> (2) suffixes denoting mirativity: <i>-jai/-čai ~ -ji/-či (-juqui/-jüküi; -čuqui/-čüküi)</i> (3) constructions such as <i>Tv-qu/-kü bololtai</i> ‘it seems to be that’ > ‘likely; probably’
Deontic modality	(1) participial suffixes such as <i>-mar/-mer</i> and <i>-γusitai/-güsitei</i> (2) constructions <i>erkebsi/jabal ...Tv-qu/-kü keregtei/yosotai</i> ‘Sb. should do sth.’; <i>Tv-qu/-kü čiqulatai</i> ‘Sb. need to do sth.’ <i>Tv-bal/bel tayara-/tokira-/joki-</i> ‘should/ought to do sth’ and <i>Tv-jü bol-</i> ‘may do sth’
Dynamic modality	(1) constructions such as <i>Tv-ju/-jü čida-</i> ‘be able to do sth; be capable of doing sth.’ and <i>Tv-ju/-jü deyil-</i> ‘be capable of; be competent for sth.’ (2) constructions such as <i>Tv-qu/-kü duratai</i> ‘Sb. likes to do sth.’ (< <i>dura</i> ‘like’+ <i>-tai</i> = PROP ‘having’)

2.6.2 Non-finite verb forms

There are two classes of non-finite verbs in Mongolian (as in other Altaic languages). The most complex non-finite verb class is conventionally called participles by specialists; the other non-finite verb class is converbs (Cheremisina et al., 1984). This section is made up of three parts: participles, converbs, and analytical forms and constructions. In the following, I will give a brief introduction to the relevant terminology, suffixal forms and their functions.

2.6.2.1 Participles

Participles in Mongolian (as in other Altaic languages) realise several syntactic functions, which cover a larger range than those of the European languages. The functions of participles can be generalised as analogues of nouns, attributes, main predicates of complex sentences (or predicates in simple sentences), and predicates of dependent clauses.

As verbal forms, participles can govern nouns and possess predicative (verbal) properties such as voice, aspect, tense and mood. Serving as the main predicate of a complex sentence or the predicate in

a simple sentence, participles take the final position in a sentence just like finite verb forms. In such uses, they can occur in the indicative mood. For instance, in the following simple sentence:

(2-97) *tere edür böri surayuli du uči-day.*
 that > 3SG day every school DAT.LOC go-PRS.PTCP
 ‘He/She goes to school every day.’

Similarly, in the following complex sentence:

(2-98) *tere sayin šilya-γsan dayan yeke bayarla-γsan.*
 that > 3SG well examine/test-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS very be.happy-PRF.PTCP
 ‘He/She was (has been) very happy because (he/she) did well in the exam.’

Participles only express relative aspect-tense when they serve as predicates of dependent clauses. However, they lose their temporal meanings when they serve as abstract nouns or attributes. It should be noted that not all participles can serve as predicates in a simple sentence or as main predicates in a complex sentence: the imperfective participle suffixed with *-γa/-ge* and the future participle suffixed with *-qu/-kü* cannot function as (main) predicates on their own, and the agentive participle suffixed with *-γči/-gči* rarely serves as the predicate in a simple sentence by itself.⁴⁹ However, all participles can serve as main predicates with the help of auxiliary verbs as will be shown in section 2.6.2.3 (IMU, 2005, pp. 515-518). In the position of finite predicates some participles require the presence of the copula.⁵⁰ For instance, in the following sentence:

(2-99) *tere qamiγ_a yabu-γ_a bui?*
 that > 3SG where go-IPFV.PTCP COP
 ‘Where is he/she going (to)?’

As nouns, participles are characterised by the ability to change their form according to the participial declension which differs from the noun declension; there is not a uniform participle declension paradigm (like noun cases), for each participle differs in their declension. Additionally, participles can take reflexive possessive suffixes as well as plural forms. For example, in the following sentence:

(2-100) *či tere mede-deg-üüid eče ni asayu-φ.*
 2SG that know-PRS.PTCP-PL ABL 3POSS ask-IMP
 ‘You ask those who know (about it).’

⁴⁹ According to Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 308) all the participles except for the future participle in suffix *-qu/-kü* can function as predicates in a simple sentence on their own.

⁵⁰ According to Poppe (1954, p. 157) “the verbs *bui* ‘is’, *bolai* ‘is’, *bülüge* ‘was’ and all finite forms of the verbs *a-* ‘to be’, *bayi-* ‘to be’ and *bol-* ‘to become’ usually serve as copula”. Hashimoto (2004) maintains that *bayi-*, *bile*, *möm* and *yum* can function as copulae. Street (2008, pp. 58-59; p. 65; p. 68) treats *bui* as a copula. However, Yoshitake (1929, pp. 523-529, pp. 535-539) regards *bui*, *bayi-*, *a-* and *bü-* as auxiliary verbs, admitting that *bol-* ‘to be; to become; to exist’ performs multifarious duties apart from being an auxiliary verb. Likewise, in Garudi et al. (2001, p. 374) and IMU (2005, p. 492), *bayi-* ‘to be; to exist’, *bol-* ‘to become’, *a-* ‘to be; to exist’ and *bü-* ‘to be; to exist’ are treated as auxiliary verbs, while *bui* is considered an interrogative particle. Ozawa (1979) treats *a-* ‘to be; to exist’ and *bü-* ‘to be; to exist’ as auxiliary verbs. Kwon (1998) regards *bayi-* ‘to be; to exist’ and *bol-* ‘to become’ as auxiliary verbs.

The participle *mededeg* ‘know’ shifts its grammatical status into a noun, meaning ‘those who know’, after taking the plural suffix *-üüd*. When acting as subject, participles often occur with possessive particles *čini* and *ni* which may function as nominalisers (topicalisers) in special kinds of constructions.

In addition, as nominal forms, participles can function as attributes of nominal structures. As with all dependant words in the Altaic languages, participles normally occur in front of the modified noun. When functioning as attributes (or predicates in attributive constructions), participles does not allow declension in Mongolian. In this syntactic position, attributes can be represented by a single participial form, as in the following examples:

(2-101) *yabu-γsan kömön*
 go-PRF.PTCP person
 ‘the person who went’

(2-102) *ükü-gsen amitan*
 die-PRF.PTCP animal
 ‘a dead animal’

Participles can be the predicative head of a predicative attributive construction, as it can be seen below:

(2-103) *bi čima du ög-gö-gsen nom*
 1SG 2SG DAT.LOC give-CONN-PRF.PTCP book
 ‘the book which I gave you’

(2-104) *abu yin unu-γsan morin*
 father GEN ride-PRF.PTCP horse
 ‘the horse that (my) father rode’

Participles are declinable when functioning as subordinate predicates. It should be noted that in Khalkha Mongolian the subjects of object clauses in participial constructions can be marked either by nominative, accusative or genitive case forms, while the subject in the relative clause is marked by nominative, genitive or ablative cases; and the nominative-accusative alternation is found in the subjects of adverbial clauses (within complex sentences) (Guntsetseg, 2016). The same situation can also be found in Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia.

In Mongolian, there are the following participial forms: the perfective, the imperfective, the present, the future and the agentive participle.⁵¹

(1) The perfective participle with the suffix *-γsan/-gsen* expresses a past action. It can also denote an action which has been done by the moment of speech, e.g.:

(2-105) *batu ger tegen yabu-γsan.*

⁵¹ Janhunen (2003, p. 50) maintains that Written Mongolian has four participles (the futuritive, imperfective, perfective, and habitive participles), which “commonly characterize the nominal representation of the verb in Mongolic” while another participle (the agentive participle) is “functionally ambivalent”, exhibiting “some verbal characteristics”. He also discusses quasiconverbs, which seem to be the combination of some case forms with certain participles in their substantival function (Janhunen, 2003, p. 51).

PN house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS go-PRF.PTCP
 ‘Batu has gone/went to his house.’

(2) The imperfective participle with the suffix *-γ_a/-g_e* can function as an attribute or a dependent predicate. When functioning as a dependent predicate, it can be characterised as having a relative present tense, loaded with an ongoing habitual aspectual meaning:

(2-106) *tere* *ǰoγso-γ_a* *bar* *budaγ_a* *ide-ǰü* *bayi-n_a*.
 that > 3SG stand-IPFV.PTCP INS meal eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘He/She is eating the meal while he/she is standing.’

The pre-classical suffixal form of *-γ_a/-g_e* is *-γai/-gei*. In the colloquial language, the imperfective participle normally occurs in its negative form *-γadui/-gedüi* or *-γ_a ügei*.

(3) The present habitual participle with the suffix *-day/-deg* denotes a broad present tense, e.g.:⁵²

(2-107) *odon qurdun* *güyü-deg*.
 PN fast run-PRS.PTCP
 ‘Odon runs fast.’

When the suffix is combined with auxiliary verbs, it is used to express a habitual aspectual meaning.

(4) The future participle with the suffix *-qu/-kü* can function as finite and dependent predicates (characterised by both absolute and relative tenses); in the former case, it denotes either a present or future tense (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 450).⁵³ Notably, the suffix *-qu/-kü* can function as finite predicates only with the help of copula verbs or modal particles. For instance:

(2-108) *tere* *örlöge erte* *bos-qu* *ügei*.
 that > 3SG morning early get.up-FUT.PTCP NEG
 ‘He/She does not get up early in the morning.’

(2-109) *bi* *marγasi* *üde* *yin* *qoyin_a* *qoyar* *čay-tu* *surγayuli*
 1SG tomorrow noon GEN after two o'clock-DAT.LOC school
du *oči-qu* *yum*.
 DAT.LOC go-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 ‘I will go to school at 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.’

(5) The agentive participle with the suffix *-γči/-gči* mainly denotes an agentive attribute.⁵⁴ In Modern Written Mongolian only the agentive participle can denote the person who does something (Garudi et al., 2001, pp. 450-451; IMU, 2005, pp. 515-518). It is said that this participle can also function as a finite predicate, expressing a habitual present tense. The suffix *-γči/-gči* is often used as the derivational suffix nowadays (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 451).

⁵² Both the suffixes *-day/-deg* and *-γ_a/-ge* express the habitual present tense. The difference lies in the fact that the latter suffix has a progressive aspectual meaning.

⁵³ In the pre-classical language, the suffix *-qui/-küi*, whose plural form is *-qun/-kün*, was used indiscriminately with the modern form *-qu/-kü*, but the former form only served as subject and object while the latter form can serve as attribute and predicate, e.g., *očiqui* only means ‘the process of going’, but *oči-qu* can mean either ‘going’ or ‘will go’ (Poppe, 1954, p. 94). However, in Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 269), no distinction is made between the suffix *-qui/-küi* and *-qu/-kü*. In my opinion, the former suffix is rarely used in Modern Mongolian.

⁵⁴ This participle is referred to as the “agentive participle” by Janhunen (2003, p. 50). I have adopted this term in the current study.

In grammar books of Inner Mongolia, some other suffixes are also included under the category of participial forms. These forms include *-mar/-mer* ‘may; possible’, *-ma/-me* ‘may; possible’, *-quiča/-küiče* ‘possibility of doing something’, and *-γusitai/-güsitei* ‘should/ought to do something’ (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 451). In Modern Written Mongolian, the suffix *-quiča/-küiče* is hardly used.

Table 2.5 Participles in Written Mongolian

Type of participle	Suffix	Basic Meaning
perfective participle	<i>-γsan/-gsen</i>	‘has done’/ ‘did something’
imperfective participle	<i>-γa/-ge</i>	‘is doing something’
present habitual participle	<i>-day/-deg</i>	‘does something’
future participle	<i>-qu/-kü</i>	‘does/will do something’
agentive participle	<i>-γči/-gči</i>	‘person who does something’ ‘habitual present tense’
participles with modal meanings	<i>-mar/-mer; -ma/-me</i>	‘may; possible’ (epistemic modality)
	<i>-γusitai/-güsitei</i>	‘should/ought to do something’ (deontic modality)

In addition, participles can occur with the following negative particles: *ügei*, *ülü* and *ese*.⁵⁵ The particle *ügei* is added after participial forms, while the particles *ülü* and *ese* occur before participles.⁵⁶ In the negative forms of verbs, usage of participles is preferred over finite verbal forms (IMU, 2005).

2.6.2.2 Converbs

Converbs express subordination of one verb to another, so they can only serve as predicates in subordinate clauses, expressing relative aspect-tense. They are used to express various semantic relations between main and subordinate clauses. Apart from being able to take the same subject as the dominant verb does in the principal clause, a converb can also have its own grammatical subject which is different from the subject of the principal action. Given that a Mongolian converb does not have the category of person, the identification of the subject for a converb largely depends on its context. To build the negative form of a converb, the negative participial form is used instead. In Mongolian, there are the imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, modal, durative (*abtemporale*), terminal,

⁵⁵Sometimes there is a concretion between the participial suffixal form and the negative particle *ügei* in Mongolian. Tianfeng et al. (2013, pp. 270) have documented the participial suffix *-γadui/-gedüi*, which is a concretion of the suffix *-γa/-ge* and the negative particle *ügei*.

⁵⁶The negative particle *ügei* is used with nominals while the particles *ülü* and *ese* occur only with verbs. The other two negatives with nouns include *biši* and *busu*; *biši* is the colloquial variant of *busu*.

purposive (*finale*), preparative, successive and anticipative (*contemporale*) converbs.⁵⁷ The converbal forms and their usages are summarised as follows:

1) The imperfective converb with the suffixes *-ju/-jü* or *-ču/-čü* (depending on the final sound of the stem) mainly expresses the meaning of dependent actions which are performed simultaneously with principal actions. In addition, it is used with verbs of motion, such as *sayu-* ‘sit’; it can also be followed by phase verbs (such as *ekile-* ‘begin’ and *bara-/dayus-* ‘finish’) and modal verbs (such as *mede-* ‘may’ and *deyil-* ‘be able to’).⁵⁸ Sometimes this converb denotes a dependent action which happens before the principal action. Note the following example:

(2-110) *uriquan ger tegen oro-ju buday_a ide-be.*
 PN house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS enter-IPFV.CVB food/meal eat-PST
 ‘Urikhan entered her house and ate the meal.’

2) The perfective converb with the suffix *-γad/-ged* is used to denote an action which has been completed before the principal action starts. For instance:

(2-111) *tede ger tegen qari-γad unta-ba.*
 3PL house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS return-PRF.CVB sleep-PST
 ‘They slept after returning home.’

3) The conditional converb (with the suffix *-bal/-bel*, whose classical variant is *-basu/-besü*) denotes an action which indicates the condition and cause under which the principle action is performed.⁵⁹ Constructions such as *Tv-γsan yum bol* (< *-γsan* = PRF.PTCP + *yum* = PTCL + *bol* = COND.PTCL) and *Tv-qu yum bol* (< *-qu* = FUT.PTCP + *yum* = PTCL + *bol* = COND.PTCL) can also express conditional meanings. Note the examples below:

(2-112) *oroï erte unta-bal beye du sayin.*
 evening early sleep-COND.CVB body DAT.LOC good
 ‘If sleeping early in the evening, (it) is good for health/the body.’

(2-113) *oroï erte unta-qu yum bol beye du sayin.*
 evening early sleep-FUT.PTCP PTCL COND.PTCL body DAT.LOC good
 ‘If sleeping early in the evening, (it) is good for health/the body.’

4) The concessive converb with the suffix *-baču/-bečü* denotes an action which is performed and yet is contrary to expectation, meaning ‘although/even if someone does something’. The concessive converbal suffix is a combination of the finite verbal suffix *-ba* and the particle *-ču*, i.e. *-baču* < *-ba* =

⁵⁷ I adopt the terms “durative” and “anticipative” converbs here, which are respectively referred to as “abtemporale” and “contemporale” converbs by Poppe (1954).

⁵⁸ The verbs *ekilke-* ‘begin’, *dayus-* ‘finish’, and *čida-* ‘can’ may follow the imperfective converbal forms *-ju/-ču* (occasionally after the converbal suffix *-n*) to express stage of actions, aspectual-temporal meanings or possibility of accomplishing something (IMU, 2005, p. 497).

⁵⁹In Classical Mongolian, the conditional converb can express both the temporal relation of dependent and principal actions and the conditional relation, depending on the tenses of the principal actions. If the principal action occurs in present and future tense, the conditional converb means “if someone does something”, but it expresses the meaning of “when someone did something” if the principal action uses a past tense form (Poppe, 1954, p. 95). Suffixes *-bala/-bele* and *-γasu/-gesü* are other variants for *-basu/-besü* provided by Poppe (1954).

PST + *ču* = PTCL. The particle *ču* can occur before the concessive converbal suffix as in the following example:

(2-114) *yayu ču kele-bečü tusa bol-qu ügei.*
 what PTCL say-CONC.CVB help become-FUT.PTCP NEG
 ‘No matter what (someone) says, it will not help.’

Sometimes the suffix *-yaču* is used instead of *-baču* in colloquial Modern Mongolian. The concessive meaning can also be expressed by the form *-γsan-ču* (< *-γsan* = PRF.PTCP + *ču* = PTCL) (IMU, 2005, pp. 523-526).⁶⁰

5) The modal converb with the suffix *-n* can denote an action which is performed simultaneously with the principal action, meaning ‘while doing something’ (IMU, 2005, p. 522).⁶¹ It is interesting to note that the imperfective converb can also express such a meaning (see the earlier paragraph in Section 2.6.2.2).⁶² The modal converb derived from a verb denoting concrete semantics may modify another verb with broad semantics, such as in the following expression:

(2-115) *soyol güyü-n ire-be.*
 PN run-MOD.CVB come-PST
 ‘Soyol came running (ran).’

6) The terminal converb suffixed with *-tal_a/-tel_e* denotes a principal action which continues until the completion of the dependent action, so it means ‘until’. Sometimes this form is also used to indicate the simultaneous meaning of the subordinate action and the principal action, meaning ‘while’. Note the following example:

(2-116) *tede üde bol-tal_a ger tegen sayu-ǰai.*
 3PL noon become-CVB house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS sit-PST
 ‘They stayed at their home until it was noon.’

7) The durative converb with the suffix *-γsayar/-gseger* is similar to the terminal converb to a certain extent, for it can also be translated as ‘while somebody is doing something’.⁶³ However, as the name suggests, this converb can express an action of duration. The principal action usually takes place at the point of time when the subordinate action ends, so the usual translation is ‘since somebody did

⁶⁰ Poppe (1954) records another possible variant of the concessive converbal suffix in Khalkha Mongolian, *-bači/-beči*, which seems to be no longer used. He suggests that this concessive converb derives from the conditional converb with the particle *ber* and a negative after it (Poppe, 1954).

⁶¹ According to Poppe (1954, p. 96), this converb can express an action denoting the manner in which the principal action is performed: “the action of the converb and that of the main verb are closely related or fused into one”. However, in Mongolian which is used in Inner Mongolia, this converb cannot indicate “manner” of an action, but expresses only the close relationship between the main action and the dependent action, denoting simultaneity of actions.

⁶² I shall call the converb with the suffix *-n* a “modal converb” here, following Poppe (1954) who refers to it as “converbium modale”.

⁶³ The durative converb is a special verbal form, because it can serve as a predicate in a simple sentence by itself (IMU, 2005, p. 531; Garudi et al., 2001, p. 459; Tianfeng et al., 2013, p. 308). The durative converb *-γsayar* historically developed from a perfective participle *-γsan* plus an ancient instrumental case marker *-γar*, which can still be found in the ending of certain adverbs, e.g. *γaγčayar* ‘alone’ (< *γaγča* ‘alone’ + *-γar* = INS) (Poppe, 1954, p. 180).

something'. Thus, we can see that the semantic meaning of this converb is loaded with the aspectual meaning of durativity. Note the example below:

(2-117) *bide nige jam güyü-gseger tuyil un yadara-žai.*
 1SG.INCL all.the.way run-CVB extreme GEN get.tired-PST
 Note: *nige jam* 'all the way' < *nige* 'one' + *jam* 'way; road'; *tuyil un* 'very' < *tuyil* 'extreme' + *-un* = GEN.
 'We got very tired while/after keeping running all the way.'

8) The anticipative converb with the suffix *-maγča/-megče* indicates that the principal action occurs immediately after the dependent action (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 458). Therefore, it is normally translated as 'as soon as somebody did something'.⁶⁴ Note the example below:

(2-118) *baysi anggi yin ger tü ire-megče bögödeger iyen nam ži*
 teacher classroom DAT.LOC come-CVB everyone REF.POSS quiet
bol-ba.
 become-PST
 Note: *anggi yin ger* 'classroom' < *anggi* 'class' + *-yin* = GEN + *ger* 'house'
 'As soon as the teacher came to the classroom, everyone became quiet.'

9) The meaning of the successive converb with the suffixes *-qula/-küil_e* and *-qular/-küler* is very close to the anticipative converb. Unlike the anticipative converb, this converb is used only in Modern Written Mongolian and is not found in the classical language.⁶⁵ Note the following example:

(2-119) *abu ire-küil_e eži čai ayayala-ba.*
 father come-CVB mother tea put.into.the.bowl-PST
 'As soon as father arrived/came, mother put the tea into the bowl.'

10) The purposive (finale) converb with the suffix *-qubar/-küber* (< *-qu/-kü* = FUT.PTCP + *-bar/-ber* = INS) expresses the purpose of the main action.⁶⁶ In Classical Mongolian, the suffix is *-r_a/-r_e*, as in the following example:

(2-120) *tede dayula-r_a γar-ba.*
 3PL sing-CVB go.out-PST
 'They went out in order to sing.'

11) The preparative converb with the suffix *-manžin/-menžin* and *-man/-men* denotes a prerequisite of an action, i.e. it expresses a preparatory action which leads to the principal action, meaning 'in consequence of doing something'.⁶⁷ Note the following example:

(2-121) *soyoltu amara-žu güyiče-menžin sayi ažil dayan*
 PN rest-IPFV.CVB suffice-CVB only.then work DAT.LOC.REF.POSS

⁶⁴ Another possible suffix which has the same meaning with *-maγča/-megče* is *-naran/-neren*; it occurs in certain dialects (IMU, 2005, p. 523).

⁶⁵ The successive converb also includes the suffix *-qunar* (IMU, 2005, p. 523).

⁶⁶ This converb is termed as "the finale converb" by Poppe (1954) and I use the term "purposive converb" in the current study. In certain dialects, the purpose of a main action is expressed by the suffix *-qar/-ker* instead of *-qubar/-küber* (IMU, 2005, p. 528).

⁶⁷ Poppe (1954) uses the term "preparative converb" to refer to this form and stated the same for Khalkha Mongolian. He maintains that the commonly used suffix for this converb is *-r_u-n/-r_ü-n* in the pre-Classical language, but this form is rarely used in Classical and Modern Mongolian. Only a few verbs such as *ügüle-* 'speak', *keme-* 'say' and *üje-* 'see' occur in this form. I adopted the same term in the current study. Sometimes, the suffix *-mažin/-mežin* is used instead of *-manžin/-menžin* to denote the premise of an action (IMU, 2005, p. 523).

yabu-ba.

go-PST

Note: the suffix *-menjin* normally occurs together with the adverb *sa_yi* ‘only then’.

‘Soyoltu left for his work only after/when he had enough rest.’

The imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive and modal converbs are called “pseudo converbs”, while terminal, durative (*abtemporale*), finale, preparative, successive and anticipative (*contemporale*) converbs are called “genuine converbs” by Poppe (1954, p. 97). Pseudo converbs are called in this way due to the fact that they are “fossilized oblique case forms” of participles; in contrast, genuine converbs are “purely verbal forms” from a historical point of view (Poppe, 1954, p. 95). Janhunen (2003, p. 51) used the term “quasiconverbs” to refer to pseudo converbs. According to Poppe (1954), there is a syntactic difference between pseudo and genuine converbs: in constructions with pseudo converbs, the subject (actor) is always indicated by the nominative case, but in constructions with genuine converbs, the actor can be designated by either the genitive or the accusative case on certain occasions. However, such a syntactic difference is not obvious in the modern language; so whether it is true in Modern Written Mongolian used in Inner Mongolia is worth exploring further.

Last but not least, in Modern Written Mongolian there is another converb with the suffixes *-ngyuda/-nggüde* and *-ngyan/-nggen* which expresses that a main action is done while the dependent action is still being done (Garudi et al., 2001, pp. 457-458).⁶⁸

Table 2.6 Converbs in Written Mongolian

Converbs	Suffix	Meaning
Imperfective	<i>-ju/-jü; -ču/-čü</i>	‘(while/ by) doing something...’
Perfective	<i>-γad/-ged</i>	‘after doing something...’
Conditional	<i>-bal/-bel (-basu/-besü)</i>	‘if someone does something...’
Concessive	<i>-baču/-bečü</i>	‘although/ even if someone does something...’
Modal	<i>-n</i>	‘(while/ by) doing something...’
Terminal	<i>-tala/-tele</i>	‘until someone does sth.’
Durative/Abtemporale	<i>-γsayar/-gseger</i>	‘while someone is doing something...’

⁶⁸ The converb with the suffixes *-ngyuda/-nggüde* and *-ngyan/-nggen* can also denote a main action that is immediately performed after a dependent action is finished (Tianfeng et al., 2013, p. 276). It should be noted that the suffix *-ngyuda/-nggüde* is dialectal. Newly developing converbal forms include *-γsan-ača-öger_e* ‘other than doing something’ (< *-γsan* = PRF.PTCP + *-ača* = ABL + *öger_e* ‘other’ = POST), *-γsan-qoyin_a* ‘after doing something’ (< *-γsan* = PRF.PTCP + *qoyin_a* ‘after’ = POST), and *Tv-qu tutum iyan* ‘the more...the more...’ (< *Tv-qu* = FUT.PTCP + *tutum* ‘each’ + *-iyan* = REF.POSS) (IMU, 2005, pp. 530-531).

Table 2.6 (Continued)

Converbs	Suffix	Meaning
Successive	<i>-qula/-küle; -qular/-küler;</i> <i>-qunar</i>	‘as soon as somebody did something...’
Anticipative (Contemporale)	<i>-maγča/-megče;</i> <i>-naran/-neren</i>	‘as soon as somebody did something...’ (less commonly used)
Preparative	<i>-manjin/-menjin; -man/-men</i> <i>(-r_u-n/-r_ü-n)</i>	‘in consequence of doing something’

2.6.2.3 Analytical forms and constructions

A special construction can be constituted from combinations of converbal or participial forms of the lexical verbs and auxiliary forms of existential verbs such as *bayi-/bol-* ‘be’. I will call such a structure an “analytical construction” here, which is in sharp contrast with the general synthetic way to express grammatical meanings which involves agglutinative suffixes in Mongolian and other Altaic languages. The “analytical verbal form”⁶⁹ refers to the combination of converbal or participial forms of lexical verb and finite forms of existentials in their auxiliary functions. Analytical constructions are used to denote various aspectual and modal meanings.

In Mongolian, there are two groups of auxiliary verbs. Group I includes the following lexical verbs in their auxiliary functions: *ög-* ‘give’, *ab-* ‘take’, *ire-* ‘come’, *oči-* ‘go’, *γar-* ‘exit’, *üje-* ‘see’, *ali-* ‘give’, *yabu-* ‘go’, *alda-* ‘lose’, *orki-* ‘lose; throw away’, *sayu-* ‘sit’, *mede-* ‘know’, *ol-* ‘get’, *kele-* ‘say’, *oro-* ‘enter’ etc. Group II includes the existentials *bayi-* ‘be’, *bol-* ‘be; become’ and verbs formed from the verbal stems *a-* ‘be’ and *bü-* ‘be’ which are bound forms (IMU, 2005; Garudi et al., 2001).⁷⁰

The auxiliary verbs in group I are mainly used together with the imperfective converb in the suffix *-ju/-ču*, the perfective converb in *-γad/-ged* and the modal converb in *-n* to denote various meanings that are closely related to aspect and modality. One important feature of the verbs in group I is that they still partially preserve their lexical meanings. Note the relevant examples of analytical constructions below (IMU, 2005, pp. 487-491; Garudi et al., 2001):

⁶⁹ For more information about auxiliary verbs in Written Mongolian, see Yoshitake (1929); see Kwon (1998) for auxiliary verb constructions in Khalkha Mongolian, where the “auxiliary verb constructions” describe exactly the same phenomenon as the analytical constructions we analyse here.

⁷⁰ There exists an opinion (IMU, 2005, p. 492) that in comparison to other auxiliary verbs, verbal forms (defective verbs) derived from the stems *a-* ‘be’ and *bü-* ‘be’ are considered to be more grammaticalised; the auxiliary verbs which are formed from the stems *a-* ‘be’ and *bü-* ‘be’ are used as copulae in the forms of *ajai ~ aji*, *san* (< **aysan* < **a-* ‘be’ + *-γsan* = PRF.PTCP), *bülüge*, etc. The so-called defective verbs are remnants of conjugational forms of the verbs *a-* ‘be’ and *bü-* ‘be’ in the pre-classical period; according to Kullmann and Tserenpil (1996, p. 200, cited in Umetani, 2013, p. 311), in the pre-classical period “they could be fully conjugated as any other verb. But today, only leftovers of these verb conjugations are left and they are mainly used in literary language.”

(1) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* /Tv-*γad/-ged* /Tv-*n* + *ög-* ‘give’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction is used to express: 1) the completive/perfective aspectual meaning; or 2) the action is accomplished for the benefit of others rather than the speaker. Note the following example:

(2-122) *bolod nada du nige dayuu dayula-ǰu ög-gö-l_e.*
PN 1SG DAT.LOC one song sing-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-CONN-PST
‘Bolod has sung a song for me (to please me).’

(2) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* /Tv-*γad/-ged* /Tv-*n* + *ab-* ‘take’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction is used to express: 1) an action is accomplished in a particular period of time (normally in a hurry) for the benefit of the speaker or the agent; or 2) an action lasts only for a short while. Note the following examples (taken from IMU, 2005, with my own translations):

(2-123) *arulu γuv_a yi mangγus, qatun iyan bol-γa-n*
PN charming ACC monstor wife REF.POSS be-CAUS-CVB
ab-u-ba.
take (AUX)-CONN-PST
‘As for the charming Arulu, the monstor made (her) become his wife (to the benefit of himself).’

(2-124) *arslan ebügen güyü-ǰü bos-o-γad yildü ber*
PN old.man run-IPFV.CVB get.up-CONN-PRF.CVB sabre/sword INS
iyen tere čilayu yi kedü kedü čabči-γad
REF.POSS that stone/rock ACC several several chop-PRF.CVB
ab-u-l_a ge-n_e.
take (AUX)-CONN-PST say-PRS > it.is.said.that
‘It is said that the old man Arslan has chopped that rock a few times (at one go) with his sabre, after he got up in a hurry (lit.: running).’

(3) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* /Tv-*n* + *üǰe-* ‘see’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction is used to express the meaning of ‘try doing sth.’ or ‘attempt to do sth.’. Note the following example:

(2-125) *či öber iyen dasqal iyan ki-ǰü üǰe-ø.*
2SG self REF.POSS assignment REF.POSS do-IPFV.CVB see (AUX)-IMP
‘Try to do your homework by yourself.’

(4) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* + *orki-* ‘throw; abandon’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the completive (perfective) aspectual meaning; sometimes it expresses the speaker’s discontent. Note the following example:

(2-126) *bi tere yabudal yi marta-ǰu orki-ǰai.*
1SG that matter ACC forget-IPFV.CVB throw (AUX)-PST
‘I have forgotten that matter.’

(5) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* + *mede-* ‘know’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the epistemic modality of possibility or probability, meaning ‘something is possible’ or ‘someone may do something’. Note the following example:

(2-127) *abu önödör surγayuli du ire-ǰü mede-n_e.*
father today school DAT.LOC come-IPFV.CVB know (AUX)-PRS/FUT

‘Father may come to school today.’

(6) Tv-*ǰu/-ču* + *sayu-* ‘sit’/*yabu-* ‘go’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the continuous aspectual meaning. Note the following example:

(2-128) *tere edürǰin naǰad-ču yabu-n_a.*
3SG all.day.long play-IPFV.CVB go (AUX)-PRS
‘He/she is playing all day long.’

Sometimes this analytical construction denotes the modal meaning of unwillingness (IMU, 2005, p. 490), where context seems to play a role in expressing the meaning of discontent. Note the following example (taken from IMU, 2005, p. 490, translation is mine):

(2-129) *bay_a dayan ǰaqai qariǰul-ǰu yabu-ǰai.*
young/little DAT.LOC.REF.POSS pig herd/graze-IPFV.CVB go (AUX)-PST
‘When (sb.) was young, he herded pigs (unwillingly).’

(7) Tv-*ǰu/-ču*/Tv-*ǰad/-ged* + *ire-* ‘come’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction can express the following meanings: 1) an action is oriented towards (or is accomplished for) the speaker; 2) it is time to accomplish an action (or to be in a certain state). Note the following examples (taken from IMU, 2005, with my translations):

(2-130) *külüg (~kölög) ün ǰiloyo kürbe-gül-ü-ged ire-l_e;*
a.strong.and.swift.horse GEN reins turn.over-CAUS-CONN-PRF.CVB come (AUX)-PST
küčü ǰarǰa-ǰu tulu-ǰad ire-l_e.
strength take.out-IPFV.CVB fight-PRF.CVB come (AUX)-PST
‘(Sb.) has turned over the reins of a strong and swift horse; He/She has come (towards me) after fighting, taking out the strength.’

(2-131) *omoyisi-ǰad ire-bel oboy iyan marta-ǰad,*
be.arrogant-PRF.CVB come (AUX)-COND.CVB surname REF.POSS forget-PRF.CVB
qalasa-ǰad ire-bel qal ban
get.drunk-PRF.CVB come (AUX)-COND.CVB suffering REF.POSS
marta-ǰad, kele-ged ire-bel ǰoyso-qu ban
forget-PRF.CVB say-PRF.CVB come(AUX)-COND.CVB stop-FUT.PTCP REF.POSS
mede-kü ügei.
know-FUT.PTCP NEG

‘(Sb.) will forget his/her surname as he/she starts taking pride in oneself; (sb.) will forget his/her suffering as he/she starts getting drunk; (sb.) will does not know (how) to stop as he/she starts talking.’

(8) Tv-*ǰu/-ču*/Tv-*ǰad/-ged*/ Tv-*n* + *ǰar-* ‘exit’ (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the following meanings: 1) an action leads to a certain result; 2) an action continues in a definite period of time. Sometimes it has either a friendly or a pejorative connotation. Note the following examples:

(2-132) *tere ene bayidal yi üǰe-ǰü ǰar-čai.*
3SG this situation ACC look-IPFV.CVB exit (AUX)-PST
‘He/She has found out this situation.’

(2-133) *baysi ene angyi yin suruyči-d ača sal-ju*
 teacher this class GEN student-PL ABL separate -IPFV.CVB
γar-u-l_a.
 go.out (AUX)-CONN-PST

‘The teacher separated (lit.: finished separating) from this class of students.’

(2-134) *tede nige söni nayir-la-γad γar-čai.*
 3PL one night feast-DERv-PRF.CVB go.out (AUX)-PST

‘They feasted/celebrated for the whole night.’

It is noteworthy that the following construction can be treated as a special kind of analytical construction.

(9) *ol-‘get’ (AUX)-ju/-ču +Tv-*

This analytical construction expresses the modal meaning of possibility. Note the following example:

(2-135) *tere önö čimege yi ol-ju sonos-ba.*
 3SG this news ACC get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB hear-PST

‘He/She was able to hear this (piece of) news.’

The existential verbs in group II are mainly used to form analytical constructions which express different aspectual meanings. According to Garudi et al. (2001), the following analytical constructions can denote different aspectual meanings:

1) *Tv-ju/-ču + bayi-(AUX)* represents a progressive (continuing/continuous) action.

(2-136) *qoni-d keger_e tala deger_e belči-ju*
 sheep-PL field grassland on pasture-IPFV.CVB
bayi-n_a.
 be (AUX)-PRS

‘The sheep are grazing on the grassland.’

(2-137) *dayula-ju bayi-γ_a kömöš*
 sing-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP people

‘people who are/have been singing’

2) *Tv-γad/-ged + bayi-(AUX)* expresses a frequentative (repetitive) action.

(2-138) *bitegei marγu-ldu-γad bayi-ø.*
 DUB argue/dispute.RECP.PRF.CVB be-IMP

‘Don’t argue again and again.’

3) *Tv-γsayar/-gseger + bayi-(AUX)* expresses continuation of an action for a long time.

(2-139) *salki üliye-gseger bayi-l_a.*
 wind blow-CVB be (AUX)-PST

‘The wind kept blowing.’

4) *Tv-n + bayi-(AUX)* indicates that an action lasts for some time (a period). However, this analytical construction is rarely used (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 446).

(2-140) *orgil dayula-n bayi-n_a.*
 PN sing-CVB be (AUX)-PRS

‘Orgil is/has been singing for some time.’

(2-141) *oyun dayula-n bayi-l_a.*
 PN sing-CVB be (AUX)-PST
 ‘Oyun was singing for some time.’

Analytical constructions *Tv-qu/-kü + bayi-(AUX)* and *Tv-γsan/-gsen + bayi-(AUX)* denote different aspectual meanings.⁷¹ Note the following examples (taken from IMU, 2005, p. 493; p. 505):

(2-142) *busiyu yabu-y_a, boroyan oro-qu bayi-n_a.*
 quickly go-VOL rain drop/fall-FUT.PTCP be(AUX)-FUT/PRS
 ‘Let’s go quickly; it is going to rain.’ (future)

(2-143) *öçögedör ayula du yabu-qu bayi-ǰai.*
 yesterday mountain DAT.LOC go-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-PST
 ‘Yesterday, (sb.) was going to the mountain.’ (future)

(2-144) *lvnin inggi-ǰü biçi-gsen bayi-n_a.*
 PN do.like.this-IPFV.CVB write-PRF.PTCP be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘Lenin has written like this.’ (the perfective aspect)

(2-145) *lingqu_a kögsin... tayay iyan tulu-γsayar*
 PN elderly crutch/walking.stick REF.POSS prop/lean.on-CVB
oro-ǰu ire-gsen bayi-ǰai.
 enter-IPFV.CVB come (AUX)-PRF.PTCP be (AUX)-PST
 ‘The elderly Linghua...had entered (into the room), leaning on his walking stick.’
 (the perfective aspect)

Notably, the time of reference is expressed by the tense suffixes that are added to the auxiliary *bayi-* in these examples.

The analytical construction *Tv-qu/-kü + bol- (AUX)* is most commonly used to express the speaker’s decision to do something or the possibility of doing something while the constructions *Tv-γsan/-gsen + bol- (AUX)* and *Tv-day/-deg + bol- (AUX)* are seldom used; in comparison to *bayi-* ‘be’, the auxiliary verb *bol-* ‘be’ keeps more of its lexical meaning while functioning as an auxiliary verb (IMU, 2005, pp. 495-497).

(1) *Tv-γsan/-gsen + bol- (AUX)*

(2-146) *yayaki-γsan bol-ba?*
 do.what-PRF.PTCP be (AUX)-PST
 ‘What has happened?’

(2) *Tv-day/-deg + bol- (AUX)*

The analytical construction *Tv-day + bol- (AUX)* denotes the phasal meaning of “begin to do sth.”. Note the following example:

(2-147) *tegiin eče qoyin_a bi edür bolyan erte bos-day bol-ǰai.*
 that ABL after 1SG day every early get.up-PRS.PTCP be (AUX)-PST
 ‘Since then, I began to get up early every day.’ (inchoative aspectual meaning)

⁷¹ According to IMU (2005, P. 492) *Tv-qu/-kü + bayi-* and *Tv-γsan/-gsen + bayi-* denote complicated temporal meanings and various modal meanings, but the author did not clarify the specific temporal and modal meanings.

The analytical construction *Tv-ǰü = IPFV.CVB + bol-* (AUX) expresses the deontic modal meaning of permission, viz. ‘may/can do something’, as in the following example:

(2-148) *kömös ende sayu-ǰü bol-o-n_a.*
 people here sit-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONN-PRS/FUT
 ‘People may sit here.’

Notably, sometimes the existential *bol-* in the form of the present/future tenses (*bol-o-n_a* ‘may’) occurs by itself as an answer to a question to express the modal meaning of possibility “may”. Note the following example:

(2-149) Q.: *bi ger tegen qari-ǰü bol-o-n_a uu?*
 1SG house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS return-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONN-PRS INTR.PTCL
 ‘Can I go home?’

A.: *bol-o-n_a.*
 be (AUX)-CONN-PRS
 ‘Yes, you may.’

The analytical construction *Tv-qu + bol* (AUX)- denotes modal meanings in certain contexts:

(2-150) *sodo marǰaši yabu-qu bol-o-ǰad önödör nada*
 PN tomorrow go-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB today 1SG
tai aǰulǰa-qubar ire-ǰei.
 COM meet-CVB come-PST
 ‘Since Sodo was probably leaving the next day, he came to meet (with) me today.’
 (modal meaning of possibility)

2.7 Types of Syntactic Links in Mongolian

The subordinating relationship manifests itself both in the structure of word combinations and sentences (simple and complex correspondingly). In Mongolian, the grammatical means which are used to express subordinating syntactic relationships between words in word-combinations or in a complex sentence between clauses are the following: government, juxtaposition and izafet.

1) Government is used to denote a kind of subordinating relationship where the dependent component of a word combination displays a certain grammatical form required by its governing component. Normally verbs, including participles and converbs, serve as governing words in Mongolian. Government can be defined as either strong or weak, depending on whether the relationship between the dependent and governing components is obligatory (strong government) or not (weak dependence). Transitivity of the governing verb plays a determining role in the ability to govern strongly. Transitive verbs require certain case forms from dependent components which may function as direct or indirect objects. Both objects can be rendered by a single word form or a subordinate clause:

(2-151) *suryaltu busud i qabsur-ba.*
 PN others ACC help-PST
 ‘Surgaltu helped others.’

(2-152) *bi tegiün ü ire-kü yi mede-gsen.*
 1SG that > 3SG GEN come-FUT.PTCP ACC know-PRF.PTCP
 ‘I have known that he/she is coming.’ (lit.: ‘I have known (about) his/her coming.’)

(2-153) *bi degüü degen ayurla-γsan.*
 1SG younger.brother DAT.LOC.REF.POSS get.angry-PRF.PTCP
 ‘I am angry with my younger brother.’

(2-154) *bi tegiün ü ire-gsen dü bayarla-γsan.*
 1SG that > 3SG GEN come-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC get.happy-PRF.PTCP
 ‘I am glad that he/she has come.’

(2-155) *kömös bars ire-kü eče ayu-ǰaǰai.*
 people tiger come-FUT.PTCP ABL fear-PLV-PST
 ‘People were afraid that the tiger would come.’

(2-156) *bi bayši ača asaγu-ba.*
 1SG teacher ABL ask-PST
 ‘I asked the teacher.’

2) Juxtaposition is a grammatical means which is used to express subordinating relationships in which no morphological change happens to the form of the dependent component of a word combination. Normally, nouns denoting a quality or pronouns (demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite) and participles which serve as attributes are combined with the governing words by this grammatical means; sometimes the dependent component can be either adverbs or converbs, serving as adverbial modifiers, as in the following examples:

(2-157) *sayin sedkil*
 kind heart
 ‘kind heart’

(2-158) *ene kömön*
 this person
 ‘this person’

(2-159) *qurdun güyü-φ.*
 fast run-IMP
 ‘Run fast.’

(2-160) *küčüle-n čirmai-φ.*
 make.effort-CVB strive-IMP
 ‘Strive with effort.’

In addition, the syntactic link which is formed by means of juxtaposition can be either tight or loose. Normally an adverbial modifier of manner leads to a tighter link with the predicate than adverbial modifiers of time and place (with the predicate).

3) The phenomenon “izafet”, the term itself borrowed from Turkic studies, can be seen in Mongolian. It refers to attributive word combinations, whose components are expressed by two nouns.⁷²

It is important to note that according to the contemporary understanding of general morphology, only N1+N2-3POSS (“izafet II”) and N1-GEN +N2-3POSS (“izafet III”) should be regarded as the grammatical device of “izafet”. Nichols (1986) proposes that grammatical relations can be expressed by two opposing types of morphological marking, viz. head-marking and dependent-marking. Izafet can be seen as a head-marking strategy (as opposed to a dependent-marking strategy, viz. to case marking). The morphological marking of a head noun indicates the existence of a dependent component; moreover, both components of the subordinating structure should be nouns and the structure differs from a verbal-noun combination, which also uses case-marking in its dependent component (Plungyan, 2000, cited in Gorelova, 2002). Therefore, in Mongolian, we have only one type of “izafet”, viz. N1-GEN +N2-3POSS (“izafet III”), in which possessive relationships between the two nominal components are expressed by the use of the genitive marker and the possessive particle, as in the following examples:

(2-161) *saran u ger ni suryayuli yin oyiralčay_a bayi-n_a.*
 PN GEN house 3POSS school GEN nearby be-PRS
 ‘Saran’s house is close to school.’
 ‘As for Saran’s house, it is close to school.’

The latter example shows that the third person possessive particle which is used to form izafet tends to serve as a topicaliser (*saran u ger ni* ‘as for Saran’s house’ can be analysed as a topic.)

On the whole, the objective, adverbial and attributive relationships are mostly found in the subordinating structure of word combinations in Mongolian (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 517).

Coordination is another important grammatical means that is used to link words and sentences in Mongolian. It stands in contrast to subordination, because the formal expression of one component is not subordinate to the other; the components have a symmetrical relationship both semantically and syntactically. By means of coordinative relationships, a group of grammatical expressions (words, word-combinations and sentences) can share equal status between the components and perform the same syntactic function in the parts of the sentence. The following are some examples of word combinations and compound sentences which are formed by this kind of syntactic link:

(2-162) *ajilčin тариачин бол ködelmöri-čid.*
 worker farmer TOP work/labour-PL
 ‘Workers and farmers are labourers.’

⁷² In Turkology, there are four types of attributive word combinations whose components are linked by means of “izafet”, namely: N1+ N2 (“izafet I”), N1+N2-3POSS (“izafet II”), N1-GEN +N2-3POSS (“izafet III”) and N1-GEN + N2 (“izafet IV”) (Maizel, 1957; Kononov, 1956, pp. 411-412; Ubryatova, 1950, p.39, p.43, cited in Gorelova, 2002, pp. 388-393).

(2-163) *tede ide-ǰü uuryu-ǰu bayi-n_a.*
 3PL eat-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘They are eating and drinking.’

(2-164) *tere šangnal ol-o-γsan böged baγši du ban*
 that > 3SG award gain-CONN-PRF.PTCP CONJ teacher DAT.LOC REF.POSS
mayta-γda-ǰai.
 praise-PASS-PST
 ‘He gained awards and (he) was praised by the teacher.’

Coordinating conjunctions such as *ba* ‘and’, *kiged* ‘and’, *bolon* ‘and’ are used to link words in coordinative relationships (IMU, 2005, p. 592), as in the following example:

(2-165) *aǰilčün ba tariyačün bol ködelmöri-čid.*
 worker CONJ farmer TOP work/labour-PL
 ‘Workers and farmers are labourers.’

Parallelism is an important formal grammatical means of expressing coordination in Mongolian. The parallel parts of the compound sentence have the same grammatical structure and are composed of the same number of words with the same word order, as in the following example (IMU, 2005, p. 581; translation is mine):

(2-166) *γalba yirtinčü yi sayi egüs-kü yin üy_e*
 era world/universe ACC just.before begin/arise-FUT.PTCP GEN period/era
dü γal ulayan naran yi odon bayi-qu yin uy_e dü...
 DAT.LOC fire red sun ACC star be-FUT.PTCP GEN period DAT.LOC
 Note: *γal ulayan* ‘fiery red’ < *γal* ‘fire’ + *ulayan* ‘red’
 ‘When the universe first arose; when the fiery red sun was still a star...’

In addition, there is a special grammatical means that is used to express the predicative relationship between a subject and a predicate in Mongolian (as in all Altaic languages), both the subject and the predicate sharing equal rights. This kind of linkage can be called correlation.⁷³ Correlation is mostly seen in nominal predication. The relationship between a subject and a predicate is correlation and it can be expressed by several patterns; some of them can be supported by particles which mark the subject and the predicate. The subject indicator is often used when the predicate is a nominal. In Mongolian, there are the following subject markers: *ni*, *čini*, *anu*, *inü*, *bol*, *bolbal* (< *bol* ‘be’ + *-bal* = COND.CVB), *bolbasu* (< *bol* ‘be’ + *-basu* = COND.CVB), *bügesü* (*bü-* ‘be’ + *-gesü* = COND.CVB), *gegči* (< *ge-* ‘say’ + *-gči* = AGT.PTCP), *gedeg* (‘say’ + *-deg* = PRS.PTCP) and the particle *ber* etc. (IMU, 2005, p. 616; Garudi et al., 2001, p. 524; Poppe, 1970, p. 154; Poppe, 1954, p. 139).⁷⁴ All these

⁷³ Some scholars consider the syntactic relationship between a subject and a predicate to be a kind of subordination, viz. government (IMU, 2005, p. 583).

⁷⁴ In Janhunen (2003, p. 53), the particle *ber* is shown as *bar*. I think the difference is simply a matter of transcription. This topicaliser should not be confused with the instrumental case marker. Janhunen (2003) also considers *bul* and *buiγasu* to be topicalisers. According to my transliteration, they are *bol* and *buiγasu* (< *bui* ‘be’ + *-γasu* = COND.CVB) respectively. Garudi et al. (2001, p. 525) suggest the existence of other subject markers, namely the particles *ču* and *la* and the nouns *kömön* and *γuvai*, which are used to distinguish the subject from other parts of the sentence. Garudi et al. (2001) maintain that word combinations such as *gedeg bol*, *gedeg čini*, *gedeg ni*, *gegči bol*, *gegči ni*, *ni ču* and *gedeg čini bol* can also

subject markers can function as nominalisers and topicalisers.⁷⁵ The words *gegči* and *gedeg* normally appear together with *ni* or *čini*. It should be noted that *anu*, *inü*, *bolbasu*, *bügesü* and *ber* are subject designators which were widely used in Classical Mongolian, but they are rarely used now.

The pronouns *anu* and *inü* are preferably treated as markers of definiteness in Janhunen (2003, p. 53). Particles such as *mön* and *yum* can be seen as predicate markers. A nominal sentence can be formed on the basis of the pattern (structure): S {N *bol*/ N *čini* /N *ni*/Tv *ni*/Tv *čini*} = = P {N/ N + COP = *bui* / N + EXIST = *bayi*-/*bol*-)/ N + *yum*/*mön*/*siu*}. Some examples are given below:

(2-167) *tedeger kömöš bol γool ayul mön.*
 those people TOP main risk/danger PTCL
 ‘As for those people, (they) are main dangers.’

(2-168) *kökeqota yayaki-γsan sayiqan bui!*
 Hohhot do.what-PRF.PTCP beautiful/good COP
 ‘How beautiful Hohhot is!’

(2-169) *tere čini ködelmöri yin бүтүгел siü.*
 that TOP labour/work GEN achievement PTCL
 ‘As for that, (it) is a labour fruit.’

(2-170) *qoyar qoyar ni dörbe bol-o-n_a.*
 two two subject.indicator four be-CONN-PRS
 ‘Two times two is four.’

(2-171) *ide-kü ni er_e bars, ki-kü ni*
 eat-FUT.PTCP NR > TOP male tiger do/act-FUT.PTCP NR > TOP
qašang buq_a.
 slow/lazy b bull
 ‘As far as eating is concerned, (someone) is (energetic like) a male tiger; as far as working is concerned, (someone) is (slow like) a lazy bull.’

(2-172) *köke bol bayši bayi-žai.*
 PN TOP teacher be-PST
 ‘Khohe was a teacher.’

Apart from subject markers, punctuation marks are also used to highlight a subject in Written Mongolian; in colloquial Mongolian, intonation can also indicate a subject (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 524).

become subject indicators and they are mainly used in certain genres. It should be noted that *mini* and *gekü* (< *ge*- ‘to say’ + *-kü* = FUT.PTCP) are also treated as subject markers in Tianfeng et al. (2013, p. 403).

⁷⁵ When the subject is expressed by a participle or a clause with a participial head, *ni* is always used as the subject marker. If *bol* is used after a participle, it will express a conditional meaning (IMU, 2005, p. 617). In my view, IMU (2005) implies that only *ni* can be used as a nominaliser, but I believe *čini* can also become a nominaliser. IMU (2005) also suggests that a subject indicator or a comma (i.e. a pause) is used to distinguish the subject from other parts of the sentence when there is a risk of ambiguity, e.g. when a nominal subject is immediately followed by another noun which is not a subject; a subject indicator is used when the subject is expressed by a nominal, a demonstrative pronoun or a numeral. Similar ideas can be found in Poppe (1970, p. 155).

CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Literature Review of EAT and DRINK Verbs

The verb ‘to eat’ is polysemous in many languages (Kiryu, 2008). Newman (2009) has carried out a cross-linguistic study of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’, providing us with an overview of their linguistic properties, including the lexicalisation of generic consumption verbs.¹ He maintains that two sources are involved in figurative extensions of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ constructions across languages, i.e. (a) the consumer’s sensation when he/she is ingesting; (b) the destruction (or disappearance) of the entity which is consumed. These dual aspects of ingestion, which are “simultaneous but distinct aspects” of the acts of eating and drinking, are related to the motivation of atypical kinds of transitive ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ constructions in some languages (Newman, 2009, p. 1). He also reviews grammaticalisations of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ predicates. By grammaticalisation is meant, the loss of the original lexical meaning of consumption for EAT and DRINK verbs and denotation of certain grammaticalised extensions (aspectual meanings) such as completion (finality) of a change or continuity and repetitiveness of an action, e.g. the perfective meaning for EAT and the frequentative meaning for DRINK. Note the following example from Chepang (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal):

(3-1) *lw noh-jeʔ jeʔ-jeʔ*
right take-eat.SUFFIX eat-eat.SUFFIX
‘Take it then and eat it up!’ (Caughley 1982, p. 97, cited in Newman, 2009, p. 8)

The above is a grammaticalised example of *jeʔ* ‘eat’ as in the second verbal form *jeʔ-jeʔ* where the second *-jeʔ* is a verbal suffix.

Interestingly, Wierzbicka (2009) argues that in some languages like Kalam (Papuan) and Warlpiri (Australian) there is no word meaning ‘eat’ or ‘drink’. Only a unitary concept of eating and drinking is available. Like Wierzbicka (2009), Aikhenvald (2009) claims that in Manambu (Papua New Guinea) the same verb *ke-* is used to denote the notions of ‘eating’, ‘drinking’, ‘smoking’ and some other figurative extensions of ‘eating’. It is argued that the object arguments (e.g. types of food or drink consumed) of these verbs can be used to disambiguate the semantics of these verbal predicates.

Heath and McPherson (2009) have described a broad lexicalisation strategy for Dogon (Niger-

¹ For example, in a number of languages, a generic verb ‘consume’ is used to cover both senses, i.e. eating and drinking. See Newman (2009, p. 3) for concrete examples.

Congo) action verbs such as ‘eat’. They argue that there is no general ‘eat’ verb in Dogon languages, i.e. several verbs correlate with different types of food. However, these ‘eat’ verbs all profile manner or process rather than object classes. For Jamsay (one Dogon language), there are eight different verbs which denote the meaning of ‘eat’ when the object differs from meat to fruit, all profiling the manner or process rather than object class. Below are two examples of lexicalisations of ‘eat’ in Jamsay (Heath and McPherson, 2009, p. 42):

(3-2) *kó*: ‘eat (meat)’ ‘(animal) devour (prey)’

(3-3) *cé*: ‘(person, mouse, bird) nibble or peck off a little bit of (a fruit)’ ‘(grasshopper) bite off and eat (millet grains)’

In contrast, English *eat* is commonly used to denote “completed acts of consumption”, which is result or function, making limited reference to manner (Heath and McPherson, 2009, p. 42). Heath & McPherson (2009, p. 40) argue that a broad lexicalisation strategy “reflects a cognitive set profiling manner and/or process rather than result and/or function”. In their words, “Dogon languages lexicalise action verbs with obligatory reference to manner and/or process” while “Standard Average European” (Whorf, 1956, p. 138, cited in Heath & McPherson, 2009) languages including English (in neutral contexts) “profile result and/or function” (Heath & McPherson, 2009, p. 38). Their study gives several explanatory frameworks, i.e. the language-typological, techno-environmental, evidential and ethno-psychological interpretations to account for the reason why Dogon speakers show different cognitive orientations toward observable actions in comparison to English and other “Standard Average European” speakers (Heath & McPherson, 2009).

To sum up, there are a number of studies which explore both EAT and DRINK verbs from functional, cognitive or typological perspectives (Næss, 2009; Amberber, 2009; Aikhenvald, 2009; Wierzbicka, 2009; Yamaguchi, 2009; Song 2009 etc.).

In the following, I will discuss previous studies of EAT and DRINK verbs across languages from various perspectives.

3.1.1 Review of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ from cognitive and typological perspectives

A number of studies on ‘eat’ have been done in Mandarin Chinese² from a cognitive perspective (Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, whereas Mongolian belongs to the Altaic language family, which is genetically unrelated to and typologically different from Chinese). Tao (2000) argues that the argument structure of *chī* ‘eat’ varies in actual language use and is dynamic in nature.

² ‘Mandarin Chinese’ is shortened to ‘Chinese’ in the following discussion.

Frequency of language use and the principle of prototypicality which is widely observed in human cognition have also shaped the evolution path of the dynamic process of argument structure change; to be specific, the expansion of arguments first starts from the prototypical argument types, and then spreads to the non-prototypical ones on whose basis the metonymic usage may develop (Tao, 2000, p. 25). Another cognitive study on the Chinese verb *chī* is by Zhang (2012). He believes that a verb, together with its frequently co-occurring nouns which are readily evoked, forms a composite symbolic unit, which he calls a “verb’s basic construction” (Zhang, 2012, p. 174). Zhang (2012) notes that polysemous (polysemantic) verbs do not exist independently. They are involved in specific argument-structure constructions which represent events. Thus, meaning changes of the verb *chī* are caused by the interaction between the verb *chī* and different nouns collocating with it. Zhang (2012) shows special event schema and gestalt effect of *chī* construction and gives relevant interpretations of metaphor and metonymy.³ He also implies that “entrenched chunks” are involved in the construction (Zhang, 2012, p. 175).

As Lu (2014, p. 68) points out, Dong (2004) adopts Idealised Cognitive Model in his study of the Chinese verb *chī* ‘eat’ and regards non-patient elements following the verb (such as *shítáng* ‘dining hall’, *dà wǎn* ‘big bowl’ and *gōngzī* ‘salary’) as adverbials rather than objects.⁴ In contrast, Wang (2000) treats *shítáng* ‘canteen’ as a metonymic form of object in his study (Lu, 2014).

The relatively recent study comes from Lu (2014), which is a case study of the Chinese verb *chī* ‘eat’ where she makes an extensive exploration of the irregular collocations of V + NP in Chinese. Lu (2014) first gives a cognitive frame⁵ of the verb *chī*, which is a network of inter-related concepts such as the eater, the food, and the time, and subsequently discusses the various collocations of *chī*.

She maintains that the three cognitive principles proposed by Langacker (1991), namely principles of prominence, specificity and perspective, co-function for the realization of these concepts at the syntactic level (Lu, 2014, p. 63). According to these cognitive principles, the various concepts which are related to the cognitive frame of the verb *chī* ‘eat’ are given different degrees of prominence, leading to different syntactic statuses. Normally, the subject is related to Agent and the object to Patient, while other concepts such as Location, Time and Instrument correspond to adverbials in linguistic expressions of these concepts. However, in accordance with the communicative need of the speaker, extra prominence can be added to certain concepts so that the normal syntactic statuses will be rearranged due to changes in the original prominence scalar. This explains the existence of the irregular

³ For further elaboration of ‘metaphor’ and ‘metonymy’, see Chapter 5.

⁴ The tone marks on the Chinese forms are added by me. The authors of the reviewed articles do not use tone marks.

⁵ Ungerer and Schmid (2001, p. 211) view a frame as “a type of cognitive model which represents the knowledge and beliefs pertaining to specific and frequently recurring situations” (Lu, 2014, p. 65).

collocation *chī shítáng* ‘eat dining hall’, where the concept of Location, *shítáng* ‘dining hall’, is given extra prominence by speakers due to their communicative needs so that the adverbial *shí táng* ‘dining hall’ is rearranged into the position of object. By the collocation *chī shítáng* ‘eat canteen’, the speaker wants to express the idea that someone eats in the dining hall of an institution where special meals, which may not be as tasty as homemade food, are provided for workers for their convenience and speed. Hence, speakers need to make some cognitive effort to understand the meanings of such seemingly ungrammatical collocations (Lu, 2014). Lu (2014) also explicitly states that the “object is never a homogeneous concept” and the prototypical object of *chī*, “including both concrete and abstract food”, is the Patient (Lu, 2014, p. 69). Lu (2014) uses the term “abstract” in the sense that words such as *shāokǎo* ‘barbecue’ occur after the verb *chī* ‘eat’, e.g. in *chī shāokǎo* ‘eat barbecue’, which for me is just a case of metonymy (here the food is presented as a type of cooking). Other examples are *chī hóngshāo* ‘eat (meat) braised in soy sauce’ and *chī qīngzhēng* ‘eat (meat) steamed in clear soup’, where *hóngshāo* ‘braised in soy sauce’ and *qīngzhēng* ‘steamed in clear soup’ are treated as ‘abstract food’ by Lu (2014) which occur in the position of object where the real object ‘food’ or ‘meat’ is omitted by the speaker due to communicative needs. In addition, there is also an imaginative (or a figurative) Patient realized by means of metonymy, e.g. in *chī dà wǎn* ‘eat big bowl’, the container ‘bowl’ is used to stand for the food contained inside.

Cognitive studies of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ have been carried out for many languages other than Chinese.⁶ Following the cognitive approach of metaphor proposed in Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987) and Lakoff & Turner (1989), where the metaphor is defined as a mapping between two conceptual domains (a source domain and a target domain), Newman (1997) argues that the concepts of eating and drinking are based on basic human experiences and function as source domains for metaphorical extensions in English. The target domain is a relatively abstract conceptual structure which is based on the source domain; and it includes the emotional domain, the intellectual domain and the psychological domain. Likewise, Agbo (2011) accounts for the metaphorical mappings of syntactic constructions with the verb *ri* ‘eat’ in Igbo.⁷ He maintains that, as Newman (1997; 2009) and Jaggar and Buba (2009) have clearly demonstrated, verbs of ingestion such as ‘eat’ are linked to human conceptualisation and categorisation of the physical experiences of the world (Agbo, 2011). He uses the theoretical orientation of cognitive linguistics to carry out his investigation of the Igbo verb *ri* ‘eat’ and maintains that “human cognition operates metaphorically and that metaphor can be used to identify the link between cognition and culture” (Agbo, 2011, p. 8). In order to record the metaphorical

⁶ For more cognitive studies of the verb *chī* ‘eat’ in Chinese, refer to Zeng (2013), Dong (2011), Zhang (2010) and Wang (2009) among many others.

⁷ Igbo is one of the major indigenous languages of Nigeria, which belongs to the Niger-Congo family of languages.

extension of syntactic constructions with the verb *ri*, he maps the basic activities of eating from its source domain onto various target domains which are more abstract and metaphorical. He systematically distinguishes between the two categories of target domains, actor-oriented and undergoer-oriented⁸ metaphorical extensions.

Agbo (2011, p. 9) claims that actor-oriented extensions can be interpreted as “incorporating something into one’s personal or private life” as described by Newman (1997, p. 216) and “the property of the subject NP in the clause motivates the metaphorical extension”; i.e. the role of the Agent is more important than that of the Patient in the clause when it comes to metaphorical expressions (Agbo, 2011, pp. 9-10). He (p. 31) gives the following target domains of eating expressions within the actor-oriented category: instilling discipline, enjoying the gains of enterprise, enjoying wealth or legacy and escaping danger. According to him, in contrast to agent-oriented extension, in clauses with undergoer-oriented extensions, the adversative feature of the undergoer is prominent in encoding the meaning of metaphor and syntactic constructions should be transitive. The undergoer-oriented metaphorical extensions where ‘eat’ verbs occur include the domains of mental pain, falling in love, loss of life, punishment and profligacy (Agbo, 2011).

In contrast, Næss (2009) argues that ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ verbs are cross-linguistically atypical as transitive predicates, because in a prototypical transitive clause structure, Agent and Patient arguments are maximally semantically distinct, whereas ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ verbs have an “affected agent”,⁹ i.e. the consumer is an agent which is affected by the activity of consuming at the same time. Therefore, “EAT and DRINK verbs are not prototypically transitive” (Næss, 2009, p. 27).¹⁰

Similar to Næss’ (2009) work, Amberber (2009) discusses causativization patterns of EAT and DRINK verbs in such typologically diverse languages as Amharic (Semitic), Malayalam (Dravidian) and Berber (Afroasiatic) and reveals that these verbs sometimes behave like intransitive predicates. Rice (2009) explores ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ verbs in Athapaskan languages and suggests that a set of classificatory verb stems are used to classify a relational participant (theme or patient) based on its

⁸ The actor can be characterised as “the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate”, and the undergoer as “the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way” (Foley & Van Valin, 1984, p. 29). Foley & Van Valin (1984, pp. 29-30) argue that actor and undergoer are “generalised semantic relations between a predicate and its arguments, but they are NOT to be equated with either Fillmorean case roles or Gruberian thematic relations such as agent, patient, or theme. NPs bearing a number of different case roles/ thematic relations may be an actor, and the same is true with respect to undergoer”; thus, they are “macroroles which subsume particular groups of Fillmorean case roles or Gruberian thematic relations”. The semantic possibilities of the actor include Agent, Instrument, Recipient/Goal, Experiencer and Source, while those of the undergoer may be Theme, Patient, Locative, Source and Recipient/Goal. For concrete examples, see Foley & Van Valin (1984, p. 30).

⁹ The affected agent refers to participants having the semantic features of being volitional, instigator and affected (Næss, 2007).

¹⁰ In Næss (2007) she proposed a similar idea.

relevant physical attribute, e.g. if the participant is round/compact, flat/flexible etc. In these languages, the role of the consumer is relatively unimportant.

Newman & Aberra (2009) investigate linguistic properties of EAT and DRINK verbs in Amharic (Semitic, Afroasiatic). They give a morphosyntactic analysis of these verbs, including their unusual causativisation patterning. Following Newman (1997), they argue that the experiential realities of eating and drinking acts motivate figurative extensions of EAT and DRINK verbs. Different categories of figurative extensions (internalisation, destruction and affected agent) reflect the different internal components of the experiential realities of eating and drinking.

Jaggar & Buba (2009) discuss a wide range of metaphorical extensions of *ci* ‘eat’ and *shaa* ‘drink’ in Hausa (Chadic/Afroasiatic). The two verbs are subject to different interpretations in terms of their metaphorical meanings: *ci* ‘eat’ denotes “overcoming” of a patient, typically with an animate agent; in contrast, *shaa* ‘drink’ denotes the meaning of “undergo”, usually with an experiencer subject which is non-agentive. They argue that the act of eating is higher in transitivity than that of drinking.

Yamaguchi (2009) discusses both the literal and figurative uses of EAT and DRINK verbs in Japanese. In addition to discussing the linguistic (morpho-syntactic), socio-cultural and historical properties of EAT and DRINK verbs, he also explores their metaphorical and metonymic extensions. He particularly stresses the importance of the honorific status of these verbs in establishing certain metaphorical expressions. He suggests that it is part of the Japanese cultural orientation that some figurative (metaphorical) EAT and DRINK verbs denote adverse (negative) states which are related to unhappiness. Likewise, Song (2009) emphasizes the socio-cultural significance of the acts of eating and drinking in Korean in motivating metonymic processes. He argues that the verb *mek-* ‘to eat’ is more likely to undergo metaphorical extension in comparison to *masi-* ‘to drink’ in Korean.

Hook & Pardeshi (2009) adopt both cognitive and lexical perspectives in their study of EAT expressions in the two Indo-Aryan languages of Hindi-Urdu and Marathi. From the cognitive perspective, it is argued that the experiential reality related to the act of eating functions as a source for various metaphorical extensions; to be specific, the different subcomponents of the action (event) of eating are used to express more abstract experiences in the two languages (they follow ideas stated in Newman, 1997; Newman 2009). From a lexical perspective, the historical, language-specific factors are taken into consideration to account for different degrees of idiomaticity regarding EAT in these languages.

Croft (2009) argues that the eating process comprises three phases (intake, process and ingestion). He connects Fillmore’s (1982) notion of frame semantics with a constructional analysis, given that the exploration of the argument structure of the verbs (i.e. *eat* and *feed*) and their modifiers (adjuncts) will

facilitate a better understanding of the concept of EAT and the domain (frame)¹¹ of this concept. He maintains that the domain matrix (the combination of domains which are simultaneously presupposed by the concept of EAT) includes three domains: physical, biological/nutritional and social domains, and these domains are clearly differentiated by means of distinct constructions in the corpus. Through discussing metaphors of ‘eat’ and ‘feed’ in the corpus, he reached a conclusion that challenges the Invariance Hypothesis proposed by Lakoff (1990), viz. the image schematic structure of the target domain plays a role in metaphorical mapping even if it does not exist in the source domain, which can be seen from the relevant *eat* and *feed* constructions (Croft, 2009, p. 26).¹²

Williams (1991) has performed a prototypical analysis of the Hausa¹³ verbs *ci* ‘eat’ and *shaa* ‘drink’, proposing that these two verbs should be considered as complex lexical categories that are radially structured. He argues that both *ci* ‘eat’ and *shaa* ‘drink’ occur in many idiomatic expressions and there is no unitary set of semantic features which can either define the various meanings of *ci* ‘eat’ or *shaa* ‘drink’. He proposes that the two verbs have central meanings, each serving as their own prototypical meanings, which are linked to extensions of the prototypical meanings by means of metaphorical, image schematic and other semantic projections (Williams, 1991). For example, *ci* has the prototypical meaning of ‘eat solids’, while the central meaning of *shaa* is represented as ‘drink liquids’. *Ci* displays other metaphorical meanings such as ‘incur’, ‘take in’, ‘seize’, ‘exhaust supply’, which are all linked to its central meaning. Since one’s body can be seen as a container (Johnson, 1987), ‘eating difficulty’ in Hausa means ‘suffering’, while ‘eating luck’ means ‘lucky’. Similarly, *shaa* has four extensions of meaning: ‘undergo’, ‘absorb’, ‘diffuse’ and ‘do a lot of’ (Williams, 1991, p. 333). He also argues that there can be certain overlaps among various extensions of *ci* ‘eat’ and *shaa* ‘drink’. For example, the metaphorical extension of *ci*, ‘incur’, is similar to that of *shaa*, ‘undergo’, while ‘take in’ is similar to ‘absorb’.

Kiryu (2008) discusses several extended meanings of the Newar (Tibeto-Burman) verb *naye* ‘eat’ in his study under Pardeshi et al.’s (2006) eating categories which will be discussed in the following

¹¹ Based on Fillmore’s (1982) ideas, Croft & Cruse (2004, p. 14) define a frame as “a coherent region of human knowledge, or as a coherent region of conceptual space”.

¹² In a metaphorical mapping, what is mapped from the source domain to the target domain is an abstract structure, known as image schematic structure (Croft, 2009, p. 21). According to Johnson (1987, p. 29), image schemata are “*structures for organising our experience and comprehension*” (*italics original*). Similarly, Langacker (2008, p. 32) described them as patterns of mental activity which are abstracted from everyday bodily experience.

The Invariance Hypothesis states that “Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (this is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain” (Lakoff, 1990, p. 54). Based on the Invariance Hypothesis, there must be an image schematic structure in the source domain and it should be compatible with the image schematic structure of the target domain in order to be mapped into the target domain. Contrary to this assumption, Croft (2009, p. 24) suggests that the image schematic structure does not need to exist in the source domain in a metaphorical mapping and the image-schematic structure of the target domain by itself can participate in the metaphor.

¹³ Hausa is a Chadic language which is spoken primarily in northern Nigeria and southern Niger (Williams, 1991).

paragraphs. He gives a variety of extended (i.e. metaphorical) meanings¹⁴ of *naye*. Kiryu (2008) supports Pardeshi et al.’s (2006) view that the semantic complexity of ‘eat’ leads to the various extended meanings of the verb. He maintains that the basic aspects of the action of eating, which serve as sources for its semantic extension, exhibit the properties¹⁵ listed in Table 3.1 (Kiryu, 2008).

Table 3.1 Properties of main aspects of ‘eat’ (Kiryu 2008, p. 2)

(1) Making an item decrease as it is consumed.
(2) Making it disappear.
(3) Incorporating one thing in another.
(4) Absorbing the properties of the item eaten.
(5) Reacting to the properties of the eaten item.
(6) Outward display or reflection of the properties of the item eaten.
(7) Coming in intimate bodily contact with something.
(8) Use of the mouth.
(9) Living on or depending on the items that are eaten.

Notably, some examples relating to the verb *naye* ‘eat’ form a fixed structure of “the affected entities (patient) + the affecting entities (agent) +V”; Kiryu (2008) describes the part “the affecting entities (agent) +V” as “an idiom chunk” or “an idiomatic chunk” (Kiryu, 2008, p. 5). It seems that his definition of “chunks” is based only on the structural criterion of fixedness. However, his focus is not on chunks, so he does not discuss this topic further. Kiryu (2008) concludes that in Newar only some eating expressions pertain to Pardeshi et al.’s (2006) categories.

Later, Pramodini (2010) does a similar study by examining the Manipuri (Tibeto-Burman) verb *ca-* ‘eat’ in the context of Pardeshi et al.’s (2006) categories. He states that *ca-* ‘eat’ is “a rich source of metaphorical extensions into a variety of cognate semantic domains” (Pramodini, 2010, p. 1). He examines in detail some interesting clausal properties of ‘eat’ predicates, showing the conceptualisation of an ‘eat’ event. He points out that the meanings of *ca-* associate with consumption of non-edible items (e.g. torment), and that some idiomatic expressions can be quite opaque semantically. He argues that in most commonly used eating metaphors in Manipuri, an animate or inanimate agent which functions as the subject overcomes (or controls) a patient or theme (Pramodini, 2010).

Some authors such as Pardeshi et al. (2006) have related semantic (cognitive) features of EAT

¹⁴ These meanings include: (a) ‘to take illegal benefit’; (b) ‘to make a living by eating’; (c) ‘to pester someone’; and (d) ‘to enjoy life and so forth’ (Kiryu, 2008, p. 3).

¹⁵ These properties are based on Pardeshi et al.’s (2006) views. According to them, the main aspects of ‘eat’ also include other properties “still to be articulated” (Pardeshi et al., 2006, p. 98).

expressions to relevant phenomena existing in areal linguistics. Using WALs¹⁶ maps they describe the geographic distribution¹⁷ and semantic extensions of verbs “denoting the experientially basic activity of eating” in selected languages of Asia (Pardeshi et al., 2006, p. 99). The languages which they study are: Turkish, Persian (West Asia), Uzbek, Tajik, Kyrgyz (Central Asia), Kashmiri, Hindi-Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Bangla, Sinhala (South Asia), Thai, Vietnamese, Khmer (Southeast Asia), Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Mongolian (East Asia) (Pardeshi et al., 2006). They use various sources such as dictionaries, websites and native speakers to collect data for their study. Notably, only a fraction of Mongolian eating expressions are dealt with in the study.

Based on Masica’s (1976) work, Pardeshi et al. (2006) maintain that particular extensions of the verb ‘eat’ are only found in a specific area where languages have a number of common typological characteristics, while some metaphorical extensions of the verb can be found in every language. Without denying the important role of language contact in the proliferation and convergence of eating expressions, they propose that the independent operation of a radial network of semantic extensions of ‘eat’ may contribute to its various meanings. They argue that in many Asian languages¹⁸ a verb meaning ‘eat’ shows “Janus-faced behaviour” (Pardeshi et al., 2006, p. 89), i.e. the subject of ‘eat’ can either bear the semantic role of an Agent or a Patient (Theme, or Experiencer). They classify the basic and extended uses of ‘eat’ under nine categories, based on the semantic role (of the subject) and the animacy of the subject and the abstractness of the object referents, which can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 EAT categories (adapted from Pardeshi et al, 2006, pp. 93-94)

Category A: [+animate, +agentive] Subject, [+edible] Object
Examples: {men, women, etc.} EAT {bread, water, cigarettes, betel leaf, etc.}
Category B: [+animate, +agentive] Subject, [-edible] Object
Examples: {men, women, etc.} EAT {money, bribe, profit, rent, etc.}
Category C: [-animate, -patientive] Subject, [-abstract] Object
Examples: {cars, computers, jobs, etc.} EAT {fuel, time, electricity, etc.}
Category D: [-animate, -patientive] Subject, [+abstract] Object
Examples: {balls, kites, boats, rope, etc.} EAT {a bounce, swing, kink, etc.}
Category E: [+animate, -agentive] Subject, [-abstract] Object
Examples: {humans} EAT {whip, bullets, sword, cudgel, curses, etc.}
Category F: [+animate, -agentive] Subject, [+abstract] Object
Examples: {humans} EAT {deception, defeat, eviction, anger, fear, sorrow, etc.}
Category G: [-animate, +patientive] Subject, [-abstract] Object
Examples: {books, grain, knives, etc.} EAT {rust, ants, dust, etc.}
Category H: [-animate, +patientive] Subject, [+abstract] Object
Examples: {crops, clothes, etc.} EAT {heat, cold, dampness, etc.}
Category I: isolated, one-of-a-kind idioms
Examples: Mandarin: EAT tofu=engage in adultery; Mongolian: EAT rice=take a cheat sheet into an exam.

¹⁶ WALs is short for the World Atlas of Language Structures, a large database of structural (phonological, grammatical, lexical) properties of languages gathered from descriptive materials (such as reference grammars) by a team of 55 authors. See more about WALs at <http://wals.info/>.

¹⁷ The maps which show the areal distribution of representative eat-expressions can be seen in Pardeshi et al. (2006, pp. 100-104).

¹⁸ Examples from languages such as Japanese, Chinese and Marathi are given in Pardeshi et al. (2006, pp. 90-91).

3.1.2 Review of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ from the cultural pragmatic perspective

In contrast to the above studies, Xiong (2012) gives a cultural-pragmatic account of the Chinese verb *chī* ‘eat’ to explain the abstract nature of some culturally-related *chī* + NP expressions such as *chī shítáng* ‘eat in the dining hall’ (lit.: ‘eat dining hall’). In his paper, Xiong explains several extended senses of *chī*, among which the ‘dependency’ sense is emphasized, because it brings about a contextually expandable sense of *chī*, meaning ‘excessively engage in a certain activity’, e.g. in *chī yuèliang* ‘engage (excessively) in research into the moon’ (lit.: ‘eat the moon’) (Xiong, 2012, p. 225). He argues that *chī shítáng* ‘eat dining hall’ involves the use of ‘abstract eating’ as one of the extended senses of *chī*, for it has connotations of ‘unpleasant food, familyless life, casual lifestyle, negligence of eating, lack of warmth, etc.’ (Xiong, 2012, p. 237). Xiong stresses that the use of ‘contextually expandable senses’ in ‘*chī* + NP’ is typical in Chinese. He gives several examples to illustrate how the Chinese culture of eating constrains *chī* + NP expressions. For example, *chī* in *chī lǎobǎo* ‘eat labour insurance’ and *chī fùmǔ* ‘eat parents’ have a contextually expandable sense of ‘dependency’, possibly because eating is an important notion in social communication in the Chinese culture, which helps people maintain friendly interpersonal relationship and promotes business. In Xiong’s (2012) opinion, several senses of *chī* can be contextualised.

3.1.3 Review of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ from the neuro-linguistic perspective

Liu et al. (2013) investigated the thematic hierarchies with regard to grammatical objects of the Chinese verb *chī* ‘eat’ by means of an ERP test which measures N400 effects (of thematic roles such as Patient, Means, Source, Locative and Instrument).¹⁹ Their ERP test result reveals that the interpretation of Patient requires minimum cognitive effort on the part of speakers, while non-Patients such as Means, Source, Locative and Instrument demand relatively complex inferring processes (Liu et al., 2013, p. 36). They argue that non-Patients are harder to interpret than Patient because they involve metonymic inferences. However, as Liu et al. point out, further research is needed in order to explain why Instrument is more complex to process in the mind in comparison to other non-Patient roles.

Liu et al.’s (2013) study also supports Dowty’s (1991) notion of Proto-Patient, i.e. a Proto-Patient should display the following features: a) it undergoes change of state; b) it is an incremental theme; c)

¹⁹ Event-related brain potential (ERP) is “a high temporal resolution technique that is both a sensitive measure of real-time language processing and a direct manifestation of brain activity” and “ERPs are especially useful for the study of language comprehension because a negative component peaking around 400 ms after stimulus-onset (the N400) has been shown to vary systematically with the processing of semantic information.” (Kutas & Federmeier, 2000, p. 463).

it is causally affected by another participant; d) it is stationary relative to movement of another participant; e) it does not exist independently of the event named by the verb (Dowty, 1991, pp. 573-574, cited in Liu et al., 2013).

3.1.4 Review of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ from child language acquisition perspective

Rispoli (1992) argues that a special class of verbs in English allow undergoer omission and *eat* is the first of such verbs which are acquired by children. His analysis of 1276 *eat* sentences produced by 40 children reveals that two-year-old children are aware of the fact that undergoer omission (of *eat*) is related to discourse context. Another important point made by Rispoli (1992) is that syntactic information alone is inadequate for a child to interpret the semantics of verbs which optionally appear with a missing argument (undergoer omission).

3.1.5 Summary

In summary, there is a great amount of research in the existing literature on EAT and DRINK verbs in such typologically different languages as English, Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Igbo, Newar and Manipuri. The majority of the research is engaged in cognitive explorations of verbal argument structures and the metaphorical meanings of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. There are also some interesting studies of grammaticalisation and lexicalisation of these verbs in some languages.

However, it should be noted that the linguistic study of EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian is rather limited: for instance, Mongolian is included as part of Pardeshi et al’s (2006) typological study, but it is not the focus of their study. Since the aim of Pardeshi et al’s (2006) paper is to describe the geographic/areal distribution of the semantic extensions of the verb EAT in selected languages of Asia, only sporadic examples from Mongolian (Khalkha Mongolian, to be exact) and a number of other SOV-Postpositional languages are given to show the presence of such metaphorical extensions of “eat” as “get a scolding” (lit.: “eat a scolding”) in such languages; but no significant finding on Mongolian per se was reached in their study. Moreover, the notion of ‘chunk’ is only mentioned by passing in some studies of ‘eat’, and it is not elaborated thoroughly. It ought to deserve more attention in discussing the relevant eating expressions, given the significance of formulaic language (phraseology) in both syntax and semantics which will be shown in Section 3.2. Also, the data used for analysis seem to be scattered and non-systematic.

Based on the above observations, I maintain that a systematic grammatical and semantic exploration of the Mongolian verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’, which includes both phraseological and non-

phraseological word combinations, will be valuable in the following two ways: (1) It will enrich the already existing typological study of ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ in various languages and further our understanding of grammatical functions of Mongolian verbs in general; (2) It will contribute to our understanding of formulaic language (phraseology) in Mongolian.

3.2 Literature Review of Formulaic Language

3.2.1 Terminology and definitions

Formulaic language²⁰ is a long-recognized phenomenon which can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth-century writings of John Hughlings Jackson, where unexpected levels of fixedness in language were observed in aphasic patients’ utterance of rhymes, prayers and routine greetings (Wray, 2002, p. 7). In the past, general linguists made great efforts in identifying and classifying elements belonging to formulaic language: idiom researchers and lexicographers mainly focus on classification of “various kinds of fairly frozen idiomatic expressions” (Gries, 2008, p. 3). Nowadays, research into formulaic language has a widespread influence on a number of sub-disciplines of linguistics, viz. scholars “in a whole variety of disciplines both inside and outside applied linguistics” are interested in the study of formulaic language; these fields include general linguistics, phraseology, lexicography, corpus linguistics, first and second language acquisition, language teaching, and neurolinguistics (Read & Nation, 2004, p. 23; Wray, 2002; Biber, 2009; Kuiper, 2004; 2000). The studies in the above sub-disciplines concern the terminology of formulaic language, its characteristics, theoretical research methods, the application of theories in practice and so forth (Schmitt, 2005-6).

To date scholars have used a wide range of terms such as “chunks”, “formulaic speech”, “idioms”, “multiword units/items”, “collocations”, “formulas/formulae”, “prefabricated routines and patterns”, “gestalt”, “frozen metaphors” and “holophrases” to describe aspects of formulaicity (Wray, 2002, p. 9). Some scholars follow the view that “while labels vary, it seems that researchers have very much the same phenomenon in mind” (Weinert, 1995, p. 182); others maintain that “some of the terms shared across different fields do not mean entirely the same thing in all instances” (Wray, 2002, p. 8) and there are often conflicting uses of the same term (Cowie, 1998, p. 210). In the existing literature, the terms “phraseology” and “formulaic language” coincide in most aspects. However, in the Eastern European tradition, scholars prefer the term “phraseology”. Cowie (1994, p. 3168) describes phraseology as “the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations”. The term ‘phraseology’ and the adjective ‘phraseological’ reflect Eastern European usage (Cowie, 1998, p. 2).

²⁰ The term “formulaic language” is used as a cover term for ready-made constructions of different types “which can be used without having to be built up from scratch” (Coulmas, 1994, p. 1292).

Research into formulaic language in the West has been strongly influenced by the East (Cowie, 1998, p. 209). Despite its wide scope, two major approaches within the field of phraseology can be distinguished: (1) the phraseological approach (also known as the traditional approach) (Vinogradov, 1947; Amosova, 1963; Cowie, 1998); (2) the distributional/frequency-based approach (Nesselhauf, 2004; Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 28). British scholars like Cowie (1981; 1988) and Howarth (1993; 1996) and German scholars such as Burger (1998), Gläser (1986a) and Fleischer (1982) who use the phraseological approach all (directly or indirectly) base themselves on the views of prominent Russian scholars such as Vinogradov (1947) and Amosova (1963) (cited from Cowie, 1998) who consider phraseology to be “a specific subset of linguistically defined multiword units” and see phraseology as “a continuum along which word combinations are situated, with the most opaque and fixed ones at one end and the most transparent and variable ones at the other” (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 28). In the following, I will demonstrate the complexity and diversity of the language phenomenon of formulaic language (phraseology) by illustrating a range of different definitions of formulaic language which exist in the West.

Over the years, a number of western scholars such as Pawley and Syder (1983), Nattinger and Decarrico (1992), Moon (1997), Wray (2002), and Schmitt and Carter (2004) have discussed the importance of formulaic language, arguing that formulaic language is an important component (or element) of language learning and usage (Schmitt, 2005-6). Various definitions have been given to describe formulaic language: some focus more on the linguistic aspects of formulaic language, discussing the forms which are used and their characteristics, while others explore the psycholinguistic aspects of formulaic language (e.g. how formulaic language is processed and acquired) (Schmitt, 2005-6; 2004).

Pawley and Syder (1983) maintain that one puzzle in linguistic theory is the question of why native speakers can produce native-like fluent speech, whereas non-native speakers do not possess such abilities. They argue that this can be explained by a phenomenon they call *lexicalised sentence stems*, and these form the major building blocks of fluent speech. According to them, “a lexicalized sentence stem is a unit of clause length or longer whose grammatical form and lexical content is wholly or largely fixed; its fixed elements form a standard label for a culturally recognized concept, a term in the language. Although lexicalized in this sense, most such units are not true idioms but rather are regular form-meaning pairings” (Pawley & Syder, 1983, p. 191). A recurrent collocation in combination with the obligatory elements in the relevant sentence structure is considered a sentence stem, e.g. “NP be-TENSE sorry to keep-TENSE you waiting” is a lexicalised sentence stem of a conventional expression of apology (Pawley & Syder, 1983, p. 210). In addition, Pawley & Syder (1983, p. 212) emphasize the feature of gradation (non-discreteness) as a fact of language: lexicalisation is a matter of degree and

there is no sharp boundary between the units of “sentence stems” and other phraseological units which belong to a lower order.

DeCarrico and Nattinger’s (1988) definition of formulaic language also draws a lot of attention, for their study sought to solve many existing problems in language teaching in the 1980s. The term they used to describe the elementary unit of formulaic language is “lexical phrase”. In their opinion, “lexical phrases are ‘chunks’ of language of varying length...As such, they are multi-word lexical phenomenon that exist somewhere between the traditional poles of lexicon and syntax, conventionalised form/function composites that occur more frequently and have more idiomatically determined meaning than language that is put together each time” (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992, p. 1). Their use is restricted by pragmatic competence rules, which select lexical phrasal units and assign a given function to them (DeCarrico & Nattinger, 1988, p. 91; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992, pp. 1, 13). Chunks are seen as lexical units. However, most are composed of more than one word and can be processed by syntactic rules like sentences.

Moon (1997), who uses the term “multi-word items” to refer to formulaic language, has studied the forms of formulaic language, and states that “a multi-word item is a vocabulary item which consists of a sequence of two or more than two words (a word being simply an orthographic unit)” (Moon, 1997, p. 43). She argues that a (semantically and/or syntactically) meaningful and inseparable unit is formed out of the sequence of words. Multi-word items are not the results of the operation of grammatical rules, but are the results of lexical and semantic processes of fossilisation and word-formation (Moon, 1997). She uses three important criteria, i.e. institutionalisation, fixedness and non-compositionality, to identify (holistic) multi-word items, which she describes as follows: (1) institutionalisation, the degree to which a multi-word item is conventionalised in the language; (2) fixedness, the degree to which a multi-word item is frozen as a sequence of words; and (3) non-compositionality, the degree to which a multi-word item cannot be interpreted on a word-by-word basis, but has a specialized unitary meaning (Moon, 1997, p. 44). She maintains that these criteria co-operate and that they are variables rather than absolutes, which exist unevenly in different types of multi-word units such as compounds, phrasal verbs, idioms, fixed phrases and prefabs. It is noteworthy that in spoken English, a phonological criterion can also be added, i.e. multi-word items are produced with intact intonation contour (Schmitt & Carter, 2004; see also Moon, 1997, who uses “single tone units” to refer to the intact intonation contour).

Wray (2002) gives a psycholinguistic definition of the phenomenon. She adopts the term “formulaic sequence” and defines it as “a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar” (Wray,

2002, p. 9). Although this definition of formulaic language tries to be comprehensive, it has its flaws and is subject to critical scrutiny. As Read and Nation (2004) observed, the means of storing and retrieving the same sequence can vary for different individuals; even for the same individual, they can also vary in accordance with time, due to the changes in such things as one's proficiency, processing demands and communicative purpose.

In recent years, the corpus linguistic approach has become increasingly popular in the study of formulaic language. Definitions from the corpus linguistic perspective either emphasize the frequency of occurrence of linguistic items or restrictions on forms they co-occur with. For example, Bannard and Lieven (2009, p. 299) state that "a multiword piece of language that occurs a lot" can be formulaic language; Hudson and Wiktorsson (2009, p. 81) maintain that formulaic language is "any sequence of two or more words that are perceived to be more constrained than usual in their co-occurrence". The list of definitions can go on, but in general none of them is comprehensive.

Two related theoretical frameworks, Cognitive Grammar of Langacker (1987; 1991) and Construction Grammar of Goldberg (1995; 2006), also deal with the study of formulaic language (cited in Gries, 2008, pp. 12-15). Using his own parameters of phraseologisms²¹, Gries (2008, pp. 12-15) discusses the role of phraseologisms in different linguistic frameworks such as Langacker's (1987; 1991) Cognitive Grammar, which he considers the most thoroughly developed approach within the cognitive linguistic framework, and Goldberg's (1995; 2006) version of Construction Grammar. According to him, these two theories differ in their understanding of equivalents of the notion of "phraseologism" with regard to non-compositionality.

In Gries' (2008) opinion, a symbolic unit is not only morphemes or words, but also idioms. He argues that non-compositionality is not required of symbolic units; but he also stresses that a symbolic unit must occur frequently to be entrenched in a person's linguistic system and it can be syntactically flexible. To put it simply, phraseologisms can be understood as one kind of symbolic unit in Cognitive Grammar.

In comparison to Cognitive Grammar, the central unit of analysis in Construction Grammar is the construction (rather than the symbolic unit). Non-compositionality (or non-predictability) is required

²¹ Gries' (2008) defining criteria of phraseologisms include the following parameters: 1) nature of elements involved in potential phraseologisms, 2) number of elements involved in a phraseologism, 3) frequency of occurrence of an expression, 4) the distance between the elements involved, 5) lexical and syntactic flexibility of the elements involved, 6) the role of semantic unity and semantic non-compositionality/non-predictability. "In sum, a phraseologism is defined as the co-occurrence of a form or a lemma of a lexical item and one or more additional linguistic elements of various kinds which functions as one semantic unit in a clause or sentence and whose frequency of co-occurrence is larger than expected on the basis of chance" (Gries, 2008, p. 6). A lemma here refers to a dictionary form or citation form of a set of words, e.g. *go* is a lemma for the forms *go*, *goes*, *went* and *going*. Non-compositionality is not required in his definition of phraseologisms. Such a definition of phraseologisms functions as a cover term for co-occurrence phenomenon at the syntax-lexis interface (Gries, 2008, p. 8).

in the definition of a construction by Goldberg (1995).²² Notably, both Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar attach importance to frequency of occurrence of a linguistic expression to be considered a unit or a construction; phraseologisms are at the core of what the two theories consider to be fundamental entities (Gries, 2008, p. 15).

3.2.2 Selected characteristics of formulaic language

Despite a variety of definitions, “some types of formulaic sequence have always been obvious in the form of idioms, proverbs, and sayings” (Schmitt & Carter, 2004, p. 2). They operate as single units at a certain level, although formally they are made up of multiple orthographic words. The outstanding feature of these multi-word units is that they express a single meaning (Schmitt & Carter, 2004, p. 2). Generally speaking, formulaic language can show the following characteristics among others: (1) it appears to be stored in the mind as unitary wholes; (2) it can have semantic prosody (also known as discourse prosody), i.e. certain words which are seemingly neutral in meaning tend to have either positive or negative associations in particular collocations (Sinclair, 2004, p. 19, p. 173); and (3) it is tied to particular conditions of use. For instance, idioms and proverbs are normally stored and processed as holistic units, carry semantic prosody and are used in different conditions. Notably, while idioms express a concept such as ‘*put someone out to pasture* = retire someone because they are getting old’, some commonly believed truth (or advice) is stated by proverbs like ‘*The longest journey begins with the first step* = a suggestion not to procrastinate, but to begin a long process by taking the first necessary steps’ (Schmitt & Carter, 2004, p. 9).

It is worth mentioning that in most cases the feature of fixedness has been most emphasized by scholars, while Schmitt (2005-6) found that most formulaic language is not completely fixed, apart from some rare cases of totally fixed idioms. Either grammatical or lexical variation can be seen in formulaic language, but this variation does not affect all types of formulaic language equally. For example, idioms, variable expressions and lexical bundles have varying degrees of fixedness, which indicates that not all formulaic language is stored holistically, i.e. formulaic language involves different kinds of storage and processing in accordance with their type, implying that we need to take different approaches in learning and teaching various types of formulaic language. Research has also shown that formulaic language allows certain degree of variability in its structure, i.e. it may be totally fixed or semi-fixed. This feature of variability has important implications for the processing of multiword units as elements/units of formulaic language (Schmitt, 2005-6).

²² Notably, in Goldberg (2006, p. 5, cited in Gries, 2008) non-compositionality is no longer required of a construction (with more emphasis on frequency of an expression), which brings the definition of constructions even closer to symbolic units.

3.2.3 Previous studies of formulaic language

In the following, I will give a brief literature review of formulaic language in various sub-disciplines of linguistics, covering different definitions of formulaic language.

3.2.3.1 Review of formulaic language from the cognitive perspective

We cannot find a notion which is a precise equivalent of *phraseologism* (i.e. a phraseological unit) in Cognitive Grammar (as a discipline), but there is the notion of *a symbolic unit*, which is more general (broader). It is flexible in terms of the lexical and syntactic elements involved. In comparison, a *phraseologism* is more specific because there is at least one lexically specified element.

Langacker's (1987) Cognitive Grammar is usage-based, considering that (1) the linguistic system of language users (both speakers and hearers) is supposedly shaped by the use of symbolic units and (2) actual frequency of occurrence plays a crucial role in the entrenchment of a linguistic expression and for the linguistic expression to attain a unit status.

Likewise, Goldberg's (2006) approach emphasizes the frequency of an expression as a necessary condition for building a construction, although Goldberg's (1995) Construction Grammar treats non-compositionality of an expression as an additional necessary condition for construction status (cited in Gries, 2008, p. 15). Construction Grammar is highly compatible with phraseological research, since "it was prime examples of phraseologisms whose analysis 'gave rise' to Construction Grammar in the first place" (Gries, 2008, p. 14). One school of Construction Grammar, namely works by Fillmore et al. (1988) and Kay & Fillmore (1999) took phraseologisms as their starting point in their analysis of Construction Grammar (cited in Gries, 2008, p. 14). Many scholars emphasize the role of frequency in constructions (cf. Brenier & Michaelis, 2005, pp. 45-88; Tomasello, 2003; Israel, 1996, pp. 217-230, cited in Gries, 2008, p. 15).

In comparison to most studies regarding processing of formulaic language which stress frequency alone, Jolsvai et al. (2013, p. 696) suggest that "the meaningfulness of multiword chunks may be as important to their processing as their distributional properties". To be specific, their study indicates that highly meaningful compositional phrases may be processed just like idiomatic phrases when their frequency is matched. Their finding makes it clear that usage-based approaches to language must consider meaning as an additional dimension in their analysis of formulaic language, which is in line with cognitive linguistic views such as Langacker's (1987).

Notably, in traditional analyses of idioms (made by scholars such as Swinney & Cutler (1979, cited in Jolsvai et al, 2013, p. 692), they (as canonical forms of formulaic language and special cases in language grammar) form single units in our mind and they are processed faster in comparison to

compositional phrases. In contrast, Goldberg (2003) argues that in Construction Grammar both idioms and compositional phrases which occur highly frequently are given equal status and they are stored as conventionalised form-and-meaning pairings in our brain (cited in Jolsvai et al, 2013).²³

3.2.3.2 Review of formulaic language from the pragmatic perspective

A function-based definition of formulaic language focuses on the conventionalized functions of linguistic expressions. According to Pawley (2007, p. 3), the class of speech formulae in its broadest sense subsumes “all conventional multiword expressions” and also includes “single word expressions that serve speech act functions such as *Hello!* and *Thanks!*”²⁴ It is obvious that social-interactional appropriateness of formulaic language is highlighted in this definition. Studies from the socio-interactive (or pragmatic) perspective reveal that there is an inseparable connection between formulaic language and the contexts of their use (Kaneyasu, 2012).

According to Austin (1962), there are three levels of action in a speech act: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act, among which the illocutionary act is particularly relevant to formulaic language, i.e. “social and interactional actions performed by utterances, including greeting, apologizing, requesting, promising and so on” (Kaneyasu, 2012, p. 22). As Kaneyasu (2012) notes, conventional expressions for performing illocutionary speech acts are called “situation-bound expressions” by Pawley (2007). These expressions include *hello*, *pleased to meet you*, *I declare this meeting closed* etc. However, not all illocutionary acts are conventional. In other words, they do not follow the convention of using the performative verbs (Searle 1969). For example, *oops*, when used on the right occasion, can express the speaker’s communicative intention of expressing regret to the addressee just as well as *I apologize* (Kaneyasu, 2012).

In the past, conventionality of speech act expressions has caused debates among scholars, centring around the explicitness and formal fixedness of utterances (Kaneyasu, 2012), but it is equally important to understand conventionality based on the link between form, function and its context (Kaneyasu, 2012, p. 23), for the use of formulaic language is inseparable from its social and communicative situations. As is noted by Fillmore (1979), formulaic language is learned in appropriate context of use (Kaneyasu, 2012, p. 23).

3.2.3.3 Review of formulaic language from the corpus-linguistic perspective

As Granger & Paquot (2008, p. 27) suggest, corpus-based approaches adopt a broader perspective than

²³ According to Goldberg (2003, p. 223), constructions include morphemes or words, idioms, and partially lexically filled and fully abstract phrasal patterns.

²⁴ Italics are used by Pawley (2007) here.

the East European tradition of phraseology which favours the study of fixed combinations such as idioms and proverbs. A great number of word combinations which originally fall outside the scope of phraseology in East European tradition are now considered to be part of phraseological research in the corpus-linguistic study of phraseology.

Biber, Kim and Tracy-Ventura (2010, p. 76) have made it clear that corpus linguistics “is a research approach developed for empirical investigation of language use”. Gries (2008, p. 15) regards it as “the single most frequently used method” which is currently employed in the study of phraseology (i.e. formulaic language). Corpus linguistic method is important, for it can provide us with frequencies of occurrence and co-occurrence of linguistic items.

Some of the most central notions in corpus linguistics concern formulaic language. For instance, the terms “word cluster”/“n-grams”, “collocations” and “colligation” are used to refer to frequent co-occurrences of linguistic items (grammatical patterns or words) with particular grammatical slots (such as subject, object, complement) and positions within sentences (or paragraphs) (Hoey, 2004, cited in Gries, 2008, p. 16). Another important notion studied in corpus linguistics is *patterns*, which can be defined as relatively frequent combinations of words or structures which denote a clear meaning with a particular word choice. For example, *decide to do* and *hate doing* are two examples of complementation patterns of the verbs *decide* and *hate* (Hunston and Francis, 2000, p. 37).

One of the most prominent principles in contemporary corpus linguistics is Sinclair’s (1991) idiom principle (Gries, 2008, p. 17). Sinclair (1991) maintains that language as a whole is organized according to two main principles: an “open choice principle” and an “idiom principle”. In his view, the open choice principle regards language text as “the result of a very large number of complex choices. At each point where a unit is completed (a word or a phrase or a clause), a large range of choice opens up and the only restraint is grammaticalness” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 109); in contrast, the idiom principle states that “a language learner has available to him (or her) a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 110). He used large corpora to study the lexicon and the idiom principle is well illustrated by the pervasiveness of collocations across a large collection of texts in a language. By collocation, he meant the tendencies and preferences of words to co-occur which are evidenced by common pairing of words such as *hard work*, *hard facts* or *hard evidence* (Sinclair, 1987, p. 322, cited in Wray, 2002, pp. 51-52). Other sequences such as frames, collocational frameworks and colligations also illustrate the idiom principle (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 29).

3.2.3.4 Review of formulaic language from the psycholinguistic perspective

According to Conklin and Schmitt (2012), idioms have drawn widespread attention in the study of

formulaic language, because, among other reasons, many can be interpreted in two distinct ways: figuratively and literally. Much of the research on idioms includes idiom comprehension by native speakers, addressing issues concerning the activation of figurative versus literal meanings of idioms, and processing of idiomatic expressions versus novel (non-formulaic) phrases. Both native speakers and non-native speakers have been involved as participants in most of these studies (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012).²⁵

Conklin and Schmitt's (2012) research supports the idea that native speakers can have an advantage in the way they process, access and use different types of formulaic language in comparison to non-formulaic language while mixed evidence is shown for non-native speakers. The fact that there is a processing speed advantage for formulaic language compared to creative language is proven by eye-movement studies, which is a useful methodology to explore recognition of formulaic language in texts, as Underwood, Schmitt and Galpin (2004) once did (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012).

While idioms are widely studied in formulaic language processing, some other studies also concentrate on the processing of non-idiomatic formulaic language, such as binomials, collocations, compounds, and lexical bundles. Interestingly, it is shown by Van Lancker Sidtis & Kempler (1987) and Van Lancker Sidtis & Postman (2006) that the right hemisphere plays a larger role in familiar phrase processing, i.e., novel language is left-hemisphere lateralized while fixed expressions are right-hemisphere lateralized, as indicated by left- and right-brain damaged speakers in their processing of familiar phrases (e.g. idioms) and novel phrases (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012).

Since identification of formulaic language used in many of the previous studies relies on corpus evidence, the relationship between corpus-extracted formulaic language and its psycholinguistic processing has been explored in one study by Schmitt, Grandage, and Adolphs (2004). As a result, they conclude that not all corpus-extracted formulaic sequences are stored holistically; in other words, the way in which formulaic language is stored differs according to the individual (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012). A further suggestion is that corpus-extracted formulaic sequences do not have to be stored holistically with individual differences (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012, p. 54). The fact is that apart from words that make up formulaic language or sequences, the sequence itself is also represented in the speakers' mental lexicon, including both natives and non-natives who have enough exposure to a language (Conklin and Schmitt, 2012). Their study is psycholinguistic in nature, because they follow Wray's (2002) definition of formulaic language and emphasize that formulaic language should be stored as a whole in the speaker's mental lexicon. They suggest in their study that "formulaic language

²⁵ As is observed by Conklin & Schmitt (2012), a number of theories have arisen in the field of idioms, such as the lexical representation hypothesis of Swinney and Cutler (1979), the configuration hypothesis (Cacciari & Tabossi, 1988) and the idiom decomposition hypothesis (Gibbs, Nayak, & Cutting, 1989).

is an important element of language learning and use” (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012, p. 46), for it makes up between one third and one half of discourse, both written and spoken, which shows its ubiquity. According to Schmitt and Carter (2004), since formulaic language is so widespread, it must serve some useful purpose in communication, e.g. expressing a message or idea (*‘The early bird gets the worm = do not procrastinate’*) (Conklin & Schmitt, 2012, p. 46).

3.2.3.5 Review of formulaic language from the neuro-linguistic perspective

According to Van Lancker Sidtis (2012), formulaic language has four important characteristics: (1) stereotyped form; (2) conventional meaning; (3) specific conditions of use; and (4) their status as known (stored in memory) to the native speaker (and to some non-native speakers). She makes it clear that language sciences have also recognized the importance of formulaic language, e.g. attention is also paid to the role of formulaic language in clinical communicative disorders. She found that formulaic expressions make up a high proportion of all forms of aphasic speech while there is a significant lack of formulaic language in the speech of those who have right hemisphere (or subcortical) damage. The neuro-linguistic studies resulted in the dual processing model of cerebral function which underlies production of both novel and formulaic language, i.e. right hemisphere (or subcortical) circuit controls the production of formulaic language whereas newly created language is modulated by the left hemisphere (Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012).

3.2.3.6 Review of formulaic language from the social perspective

Burdelski & Cook (2012, p. 173) consider formulaic language to be an important notion in the theory of language socialization; they suggest that *lexical chunks*, whether they are one word, phrase, or a string of several words, are often used in verbal routines, e.g. a caregiver’s routines to a child which are marked by the imperative “say” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 172) or interactional routines such as “Don’t talk back” in child-caregiver interactions (de León, 2012; Peters & Boggs, 1986, p. 81, cited in Burdelski & Cook, 2012). Recently there have also been findings of formulaic language in language socialisation, which “seeks to inform how novices acquire language and culture through participation in socioculturally organized activities” (Burdelski & Cook, 2012, p. 174). The frequent use of formulaic language is seen in the process of socializing novices to various social dimensions, including politeness, hierarchy, and social identities (i.e. social roles and statuses) and relationships. Language socialization research into formulaic language (in both first and second language and heritage language environments) shows that the use of formulaic language helps novices socialize and that there are various ways (normative or novel) of using formulaic language in social interaction with experts and peers (Burdelski & Cook, 2012).

3.2.3.7 Review of formulaic language from the first and second language acquisition perspectives

The idea that formulaic language plays a central role in first language acquisition through the process of children's language development can be seen from the usage-based theory of language development. This theory proposes that children start acquiring language when they identify and infer a communicative function for pieces of language (such as single words and multiword sequences) and start to use them, and that grammar, being an emergent property, results from "the ongoing coexistence of such sequences in a shared representational space" (Bannard & Lieven, 2012, p. 3). In other words, formulaic language forms a basis for children's development of productive grammars which means that lexically specific frames are the basis of children's induction of categories. Such an account largely originates from very large corpora of child-caregiver interactions, which allow new naturalistic analyses of children's productions and help us understand the challenges and opportunities that learners face in a new way (Bannard & Lieven, 2012).

As is noted by Bannard and Lieven (2012), Cameron-Faulkner, Lieven and Tomasello's studies (2003) have proven that children hear a highly repetitive language. Language acquisition is largely driven by children's reuse of word sequences which are directly taken from the speech they hear. Furthermore, evidence shows that multiword strings (speech formulas) are in fact entrenched in children's language (Bannard & Lieven, 2012). Some of the main error types children make arise from the erroneous activation of formulaic language. Diessel and Tomasello (2001) try to show that children's production of complement-clause constructions involves the use of formulaic, schematic patterns (Bannard & Lieven, 2012). Although the kinds of frames that will emerge from a child's generalization process may vary greatly cross-linguistically, based on studies of English, German, Russian, French, Dutch and so forth by Cameron-Faulkner et al. (2003) and some others like Chemla, Mintz, Bernal, & Christophe (2009), formulaicity is a prominent feature in children's speech. There is no doubt that "formulaic speech is a core component of language acquisition" (Bannard & Lieven, 2012, p. 14).

Considerable interest in formulaic language is also seen in second language learning. Numerous studies of formulaic language based on learner corpora have been carried out over the last few years. Allen (2011), Chen and Baker (2010) and de Cock (2007) are a few scholars among many others who have analysed learners' use of lexical bundles (multiword units) in their studies (Paquot & Granger, 2012). Paquot and Granger (2012) found that in some studies lexical bundles are grouped together in accordance with their grammatical structure and/or functional use. According to them, some scholars such as Chen and Baker (2010) have compared the structural characteristics and discourse functions of recurrent word sequences which are used in learner and native corpora. For example, they made a

comparison between four word sequences in the following corpora, (a) learner academic writing corpus, (b) British student academic writing corpus and (c) expert writing corpus, and categorized them by means of the structural classification of lexical bundles which is provided in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber et al., 1999, cited in Paquot and Granger, 2012). Then they adopted the functional taxonomy of lexical bundles proposed by Biber & Barbieri (2007) and subcategorised word sequences into (a) referential bundles, (b) stance bundles and (c) discourse organizers; consequently, they found that some lexical bundles are over-used while others are under-used. (Paquot & Granger, 2012, p. 139). In general, learner corpora provide solid empirical data for the field of second language phraseological study, which boost potential applications of phraseological studies in foreign language learning and teaching (Paquot & Granger, 2012, p. 143).

While most studies on the use of formulaic language by English as Foreign Language learners focus on advanced L2 users, Leńko-Szymańska's (2014) study investigates the emergence and use of formulaic language (or lexical bundles in her terminology) at the early stages of learning by second language learners of English in the classroom setting, comparing the proportions of formulaic language in learner writing with native usage. Leńko-Szymańska (2014) uses the ICCI (the International Corpus of Crosslinguistic Interlanguage) corpus as the source of data for her study, which is "a collection of texts written in L2 English by primary and secondary school students from grade 4 to grade 12" (Leńko-Szymańska, 2014, p. 231), and examines learners from different first language backgrounds, namely Chinese, German, Hebrew, Japanese, Polish and Spanish. She also takes learners' ages and stages of proficiency into consideration when she examines learners' writing (i.e. probed essays). Her study has demonstrated that the acquisition of teenage learners' English formulaic language is influenced by learners' proficiency rather than their age or L1. It has also shown that "the development of formulaic language is not linear, i.e. it may grow from one level to another and deteriorate afterwards" (Leńko-Szymańska, 2014, p. 248). The study reveals that different types of lexical bundles, such as verb fragments and nominal and prepositional bundles, are used by learners at different proficiency stages, i.e., verbal fragments emerge relatively earlier at lower proficiency levels than nominal and prepositional bundles.

3.2.4 Summary

As is widely acknowledged, currently there is a lack of a comprehensive definition of the phenomenon of formulaic language due to its various forms of existence. Scholars such as Schmitt & Carter (2004, p. 2) have pointed out that "This lack of a clear definition remains one of the foremost problems in the area". Formulaic language covers a wide-ranging scope which is highly variable; therefore the

terminology associated with it is vast and confusing (Granger & Paquot, 2008).

Scholars from various fields have studied formulaic language from different perspectives (e.g. cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, child language acquisition and second language acquisition). Knowledge and use of formulaic language can also be seen in people with neurogenic communication disorders (Van Lancker Sidtis, 2012, p. 76). Nowadays the most commonly used method in the study of formulaic language across various fields is corpus linguistic approach, integrating both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

In general, there exist two major approaches to the study of formulaic language (phraseology). The first one is the traditional approach (phraseological approach), which was proposed by Eastern European scholars. They investigate phraseology in different languages based on studying essential language features of the phraseological units, their grammatical status and pragmatic functions. They seek to provide clear theoretical definitions and classifications of phraseological units.

The second major approach is the frequency-based approach (distributional approach), which stresses the frequency of co-occurring or recurrent multiword linguistic items. Based on the frequency-based approach, formulaic language is prevalent in natural languages, including some aphasic patients' language; the prevalence of formulaic language can be seen in both spoken discourse and written discourse; it is significant in effective language usage for most speakers, including L1 speakers and some proficient L2 speakers.

To emphasize, the study of formulaic language in various fields is of great significance both in theory and practice. On the one hand, it can be concluded that not everything in language is creative; parts of language are (semi-)fixed formulaic sequences. On the other hand, it is empirically proven that formulaic language is not only useful for efficient language usage but it is also essential for appropriate language usage for both first and second language speakers. The recognition of this language phenomenon may facilitate learners to learn a language more effectively, resulting in some pedagogically helpful implications.

Most studies of EAT and DRINK verbs focus their attention on idiomatic (metaphorical) eating and drinking expressions which belong to the scope of formulaic language. They attempt to explain the internal structure of EAT and DRINK idioms from the cognitive perspective. Cognitive studies emphasize the experiential role of the human body in understanding the physical world around us. The argument structure of the verbs EAT and DRINK, which is considered an essential part of a sentence, is assumed to reflect the human cognition of the real world. Non-prototypical argument structures tend to represent metaphorical and metonymic eating and drinking expressions.

CHAPTER 4 VERBS OF CONSUMPTION, GRAMMATICAL FORMS AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF EAT AND DRINK VERBS IN MONGOLIAN

4.1 Verbs of Consumption in Mongolian

4.1.1 Verbs referring to food consumption

In many languages the concepts of eating and drinking are expressed by different verbs. For example, English has two verbs, *eat* ‘put food into the mouth, chew it and swallow it’ and *drink* ‘take liquid into the body through the mouth’.¹ Similarly, two different verbs with generic meanings, viz. *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ are used to express the concepts of ‘consuming solid foods’ and ‘consuming liquid’ respectively in Mongolian.

The Mongolian verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are characterised by broad semantics, which convey the action of consuming in general. The verb *ide-* has the broadest semantics among various EAT verbs in Mongolian, for it refers to the consumption of any substance which involves swallowing or inhaling (i.e. going down a person’s throat). In addition, there are a range of other separate lexemes² which are used to specify concrete eating processes, such as swallowing, biting, nibbling, chewing, and so on. These lexemes are: *jalγi-* ‘swallow, gulp, devour’; *amtala-* ‘taste, savour’; *amsa-* ‘taste’; *qaǰa-* ‘bite’; *ǰajil-* ‘chew, masticate’; *ǰayu-* ‘bite, hold in the mouth’; *kemeli-* ‘gnaw, nibble, bite’; *kemkel-* ‘break into pieces; chew’; *künesüle-* ‘serve something as food’; *qoyolala-* ‘have a meal’; *mere-* ‘gnaw, nibble’; *emkü-* ‘hold in the mouth’; *doyi-* ‘peck’; *kökö-* ‘suck the breast/breastmilk’; *singgege-* ‘digest’; *ayu-* ‘absorb, suck’; *sime-* ‘sip, suck’; *soro-* ‘suck’; *tata-* ‘suck, inhale’; *doliya-* (or *doloyo-*) ‘lick’; *mölǰi-* ‘nibble, gnaw’ and so on.

Normally, *ide-* expresses the general meaning of ‘eat’ and can be used in combination with the converbal forms of some concrete verbal lexemes such as *mere-* ‘nibble, gnaw’; *ǰajil-* ‘chew, masticate’; *kemeli-* ‘gnaw, nibble, bite’, and *sime-* ‘suck’. Note the following example:

- (4-1) *sime-ǰü* *ide-kü* *sikir* *amtatai.*
suck-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP sugar delicious/yummy
‘The sugar which (one) will eat (by) sucking is yummy.’

¹ See the Cambridge Dictionaries Online for more elaborated meanings of English verbs *eat* and *drink* in both British English and American English.

² These lexemes are obtained via my native language knowledge, which are then double-checked from the dictionary.

Still, several semantically concrete EAT verbs cannot be used together with *ide-*. For example, *jaɣu-* ‘bite, hold in the mouth’; *jalɣi-* ‘swallow, gulp, devour’; *emkü-* ‘hold in the mouth’; *amtala-* ‘taste’ and *mömö-* ‘suck milk’³ can be used only on their own. Note the following example:

- (4-2) *siraküü ta qoyar bör minü sü yi mömö-gsen.*
 PN 2PL two all 1SG.GEN milk/breastmilk ACC suck-PRF.PTCP
 ‘Both Sirakhuu and you were breastfed by me.’
 (lit.: ‘Both Sirahuu and you two have sucked my milk.’)

In terms of the concept of ‘consuming liquid’ in Mongolian, the verb *uuɣu-* ‘drink’ is the most widely used, generic drinking verb. Other separate lexemes which are used for specific concepts relating to drinking include *oɣoči-* ‘sip’; *balyu-* ‘swallow, gulp, drink in a big mouthful’; *jalɣila-* ‘swallow, gulp’; *umdala-* ‘quench one’s thirst’; *umda qariɣul-* ‘quench one’s thirst’; *umda daru-* ‘quench one’s thirst’; *tata-* ‘drink (alcohol), smoke’ and *könter-* ‘drain the cup with one gulp’ etc.⁴

Most DRINK verbs with specific meanings occur only independently of the generic verb *uuɣu-* ‘drink’, with the exception of *sime-* ‘suck, sip’.⁵ Verbs such as *balyu-* ‘swallow, gulp, drink in a big mouthful’, *umdala-* ‘quench one’s thirst’, and *tata-* ‘drink (alcohol)’ cannot modify *uuɣu-* ‘drink’. They are more like near-synonyms of *uuɣu-*, which are used in its place. Note the following example:

- (4-3) *jarim ni sira-ɣsan miq_a ide-ǰü ariki balyu-n_a.*
 some 3POSS > TOP roast-PRF.PTCP meat eat-IPFV.CVB alcohol/liquor gulp -PRS
 ‘As for some (people), (they) are gulping down alcohol (while) eating roasted meat.’

4.1.2 Close interrelation of ingestive verbs: ‘Eating,’ ‘drinking’ and ‘smoking’

In Mongolian, eating, drinking and smoking expressions are closely related in use. All these ingestive verbs are interchangeable in certain contexts, depending on the word choice of object nouns.

Firstly, the verbs *ide-* and *uuɣu-* are interchangeable when the object noun is milk, especially cow’s milk, one of the most important dairy products in Mongolian food culture. Note the following examples:

- (4-4) *sü yi ni ide-ǰü bayi-ɣ_a*
 milk ACC 3POSS eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP
ür_e yin ɣaɣča üniye(n) dü mini ɣorida-ǰu
 single/only.one cow DAT.LOC 1POSS covet/cast.greedy.eyes.on
bayi-ɣ_a bol?
 be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP COND.PTCL
 Note: *ür_e yin ɣaɣča* ‘only one’ < *ür_e* ‘seed; later generation’ + *-yin* = GEN + *ɣaɣča* ‘single; sole’
 ‘What if (he) is coveting my only cow whose milk (we) are drinking (lit.: ‘eating’)?’

³ *mömö-* ‘suck breastmilk’ is a colloquial expression.

⁴ The basic meaning of *tata-* is ‘pull’. Both meanings of ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ are metaphorical for the verb *tata-*.

⁵ *sime-* can express the meaning of ‘draw a liquid into the mouth, sip, suck’; it can occur with both verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuɣu-* ‘drink’.

(4-5) *jilin sü yi ni uuyu-ju sayin bayi-n_a ge-bel...*
 PN milk ACC 3POSS drink-IPFV.CVB good be-PRS say-COND.CVB
 ‘When Jilin said “it is good”, (after) drinking (someone else’s) milk...’

Examples (4-4) and (4-5) partly reflect the impact of Mongolian food culture on the language. That all varieties of dairy food are part of the staple food for an average Mongolian household may be the reason why EAT and DRINK verbs are interchangeable when it comes to the consumption of milk. Interestingly, the preceding context of (4-5) in the corpus suggests that Jilin only drank the milk by accident, when he actually thought what he was drinking should be water. Therefore, the context plays a crucial role in the use of *uuyu-* in (4-5). I maintain that the verb *ide-* is preferable in general to express the meaning of ‘drink milk’.

Apart from this, *ide-* and *uuyu-* are interchangeable when the object noun is water, as in the following example:

(4-6) *getel_e času tai bol qudduy un usu yi ide-kü ügei,*
 but snow PROP if well GEN water ACC eat-FUT.PTCP NEG
qarin qola ača čeber času abčira-ju qayiluyul-ju ide-deg
 but far ABL clean snow fetch-IPFV.CVB melt-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS.PTCP
bayi-γsan.
 be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
 ‘But if there is snow, (we) do not drink (lit.: ‘eat’) well water; but/on the contrary, (we) used to drink (lit.: ‘eat’) (water), (by) taking and melting clean snow from far away.’

In my opinion, whether *ide-* or *uuyu-* is used to express the concept of “drink water” is a matter of style. The expression *usu uuyu-* ‘drink water’ is preferred in both daily conversation and formal texts. In comparison, the use of *usu ide-* ‘drink (lit.: eat) water’ is rather limited; it is only used in formal texts.

Notably, *ide-* and *uuyu-* may also be interchangeable when the object nouns are eggs or honey, as shown below:

(4-7) *bi syama, ito-nar tai öndege ide-ju bayi-qu du...*
 1SG PN PN-PL COM egg eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
 ‘When I was eating an egg with Syama, Ito and some others...’

(4-8) *sin_e öndege ab-ču uuyu-ju bayi-γarai...*
 new egg get/buy-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRSP
 ‘Keep buying and eating (lit.: ‘drinking’) new eggs...’

(4-9) *keger_e ködege ügei čečegle-gsen berčigir luu yin nidün ü modo*
 everywhere flower-PRF.PTCP litchi GEN tree
yi ol-ju üje-gsen ba berčigir luu yin nidü(n) ü
 ACC get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB see-PRF.PTCP CONJ litchi GEN
bal i ide-gsen...
 honey ACC eat-PRF.PTCP

Note: *keger_e ködege ügei* ‘everywhere in the field’ < *keger_e* ‘field’ + *ködege* ‘countryside’ + *ügei*=NEG; *berčigir luu yin nidü(n)* ‘litchi’ < *berčigir* ‘rugged’+ *luu* ‘dragon’+*yin* = -GEN + *nidü(n)* ‘eye’; *ol-ju üje-* ‘be able to see’.

‘(Sb.) was able to see the litchi tree which flowered all over the field, and (he/she) also ate/has

also eaten the honey of litchi.’

- (4-10) *eyimü sayin bal i uuyu-qu-y_a amidural egege la egün sig*
 such good honey ACC drink-FUT.PTCP-VOL life same PTCL this like
amtayiqan bodo-γda-ju mede-n e.
 tasty/delicious think-PASS-IPFV.CVB know (AUX)-PRS
 Note: Tv-ju mede- ‘may do sth.’

‘If eating (lit.: ‘drinking’) such a good honey, life may be felt (lit.: ‘thought’) to be just as tasty as this.’

In (4-7) and (4-8) the difference between “eating an egg” and “drinking an egg” lies probably in manner of consumption, i.e. how to consume an egg. Generally speaking, the interchangeability of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in examples (4-7) to (4-10) indicates that the nature of the substance, i.e. the original form of the substance (liquid or solid) can determine to some extent which of these verbs is used. This can explain the uses of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in expressing the consumption of different types of dairy products in Mongolian. Note the examples below:

- (4-11) *tabay tai idege eče ide-kü degen ekile-ged öröm_e,*
 plate COM food ABL eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS start-PRF.CVB clotted.cream
daray_a ni bisilay, egejegei, ayaruul, boobo, sikir jerge
 next 3POSS cheese curds dried.sour.cheese cake/pastry sugar and.so.forth
yi ene darayalal iyar, jöb yar iyar iyan
 ACC this order/sequence INS the.left.side hand INS REF.POSS
bari-ju ide-deg.
 hold/grasp-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS.PTCP

‘When eating from/part of the food with a place, at first, clotted cream, next, (sb.) eats the cheese, curds, dried sour cheese, cakes, sugar and so forth, in this order, grasping with one’s left hand.’

- (4-12) *küü mini qayur-u-γsan amu yi ni ki-ø, qurud i*
 son 1POSS fry-CONN-PRF.PTCP grain ACC 3POSS put.in-IMP cheese ACC
ni ide-ø.
 3POSS eat-IMP

Note: *qayuruγsan amu/budaya* ‘dry precooked millet’ (a staple food of Mongolians)
 ‘My son, please add some dry precooked millet. Eat the cheeses.’

In (4-11) object nouns *öröm_e* ‘clotted cream’, *bisilay* ‘cheese’, *egejegei* ‘curd’ and *ayaruul* ‘dried sour cheese’ all refer to solid dairy products; similarly, in (4-12) the object noun is *qurud* ‘cheese’ which is a solid food. Therefore, *ide-* is used to express consumption of such food items.

- (4-13) *činggi-ged γurba-γula ayiray iyan qobiya-ju uuyu-l_a.*
 do.so-PRF.CVB three-COLL.NUM sour.milk/koumiss REF.POSS share-IPFV.CVB drink-PST
 Note: *činggiged* ‘then’

‘Then, the three of (them) drank their sour milk together, sharing.’

- (4-14) *ayiray taray ača ni uuyu-qu ügei üü?*
 sour.milk sour milk/clabbered.milk ABL 3POSS drink-FUT.PTCP NEG INTR.PTCL
 ‘Why don’t (we) drink some of their sour milk and clabbered milk?’ (lit.: ‘won’t (we) drink their sour milk and clabbered milk?’)

In (4-13) and (4-14) *uuyu-* is used to express consumption of object nouns such as *ayiray* ‘koumiss’;

sour milk’ and *taray* ‘clabbered milk’ which are liquids.

Secondly, the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’ can be used interchangeably with the verb *tata-* ‘inhale, smoke’ when the object noun is wine or tobacco, as in the following examples:⁶

(4-15) *tamaki* *uuyu-/tata-*
tobacco drink/smoke-
‘smoke (tobacco)’

(4-16) *ariki* *tata-/uuyu-*
wine inhale/drink-
‘drink wine’

The interchangeability between the verbs *uuyu-* ‘drink’ and *tata-* ‘inhale, smoke’ in (4-15) and (4-16) is a reflection of cognitive influence on language expressions. The concrete cognitive mechanisms underlying drinking expressions will be further investigated in Chapter 5 when I discuss EAT and DRINK phraseological (metaphorical) expressions.

Thirdly, the verbs *tata-* ‘inhale, smoke’ and *ide-* ‘eat’ are also interchangeable when the object is opium, which is not a local product in Mongolian culture. Note the following examples:

(4-17) *jalsarai* *yin* *qara tamaki* *tata-γsan* *teüke* *yi* *ni*
PN GEN opium smoke/inhale-PRF.PTCP history ACC 3POSS
kele-bel *basa* *ču* *üliger* *tei* *yum.*
say-COND.CVB>TOP also even story PROP PTCL
‘As far as Jalsarai’s history of taking opium is concerned, there is also a story.’
(lit.: ‘If talking about the history of Jalsarai’s smoking opium, (it) also has a history.’)

(4-18) *ejedü-gsen* *ökin* *čini* *er_e* *ben* *isg(k)ül-jü*
have.a.master-PRF.PTCP > married daughter 2POSS >TOP husband REF.POSS kick-IPFV.CVB
ala-γad, *öber* *iγen* *ču* *qara tamaki* *ide-jü* *kü-ged*
kill-PRF.CVB oneself REF.POSS even opium eat-IPFV.CVB die-PRF.CVB
bayi-n a!
be (AUX)-PRS
‘As for your married daughter, after kicking her husband to death, she killed herself (by) taking opium. (lit.: ‘...even she herself has died, eating opium.’)’

In (4-17) and (4-18), *tata-* ‘smoke’ can be interpreted as ‘inhale’ while *ide-* has an extended meaning of ‘take (opium, medicine)’ in this context. The expression *qara tamaki ide-* ‘eat opium’ is probably the Chinese translation equivalent of *chī yāpiàn* ‘eat opium’ (< *chī* ‘eat’ + *yāpiàn* ‘opium’). i.e. a calque. In a sense, this fact implies a foreign cultural and linguistic influence on the formation of new expressions in Mongolian (calque from Chinese). It should be mentioned that *uuyu-* ‘drink’ has a meaning of ‘take (medicine)’ and it is often used when the object noun is medicine. However, the use of *uuyu-* is inappropriate in (4-18) where the object noun is opium.

Interestingly, the verb *ide-* ‘eat’ can sometimes replace *uuyu-* even when the object is medicine.

⁶ *tamakida-* ‘smoke’ is another verb which expresses the concept of smoking, but it cannot be used in place of *uuyu-* ‘drink’, because it is an intransitive verb, whereas *uuyu-* ‘drink’ is normally transitive.

Note the following example:

- (4-19) *kökörgeṅ_e ge-deg em yi ide-bel tusatai...*
 PN say-PRS.PTCP > the.so-called medicine ACC eat-COND.CVB helpful
 ‘If taking (lit. ‘eating’) the so-called Khokhorgene medicine, (it will be) helpful.’

This can be interpreted as showing that the verb *ide-* has a broader range of meaning than *uuyu-*; to be specific, *ide-* has the extended meaning of ‘take (medicine)’ in (4-19), which is similar to its use in (4-18). However, in most conditions, *uuyu-* instead of *ide-* is used to express ‘take medicine’, as in *em uuyu-* ‘take (lit.: drink) medicine’. Below are some more examples where *uuyu-* is used to express ‘take (sorts of) medicine’:

- (4-20) *baḗar bayan... esel_e ükü-kü siqa-ḗu, sar_a siqam dang*
 PN rich almost die-FUT.PTCP be.close-IPFV.CVB month nearly pure/simple
talq_a uuyu-ḗu, sünesü sakiyusu daḗuda-ḗul-ḗu dönggeḗi
 powder (remedy) drink-IPFV.CVB soul guardian.angel call/beckon-CAUS-IPFV.CVB barely/hardly
der_e eḗe toloyai ban öndeyi-lge-be.
 pillow ABL head REF.POSS raise.one’s.head-CAUS-PST
 ‘The rich Bazhar... approaching death/almost dying, (after) drinking pure powder for almost a month, letting (people) call (his) soul and guardian angels, has barely raised his head from his pillow.’

- (4-21) *edüge basa orqodai bar nayiraḗul-u-ḗsan bey_e yin*
 now/at.present also ginseng INS make.up-CONN-PRF.PTCP body GEN
teḗigel ün rilü uuyu-ḗu bayi-mui...
 nutrition GEN pill drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘At present, (she) is still taking (lit.: ‘drinking’) the pill for body nutrition, which is made up of ginseng...’

In (4-20) and (4-21) *uuyu-* is used to express the meanings of ‘taking (lit.: drinking) powder (a sort of medicine)’ and ‘taking pills’.

Lastly, the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are used together quite often. When they occur together (i.e. one after the other without breaks), they tend to be detransitivised in most circumstances. Sometimes they constitute phraseological expressions, as in the following example:

- (4-22) *uuyu-ḗu ide-kü dü urḗ_a yin mori uruḗsi alqu-qu*
 drink-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC pole GEN horse forward walk-FUT.PTCP
du urḗu-ḗ_a qada.
 DAT.LOC grow/rise-IPFV.PTCP rock/cliff
 Note: *urḗ_a* ‘a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses’; *urḗ_a yin mori* ‘specially trained horses used to lasso horses’.
 ‘(Someone) is like a fast horse when it is time to eat or drink; but (someone) is nailed to the ground when it is time to work.’
 (lit.: ‘When eating and drinking, (someone) is a horse of the pole; when walking forward, (someone) is (like) a rising cliff.’)

In (4-22) both *ide-* and *uuyu-* are detransitivised.

The detransitivised use of EAT and DRINK verbs will be discussed in Section 4.2.1 in Chapter 4 where the valency of EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian will be analysed.

4.1.3 Distinction of EAT and DRINK verbs between animals and human beings

There are different EAT verbs for animals and human beings in Mongolian. The verb *ide-* can be used, no matter if the agent is a human being or an animal. However, the verb *idesile-* ‘eat, graze’ is preferred if the agent is an animal. The verbs *belči-* ‘graze’ and *belčigerle-* ‘pasture, graze’ are two other lexemes which refer to the eating action of animal agents, but they are intransitive verbs.

Some concrete EAT lexemes are used to distinguish animal and insect agents (subjects). For instance, when the agent is a dog, the verbs *qajā-* (or *qajala-*) ‘bite, gnaw, nibble’, *ǰayu-* ‘bite’ or *kemki-* ‘bite, snap with the jaws (of dogs)’ are used; when the agent is a horse, the verb *kebi-* ‘ruminates, chew the cud’ is used. As for a bee or a snake, the verb *qadyu-* ‘sting, bite’ is used; in the case of a mosquito, the verb *ǰayu-* ‘bite’ is used.

As far as I am aware, DRINK verbs make no distinction between an animal-agent and a human-agent, viz. *uuyu-* ‘drink’ is applicable for both human subjects and animal subjects. However, it should be noted that there is the verb *usula-* ‘water animals, irrigate’, formed from the noun *usu* ‘water’, which is used only for animals and plants which serve as the object (patient).

4.1.4 EAT and DRINK verbs with honorific and pejorative semantics

Some verbs have either honorific or pejorative semantics in Mongolian. The verb *ǰoǰoǰla-* ‘have a meal’ is the most commonly-used ingestive verb which has an honorific meaning, covering eating, drinking and smoking concepts. The verb *kūrte-* ‘receive’ can also express a polite meaning of ‘eat’ in *čab kūrte-* ‘eat food’.⁷

Since alcohol, tobacco and tea are regarded as valuable items in Mongolian culture, the verb *ǰoǰoǰla-* often occurs in the expressions of ‘drinking wine’, ‘smoking cigarettes’ and ‘drinking tea’. Note the following examples:

(4-23) *abu tamaki ǰoǰoǰla-ø!*
father tobacco have (HON)-IMP
‘Father, please have some tobacco!’

(4-24) *noyan mini amtatu čai yi ǰoǰoǰla-ø!*
lord 1SG.POSS delicious tea ACC have (HON)-IMP
‘My dear lord, please have the delicious tea!’

⁷ In Khalkha Mongolian, the verbs *зоогло-* and *хүрмэ-* are used to express the honorific meaning of *удэ-* ‘eat’; however, only *хүрмэ-* is used to express the honorific meaning of *yy-* ‘drink’ (based on personal communication with a doctoral student, Suvdaa Dorjsuren, who is from Mongolia).

Example (4-24) is created by myself. In (4-23) and (4-24) the nouns *abu* ‘father’ and *noyan* ‘lord’ have honorific meanings, so *joyola-* expresses the meaning of ‘smoke’ and ‘drink’ respectively. The verb *joyola-* usually has a respectful meaning of ‘eat’, as in the following example:

(4-25) *qatuytai-nar tung yeke bolbasun mayiγ iyar joyola-n_a.*
 lady-PL very much civilized manner INS have.a.meal (HON)-PRS
 ‘The ladies are having a meal in a very civilised manner.’

In (4-25) the noun *qatuytai nar* ‘the ladies’ has an honorific meaning and it requires the use of *joyola-* ‘have a meal’.

Sometimes the object noun itself can be a word with an honorific meaning, which requires the use of *joyola-*, as in the following example:

(4-26) *tegün ü čayan_a ni čab joyola-γad*
 that > 3SG GEN beyond/there 3POSS a.meal.for.lamas (HON) have.a.meal (HON)-PRF.CVB
γaru-γsan γurbaqan ger tei germangq_a ge-deg
 go.out-PRF.PTCP only.three house PROP PN say-PRS.PTCP > so.called
ayil yi marta-či-ba uu?
 village ACC forget-ASP-PST INTR.PTCL
 ‘Have (you) forgotten the village called Gernangha which has only three households which we visited before and ate a meal there?’
 (lit.: ‘...three houses which we left after eating a meal there?’)

In (4-26) the object noun *čab* ‘a meal for lamas’ is a word with an honorific meaning, so the verb *joyola-* is used.⁸

It should be noted that sometimes *joyola-* carries ironic implications in certain contexts, as below:

(4-27) *taba bar iyan yabu-γči yekes-ner*
 pleasure INS REF.POSS > at.one’s.pleasure go-AGT.PTCP high.official.and.noble.lord-PL
talayar sayu-n joyola-ju bayi-n_a.
 uselessly sit-CVB have.a.meal-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘The high officials and noble lords who go at their pleasure were eating, sitting idly.’

In (4-27) *joyola-* is used pejoratively.

The verb *amsa-* ‘taste, experience’ is another verb with an honorific meaning of ‘eat’ and it sometimes denotes the meaning of ‘suffer’ (Mongolian Language Studies Institute of IMU, 1999, p. 48).⁹ On the other hand, the verb *čiki-* ‘jam, stuff’ expresses a pejorative meaning of ‘stuff oneself, overeat’ in Mongolian (Sodobilig, 2006, p. 794).

4.1.5 Metaphorical (or figurative) extensions of EAT and DRINK verbs

It is commonly acknowledged that ‘ingestive’ verbs such as EAT and DRINK have a number of

⁸ Due to the significant role of Buddhism, especially Lamaism, in Mongolian culture, Lamas enjoy a high social rank in the Mongolian social hierarchy; consequently, there exist some relevant religious words which bear honorific meanings.

⁹ It is noteworthy that neither the verb *joyola-* nor *amsa-* can be used to express the concepts of ‘taking medicine’ and ‘eating eggs’.

metaphorical extensions (Newman, 2009). In Mongolian, the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *уугу-* ‘drink’ also have some figurative extensions. Normally, extensions of *ide-* include ‘accept (bribes)’, ‘corrode or corrupt’, ‘absorb’, ‘go back on one’s word, break one’s promise’ and so on. In comparison, extensions of *уугу-* are much more restricted in range. They include only the meanings of ‘take (medicine)’ and ‘inhale, smoke’.

I will explain in detail the cognitive mechanisms underlying the metaphorical eating and drinking expressions in Chapter 5.

4.2 Semantico-grammatical Properties of the Verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *уугу-* ‘drink’

Verb valency is considered to be a universal semantico-grammatical category relating semantic and syntactic actants (arguments). As is well known, the verb is the main element of a simple clause which is normally composed of nominal and verbal components and it is the semantics as well as the valency properties of the verb that determine the forms of nominal components which are included into a clause.

4.2.1 Verb valency of *ide-* and *уугу-*

Tesnière (1976), who introduced the term “valency” into Western European linguistics, attributed valency only to the verb, and he defined this property as the number of potential actants which a verb (to be exact, a verbal valency carrier) can have. I follow the modern valency theory, viz. the extended view of the valency concept that verbs determine not only the number of slots/actants but also the kind of actants (Ágel & Fischer, 2010, p. 237; Haspelmath & Hartmann, 2015; Haspelmath, 2014; Hartmann, Haspelmath & Taylor, 2013).

The traditional approach to the concept of verbal valence refers to the capacity which a verb has to combine with particular patterns of other sentence constituents (Allerton, 2006, p. 301). Thus, a verb has the ability to form various syntactic relations with other elements in the sentence. For example, the valence/valency of the English verb *give* determines the ability of this verb to combine with a subject, direct object, and indirect object in the sentence *I gave him the book*.

In modern valency theory, valency is seen at levels of both syntax and semantics. The participants of the situation can be determined (deduced) from the interpretation of a verbal lexeme (Khrakovsky, 2014, p. 26); in other words, semantic valence of the verb is directly related to its lexical meaning. The verb valency is determined not only by the number of syntactic elements included in the verbal structure, but it also depends on the semantic roles of the participants in the situation, which is described by the verb. There is a one-to-one relationship between the semantic and syntactic actants

of verbal lexemes, i.e. one semantic actant of a verbal lexeme has a corresponding syntactic actant, and vice versa (Apresyan, 2006).

Verbal valency is closely related to transitivity,¹⁰ which is understood here to be a property of verbs to take objects, direct and indirect. Intransitive verbs have no objects and can have a subject only. As I stated above, verb valency considers all arguments that a verb can have. The verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be either monovalent (detransitivised) or bivalent (transitive).

I. The commonly-seen valency patterns of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* where they are transitive are listed as follows:

1. S + DO + V

a) S + DO (ACC) + V

(4-28)	<i>qoçor-o-γsan</i>		<i>çerig-üid</i>		<i>qooratu</i>		<i>usu</i>		<i>yi</i>		<i>ni</i>
	lag.behind-CONN-PRF.PTCP		soldier-PL		poisonous		water		ACC		3POSS
	<i>uuyu-ju,</i>	<i>qola</i>	<i>aça</i>	<i>iregse(n)-d</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>qoor_a</i>		<i>tai</i>	<i>miq_a</i>	<i>yi</i>	
	drink-IPFV.CVB	far	ABL	comer-PL	NR	poison		PROP	meat	ACC	
	<i>ide-gsen</i>	<i>iyer</i>	<i>qonoγ</i>		<i>önggere-tel_e</i>	<i>bögödeger</i>		<i>ükü-ju</i>		<i>dayus-ba.</i>	
	eat-PRF.PTCP	INS	overnight		pass-CVB(until)	all/everyone		die-IPFV.CVB		finish-PST	

Note: *iregsed* ‘comers’ < *ire-* ‘come’+ *-gsen* = PRF.PTCP + *-d* = PL

‘Because the soldiers, who lagged behind, drank the poisonous water and those who came from far away ate poisonous meat, everyone died (lit.: ‘has finished dying’) by the next day.’

In (4-28) *qooratu usu* ‘poisonous water’ and *qoor_a tai miq_a* ‘poisonous meat’ serve as direct objects of the verbal expressions *uuyuju* ‘was drinking’ and *idegsen iyer* ‘because of eating’ respectively. Both objects are marked with the accusative case marker *-yi*, and *qooratu usu* ‘poisonous water’ is marked by the accusative case marker followed by the possessive suffix (particle) *ni*.

b) S + DO (DIR) + V

(4-29)	<i>kedün arban tumen</i>		<i>jil</i>		<i>ün</i>		<i>emün_e,</i>		<i>man</i>		<i>u</i>
	several ten	ten.thousand	year		GEN		ago/before		1PL.EXCL		GEN
	<i>ebüge degedüs</i>		<i>aγulan</i>		<i>aγui</i>		<i>du</i>		<i>amidura-ju,</i>		<i>jerlig</i>
	ancestors		mountain		cave		DAT.LOC		live-IPFV.CVB		wild
	<i>jimis,</i>	<i>tügükei</i>		<i>miq_a</i>		<i>ide-ju,</i>		<i>ariyatan</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>arasu yi</i>
	fruits	raw		meat		eat-IPFV.CVB		wild.beast		GEN	hide ACC
	<i>nömör-çü</i>		<i>bayi-jai.</i>								
	drape/cover-IPFV.CVB		be(AUX)-PST								

‘Thousands of years ago, our forefathers, living in mountain caves, eating wild fruits and raw meat, covered (their bodies) with the hides of wild beasts (lit.: ‘draped the hides of wild beasts over (their bodies)’).’

¹⁰ The notion of transitivity is decomposed into ten formal and semantic features by Hopper & Thompson (1980); in such an approach, some verbs can be higher in transitivity than others due to the associated formal and semantic features. This is an interesting idea, but the current study will not pursue the data analysis along these lines, because I am only interested in exploring features of the two verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-*, excluding other verbs in Mongolian. Notably, Næss (2007) puts forward a notion of “prototypical transitivity” in which some verbs, especially ingestive verbs such as “eat” and “drink” can have an “affected agent”. As far as I am concerned, the agents of *ide-* and *uuyu-* are mostly unaffected, but in several phraseological expressions we can see such a trend.

(4-30) *či* *čoqom qamiγ_a* *ača* *joyos* *ol-ju* *ariki* *uuγu-ju*
 2SG on.earth where ABL money get-IPFV.CVB wine/alcohol drink-IPFV.CVB
bayi-qu *yum?*
 be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 ‘Where on earth do you get the money to drink wine?’

In (4-29) and (4-30) *jerlig jimis, tügükei miq_a* ‘wild fruits and raw meat’ serves as the direct object of *ideju* ‘was eating’; *ariki* ‘wine’ is the direct object of *uuγuju bayi-qu* ‘is drinking’. Both objects occur in the direct case.

c) S + DO (DIR + REF.POSS/ACC + REF.POSS) + V

The direct object nouns can be either expressed by the direct case followed by the reflexive suffix or it can be marked by the accusative case suffix and then followed by the reflexive suffix. The latter instance occurs less often.

(4-31) *örlöge erte* *bide* *qoyola* *ban* *ide-megče* *anggi bar*
 morning morning 1PL.INCL food/meal REF.POSS eat-CVB class INS
iyān *čuylara-γad* *masin* *du* *sayu-ju* *yabu-jai.*
 REF.POSS gather-PRF.CVB automobile/car DAT.LOC sit-IPFV.CVB go-PST
 Note: *örlöge erte* ‘in the morning’ < *örlöge* ‘morning’ + *erte* ‘morning/early’
 ‘In the morning, as soon as (we) ate our own meal, (after all of us) gathered as a class, we went by car (lit.: ‘went, sitting in the car’).’

(4-32) *γunan čai* *ban* *uuγu-ju* *dayus-u-γad* *od-ba.*
 PN tea REF.POSS drink-IPFV.CVB finish-PRF.CVB leave/go.away-PST
 ‘Gunan has left after finishing drinking his tea.’

(4-33) *bi* *degüü* *yi* *ben* *suryayuli* *du* *kürge-be.*
 1SG younger.brother ACC REF.POSS school DAT.LOC send-PST
 ‘I have sent my brother to school.’

In (4-31) and (4-32), the direct objects, which are *qoyola* ‘food’ and *čai* ‘tea’ respectively, are followed by the reflexive-possessive suffix *-ban*. In (4-33) the direct object *degüü* ‘younger brother’ is first marked by the accusative suffix *-yi* and then followed by the reflexive possessive suffix *-ben*.

d) S + DO (ABL) + V

Sometimes the ablative case expresses a partitive meaning and it is used to mark direct objects as in (4-34) and (4-35):

(4-34) *tabay tai* *idege eče* *ide-kü* *degen* *ekile-ged* *öröm_e,*
 plate COM food ABL eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS start-PRF.CVB clotted.cream
daray_a *ni* *bisilay, egejegei,* *ayaruul,* *boobo,* *sikir*
 next 3POSS cheese curds dried.sour.cheese pastry sugar
jerge *yi* *ene* *darayalal* *iyar, jöb γar* *iyar* *iyān*
 and.so.forth ACC this order/sequence INS left.side hand INS REF.POSS
bari-ju *ide-deg.*
 seize/hold/grasp-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS.PTCP
 ‘When eating some of the food which is put on a plate (lit.: ‘food with a plate’), (someone) eats in the following (lit.: ‘this’) order, taking (the food) with one’s left hand: first, clotted cream; then the cheese, curds, dried sour cheese, cakes, sugar and so forth.’

In (4-34) the subject is omitted. The direct object is *tabay tai idege* ‘the food with a plate’; marked with the ablative case marker *-eče*, it means ‘part of the food on a plate’.

(4-35) *bi tere idegesi-gsen čai sig öngge tei sikirliḡ*
 1SG that be.tasty/be.bubble.concentrated-PRF.PTCP tea like colour PROP sugary
arikin ača dörben qunday_a uuḡu-ḡad qoḡola ide-ḡü, köñjile debisker
 alcohol ABL four goblet drink-PRF.CVB food eat-IPFV.CVB quilt mat/rug/felt
i ni oyo-ḡu öggö-ged böröi bol-qu
 ACC 3POSS stitch-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-PRF.CVB dusk become-FUT.PTCP
yin üy_e ber sayi qari-ba.
 GEN period/time INS only.then return-PST
 ‘I did not return until (it) became dusk, after drinking four goblets of that sugary alcohol which has the colour like (that of) well-concentrated tea, eating food and helping stitch their quilts and mats.’

In (4-35) *tere idegesigsen čai sig öngge tei sikirliḡ arikin* ‘that sugary alcohol which has the colour like (that of) well-concentrated tea’ serves as the direct object of *uuḡuḡad* ‘having drunk’; it is marked with the ablative case marker *-ača*, expressing a partitive meaning.

2. S + Oblique O (COM) + DO + V

(4-36) *bi syama, ito-nar tai öndege ide-ḡü bayi-qu du...*
 1SG PN PN-PL COM egg eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
 ‘When I was eating eggs with Syama, Ito and some others...’

In (4-36) *syama, ito nar tai* ‘(together) with Syama, Ito and others’ functions as oblique object of *ide-‘eat’*,¹¹ and *öndege* ‘eggs’ serves as the direct object.

(4-37) *ene üy_e dü čolmon, eḡi tei ben qoya-ḡula*
 this period DAT.LOC PN mother COM REF.POSS two-COLL.NUM
erte yin čai ban uuḡu-ḡu bayi-ba.
 morning GEN tea REF.POSS drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PST
 ‘At this moment, Cholmon was drinking his morning tea together with his mother.’

In (4-37) *eḡi tei ben qoyaḡula* ‘(the two together) with his mother’ serves as the oblique object. Here the comitative case marker is used together with the reflexive possessive suffix, which is followed by the collective numeral *qoyaḡula* ‘the two together’.

II. *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuḡu-* ‘drink’ can also be used intransitively.

S + V (detransitivised)

(4-38) *er_e em_e qoyaḡula ḡasal-u-n emgeni-ḡü*
 husband wife two-COLL.NUM grieve/lament-CONN-CVB mourn/grieve-IPFV.CVB
ide-kü uuḡu-qu ban umarta-n dub duyui sayu-ḡuqui.
 eat-FUT.PTCP drink-FUT.PTCP REF.POSS forget-CVB quietly sit-EVD.PST
 ‘Both the husband and wife were found to be sitting quietly, grieving and mourning, forgetting

¹¹ In treating the comitative case as a marker of the oblique object (argument), I base myself on IMU (2005, p. 640) and Garudi et al. (2001, p. 537).

to eat and drink (lit.: ‘their eating and drinking’).’

In (4-38) the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are detransitivised, and they express the activities of eating and drinking (in general, without relatedness to any objects). The two verbs serve as the predicative objects of the verb *umartan* ‘forgetting’.

(4-39)	<i>amidural</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>bökö</i>	<i>yabuča</i>	<i>bol</i>	<i>törö-gsen</i>	<i>eče</i>	<i>ben</i>
	life	GEN	whole	process	TOP	be.born-PRF.PTCP	ABL	REF.POSS
	<i>ükü-kü</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>qoyorondoki</i>	<i>quyučayan</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>emüs-kü</i>	
	die-FUT.PTCP	GEN	between	period	GEN	eat-FUT.PTCP	wear-FUT.PTCP	
	<i>qono-ju</i>		<i>kebte-kü</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>dögömken</i>	<i>šal demeı</i>		
	spend.the.night-IPFV.CVB		lie-FUT.PTCP	GEN	simple	utterly.useless/nonsensical		
	<i>dabtalta</i>	<i>mön.</i>						
	repetition	PTCL						

Note: *šal demeı* < *šal* ‘extremely, exceedingly’ + *demeı* ‘absurd’

‘As for the whole process of life, (it) is a simple nonsensical repetition of eating, wearing (clothes) and sleeping (lit.: ‘spending/passing the night and lying down in bed’) in the period between being born and dying.’

In (4-39) the verb *idekü* serves as a predicative attribute of the noun *dabtalta* ‘repetition’ and it is used intransitively in parallel with other action verbs which are close in meaning, viz. *emüskü* ‘wearing’, *qonoju* ‘spending the night’ and *kebtökü* ‘lying down (in bed)’. The particle *mön* has an affirmative meaning.

It is attested that the dative, the ablative and the instrumental cases are used to mark adverbial modifiers in our corpus examples which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-*:

a) S + adverbial modifier/adjunct (DAT.LOC) + DO + V

(4-40)	<i>ger</i>	<i>tegen</i>	<i>čoqom</i>	<i>yayu</i>	<i>ide-ju</i>	<i>bayi-day</i>
	house/home	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS	on.earth	what	eat-IPFV.CVB	be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP
	<i>bol?</i>					
	PTCL					

Note: *-tayan/tegen* < *-*ta/te* = DAT.LOC + *-*yan* = REF.POSS

‘What on earth is (someone) eating at their home?’

In (4-40) *ger tegeı* ‘at his/her home’ can function as an adverbial modifier of place.

(4-41)	<i>tümen tümen</i>	<i>üy_e</i>	<i>degen</i>	<i>kömön</i>	<i>törölkiten</i>	<i>ide-ju</i>
	numerous	generation	DAT.LOC	mankind/human.beings		eat-IPFV.CVB
	<i>uuyu-ju,</i>	<i>emüs-čü</i>	<i>keregle-gseger</i>	<i>le</i>		<i>ire-gsen.</i>
	drink-IPFV.CVB	wear-IPFV.CVB	use-CVB	PTCL		come (AUX)-PRF.PTCP

‘For numerous generations, mankind has been eating, drinking, wearing (clothes) and using (things).’

In (4-41) *tümen tümen üy_e degen* ‘for numerous generations’ functions as an adverbial modifier of time. The particle *le* is used for emphasis.

b) S + adverbial modifier (ABL) + DO + V

- (4-42) *olan jil mangjan toyoγan ača qoγola ide-ǰü dad-u-γsan*
 many year cauldron ABL food eat-IPFV.CVB get.used.to-CONN-PRF.PTCP
*ača bol-ǰü...*¹²
 ABL be-IPFV.CVB

‘Because of getting used to receiving an equal share (lit.: ‘eating food from a cauldron’)...’

In (4-42) *mangjan toyoγan ača* ‘from the cauldron’ functions as an adverbial modifier of place.

c) S + adverbial modifier (INS) + DO + V

- (4-43) *ene longqon u usu yi yamar arγ_a bar uuγu-day bile?*
 this bottle GEN water ACC what method INS drink-PRS.PTCP PTCL
 ‘By what means does (someone) drink the water in this bottle?’

- (4-44) *ebesün i bol-basu ereü ber ide-n, usun i bol-basu uruγul*
 grass ACC be-COND.CVB chin/jaw INS eat-CVB water ACC be-COND.CVB lip
iyar adaliqan uuγu-ǰü a-tal_a, ai, abuγai minü,
 INS just.the.same drink-IPFV.CVB be-CVB(while/until) EXCLM Mr/sir 1SG.GEN
či arasu tai sirbüsü tei inggi-ǰü qata-γsan
 2SG skin/hide COM muscle COM do.like.this-IPFV.CVB dry-PRF.PTCP
činü yayun bui.
 2SG.GEN what COP

‘While being well-equipped for a good life if we make good use of our talents and rely on natural resources, my dear sir, why are you so miserable/how come you are so skinny and unfit?’

(lit.: ‘while (we) can eat the grass by chin and drink the water by lips, likewise, oh/hey, (my) excellency, why have you become skinny like this, with pure skin and muscle?’)

In (4-43) *yamar arγ_a bar* ‘by what means’ functions as an adverbial modifier; however, in (4-42) it is difficult to decide if *ereü ber* ‘with the chin’ and *uruγul iyar* ‘by lips’ function as indirect objects or adverbial modifiers of manner. The eating and drinking expression in (4-44), i.e. *ebesün i bolbasu ereü ber iden, usun i bolbasu uruγul iyar adaliqan uuγuǰü atal_a* ‘while eating grass by means of the chin; similarly, while drinking water by means of the lip’, is a phraseological expression which carries the metaphorical meaning of ‘someone is equipped with certain innate gifts and abilities so that he/she should be capable of achieving something basic with no difficulty’ (phraseological eating and drinking expressions will be discussed in Chapter 5). In this particular context, this phraseological expression implies that the addressee might be too lazy to move and is starving himself by not getting enough food to eat, because the addressee seems not to be using his ‘chin’ and ‘lips’ to eat and drink.

¹² *mangjan toyoγan ača qoγola ide-* ‘receive an equal share regardless of the work done’ is a phraseological expression.

4.2.2 Grammatical forms of the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’

In Section 4.2.2 I will discuss all forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* found in the corpus. They are divided into the following subsections: 1) voice; 2) aspect; 3) mood and modality; 4) tense; 5) non-finite verbal forms; 6) analytical verbal forms and constructions; 7) negative forms of *ide-/uuyu-*; 8) interrogative forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*.

4.2.2.1 Voice

All verbal forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* can display the grammatical category of voice. Apart from the active voice, there are some others, viz. the passive, causative, cooperative and plural voices, occurring in eating and drinking expressions.

(a) Passive voice

The passive voice is expressed by the suffix *-gde* as in the following examples:

- (4-45) *qaya* sometimes *jarim* some *amitan* animal *miq_a* meat *ide-deg* eat-PRS.PTCP *bol-baču* be (AUX)-CONC.CVB *tegün* that > 3SG
dü DAT.LOC *ide-gde-kü* eat-PASS-FUT.PTCP *amitan ni* animal TOP *mön le* still/also PTCL *urşumal* plant *iyar* INS *ami* life
jiyu-day make.a.living-PRS.PTCP *yum* PTCL *bile.* PTCL
 Note: *ami jiyu-* ‘make a living’ < *ami* ‘life’ + *jiyu-* ‘make a living’
 ‘Although sometimes a certain animal eats meat, as for the animals which will be eaten by it, (they) still live on plants (lit.: ‘they still flee for their lives by plants’).’

- (4-46) *bi* 1SG *öber* self *iyen* REF.POSS *kömön dü* human DAT.LOC *ide-gde-gsen* eat-PASS-PRF.PTCP *ču* even *mön* still
kömön ide-deg human eat-PRS.PTCP *kömön ü* person GEN *degüü* younger.brother *siü!* AFFM.PTCL
 ‘Even if I myself were eaten by humans, (I am) still a younger brother of a person who eats humans.’

(b) Causative voice

The causative voice is expressed by the suffixes *-gül* and *-lya* as in the following examples:

- (4-47) *narantuyay_a...* PN *miq_a, öndege,* meat egg *jimis* fruit *qudaldun* buy-CVB *abčira-ju* bring (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
namayi 1SG.ACC *albada-ju* force-IPFV.CVB *bayi-yad* be (AUX)-PRF.CVB *ide-gül-deg.* eat-CAUS-PRS.PTCP
 ‘Narantuya... forced me to eat meat, eggs and fruit, after buying (these things).’
- (4-48) *čimeg degüü* PN younger.brother *degen* DAT.LOC.REF.POSS *qayurai* dry *künesü eče* food ABL *ben* REF.POSS
ide-gül-ju eat-CAUS-IPFV.CVB *usu* water *uuyu-lya-ba.* drink-CAUS-PS
 ‘Chimeg let her younger brother eat some of her dry food and let (him) drink water.’

- (4-49) *tere üy_e dü či nadadu teyimü amta tai*
 that period DAT.LOC 2SG 1SG.DAT.LOC such/like.that taste PROP
ariki uuḡu-lḡa-ḡu bayi-ḡsan...
 wine drink-CAUS-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
 ‘At that time, you were letting me drink the wine which has that kind of taste.’

(c) *Cooperative voice*

The cooperative voice is expressed by the suffix *-lča/-lče-* as in the following examples:

- (4-50) *kerbe üde yin üy_e ber ide-kü dü kür-bel*
 if noon GEN period INS eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC reach-COND.CVB
kedüyiber masi čögen idegen iyen bol-baču yamar ču
 although very few food REF.POSS be (AUX)-CONC.CVB what PTCL
qaramči ügei ber qobiyarila-n ide-lče-kü yosotai.
 stingy/miserly NEG INS divide-CVB eat-COOP-FUT.PTCP should
 Note: *kerbe...Tv-kü-dü kür-bel* ‘if doing sth...’
 ‘If eating at noontime, although (there is) very little food, (sb.) should divide and eat (the food) together, without being stingy at all.’

- (4-51) *či bide qoya-ḡula bol čisu ban*
 2SG 1PL.INCL two-COLL.NUM TOP blood REF.POSS
uuḡu-lča-ḡsan aq_a degüü...
 drink-COOP-PRF.PTCP elder.brother younger.brother
 Note: *aq_a degüü* ‘brothers’
 ‘As for us, both you and I/me, (we) are brothers who have drunk each other’s blood...’

(d) *Pluritative voice*

The suffix *-ḡaya/-ḡege-* is used to express the pluritative voice in eating and drinking expressions. Note the following examples:

- (4-52) *ḡa qoḡola ban ide-ḡege-y_e.*
 EXCLM food/meal REF.POSS eat-PLV-VO
 ‘All right, let’s eat our food.’
- (4-53) *bide ene terigün ü qundaḡ_a ban uuḡu-ḡaya-y_a.*
 1PL.INCL this head/first GEN goblet REF.POSS drink-PLV-VOL
 ‘Let’s drink this first goblet (of wine).’

4.2.2.2 Aspect

I have found the following aspectual forms of *ide-* and *uuḡu-* in the corpus analysed. The suffix *-čiqa-/-čiike-/-či-* is attached to the verbs *ide-* and *uuḡu-* to express the perfective (completive) aspect. Note the following examples:

- (4-54) *ḡunan, türügün ü edür bököli qonin u miq_a ide-ged daray_a*
 PN first GEN day whole sheep GEN meat eat-PRF.CVB next
edür ni basa nige qonin u miq_a yi ide-čiike-ḡei.
 day 3POSS another one sheep GEN meat ACC eat-ASP-PST
 ‘Gunan, after eating all of the meat of a sheep on the first day, has eaten the meat of another sheep the next day.’

(4-55) *bi bol yerü eče ariki uuγu-day ügei kömön yum, önödürünenči*
 1SG TOP usually ABL wine drink-PRS.PTCP NEG person PTCL today PN
senjidm_a yin dayan uri-γda-ju ire-ged neliyed
 PN GEN DAT.LOC.REF.POSS invite-PASS-IPFV.CVB come-PRF.CVB quite
uuγu-či-l_a.
 drink-ASP-PST

‘As for me, (I) am a person who usually does not drink wine. Today (I) have drunk quite (a lot of wine), coming to (my dear) Unenchi and Senjidma’s (house), being invited (by them).’

The following grammatical means are also used to express aspect in Mongolian, viz. 1) repetition of verbal stems with the same or different converbs (see Section 2.6.1.2 for different aspectual meanings expressed by this grammatical device); and 2) analytical constructions which are formed using auxiliary verbs (the latter construction will be discussed in Section 4.2.2.8).

No relevant corpus examples are available for aspectual meanings of *ide-* and *uuγu-* which employ the grammatical device of reduplication. The following examples have been created by me to show the repetitive and continuous aspectual meanings expressed by reduplication of the same word form. In the following examples reduplication of different converbal forms expresses different aspectual meanings:

(4-56) *či yayaki-γad ide-ged ide-ged qamu-qu ügei*
 2SG what.to.do-PRF.CVB eat-PRF.CVB eat-PRF.CVB be.content-FUT.PTCP NEG
bui?
 COP

‘How can’t you have had enough after eating again and again?’

(4-57) *bolod ariki uuγu-γsayar uuγu-γsayar soyto-ba.*
 PN wine drink-CVB drink-CVB get.drunk-PST
 ‘Bolod got drunk while/since (he) kept drinking wine.’

In (4-56) *ideged ideged* ‘eating again and again’ with the suffix *-ged* denotes the aspectual meaning of frequency and repetition; but in (4-57) *uuγuγsayar uuγuγsayar* ‘while keeping drinking’ with the suffix *-γsayar* expresses the continuous aspectual meaning.

4.2.2.3 Mood and modality

In the following, I will discuss how different types of modality are expressed in eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian (see Section 2.6.1.3 in Chapter 2 for different types of modality and their definitions).

(1) Mood

I have found the following moods in relation to *ide-* and *uuγu-* in the analysed corpus. The indicative mood is used to express tenses in Mongolian (see the use of the indicative mood in Section 4.2.2.4 for *tenses*); but other moods are listed below:

a) Imperative mood

The imperative of *ide-* and *uuyu-* has different forms according to the grammatical category of person and it is closely connected to the category of politeness (the so-called honorific forms).

Firstly, in order to express a strict order (direct command) to the second person (both singular and plural) the imperative form which coincides with the stem of the verb is used, as in the following examples:

(4-58) *činiū duratai qoγola čini ene siü de, ¹³ ide-ø.*
 2SG.GEN favourite food 2 POSS >TOP this PTCL PTCL eat-IMP
 ‘As for your favourite food, (it) is this, please eat.’

In (4-58) *ide-* is used in the imperative form which coincides with its stem. It should be noted that the object of *ide-* is implied in the previous context in the sentence, i.e. *qurud* ‘cheese’. Below are two more examples:

(4-59) *ai abuyai minü, či sayin ebesü yi ide-ø, sayin usu*
 EXCLM Mr/sir 1SG.GEN 2SG good grass ACC eat-IMP good water
yi uuyu-ø... ¹⁴
 ACC drink-IMP
 ‘Hey, my dear sir, (you) eat the good grass and drink the good water...’

Moreover, the prohibitive particle *bitegei* can be used together with the second-person imperative form of *ide-* and *uuyu-*.¹⁵ Note the following example:

(4-60) *čino_a ta namayi bitegei ide-ø.*
 wolf 2SG 1SG.ACC PROH.PTCL eat-IMP
 ‘Wolf, do not eat me please.’

Secondly, the suffix *-γači/-geči* is a second-person imperative form which is used for the benedictive mood; it expresses the speaker’s polite request for the second person. Thus, the honorific meaning is expressed by the suffix itself. Note the following examples:

(4-61) *qurdun ide-geči de.*
 quickly/soon eat-BEN PTCL
 Note: *duratai* ‘willing; favourite’ < *dura* ‘like’ + *-tai* = PROP
 ‘Please eat (them) soon.’

(4-62) *ide-geči de, ide-kü ügei yaγaki-ju bol-qu bui?*
 eat-BEN PTCL eat-FUT.PTCP NEG what.to.do-IPFV.CVB be.all.right-FUT.PTCP COP
 ‘Please eat. How can you survive without eating?’

In (4-61) and (4-62) the particle *de* is used after the verb for emphasis.

Thirdly, the third-person imperative form (or the permissive mood) is expressed by the suffix *-γ/-g*. The main function of this suffix is to express the speaker’s approval for the third person’s action. Note

¹³ Both particles *siü* and *de* are used at the end of the nominal predicate to highlight and emphasize the utterance.

¹⁴ Example (4-59) uses personification and *abuyai minü* is an archaic formal expression, which is replaced by *abuyai mini* or *minü abuyai* in Modern Mongolian.

¹⁵ In some linguistic traditions this form (the prohibitive particle plus imperative form) is referred to as the prohibitive mood.

the following examples:

(4-63) *ayay_a* *buday_a* *ču* *ol-ju* *ide-g...*
 bowl rice/food/meal even get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-PERM

Note: *ol-ju ide-* ‘be able to eat’

‘Let him be able to eat at least one bowl of rice...’

In (4-63) the permissive (3rd person imperative) form of *ide-* is expressed by the suffix *-g*. Here the suffix *-g* also expresses the speaker’s wish and blessing towards the third person concerned.

(4-64) *dangda* *inggi-ju* *uuγu-qu* *bisi,* *yayamai,*
 always do.like.this-IPFV.CVB drink-FUT.PTCP NEG it.does.not.matter/never.mind

uuγu-γ *uuγu-γ* *ge-ju* *bodo-ju* *bayi-tal_a...*
 drink-PERM drink-PERM say-IPFV.CVB > that think-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CVB

‘While thinking “(He) does not always drink like this. Never mind. Let him drink; let him drink”...’

In (4-64) reduplication of *uuγuγ* is used for emphasis, highlighting the action of drinking. Here the suffix *-γ* has a connotation of disregard towards this particular action.

(4-65) *oro-ju* *ire-ju* *čai čuu* *uuγu-γ* *da,* *a!*
 enter-IPFV.CVB come-IPFV.CVB tea.and.the.like drink-PERM PTCL EXCLM

‘Hey, let (him) drink some tea (or water), coming in.’

(lit.: ‘Oh, why not let him drink some tea and the like, entering, coming?’)

In (4-65) the suffix *-γ* expresses the speaker’s approval for the third-person’s action. A slight dissatisfaction/dislike towards the current state of affairs is implied by means of the particle *da*. The implied meaning here is that the speaker approves the third person’s action of ‘drinking tea and the like’ in the household, but this is obviously not happening because someone did not allow it; therefore, it is annoying for the speaker.

b) Prescriptive mood

Prescriptive mood with the suffix *-γarai/-gerei* expresses the speaker’s wish or commission to the second person. Note the following examples:

(4-66) *ta* *eriyelēl ügei* *tay_a* *bar* *iyan* *ide-gerei...*
 2SG unreservedly will/pleasure INS REF.POSS eat- PRSP

Note: *eriyelēl ügei* ‘unreservedly’ < *eriyelēl* ‘modesty’ + *ügei* = NEG

‘Help yourself with eating...’

(lit.: ‘you eat unreservedly by your own wish please...’)

(4-67) *sin_e* *öndege* *ab-ču* *uuγu-ju* *bayi-γarai...*
 new egg get/buy-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRSP

‘Please keep buying and eating (lit.: ‘drinking’) new eggs...’

c) Voluntative mood

Suffixes *-y_a/-y_e* and *-suyai/-sügei* are used after *ide-* and *uuγu-* to express the voluntative mood. The voluntative expresses an attainable wish for the first person (singular and plural). Sometimes the suffix *-y_a/-y_e* expresses the speaker’s approval, appeal and suggestion to do something either by himself/herself or together with the hearer. Note the following examples:

(4-68) *tege-bel* *takiyan* *miq_a öndege* *tei* *qoyola ide-y_e*.
do.so-COND.CVB > then chicken meat egg PROP meal eat-VOL
‘Then let me eat/I’d like to eat the meal which is made of chicken meat and eggs.’

In (4-68) *takiyan miq_a öndege tei qoyola idey_e* expresses the speaker’s approval and wish to eat the meal which is made of chicken meat and eggs.

(4-69) *bide* *oro-ǰu* *čai* *uuyu-y_a,* *čai* *uuyu-qu* *ǰayur_a*
1PL.INCL enter-IPFV.CVB tea drink-VOL tea drink-FUT.PTCP moment
ta *minü* *silüg* *i* *üje-ged* *ög-gö-gerei*.
2SG 1SG.GEN poem ACC look.at/check-PRF.CVB give (AUX)-CONN-PRSP
‘Let’s drink tea, entering (the house). Please help check my poem while drinking tea.’

(4-70) ...*tangsu* *un* *miq_a* *yi* *qamtu ide-sügei*
invite-CAUS-IPFV.CVB Tang.monk GEN meat/flesh ACC together eat-VOL
ge-be.
say-PST
‘(Sb.) said that he would like to eat the Tang Monk together (with his mother).’

In (4-69) and (4-70) both suffixes *-y_a* and *-sügei* express the speaker’s appeal, wish and suggestion to eat and drink something together either with the hearer, viz. ‘you’ in (4-69) or with a third person concerned, i.e. ‘his mother’ in (4-70).

(4-71) *či* *türgen ǰegeli dür* *abači-n* *qudaldu-ǰad* *kedün šeng* *amu*
2SG quickly street DAT.LOC take-CVB sell-PRF.CVB several litre grain
abčira-ǰu *singgen buday_a* *čina-ǰu* *ide-sügei*.
bring-IPFV.CVB congee/porridge/gruel cook-IPFV.CVB eat-VOL
Note: *emegčün takiy_a* ‘hen’ < *emegčün* ‘female’ + *takiy_a* ‘chicken’; *singgen buday_a* ‘congee’ < *singgen* ‘dilute/liquid’ + *buday_a* ‘food’.

‘[I have one hen which is laying eggs.] After quickly taking (it) to the market and selling it, bringing several litres of grain, you eat congee, cooking.’

In (4-71) the suffix *-sügei* expresses the speaker’s wish for the addressee ‘you’ to accomplish the action of ‘eating congee’ after buying some grain.

d) Optative mood

The suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* denotes the optative mood, expressing the speaker’s approval, wish and blessings to the third person (singular and plural). Note the following examples:

(4-72) *qudayui* *basa* *ende* *ire-ǰü* *sayu-n buday_a*
parents.of.one’s.daughter/son-in-law also here come-IPFV.CVB sit-CVB food/meal
ide-tügei.
eat-OPT
‘Let parents of the daughter-in-law also eat the meal, coming to sit here.’

(4-73) ...*minü* *ökin* *basa* *baqan ide-tügei*.
1SG.GEN daughter also a.little eat-OPT
‘...Let my daughter also eat a little.’

(2) Modality

Note the following examples which involve *ide-* and *uuyu-*:

a) *Epistemic and evidential modality*

Adverbs such as *labtai* ‘surely, certainly’ and particles such as *bayiq_a* ‘probably, may, might’ and *bije* ‘perhaps, maybe’ can be used to express epistemic modality (inferred certainty, possibility or probability).¹⁶ The word *labtai* can occur either in the middle or at the end of the sentence; but the two particles mentioned above must occur at the end of the sentence. Note the following examples:

- (4-74) *ide-kü* *yayum_a* *bayi-qu* *ni* *labtai*.
 eat-FUT.PTCP thing be/have-FUT.PTCP NR surely/certainly
 ‘(There) must be something to eat.’
 (lit.: ‘That there is something to eat is certain.’)

In (4-74) the adverb *labtai* appears at the end of the sentence to express the modal meaning of inferred certainty (or deductive meaning: the only possible conclusion).

- (4-75) *abu* *eji* *mini* *üyile* *tamu* *amsa-ju,* *labtai*
 father mother 1POSS manual.labour suffering/misery taste/suffer-IPFV.CVB certainly/surely
ide-ju *uyyu-qu* *yayum_a* *ügei* *bayiq_a*.
 eat-IPFV.CVB drink-FUT.PTCP thing NEG maybe/perhaps/probably
 ‘My parents, suffering miseries, may have nothing to eat or drink.’

In (4-75) the combination of the adverb *labtai* and the particle *bayiq_a* indicates a speculative modal meaning. It is noteworthy that the adverb *labtai* occurs in the middle of the sentence here.

- (4-76) *aq_a* *e,* *uridu* *yin* *jerlig* *kömön baruγ* *čöm* *iyer*
 elder.brother PTCL before GEN wild/savage human almost/about all INS
iyen *baγ_a saγ_a* *kömön ide-deg* *bayi-γsan* *bije*.
 REF.POSS a.bit human eat-PRS.PTCP be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PTCL(perhaps/maybe)
 ‘Hey elder brother, the savages in the past may all have eaten humans a little bit.’

Phrases such as *yariyan ügei* ‘it goes without saying that, it is a matter of course that’ and *kelelgen ügei* ‘it goes without saying that, it is certain that’ are also used to express epistemic modality with an assumptive modal meaning (a reasonable conclusion). Note the following examples:

- (4-77) *čaj* *uyyu-qu* *yi* *ni* *neng* *kelelgen* *ügei*.
 tea drink-FUT.PTCP ACC 3POSS particularly expression NEG
 ‘Don’t even mention about their drinking tea.’
 ‘Certainly (they) will drink tea.’ or ‘They will definitely drink tea.’

- (4-78) *subila-γsayar* *taryula-bal,* *tede* *ilegüü miq_a ol-ju*
 nurse/recuperate-CVB get.fat-COND.CVB 3PL more meat get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
ide-kü *ni* *yariyan ügei*.
 eat-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR certain/indisputable
 Note: *ol-ju ide-* ‘be able to eat’; *yariyan/kelelgen ügei* ‘certain’ < *yariyan/kelelgen* ‘conversation, talk’ + *ügei* = NEG.
 ‘It goes without saying that/ it is certain that they will be able to eat more meat if (they) get fat while recuperating.’

Adjectives such as *bololtai* ‘likely; probably; it seems to be that’ and verbs such as *ge-* ‘it is said

¹⁶ *labtai* is an adjective when it means ‘reliable, conclusive’; *bayiq_a* ‘I am afraid that...’ or ‘I guess that’ < *bayiqu* = *bayi-* ‘be’ + *-qu* = FUT + *e* = PTCL (Sodobilig, 2006, p. 248).

that' are used to express evidential modality.¹⁷ Note the following examples:

- (4-79) *yamar nigen yagum_a yi doyi-ǰu ab-u-γad*
 certain thing ACC peck-IPFV.CVB take (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB
ide-ǰü bayi-γ_a bololtai.
 eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP probably/likely/it.seems.to.be
 Note: *yamar nige(n)* 'any/some sort of/certain' < *yamar* 'what' + *nige(n)* 'one'; *doyi-ǰu ab-* 'have pecked'
 '[This bird is really strange.] (It) seems to be eating/is probably eating a certain thing, having pecked (it).'

In (4-79) the adjective *bololtai* 'likely; seem' expresses evidential meaning in the analytical verbal expression *ideǰü bayiγ_a bololtai* 'seems to be eating/is probably eating'.

- (4-80) *tere qoyar kömön ide-ǰü čad-u-γad uuγu-ǰu*
 that two person eat-IPFV.CVB eat.one's.fill-CONN-PRF.CVB drink-IPFV.CVB
qanu-γsan bololtai...
 be.content-PRF.PTCP likely/seem
 'Those two people seem to have eaten and drunk to their satisfaction...'
 ('lit.: it seems that those two people have eaten and drunk till they were full...')

Likewise, in (4-80) the adjective *bololtai* 'likely; seem' expresses evidential modality in the verbal phrase *ideǰü čaduyad uuγuǰu qanuyγsan bololtai* 'seem to have eaten and drunk to their satisfaction'.

- (4-81) *muur ni... quluyan_a yi alayada-ǰu una-γa-γad*
 cat 3POSS > TOP mouse ACC slap/strike-IPFV.CVB fall-CAUS-PRF.CVB
bari-ǰu ide-gsen ge-n_e.
 seize-IPFV.CVB eat-PRF.PTCP say-PRS > it.is.said.that
 'It is said that the cat has eaten the mouse, after seizing it and slapping it onto the ground.'

- (4-82) *inggiged tere keriy_e usu yi qan-tal_a uuγu-γsan*
 thus that crow water ACC to.content.oneself-CVB drink-PRF.PTCP
ge-n_e.
 say-PRS > it.is.said.that
 Note: *inggiged* 'thus' < *inggi-* 'do.like.this' + *-ged* = PRF.CVB
 'Thus, it is said that the crow has drunk the water till (it) was content.'

In (4-81) and (4-82) the verb *ge-* 'it is said that' expresses the evidential meaning of hearsay.

b) Deontic and dynamic modality

Some adjectives, viz. *keregtei* 'necessary', *yosotai* 'reasonable' and *čiqulatai* 'necessary' are used to express deontic modality with an obligative meaning. They can be translated as 'must, have to'; 'should, must' and 'need to do sth.' respectively. Normally adverbs such as *erkebsi* 'must, no matter how, by all means' and *ǰabal* 'for certain, absolutely' occur in the same sentence with *keregtei/yosotai* 'should'. Note the following examples:

- (4-83) *em uuγu-qu keregtei bayi-n_a uu?*
 medicine drink-FUT.PTCP-DAT.LOC must/necessary be-PRS INTR.PTCL
 'Is it necessary to take (lit.: 'drink') medicine?'

¹⁷ Notably, the verb *ge-* can also be used to form an analytical construction which denotes imminent aspectual meaning (see Section 4.2.2.8).

In (4-83) the modal meaning of necessity is expressed by the combination of the adjective *keregtei* ‘necessary’ and the existential verb *bayi-*.

- (4-84) *kedüyiber* *čadqulang* *bayi-l_a* *ču* *ge-(g)sen*
 although full be-PST PTCL(even) say-PRF.PTCP > it.is.said.that
ayil *du* *γayča* *ayay_a* *čai* *uuyu-day* *ügei*,
 village/household DAT.LOC only bowl tea drink-PRS.PTCP NEG
jabal *qoyar* *ayay_a* *čai* *uuyu-day* *yosotai*.
 Must two bowl tea drink-PRS.PTCP should /must
 ‘Although (someone) was said to be full, (he/she) must drink two bowls of tea instead of drinking (lit.: ‘not drink’) a single bowl of tea in the households.’

In (4-84) the adjective *yosotai* ‘reasonable, customary’ expresses a modal meaning of obligation ‘must’.

The following example is created by myself:

- (4-85) *ebedčiten* *čay* *tayan* *em* *uuyu-qu* *čiqulatai*.
 patient time DAT.LOC.REF.POSS medicine drink-FUT.PTCP must/need.to
 ‘Patients need to take medicine on time.’

Sometimes adverbs such as *jabal* ‘for certain, absolutely’ express deontic modality with an obligative meaning by itself. Note the following example:

- (4-86) *tege-kü* *degen* *kesege-jü* *ab-u-γsan*
 do.that-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS cut.into.pieces-IPFV.CVB get (AUX)-CONN-PRF.PTCP
ıyan *jabal* *ide-deg*.
 REF.POSS absolutely eat-PRS.PTCP
 Note: *tege-kü-degen* ‘moreover’; *kesege-jü ab-* ‘have cut into pieces’.
 ‘Moreover, (sb.) must eat (the meat) which (he/she) has taken for oneself, cutting it into pieces.’

Apart from the above means of expressing modality, analytical constructions such as *Tv-bal/bel tayara-/tokira-/joki-* ‘should/ought to do sth’ and *Tv-jü bol-* can also be used to express different modal meanings in Mongolian (see Section 4.2.2.8 about *analytical constructions* for more examples).¹⁸ Note the following examples:

- (4-87) *γayča* *kü* *jöbken* *čad-qu* *qoyola yi* *bodo-jü*
 only PTCL just/solely be.full -FUT.PTCP meal ACC think/consider-IPFV.CVB
ide-besü *joki-mui*.
 eat-COND.CVB fit (AUX)-PRS
 ‘(A person) should eat just to the extent that he/she is full.’
 (lit.: ‘(one) should eat, only if considering having a full meal.’)

In (4-87) *-besü* is a conditional converbal suffixal form used in Classical Mongolian. Deontic modality with a commissive meaning is expressed by the analytical construction *idebesü joki-*.

- (4-88) *eyimü* *eče* *bide* *yangju* *böri* *yin* *idesin noyoy_a* *yi*
 so/thus ABL 1PL.INCL kind/sort every GEN vegetable ACC
ürgülji *ide-jü* *bayi-bal* *joki-n_a*.
 often eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-COND.CVB fit (AUX)-PRS
 ‘Thus, we should often eat every kind of vegetable.’

In (4-88) deontic modality with a commissive meaning is expressed by an analytical construction *idejü*

¹⁸ *tayara-/tokira-/joki-* ‘fit to do sth.’

bayibal joki-. It is interesting to note that the first part of this structure is made up of another analytical construction, which expresses the present progressive aspectual meaning.

- (4-89) *emegtei* *kömön eregtei kömön i* *bodo-bal* *ariki*
 female person male person ACC think/compare-COND.CVB wine
uuyu-yad *tokira-qu* *ügei* *ge-(g)sen* *onol* *i* *odo üy_e*
 drink-PRF.CVB should-FUT.PTCP NEG say-PRF.PTCP > so.called theory ACC modern.times
yin *sinjilekü uqayan* *ču* *nutala-γsan* *ügei.*¹⁹
 GEN science PTCL(even) demonstrate/prove-PRF.PTCP NEG
 ‘Even modern science (lit.: ‘science in the modern times’) has not demonstrated the theory that a female, in comparison to a male person, should not drink wine.’

In (4-89) the analytical construction *uuyuyad tokira-* expresses deontic modality with a commissive meaning. A prohibitive meaning of ‘should not’ is expressed by adding the negative particle *ügei* after the construction (see Section 4.2.2.6 for the *negative* forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*).

- (4-90) *nige* *jüsüm ide-jü* *bol-bal* *bököli ber* *ni* *ide-jü*
 one slice eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-COND.CVB whole INS 3POSS eat-IPFV.CVB
bol-qu *ni* *basa yariyan ügei.*
 be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR also undisputable
 ‘If (sb.) may eat one slice (of the human flesh), (then) (the fact that) (he/she) may eat the whole (of the human flesh) is indisputable.’
 (lit.: ‘...(the fact that) (he/she) may eat (the human flesh) as a whole is indisputable.’)

In (4-90) deontic modality with a permissive meaning is expressed by the analytical construction *idejü bol-*; in addition, epistemic modality with an assumptive meaning is expressed by the phrase *yariyan ügei*. The possessive particle *ni* functions as a nominaliser here; and the whole sentence is an evaluative construction (see § 4.4 and § 4.6 for *nominalisation* and *constructions of evaluation* in relation to *ide-* and *uuyu-*).

Occasionally certain verbs per se can express deontic modality. Note the example below:

- (4-91) << *kömön* *i* *ide-kü* *ni* *tayara-n a* *uu?*>>
 human ACC eat-FUT.PTCP NR >TOP be.correct-PRS INTR.PTCL
 ‘Should one eat humans?’
 (lit.: ‘As for (the practice of) eating humans, is it correct?’)

In (4-91) the special verb *tayara* ‘be correct to do something, fit to do something’ expresses deontic modality, indicating the speaker’s judgement of the moral desirability of the state of affairs that are expressed in the utterance. Notably, *ni* functions as both a nominaliser and a topicaliser in this sentence (see Section 4.7 for *topicalisation* in relation to *ide-* and *uuyu-*).

Verbs such as *čida-* ‘be able to do sth., be capable of doing sth.’ and *deyil-* ‘be capable of, be competent for sth.’ express dynamic modality with an abilitive meaning. Note the following examples:

- (4-92) *tede* *bol* *ükü-gsen* *miq_a yi* *la* *ide-jü* *čida-n a!*
 3PL TOP die-PRF.PTCP meat ACC PTCL (only) eat-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-PRS
 ‘As for them, (they) can eat only the dead meat.’

¹⁹ *sinjilekü uqayan* < *sinjile-* ‘investigate, study’ + *-kü* = FUT.PTCP + *uqayan* ‘mind, intellect, branch of science’

(4-93) *getel_e* *tere* *longqon* *u* *amasar* *ni* *bay_a* *mörtegen*
 but that bottle GEN mouth 3POSS small CONJ
küjügüü *ni* *urtu* *tula* *usu* *yi* *ni* *uuyu-ju*
 neck 3POSS long because water ACC 3POSS drink-IPFV.CVB
čida-γsan *ügei*.
 be.capable.of-PRF.PTCP NEG
 ‘But because the mouth of that bottle is small and its neck is long, (the crow) could not drink the water.’

In (4-93) the negative form of the verb *čida-* is used.

(4-94) *ene* *boγorsoγ* *kedüyiber* *yeke* *bisi* *bolbaču*²⁰ *minü* *naima*
 this pastry although big NEG although 1SG.GEN eight
ide-ju *deyil-kü* *ügei* *yi* *tere* *mede-n_e*.
 eat-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG ACC that > 3SG know-PRS
 ‘Although this pastry is not big, he/she knows that I am not able to eat eight (of them).’

In (4-94) the negative form of the verb *deyil-* is used.

Adjectives such as *duratai* ‘be willing to do sth.’ express dynamic modality with a volitive meaning.

Note the following examples:

(4-95) *bi* *kedüyiber* *qayari-γsan* *boγorsoγ* *ide-kü* *duratai*
 1SG although fry-PRF.PTCP cookie/pastry eat-FUT.PTCP willing
bolbaču *ögedetei* *qayari-ju* *čida-qu* *ügei*.
 although well fry-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG
 Note: *bolbaču* < *bol-* ‘be’ + *-baču* = CONC.CVB
 ‘Although I like eating fried pastries, (I) cannot fry well.’

(4-96) *neliyed olan* *emegtei* *nökö(r)-d* *üinen* *degen* *bör*
 quite many female friend-PL true DAT.LOC.REF.POSS all
kedün qunday_a *ariki* *uuyu-či-day* *böged uuyu-qu* *ču* *duratai*
 several goblet wine drink-ASP-PRS.PTCP CONJ drink-FUT.PTCP even willing
bayi-day.
 be-PRS.PTCP
 ‘Quite a lot of women friends would actually drink several glasses of wine and (they) even enjoy drinking (it) (lit.: ‘(they) are even willing to drink’.’

Last but not least, it should be noted that certain participial suffixes such as *-mar/-mer* and *-γusitai/-güsitei* are also used to express epistemic modality and deontic modality. This will be discussed in the relevant section about participles (see Section 4.2.2.5 for *participles*).

4.2.2.4 Tenses

The use of tenses is closely related to the indicative mood in Mongolian. The suffixes *-ba/-be* (*-bai/-bei*), *l_a/l_e*, *-jai/-jei* (*-juqui/-jüküi*) and *-n_a/-n_e* (*-mui/-müi*) are used in the corpus to indicate the

²⁰ Normally conjunctions *kedüyiber* ‘though’ and *bolbaču* ‘although’ are used together to express a concessive meaning; but *bolbaču* can occur by itself in a sentence while *kedüyiber* cannot be used alone.

indicative mood (finite forms) of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu*.²¹ The suffix *-n_a/-n_e* (*-mui/-müi*) expresses both present and future actions; and the rest of the suffixes denote past tense. Note the following examples:

- (4-97) *qonin sürüg-üid simetei noyoy_a yi gedesü dügüreng ide-be.*
 sheep flock-PL nutritious vegetables ACC stomach full eat-PST
 ‘Flocks of sheep ate/have eaten the nutritious vegetables until they were full.’

In (4-97) the suffix *-be* expresses the present perfect tense. In this example, *gedesü dügüreng* ‘with full stomach/until the stomach is full’ serves as an adverbial phrase to modify the verb *ide-*.

- (4-98) *qadam eke, beri qoya-γula čuyγar ire-n sayu-ju buday_a*
 in-laws mother daughter-in-law two-COLL.NUM together come-CVB sit-IPFV.CVB food
ide-bei.
 eat-PST
 ‘Both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law have eaten food after sitting, coming together.’

- (4-99) *fan kuvai tal a ki-n bos-ču joyso-γad ariki yi ni*
 PN show.respect-CVB get.up-IPFV.CVB stand-PRF.CVB wine ACC 3POSS
uuyu-bai.
 drink-PST
 Note: *tal_a ki-* ‘show due respect for somebody’s feelings; save face for sb.’
 ‘Fan Kuai, showing respect, drank his wine after standing up.’

- (4-100) *čimeg degüü tei ben qoya-γula čai uuyu-ju miq_a*
 PN younger.brother COM REF.POSS two-COLL.NUM tea drink-IPFV.CVB meat
ide-l e.
 eat-PST
 ‘Both Chimeg and her younger brother drank tea and ate meat.’

In (4-100) the suffix *l_a/l_e* expresses the simple past tense. It should be noted that the imperfective converb *-ju* is used here to connect the two consecutive actions of eating and drinking.

- (4-101) *tere soytoyu... toloyai ergi-ju bayi-γsan ču qujirliy*
 that drunkard be.dizzy.headed-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP even salty
böliyen usu ača gedesü meden uuyu-čaj.
 lukewarm water ABL as.much.as.possible drink-MIR.PST
 Note: *gedesü meden* ‘as much as possible’ < *gedesü* ‘stomach’ + *mede-* ‘know’ + *-n* = CVB
 ‘That drunkard... although he was getting dizzy, it was unexpected that (he) drank the salty lukewarm water as much as he could (lit.: ‘as much as his stomach could contain’).’

In (4-101) the suffix *-čaj* is used after *uuyu-* to express the past tense. Notably, this suffix commonly occurs with a third-person subject and it indicates the evidential modality expressing mirativity. A similar example is given below:

- (4-102) *nigen edür γurban uday_a nom nomla-ju ög-gö-ged,*
 one day three time preach/teach-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB
γar-qu böri dü segül ün nigen quluyan_a yi
 get.out-FUT.PTCP every DAT.LOC last/end GEN one mouse ACC
bari-ju ide-kü bol-juqui.
 seize/catch-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-MIR.PST

²¹ The suffixes *-bai/-bei*, *-juqui/-jükiü* and *-mui/-müi* are used in Classical Mongolian.

Note: *nom nomla-* ‘preach’ < *nom* ‘book’ + *nomla-* ‘teach’; *ide-kü bol-* ‘will eat; starts to eat’
‘It was found that after helping with teaching three times a day, whenever (the cat teacher) left (the classroom) (he) would seize the last mouse and started to eat (it).’

The suffix *-mui* can express either the present or the future tense, as seen below:

(4-103) ...*qoyolan* *u* *daray_a* *jabal* *baqan* *uda-γsan* *qoyin_a*
meal GEN after definitely a.little linger/delay-PRF.PTCP after
sayi *čai* *uuyu-mui,* [*inggi-besü* *sayi deligüü* *godoyodo*
only.then tea drink-PRS/FUT do.like.this-COND.CVB only.then spleen stomach
yi *gemtüge-kü* *ügei* *keme-n* *surya-ju* *bayi-γsan*
ACC damage/injure-FUT.PTCP NEG say-CVB > that teach-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
bulai].
PTCL

‘... (sb.) was teaching/advising that (we) shall drink tea after waiting for a while after a meal.
[Only then, (we) will not damage the spleen and stomach].’

The verb *uuyumui* is translated as ‘shall/should drink’ in (4-103), considering the use of the modal adverb *jabal* in the sentence.

(4-104) ...*siyang* *vang* *tere* *edür* *pei gong* *i* *üledege-ju* *ariki*
PN king that day PN ACC keep/detain-IPFV.CVB wine
uuyu-mui.
drink-PRS

Note: *siyang vang* refers to Xiangyu, who was a king of the Western Chu in Chinese history. *pei gong*, who is also known as Liubang, is the first emperor in Han Dynasty.

‘...the King Xiang asked Peigong to stay and drank wine (with him) that day.’

In (4-104) the suffix *-mui* is used to express the historical present tense.

(4-105) *jaγan* *edür* *böri* *γool* *du* *usu* *uuyu-n_a.*
elephant day every river DAT.LOC water drink-PRS
‘The elephant drinks water at the river every day.’

In (4-105) the suffix *-n_a* is used to express the present tense. This suffix can also be used to express the historical present. Note the following example:

(4-106) *qoyin_a* *dabki-n* *ire-gsen* *kömös türügüči* *yin*
behind gallop/hurry.along come-PRF.PTCP people foregoing GEN
ire-gsen *kömö(n)-s* *iyen* *nige tesi tülki-n* *yabu-γul-u-γad,*
come-PRF.PTCP person-PL REF.POSS push.twatd.one.side-CVB go-CAUS-CONN-PRF.CVB
temege(n)-d ün dumda siqaldu-n *bayi-ju* *usu* *uuyu-n_a.*
camel-PL GEN middle squeeze-CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.CVB water drink-PRS

Note: *nige tesi tülki-* ‘push toward one direction/side’ one toward push-CVB

‘People who hurried along afterwards are/were drinking water, squeezing in between the camels, after pushing the first comers (lit.: ‘the people who came before’) to one side.’

In addition, the suffix *-n_a* can express the future tense as shown below:

(4-107) *či* *unta-γad* *la* *bayi-ø,* *čiki* *yi* *čini* *quluyan_a* *ide-n_e*
2SG sleep-PRF.CVB PTCL be-IMP ear ACC 2POSS mouse eat-FUT

*de, ayiluu ayiluu ayiluu.*²²
 PTCL shame (INTJ.) shame (INTJ.) shame (INTJ.)

‘Don’t continue sleeping, otherwise you will be in danger (because the mouse will come and eat your ears).’

(lit: ‘You just keep sleeping (but you should be aware that if you sleep), the mouse will definitely eat your ears, shame, shame, shame.’)

In (4-107) the affirmative particle *de* is used at the end of the sentence to confirm and highlight the whole statement.

In addition to the above finite verbal suffixes, some participial suffixes can also be used in the indicative mood to express absolute tenses (see the concrete examples in Section 4.2.2.5).

4.2.2.5 Non-finite verbal forms

In the following, I will discuss two classes of the non-finite verbal forms concerning *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian: 1) participles and 2) converbs.

1) Participles

Participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* realise the following functions: (1) analogues of nouns; (2) predicative attribute; (3) main predicates of complex sentences (or predicates in simple sentences); (4) predicates of dependent clauses. Note the following examples:

(4-108) *dalan qudalči ayurla-qu dayan ilegüü ide-gsen*
 PN > the.Confirmed.Liar get.angry-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS superfluous eat-PRF.PTCP
yi ni qoyar, dutayu ide-gsen i ni nige alayada-γad
 ACC 3POSS two insufficient eat-PRF.PTCP ACC 3POSS one slap-PRF.CVB
dakin unta-ǰai.
 again sleep-PST

‘When getting angry, the Confirmed Liar, having slapped (the one) who has eaten more twice and (slapped) (the one) who has eaten less once, fell back to sleep (lit.: ‘slept again’).’

In (4-108) the perfective participial form of *ide-*, viz. *idegsen*, is an analogue of nouns and means ‘someone who has eaten’.

(4-109) *üi olan malčin tümen eǰi nayur un dabusu bar*
 numerous/innumerable herdsman people Mother.Lake GEN salt INS
ide-kü buday_a, uuyu-qu čai, emüs-kü bös iyen
 eat-FUT.PTCP meal/food drink-FUT.PTCP tea wear-FUT.PTCP cloth REF.POSS
ol-qu bar temeče-gseger ire-gsen yum.
 get-FUT.PTCP INS struggle-CVB come (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PTCL

‘Innumerable herdsmen have been struggling to get the food to eat, the tea to drink and the cloth to wear, by the salt of Mother Lake.’

In (4-109) the future participial forms of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* suffixed with *-kü* and *-qu* respectively

²² The expression *či untayad la bayi, čiki yi čini quluγan_a iden_e* ‘you just keep sleeping, the mouse will definitely eat your ears’ is a routine formula which is widely used among Mongolian people. The word *ayiluu* is used by adults when they address children, to show their compassion towards them, meaning “what a shame”, used as an interjection or an exclamation.

serve as predicative attributes of the nouns *buday_a* ‘meal’ and *čaj* ‘tea’.

- (4-110) *man u ide-deg idesin noyoy_a ge-bel yooldayu*
 1PL.EXCL GEN eat-PRS.PTCP vegetables say-COND.CVB > TOP mainly
čajan nonoya... jerge bol-o-n_a.
 Chinese.cabbage and.so.forth be-CONN-PRS
 Note: *idesin noyoy_a* ‘vegetables/greens’ < *idesin* ‘food’ + *nonoya* ‘vegetables’;
čajan nonoya ‘cabbage’ < *čajan* ‘white’ + *nonoya* ‘vegetables’
 ‘As for the vegetables that we eat, (they) are mainly cabbage etc.’

In (4-110) *idedeg*, the present participial form of *ide-*, serves as the predicative attribute to the compound noun *idesin noyoy_a* ‘vegetables’.

- (4-111) *önggere-gsen dü abu tai ban ire-kü degen*
 pass-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC dad COM REF.POSS come-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
ide-gsen takiyan miq_a öndege tei qoyolan u amta
 eat-PRF.PTCP chicken meat egg PROP meal GEN taste
yi edüi bol-tal_a marta-γadui aji.
 ACC now become-CVB > until forget-IPFV.PTCP.NEG PTCL
 Note: *-γadui* < *-γa* = IPFV.PTCP + *ügei* = NEG
 ‘(I) have not yet forgotten the taste of the meal with chicken and eggs, which (I) ate when (I) came with my dad in the past.’

In (4-111) *idegsen*, the perfective participial form of *ide-*, functions as the predicative attribute to the noun phrase *takiyan miq_a öndege tei qoyola* ‘the meal with chicken and eggs’.

- (4-112) *kündü yamsiy tu dayari-γda-bal, basa yeke arbin*
 serious disaster DAT.LOC strike/hit-PASS-COND.CVB also very many
qudalduyan u amu ide-deg.
 commerce GEN rice/grain/food eat-PRS.PTCP
 Note: *yamsiy dayari-* ‘for a calamity to strike’
 ‘If (people) are stricken by a serious disaster, (they) also eat a lot of commercial grain.’

- (4-113) << *önö örlöge yaγu ide-gsen bui?* >> *ge-bel, << öčögedür ün čaj*
 this morning what eat-PRF.PTCP COP say-COND.CVB yesterday GEN tea
yin siγaru buçal-γa-ju nige qurud
 GEN dreg boil-CAUS-IPFV.CVB one a.variety.of.Mongolian.cheese
qobiya-ju ide-gsen.>>
 share-IPFV.CVB eat-PRF.PTCP
 ‘If talking about what (we) have eaten this morning, (we) have shared one cheese, boiling the tea dregs left from yesterday.’

In (4-112) and (4-113) participles *idedeg* and *idegsen* both function as main predicates.

- (4-114) *qoyola ide-kü degen yasu miq_a qoyar i ilyal*
 meal eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS bone meat two ACC distinction
ügei ide-deg i ken bökön mede-n_e.
 NEG eat-PRS.PTCP ACC who all know-PRS
 Note: *ilyal ügei* ‘without distinction; indiscriminately’; *ken bökön* ‘all the people; everyone’.
 ‘[Wolf is a very greedy animal.] Everyone knows, that when eating a meal, (a wolf) eats both bones and meat indiscriminately.’

In (4-114) there are two participial forms of *ide-*. Both *idekü* and *idedeg* serve as dependent predicates in the clause. It is clear that they exhibit both verbal and nominal characteristics in this example, considering the fact that they are followed by case markers and their syntactic function. The participial

form which is marked by the dative-locative case *idekü degen* functions as the predicate in the temporal clause; and the participial form suffixed with the accusative case marker *idedeg i* serves as a predicative object (or the dependent predicate in the object clause).

(4-115) *qočor-o-γsan* *čerig-üd* *qooratu* *usu* *yi* *ni*
lag.behind-CONN-PRF.PTCP soldier-PL poisonous water ACC 3POSS
uuγu-ju, *qola* *ača* *iregsed* *ni* *qoor_a* *tai*
drink-IPFV.CVB far ABL comers NR > TOP poison PROP
miq_a *yi* *ide-gsen* *iyer* *qonoγ* *önggere-tel_e*
meat ACC eat-PRF.PTCP INS overnight pass-CVB
bögödeger *ükü-ju* *dayus-ba.*
all/everyone die-IPFV.CVB finish-PST

Note: *iregsed* ‘comers’ < *ire-* ‘come’ + *-gsen* = PRF.PTCP + *-d* = PL (human)

‘Because the remaining soldiers were drinking their poisonous water, and those who have come from far away were eating the poisonous meat, everyone had died by the next day.’

In (4-115) the instrumental case marker in *idegsen iyer* expresses ‘reason for doing something’. This is another example where the participial form of *ide-* combines the verbal and nominal characteristics and serves as a dependent predicate in the clause.

(4-116) *bi* *činü* *aq_a degüü* *olan* *bars* *i* *ide-gsen* *tula* *tolbo*
1SG 2SG.GEN brothers many tigers ACC eat-PRF.PTCP because spot
tai *bol-o-γsan*>> *ge-ju* *qariγul-ba.*
PROP become-CONN-PRF.PTCP say-IPFV.CVB > that answer-PST

Note: *aq_a degüü* < *aq_a* ‘elder brother’ + *degüü* ‘younger brother’

‘(The deer) answered ‘Because I ate many of your tiger brothers, (I) have become spotted.’

In (4-116) the dependent predicate *idegsen* is followed by a postposition *tula* ‘because’.

(4-117) *nögöge* *quluyan_a* *ni* *nökör* *iyen* *ala-γda-γsan*
the.other mouse 3POSS > TOP friend REF.POSS kill-PASS-PRF.PTCP
ge-ju *bodo-γad* *elbeg* *qoyola ban* *γaγčayar*
say-IPFV.CVB > that think-PRF.CVB abundant/rich meal REF.POSS alone
iyen *kečinen* *ide-gsen* *ču* *bara-qu* *ügei*
REF.POSS how.much eat-PRF.PTCP PTCL(even) finish-FUT.PTCP NEG
ge-ju *kemjij_e* *ügei* *yeke* *ide-gsen* *dü* *gedesti*
say-IPFV.CVB measure/limit NEG big/much eat-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC stomach
ni *dügür-ü-n* *ükü-kü* *siqa-γad*
3POSS get.full/satiate-CONN-CVB die-FUT.PTCP come.close.to/become.almost-PRF.CVB
bayi-jai.
be (AUX)-PST

‘The other mouse, having thought that its friend had been killed, saying ‘No matter how much (I) have eaten my own abundant food alone, (the food) will not finish’, when having eaten much limitlessly, its stomach getting full, (the mouse) was almost dead (lit.: ‘had been close to death’).’

In (4-117) the participle *idegsen* is first followed by the concessive particle *ču*; then it serves as a dependent predicate in the temporal clause *kemjij_e ügei yeke idegsen dü* ‘when eating much limitlessly’.

It should be noted that the imperfective participial suffix *-γa/-ge* normally occurs with the negative particle *ügei*. Note the following examples:

- (4-118) *temür sayulaγ_a qoγosora-tal_a nige ayaγ_a ču ol-ju*
 iron bucket/barrel get.empty-CVB one bowl PTCL get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
ide-ge ügei kömöš qoγoson ayaγ_a ban bari-γsayar
 eat-IPFV.PTCP NEG people empty bowl REF.POSS seize-CVB
qočor-day.
 lag.behind-PRS.PTCP
 ‘The people, who were not able to eat even one bowl (of rice) until the iron bucket became empty, lag behind while holding their empty bowls.’

- (4-119) *udayan edür čeber usu ol-ju uγu-γ_a ügei*
 long day clean water get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.PTCP NEG
toryud čerig-üd tungyalay sayiqan nayur un usu yi
 Seoul.Tuerhute soldier-PL clear good lake GEN water ACC
üje-nggüte γalγayura-n dabki-ju, urulduyan jarla-γsan
 see-CVB go.mad-CVB hurry.along/rush-IPFV.CVB competition announce-PRF.PTCP
siγ nayur ögede güyü-ldü-n e.
 as.if/like lake towards run-RECP-PRS
 ‘The Tuerhute soldiers who have not had clean water to drink for long days, as soon as (they) saw the clear good lake water, rushing along, going mad, were running towards the lake, as if (they were) announcing a competition.’

In addition, some participles express modal meanings. Note the following examples with the participial suffix *-mar/-mer*:

- (4-120) *qoγola qamiyaruγči kedün toγoγači tai ban tegün*
 food person.in.charge several chef/cook COM REF.POSS that > 3SG ACC
i bösele-ju ab-u-γad bari-ju ide-mer
 ACC surround-IPFV.CVB take (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB seize-IPFV.CVB eat-PTCP
ayasila-n_a.
 lose.one’s.temper-PRS
 Note: *qoγola qamiyaruγči* ‘caterer’; *bösele-ju ab-* ‘have surrounded’
 ‘The caterer and his several chefs were losing their temper, having surrounded him, (acting as if they) were about to seize and eat (him).’

In (4-120) the modal meaning of possibility is expressed by the participial suffix *-mer*. Notably, the phrase *bariju idemer* can be seen as an idiomatic expression which is used to describe the intense situation of pushing someone under pressure as if a person is about to eat the other person. Note a similar example below:

- (4-121) [*kele-gsen ügen dü čini qudal bayi-bal kerki-n_e?*
 say-PRF.PTCP word DAT.LOC 2POSS false/unreal be-COND.CVB what.to.do-FUT
ken kömön gereči bol-o-n_a?>> ge-ju] nidü ereyilge-n
 who/whoever proof/witness become-CONN-FUT say-IPFV.CVB > that eye glare-CVB
bari-ju ide-mer jangna-n_a.
 seize-IPFV.CVB eat-PTCP scold/reproach-PRS
 ‘(Someone) is scolding, as if going to eat (people) by seizing (them), glaring, [saying “what if your words are false? Who will become a witness?”]’

2) Converbs

Converbal forms of *ide-* and *uγu-* can only act as predicates in subordinate clauses, denoting relative

aspect-tense. Note the following examples:

(4-122)	<i>naran barayun</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>tasi-tal_a</i>	<i>ide-ged</i>	<i>kü</i>	<i>yaryaçin</i>
	sun west	DAT.LOC	fall.obliquely-CVB	eat-PRF.CVB	PN	butcher
	<i>şal</i>	<i>soyto-juqui.</i>				
	extremely	get.drunk-MIR.PST				

‘Having eaten for a long time (lit: till the sun set in the west), Butcher Khü was found to be extremely drunk.’

In (4-122) the perfective converbal suffix *-ged* is added after *ide-* to express the subordinate predicative action of ‘eating’ which has been done before the principal action of ‘getting drunk’.

(4-123)	<i>ai!</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>yangju bar</i>	<i>ide-bel,</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>nige</i>	<i>bay_a</i>	<i>la</i>
	EXCLM	this	manner INS	eat-COND.CVB	this	one	little/few	PTCL
	<i>künesü</i>	<i>kedü</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>qonoy</i>	<i>kür-kü</i>		<i>bui?</i>	
	foodstuffs	how.many	PTCL	day.and.night	suffice-FUT.PTCP		COP	

Note: *ene nige bay_a la künesü* ‘such few foodstuffs’ < *ene* ‘this’ + *nige* ‘one’ + *bay_a* ‘small’ + *la* =PTCL + *künesü* ‘foodstuffs’

‘Hey! If eating like this (lit.: ‘with this manner’), how many days will such little food last (for us)?’

(4-124)	<i>tede</i>	<i>sira-ysan</i>	<i>miq_a ban</i>	<i>nige</i>	<i>keseg</i>	<i>ide-bel</i>	<i>nigen</i>	<i>oyoçi</i>
	3PL	roast-PRF.PTCP	meat REF.POSS	one	piece	eat-COND.CVB	one	mouthful
	<i>usu</i>	<i>uyyu-ju,</i>	<i>yay</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>qorim</i>	<i>nayir</i>	<i>tu</i>	
	water	drink-IPFV.CVB	exactly.right	PTCL	wedding	party/gathering	DAT.LOC	
	<i>sayu-lça-ju,</i>	<i>bököli</i>		<i>ide-ju</i>	<i>butung</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>darasu</i>	
	sit-COOP-IPFV.CVB	meat.of.a.whole.sheep		eat-IPFV.CVB	jar	COM	liquor/wine	
	<i>könter-çü</i>	<i>bayi-γ_a</i>		<i>metü</i>	<i>kögjigen</i>	<i>naryiyan</i>		
	to.empty-IPFV.CVB	be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP		as.if	bustle	entertainment/bustle		
	<i>tai</i>	<i>bayi-l_a.</i>						
	PROP	be-PST						

‘They were joyful and bustling, drinking a mouthful of water while eating their roasted meat (lit.: ‘if/when they eat the meat which they roasted themselves’), just as if (they were) sitting together at a wedding party and were eating (together) the meat of a whole sheep and pouring the wine from a jar (until the wine was finished).’

In (4-123) and (4-124) the conditional converbal suffix *-bel* is added to *ide-*, expressing two different meanings. In (4-123) the conditional converb *idebel* ‘if eating’ expresses the conditional meaning; in (4-124) *idebel* ‘when/while eating’ expresses a temporal meaning.

(4-125)	<i>mögö</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>γoroq_a</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>usun</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>uγa-γad,</i>	
	mushroom	REF.POSS	creek	GEN	water	DAT.LOC	wash-PRF.CVB	
	<i>dabusu</i>	<i>toso</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>qar_a</i>	<i>usun</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>čina-γad</i>
	salt	oil	NEG	INS	dark	water	DAT.LOC	boil-PRF.CVB
	<i>ide-beçü</i>	<i>mön</i>	<i>nige</i>	<i>jüil</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>sebegün</i>	<i>sayiqan</i>	<i>amta tai</i>
	eat-CONC.CVB	still	one	kind	GEN	unusual/peculiar	good	taste PROP
	<i>bayi-day...</i>							
	be-PRS.PTCP							

Note: *qar_a usu(n)* ‘plain boiled water’

‘Even if eating your mushrooms without salt or oil, boiling in plain water, having washed/after washing them in the creek water, (it) still has a kind of unusual good taste.’

In (4-125) the concessive converb *idebeçü* expresses a concessive meaning of ‘even if eating’ and it

serves as a dependent predicate in the clause.

- (4-126) ... *bayan bulay un usu yi yurbanta uuyu-ju, bayan*
 rich spring GEN water ACC three.times drink-IPFV.CVB rich
oboyan u ebesü yi yurbanta ide-n...
 heap.of.stones GEN grass ACC three.times eat-CVB
 ‘...drinking the water of the rich spring three times and eating the grass from rich heaps of stones three times...’

In (4-126) the modal converbal suffix *-n* is added to *ide-*; in this sentence, the action of ‘eating’ happens simultaneously with the principal action which is not mentioned.

- (4-127) *kedün mingyan boda čini qudaldü-ju ide-gseger,*
 few thousand big.livestock 2POSS > TOP sell-IPFV.CVB eat-CVB
ükü-ju qokira-γsayar, odo döngge-ju doloyan jayu
 die-FUT.PTCP lose-CVB now barely.manage-IPFV.CVB seven hundred
kür-kü tei ügei tei bol-jai!
 reach-FUT.PTCP.COM NEG COM become-PST
 Note: *boda* ‘big livestock, including cattle, sheep and camels’

‘As for the several thousands of the big livestock, while/since selling (them), eating (them), dying (them) and losing (them), now there are barely seven hundred or so.’

In (4-127) the durative converb *idegseger* is used to express that the action of eating has lasted for some time.

- (4-128) *örlöge erte bide qoγola ban ide-megče anggi bar iyan*
 morning 1PL food/meal REF.POSS eat-CVB class INS REF.POSS
čuylara-γad masin du saγu-ju yabu-jai.
 gather-PRF.CVB automobile/car DAT.LOC sit-IPFV.CVB go-PST
 Note: *örlöge erte* ‘in the morning’ < *örlöge* ‘morning’ + *erte* ‘morning’

‘In the morning, as soon as (we) ate our own meal, (after all of us) gathering as a class, we went by car (lit.: ‘went, sitting in the car’).’

In (4-128) the successive converb *idemegče* serves as a dependent predicate, meaning ‘as soon as someone ate something’.

- (4-129) *üde yin qoγola ide-küber qari-γsan du, jeü ba pi*
 noon GEN meal eat-CVB go.back-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC PN
basa la qariya-γsayar bayi-ba.
 still PTCP scold/curse-CVB be (AUX)-PST

Note: *ide-küber* ‘in order to eat’ < *ide-* + *-kü* = FUT.PTCP + *-ber* = INS (purpose)

‘When going back to eat/have lunch (lit.: ‘eat the meal of noon’), Bapi Zhou is still calling their names/scolding (them).’

In (4-129) the purposive converbal suffix *-küber* expresses the purpose of the dependent action, so *ideküber* means ‘in order to eat’ here.

It should be mentioned that the imperfective converbal forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be used with phase verbs such as *dayus-/bara-* ‘finish’ and *ekile-* ‘begin’. Note the following examples:

- (4-130) *qoγola ban bayar bayasqulang tai ide-ju dayus-ba.*
 food/meal REF.POSS joy pleasure/joy COM eat-IPFV.CVB finish-PST
 ‘(Sb.) has finished eating his/her food happily (lit.: ‘with pleasure’).’

(4-131) *nige oroi bi qoγola ide-ǰü bara-γsan u daray_a*
 one evening 1SG food/meal eat-IPFV.CVB finish-PRF.PTCP GEN after
sula kesüğüçe-n alqu-γsayar qangyal_γ_a yin qorsiyān
 idly wander.around-CVB walk-CVB supply/provision GEN cooperation/shop
du oro-ba.
 DAT.LOC enter-PST
 ‘One evening after I finished eating food, (I) entered a provision shop while walking, wandering around idly.’

(4-132) *bi öber ün erke ügei nige yi ni ab-ču kituy_a*
 1SG self GEN power/right NEG one ACC 3POSS take-IPFV.CVB knife
bar qalisu yi ni arilya-γad ide-ǰü ekile-be.
 INS skin ACC 3POSS clean/peel-PRF.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB start/begin-PST
 Note: *öber-ün erke ügei* ‘cannot help oneself doing something’
 ‘I couldn’t help myself taking one (of them) and started eating (it) after peeling its skin with a knife.’

In addition, the imperfective converbal suffix *-ǰu/-ǰü* (or *-ču/-čü*) is used to link two verbs. Note the following examples:

(4-133) *dangda böse tei keüked-üd ide-ǰü emüs-kü ni*
 always belt PROP children-PL eat-IPFV.CVB wear-FUT.PTCP 3POSS
kürtel_e qoro-n bayi-qu yum...
 POST (even/until) diminish/waste-CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 Note: *bösetei keüked* ‘boys’
 ‘Usually boys waste a lot even in their eating and wearing...’

(4-134) *bayāngobi... terge küliye-n 32 edür sayu-ǰu, ide-ǰü*
 PN vehicle wait.for-CVB 32 days sit/live-IPFV.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB
uuyū-γsan ba qonoγ un süidkel-dü 200
 drink-PRF.PTCP CONJ lodging.for.the.night GEN expenditure/cost-DAT.LOC 200
γarui tögöri ǰaru-ǰai.
 over yuan spend-PST
 ‘Bayāngobi...waiting for a vehicle, staying for 32 days, (he) spent over 200 yuan on eating, drinking and lodging.’

In (4-133) and (4-134), the converbal suffix *-ǰü* in the verb *ideǰü* ‘eating’ is used to combine with the participial forms of *emüs-* ‘wear’ and *uuyū-* ‘drink’. The combined forms, viz. *ideǰü emüs-* and *ideǰü uuyū-*, denote two simultaneous actions of ‘eating and wearing’ and ‘eating and drinking’ respectively.

Last but not least, motion verbs such as *sayu-* ‘sit’, *yabu-* ‘go’, *oro-* ‘enter’, *γar-* ‘exit’ and *ire-* ‘come’ are used together with the imperfective, perfective and modal converbal forms of *ide-* and *uuyū-*. In such combinations, these motion verbs tend to lose their lexical meanings and function as auxiliaries to form analytical constructions (see Section 4.2.2.8 for relevant examples).

4.2.2.6 Negative forms of *ide-* and *uuyū-*

Participles and the finite verbal forms of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyū-* ‘drink’ can be negated. In general, the negative particle *ügei* is added after participial forms of a verb to form a negative sentence. Note the

following examples where *ide-* and *uuyu-* are negated by *ügei*:

(4-135) *bi yerü degen ariki uuyu-day ügei.*
 1SG usually DAT.LOC.REF.POSS wine drink-PRS.PTCP NEG
 ‘I usually do not drink wine.’

(4-136) *basa oroi yayum_a ide-kü ügei dadqal tai bol-ǰai.*
 also evening thing eat-FUT.PTCP NEG habit PROP become-PST
 ‘(Sb). also began to not eat things in the evening.’

In (4-135) and (4-136) two participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*, viz. *-day* and *-kü*, are negated with the negative *ügei*.

In addition, the negative *ülü* is used to negate finite verbal forms. Note the following examples:

(4-137) *tangsuy lam mön kü ülü ide-müi.*
 Tang.Monk PTCL (still) PTCL NEG eat-PRS
 ‘The Tang monk still did/does not eat (this meal).’

In (4-137) the negative *ülü* negates the finite verb *idemüi* ‘eats/ate’, which is in the historical present tense. Notably, the negative *ülü* is mainly used in Classical Mongolian or in archaic texts as in (4-137).

The negative forms are also concerned with modality. Both *ügei* and *ülü* can be used to negate sentences which express modal meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-138) *bi ide-ǰü čida-day ügei.*
 1SG eat-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-PRS.PTCP NEG
 ‘I cannot eat.’

(4-139) *ene ni tegün ü unta-ǰu ču čida-qu ügei,*
 this TOP that > 3SG GEN sleep-IPFV.CVB PTCL be.able.to-FUT.PTCP NEG
ide-ǰü ču čida-qu ügei, amisqu-ǰu ču
 eat-IPFV.CVB PTCL be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG breathe-IPFV.CVB PTCL
čida-qu ügei bayi-ǰsan sedkil ün ǰobalang i
 be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP mind GEN suffering/torture ACC
ni arilya-ǰu ög-be.
 3POSS eradicate/eliminate-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-PST
 ‘This has helped eradicate his/her mental suffering of being not able to sleep, eat or breathe.’
 ‘This has helped eradicate his/her mental suffering of being restless.’

In (4-138) and (4-139), the negative *ügei* follows the verb *čida-*, which expresses dynamic modality with an abilitive meaning. In (4-139) the particle *ču* is used after *ide-* ‘eat’, *unta-* ‘sleep’ and *amisqu-* ‘breath’ to emphasize these actions.

(4-140) *bi ide-ǰü ülü bol-o-mui.*
 1SG eat-IPFV.CVB NEG be (AUX)-CONN-PRS
 ‘I am not allowed to eat (this meal).’

In (4-140) the negative *ülü* is used to negate deontic modality of permission, which is expressed by the analytical construction *ide-ǰü bol-* ‘may eat’.

Apart from the above, the imperfective participial suffix *-ǰa/-ge* can be combined with the negative particle *ügei* into one fused form *-ǰadui/-gedüi*, as in the following example:

(4-141) *ebeü, bi čini qoγola ban ide-gedüi*
 EXCLM 1SG 2POSS > TOP meal/food REF.POSS eat-IPFV.PTCP.NEG
siü.
 PTCL

‘Oops/oh, as for me, (I) have not eaten my meal yet.’

In (4-141) *idegedüi* is a combined form of *idege* (< *ide-* + *-ge* = IPFV.PTCP) and *ügei*.

Sometimes, we can see a double negation which expresses an affirmative meaning. The following example is my creation:

(4-142) *tede erte yin qoγola ban ige-gsen ügei bisi.*²³
 3PL morning GEN meal REF.POSS eat-PRF.PTCP NEG NEG
 ‘They have eaten their breakfast.’ (lit.: ‘It is not that they did not eat their breakfast.’)

In (4-142) the double negation is expressed by the particle *ügei* and the particle *bisi*.

4.2.2.7 Interrogative forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*

Interrogative sentences in Mongolian are normally formed by the interrogative particle added after participles. However, it is also possible to form an interrogative sentence by means of finite verbal forms.

The interrogative particle *uu/üü* is used at the end of a sentence to express yes-no questions in Mongolian. Note the following examples:

(4-143) *či buyudai yin γulir un quyimay*
 2SG wheat GEN flour GEN battercake/pancake.made.of.millet.flour
ide-kü üü?
 eat-FUT.PTCP INTR.PTCL

‘Will you eat the battercake which is made of wheat flour?’

(4-144) *miq_a tai budaya čina-ju ide-n_e üü?*
 meat PROP food/meal boil/cook-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT INTR.PTCL
 ‘Are (you) going to cook and eat a meal with meat?’

In (4-143) and (4-144) the interrogative particle *üü* is added after the participle *idekü* and the finite verb *iden_e* respectively.

Sometimes the interrogative particle occurs after an affirmative particle, as shown below:

(4-145) *yayun dayan tejigel beledke-kü ni tere bui,*
 what DAT.LOC.REF.POSS forage prepare-FUT.PTCP NR that COP
ese-bel yaqai ebesü ide-deg yum uu?
 otherwise/if.not-COND.CVB pig grass eat-PRS.PTCP PTCL INTR. PTCL
 ‘Why (are you) preparing forage? Otherwise does a pig eat grass?’

On the other hand, *wh*-questions are formed by the use of interrogative pronouns and the copula *bui*. Note the following examples:

²³ Sometimes *bisi* is treated as an adverb (Sodobilig, 2006, p. 277). *ese* is another negative particle which is commonly used in Classical Mongolian.

(4-146) *ta-nar yamar boyorsoγ ide-ǰü bayi-γ_a yum bui?*
 2SG-PL what cake/pastry eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP PTCL COP
 ‘What (kind of) cakes are you eating?’

(4-147) *önö örlöge yaγu ide-gsen bui?*
 this morning what eat-PRF.PTCP COP
 ‘What did (you) eat this morning?’

In (4-146) and (4-147) the interrogative pronouns *yamar* and *yaγu* are combined with *bui* respectively to form *wh*-questions.

In addition, the auxiliary *bol* may be used to end an interrogative sentence, as shown below:

(4-148) *ger tegan čoqom yaγu ide-ǰü bayi-day bol?*
 house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS on.earth what eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP AUX
 ‘What does (sb.) actually eat at home?’

An alternative/selective question is formed by listing two yes-no interrogative sentences one after the other, as noted below:

(4-149) <<*bay_a say_a qoγola ide-n_e üü? čai uuyu-n_a uu?>>
 a.little.bit food eat-FUT INTR.PTCL tea drink-FUT INTR.PTCL
ge-ǰü iniye-n asayü-day.
 say-IPFV.CVB > that smile-CVB ask-PRS.PTCP
 ‘... (she) asks with a smile “Will (you) eat a bit of food? Or will (you) drink tea?”’*

The interrogative particle *uu/üü* can be fused with the preceding finite verbal suffixes. Note the following examples:

(4-150) *ačitu abai minü, čimayi ükü-gül-ǰü arasu*
 kind/graceful fiancée/Mrs. 1SG.GEN 2SG.ACC die-CAUS-IPFV.CVB skin/hide
yi činü emüs-be-ü bi. miq_a yi činü
 ACC 2SG.GEN wear-PST-INTR.PTCL 1SG meat/flesh ACC 2SG.GEN
ide-be-ü bi.
 eat-PST-INTR.PTCL 1SG
 ‘My kind lady, did I offend you in any way?’
 (lit.: ‘My kind lady, did I kill you and wear your skin/hide? Did I eat your flesh?’)

In (4-150) the suffix *beü* is a concretion of the past finite form *-be* and the interrogative particle *üü*. Notably, (4-150) seems to carry a connotation of accusation towards the addressee, since the speaker knows that he or she by no means offends the lady in question. In a sense, (4-150) can be understood as a rhetorical question, i.e. “my kind lady, I didn’t offend you in any way, did I?”

Some interrogative sentences are formed with the help of an interrogative pronoun alone, without using the interrogative particle, as noted below:

(4-151) *odo yambar em uuyü-ǰu bayi-mui?*
 now what medicine drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘What medicine (is she) drinking now?’

(4-152) *tegeged či yaγaki-ǰu ide-n_e de?*
 then 2SG what.to.do-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT AFFM.PTCL
 ‘Then, how will you eat (the bowl of rice)?’

The finite form of the verb itself followed by a question mark can also express an interrogative sentence. Under such a circumstance, a rising intonation is also an important indicator of a question.

Note the following example:

- (4-153) *ta-nar qamtural un yayum_a yi ide-ǰü qobi ban*
 2SG-PL collectivity GEN thing ACC eat-IPFV.CVB self REF.POSS
bayaǰi-ǰul-ǰai ge-n_e?
 get.rich-CAUS-PST say-PRS > it.is.said.that

‘Is it said/true that you let yourself get rich, exploiting (lit.: eating) the things of collectivity?’

Similar to (4-150), the example (4-153) denotes a connotation of accusation towards the addressee, namely the speaker blames the addressee for exploiting the things of collectivity and getting rich.

Suggestions are formed by the combination of a negative particle and an interrogative particle, viz. *ügei üü*, as it is shown below:

- (4-154) *odo qota qoyola ban ki-ǰü ide-kü ügei üü?*
 now PN meal REF.POSS make-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP NEG INTR.PTCL
 ‘Isn’t it a good time for Hota to cook and eat now?’
 ‘Isn’t Hota going to cook and eat his meal?’

In (4-154) *idekü ügei üü* forms a rhetorical question/suggestion, meaning ‘won’t (you) eat?’.

- (4-155) *tege-ged qoyola ide-kü ügei yum uu?*
 do.so-PRF.CVB food eat-FUT.PTCP NEG PTCL INTR.PTCL
 ‘Then won’t (you) eat food?’

In (4-155) the affirmative particle *yum* is used after the negative particle *ügei* to emphasize the sentence meaning.

(4-156) [Why is being the manager of the poor herdsmen’s association necessary/useful to me?]

- tere ügei bolbaču sar_a yin norm_a ban adaliqan*
 that NEG even.if month GEN quota/proportion REF.POSS same
abu-ǰad ide-ǰü ese bayi-n_a uu?
 get/take-PRF.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB NEG be (AUX)-PRS INTR.PTCL
 ‘Even if without that, aren’t (I) receiving/earning (lit.: eating) my quota of the month, having taken the same (amount of) the monthly proportion?’

In (4-156) *ese* is a negative particle; and the combination *ideǰü ese bayin_a uu* is used to form a rhetorical question/suggestion, meaning ‘isn’t (sb.) not eating?’

- (4-157) <<*daruy_a e! bide tus tus un iyan künesün buday_a*
 director PTCL 1PL.INCL each GEN REF.POSS foodstuffs food
ača bay_a saǰ_a ǰarya-ǰü ide-ǰü bol-day
 ABL a.little take.out-IPFV.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP
ügei yum uu?>>
 NEG PTCL INTR.PTCL

‘Director! Why don’t we eat (some of the food), taking out a little from each other’s food?’

In (4-157) the modal meaning of permission is expressed by the analytical construction *ideǰü bol-* ‘may eat’. The combination *ügei yum uu* constitutes a rhetorical question/suggestion.

4.2.2.8 Analytical verbal forms and constructions

Combinations of participial or converbial forms of *ide-* and *uuγu-* and auxiliary forms of existential verbs, viz. *bayi-* and *bol-* and some other verbs which partially keep their lexical meanings such as *ire-* ‘come’ and *yabu-* ‘walk’ are used to form analytical constructions, which express different aspectual and modal meanings.

(a) Tv-*ǰu/-ǰü* + *bayi* (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the progressive continuous aspect. Note the following examples:

(4-158) *ta-nar yamar boγorsoγ ide-ǰü bayi-γ_a yum bui?*
 2SG-PL what pastry eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP PTCL COP
 ‘What kind of pastries are you eating?’

(4-159) *taba bar iyan yabu-γči yekes-ner*
 pleasure INS REF.POSS go-AGT.PTCP high.official.and.noble.lord-PL
talaγar sayu-n ide-ǰü bayi-n_a!
 uselessly/to.no.purpose sit-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 Note: *taba-bar-ian* ‘as one pleases; at one’s pleasure’

‘The high officials and noble lords, who go at their pleasure, are eating, sitting idly.’

In (4-158) and (4-159) the analytical forms *ideǰü bayiγ_a* ‘are eating’ and *ideǰü bayin_a* ‘are eating’ both express the present progressive aspectual meaning.

(4-160) *čerig-üid čai yi ni uuγu-ǰu bayi-ba.*
 soldier-PL tea ACC 3POSS drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PST
 ‘The soldiers were drinking his/her tea.’

(4-161) *...qadan bulay deger_e čoqor buγu usu uuγu-ǰu*
 cliff spring on mottled/motley deer water drink-IPFV.CVB
bayi-l_a.
 be (AUX)-PST
 ‘...at a spring near the cliff (lit.: ‘on a cliff spring’), a motley deer was drinking water.’

In (4-160) and (4-161) the analytical forms *uuγuǰu bayiba* ‘were drinking’ and *uuγuǰu bayil_a* ‘were drinking’ both express the past progressive aspectual meaning.

(b) Tv-*γsayer/-gseger* + *bayi* (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses a long-lasting, continuing aspectual meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-162) *bars yerü ni amidu buγu yi üǰe-ge ügei ge-ǰü*
 tiger usually PTCL living deer ACC see-IPFV.PTCP NEG say-IPFV.CVB > that
bičiqan buγu mede-ged bars i üǰe-ge ügei yum sig
 little deer know-PREF.CVB tiger ACC see-IPFV.PTCP NEG PTCL as.if
keneg ügei le ide-gseger bayi-ba.
 care NEG PTCL eat-CVB be (AUX)-PST

Note: *yerü ni* ‘in general, generally’ < *yerü* ‘usually’ + *ni* = PTCL

‘The little deer had been eating/was still eating carelessly as if not seeing the tiger, knowing that tigers generally have not seen a real (lit.: ‘living’) deer.’

- (4-163) *uuyu-γsayar bayi-ǰu šal pal bol-tal_a soγto-γad*
 drink-CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.CVB extremely become-CVB get.drunk-PRF.CVB
maryasi ni bay_a üde önggere-tel_e unta-ǰai.
 tomorrow 3POSS small/little noon pass-CVB sleep-PST
 Note: *šal pal boltal_a soγto-* (or *pal soγto-*) ‘be/become dead drunk’
 ‘(Sb.) slept until it passed the early noontime the next day (lit.: ‘tomorrow’), after getting dead drunk, having been drinking (wine) for a long time.’

In (4-162) and (4-163) *idegseger bayiba* ‘had been eating/was still eating’ and *uuyuγsayar bayijū* ‘having been drinking for a long time’ express a long-lasting continuous action of eating and drinking respectively.

(c) *Tv-γad/-ged + bayi (AUX)-*

This analytical construction denotes a frequentative action. Note the following examples:

- (4-164) *tayara-qu ügei bol tede yayun du ide-ged*
 be.right-FUT.PTCP NEG if 3PL what DAT.LOC eat-PRF.CVB
bayi-day yum bui?
 be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP PTCL COP
 Note: *yayun du* ‘why’
 ‘If not right, why do they keep eating (humans)?’

(4-165) [‘You must have known about this. Let’s see if it works.’]

- toyono uruyu qara-n busud un qoγola yi*
 skylight.of.a.yurt towards look-CVB others GEN food ACC
ǰüger ide-ged bayi-γ_a ban sana-ǰu
 for.nothing/free.of.charge eat-PRF.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP REF.POSS think.of-IPFV.CVB
kebte-gsen eče le deger_e.
 lie.down-PRF.PTCP ABL PTCL (just/only) better
 ‘(It) will be better than just to lie down, looking towards the skylight of a yurt and thinking about having been eating others’ food for nothing.’

In (4-164) and (4-165) *ideged bayiday* ‘keep eating’ and *ideged bayi_γ_a* ‘having been eating’ both express the frequentative action of eating. Sometimes a particle can be inserted into the analytical construction as can be seen in the following example (4-166):

- (4-166) *eyimü yin tulada yabuγul kōmös, ayan u ǰoči(n)-d*
 such/thus GEN thanks.to passengers/passers-by travel GEN guest-PL
yerü degen ayil tayara-ldu-bal
 always DAT.LOC.REF.POSS village/household meet/come.across-RECP-COND.CVB
ide-ged le bayi-day.
 eat-PRF.CVB PTCL be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP
 ‘Thanks to/due to this, passers-by and travellers (lit.: ‘guests of travel’) keep eating (the host’s food) if (they) come across a household.’

In (4-166) the particle *le* is inserted into the analytical form *ideged bayiday* ‘keep eating’ for emphasis.

(d) *Tv-n + bayi-/a (AUX)-*

This analytical construction indicates that an action lasts for a period, but it is rarely used. Note the following examples:

(4-167) *ebesü bol-basu ereü ber, usu yi bol-basu uruyul*
 grass be-COND.CVB>TOP chin/jaw INS water ACC be-COND.CVB > TOP lip
iyar adaliqan ide-n uuyü-n a-tal_a, ken taryula-γsan,
 INS similarly/alike eat-CVB drink-CVB be (AUX)-CVB who get.fat-PRF.PTCP
ken ese taryula-γsan i ken mede-nem.
 who NEG get.fat- PRF.PTCP ACC who know-PRS
 ‘Since we are all born with a natural gift to live on grass and water, it’s hard to judge which one of us is getting fatter than the other.’
 (lit.: ‘As for the grass, (one) keeps eating by the chin; as for the water, (one) keeps drinking by the lips in the same way. Who knows which one has got fat and which one has not (got fat)?’)

In (4-167) *iden uuyun atal_a* ‘while keeping eating and drinking’ expresses that the action of eating and drinking has lasted for a period. It should be mentioned that *a-*, which is an auxiliary verb in Classical Mongolian, is only used in archaic texts.

(4-168) *yayan ulayan öngge tei alayan_a jiyasu buyu köke nuyturu yin*
 deep.pink colour PROP perch fish or blue sandgrouse GEN
jigür i ide-n bayi-qu dayan kömön i
 wing ACC eat-CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS human ACC
soytoγura-γul-u-m_a bar isbelje-ǰü, jočin u
 to.be.intoxicated-CAUS-CONN-DERn INS smile.shyly-IPFV.CVB guest GEN
dotonočirqay yariy_a yi sonos-o-n sayu-n_a ge-ǰü
 kind/close talk ACC listen-CONN-CVB sit-FUT say-IPFV.CVB > that
kei sana-n_a.
 fantasy/idle.dream wish-PRS
 Note: *yayan ulayan* ‘deep pink’ < *yayan* ‘pink’ + *ulayan* ‘red’
 ‘While eating the perch which has a deep pink colour or (eating) the wing of the blue sandgrouse, (sb.), smiling shyly in an intoxicating way, is having an idle dream that he/she will/would sit, listening to the guest’s kind talk.’

In (4-168) the analytical construction *iden bayi-* indicates that the action of eating lasts for a period.

(e) *Tv-day/deg + bayi (AUX)-*

This analytical construction expresses a habitual constant action. Note the following examples:

(4-169) *aq_a e, uridu yin jerlig kömön baruγq čöm iyer iyen*
 elder.brother PTCL before GEN wild/savage human almost all INS REF.POSS
bay_a say_a kömön ide-deg bayi-γsan bije.
 a.little/a.bit human eat-PRS.PTCP be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PTCL (perhaps/maybe)
 ‘Hey brother, perhaps almost all the savages in the past ate/were eating humans a bit.’

In (4-169) the analytical construction *idedeg bayi-* expresses a habitual action of ‘eat’. The use of the particle *bije* expresses an epistemic modality indicating the speaker’s uncertainty.

(4-170) *getel_e času tai bol qudduy un usu yi ide-kü*
 but snow PROP if well GEN water ACC eat-FUT.PTCP NEG
ügei, qarin qola ača čeber času abčira-ǰu qayiluyul-ǰu
 but far ABL clean snow bring.here/fetch-IPFV.CVB melt/dissolve-IPFV.CVB
ide-deg bayi-γsan.
 eat-PRS.PTCP be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
 ‘But if there is snow, (we) do not drink (lit.: ‘eat’) well water; on the contrary, (we) used to drink (lit.: ‘eat’) (water), (by) taking clean snow from far away and melting (it).’

In (4-170) *idedeg bayi-* expresses a habitual action of eating.

(f) *Tv-qu/-kü + bol-/böge* (AUX)-

This analytical construction expresses the future tense and the relative present tense; it can also indicate a modal meaning of possibility. Note the following examples:

(4-171) *nigen edür yurban uday_a nom nomla-ju ög-gö-ged,*
 one day three times book preach/teach-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-CONN-PREF.CVB
yar-qu böri dü segül ün nigen quluyan_a yi
 get.out-FUT.PTCP every DAT.LOC last/end GEN one mouse ACC
bari-ju ide-kü bol-juqui.
 seize/catch-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-MIR.PST
 ‘After helping teach three times a day, every time (the cat teacher) left (the classroom), it was found that (he) would seize the last mouse and began to eat (it).’

In (4-171) the analytical construction *idekü bol-* expresses the inchoative aspectual meaning of ‘begin to eat’, and the suffix *-juqui* indicates mirativity, viz. the speaker was surprised to find that the cat teacher began eating the mouse which went last.

(4-172) ...*miso šölö yi uuqu-qu le bol-ba.*
 miso.soup ACC drink-FUT.PTCP PTCL be (AUX)-PST
 ‘... (sb.) could only drink miso soup.’

Example (4-172) is a bit different from (4-171), for the particle *le* is inserted between the analytical construction *uuququ bol-* which expresses the modal meaning of possibility; *le* is used to emphasize the action of drinking.

(4-173) ...*lama köbegün danjin gedesü ben yeke bol-qu*
 lama son/boy PN abdomen REF.POSS big become-FUT.PTCP
du qoyola eyimü bay_a ide-kü böge-tel_e gedesü eyin
 DAT.LOC food such/so small eat-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-CVB stomach such
kü yeke bol-qu ni yamar učir bui? ge-ju
 PTCL big become-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR what reason COP say-IPFV.CVB > that
γayiqaday bile.
 wonder/marvel-PRS.PTCP PTCL
 ‘...when the lama boy Danzhin’s abdomen grows bigger, (he) is wondering why his stomach gets so big when (he) eats such little food?’

In (4-173) *ide-kü böge-* is used to express the relative present tense; and *böge-* is an auxiliary verbal form in Classical Mongolian.

(g) *Tv-ju/-ju + bol-* ‘become’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses the modal meaning of permission.

(4-174) ...*ežen ni yayu ide-bel tegün eče ni basa qobiya-ju*
 host 3POSS what eat-COND.CVB that > 3SG ABL 3POSS also share-IPFV.CVB
ide-ju bol-o-n_a.
 eat-IPFV.CVB become (AUX)-CONN-PRS
 ‘... whatever their host eats, (they) may also eat (it), sharing from their host’s food.’
 (lit.: ‘if the host eats what, (sb.) may also eat (it), by sharing from part of it.’)

(4-175) *ta-nar uuyu-ǰu bol-o-ǰad bi uuyu-ǰu*
 2SG-PL drink-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB 1SG drink-IPFV.CVB
bol-day ügei yum uu?
 be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP NEG PTCL INTR.PTCP
 ‘Can’t I drink (wine) while you may all drink (it)?’

In (4-174) and (4-175) the analytical constructions *ide-ǰü bol-* and *uuyu-ǰu bol-* express ‘may eat’ and ‘may drink’ respectively.

Moreover, the following verbs which partially preserve their lexical meanings are also combined with *ide-* and *uuyu-* to form analytical constructions and express various aspectual and modal meanings: *ög-* ‘give’, *ab-* ‘take’, *ire-* ‘come’, *ǰar-* ‘exit’, *üǰe-* ‘see’, *yabu-* ‘go’, *orki-* ‘lose; throw away’, *saǰu-* ‘sit’, *ol-* ‘get’, *oro-* ‘enter’ and *ge-* ‘say’.²⁴ Note the following examples:

(h) *Tv-ǰü/-ǰu* + *ög-* ‘give’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses the perfective aspect and the action is done to benefit others.²⁵

(4-176) *ede-ner bordoy_a ban mal daǰan öggö-gsen*
 3PL-PL forage REF.POSS cattle DAT.LOC.REF.POSS give-PRF.PTCP
dü ide-ǰü sur-u-ǰ_a ügei mal-ud, ide-ǰü
 DAT.LOC eat-IPFV.CVB learn-CONN-IPFV.PTCP NEG cattle-PL eat-IPFV.CVB
ög-kü ügei ǰoba-ǰa-ǰu bayi-l a.
 give (AUX)-FUT.PTCP NEG be.upset-CAUS-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PST
 ‘When they give their forage to their cattle, those cattle, which have not yet learnt to eat (forage) were upsetting (them), having not eaten (forage) for the owners’ sake.’

In (4-176) the use of *ide-ǰü ög-* ‘have eaten to do a favour for someone else’ implies that the cattle should have eaten the forage for the sake of their owners; but in this example, the cattle disappointed their owners by not cooperating with the owners, because they are not eating the forage to please the owners.

(4-177) *ǰa nigente kür-ü-ged ire-čike-gsen yum*
 all.right already arrive-CONN-PRF.CVB come (AUX)-ASP-PRF.PTCP PTCL
čini qabsur-ču ide-ǰü ög-kü ügei ǰaǰaki-ǰu
 2POSS help-IPFV.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-FUT.PTCP NEG what.to.do-IPFV.CVB
bol-qu bui?
 may/can-FUT.PTCP COP
 ‘All right, since you have already arrived, you must help (us) eat.’ (lit.: ‘All right, talking about the fact that you have arrived, coming, how could it be if you have not eaten, doing us a favour?’)

(i) *Tv-ǰü/-ǰu* + *ab-* ‘take’ (AUX)

The auxiliary use of *ab-* ‘take’ in this analytical construction expresses a similar meaning to *ög-* ‘give’, considering the fact that the action is done in the interest of the speaker or the agent of an action. The action is either accomplished in a fixed period of time or done immediately.

²⁴ IMU (2005, p. 485) treats *ge-* ‘say’ as a ‘link verb’ and lists several functions; I think one of its functions, viz. an auxiliary, can be used to form analytical constructions, as is implied.

²⁵ Kwon (1998, pp. 111-112) regards this phenomenon in Khalkha Mongolian as “benefactive modality”.

(4-178) *keüked mini, oliytayıqan ide-ǰü uuyü-ǰü ab-u-ǰarai.*
 children 1POSS well eat-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.CVB take (AUX)-CONN-PRSP
 ‘My children, please eat and drink well, doing me a favour.’

The analytical constructions *ide-ǰü ab-* and *uuyü-ǰü ab-* express the meanings of ‘eat for the benefit of the speaker’ and ‘drink for the benefit of the speaker’ respectively. In (4-178) *ide-* and *uuyü-* occur together, being linked by the imperfective converbal form *-ǰü*. The suffix *-ǰarai* expresses the speaker’s wish and commission to the hearer.

(j) *Tv-ged/-gseger + ire-* ‘come’ (AUX)

The auxiliary use of *ire-* ‘come’ is used to form an analytical construction which mainly denotes that an action is directed (or oriented) towards the speaker. Note the following example:

(4-179) *egeči e! ǰangyuyida ulayan ǰegerde bol-tal_a uuyü-ǰad*
 elder.sister PTCL shopkeeper be.red.faced-CVB drink-PRF.CVB
ire-ǰei.
 come (AUX)-PST
 Note: *ulayan ǰegerde bol-* ‘to turn completely red-faced by drinking’ < *ulayan* ‘red’ + *ǰegerde* ‘chestnut brown’ + *bol-* ‘become’
 ‘Elder sister! The shopkeeper has drunk (wine) till his face became completely red, coming (towards us).’

In (4-179) the verb *uuyü-* partially keeps its lexical meaning in forming the analytical construction *uuyüǰad ire-* ‘have drunk, coming (towards the speaker)’.

Sometimes this analytical construction expresses certain aspectual meanings (e.g. continuous or perfective meanings):

(4-180) *erten eče ab-u-ǰad kömön ide-gseger ire-gsen i bi*
 ancient ABL take-CONN-PRF.CVB human eat-CVB come (AUX)-PRF.PTCP ACC1 SG
basa mede-kü bolbaču teyimü todorqai bisi bayi-n_a.
 also know-FUT.PTCP although so/such clear NEG be-PRS
 Note: *Tv-eče/-ača ab-u-ǰad* ‘since; starting from; ranging from’
 ‘Although I also know that (humans) have been eating humans since ancient times, (my knowledge) is not so clear.’

(4-181) *mal iyan malla-ǰad, miq_a ban ide-ged*
 cattle IPFV.CVB graze/pasture-PRF.CVB meat REF.POSS eat-PRF.CVB
ire-gsen ulus čini man u tegün iyer
 come (AUX)-PRF.PTCP people 2POSS > TOP 1PL.EXCL GEN that > 3SG INS
yayu ban ču ǰiya-lya-day yum bui da.
 what REF.POSS PTCL (even) teach-CAUS-PRS.PTCP PTCL COP PTCL/EXCLM
 ‘As for those people who are simple-minded and honest, what could they possibly learn from one of us?’ (lit.: ‘as for those people who have grazed their cattle and have eaten their meat, what on earth do they let him, who is our man, teach (them)?’)

In (4-180) and (4-181) the analytical constructions *idegseger ire-* and *ideged ire-* express the continuous aspectual meaning of ‘have been eating’ and the perfective aspectual meaning of ‘have eaten’ respectively.

(k) Tv-*γad/-ged* + *γar-* ‘exit’ (AUX)

The auxiliary use of *γar-* ‘exit’ is used to form an analytical construction which denotes that a certain result is achieved for an action or a certain event continues over a clear span of time. Note the following examples:

- (4-182) *tere čini man u čai uuyγu-γad γar-u-γsan*
that 2POSS > TOP 1PL.EXCL GEN tea drink-PREF.CVB exit (AUX)-CONN-PREF.PTCP
sibaytu ge-deg ayil biže e?
PN say-PRS.PTCP > the.so.called village perhaps PTCL
‘As for that, isn’t it the village which is called Sibagtu, where we have been drinking tea?’

- (4-183) *losol γuvai yin du... usu čai yi ni uuyγu-γad*
PN Mr GEN DAT.LOC water tea ACC 3POSS drink-PREF.CVB
γar-u-n a.
exit (AUX)-CONN-PRS
‘(The young people) keep drinking Mr Losol’s water and tea in his house.’

In (4-182) and (4-183) the analytical construction *uuyγuγad γar-* is used. In (4-182) *uuyγuγad γar-* expresses ‘have drunk’, stressing the result of drinking, implying the speaker’s content in completing this action; in contrast, (4-183) denotes that the action of ‘drinking his water and tea’ has continued for a clear period of time, implying the speaker’s dislike. It is shown in the relevant context of (4-183) that the young men were going in and out of Mr Losol’s house only with a view to catching up with the latest gossip and news; thus the speaker was critical of the whole thing.

(l) Tv-*ǰü/-ǰu* + *üže-* ‘see’ (AUX)

The auxiliary use of *üže-* ‘see’ is used to form an analytical construction which denotes someone trying something.

- (4-184) *baqan udaski-γad bayaturküü uruysi ban ǰiγa-ǰu,*
a.little linger-PREF.CVB PN forward/south REF.POSS point/direct-IPFV.CVB
qoyisi ban ǰiγa-ǰu unta-ǰu üže-l e, saγu-ǰu
backward/north REF.POSS point-IPFV.CVB sleep-IPFV.CVB see (AUX)-PST sit-IPFV.CVB
üže-l e, ide-ǰü üže-l e...
see (AUX)-PST eat-IPFV.CVB see (AUX)-PST
‘After a while (lit.: having lingered a little), Baaturhu tried sleeping, facing towards the south and north; (he) tried sitting, (he) tried eating...’

- (4-185) *nige oγoči čai uuyγu-ǰu üže-ø...*
one mouthful tea drink-IPFV.CVB see (AUX)-IMP
‘Try drinking one mouthful of tea...’

In (4-184) and (4-185) analytical constructions *ideǰü üže-* and *uuyγuǰu üže-* express modal meanings of ‘trying eating’ and ‘trying drinking’ respectively.

(m) Tv-*ǰü/-ged* + *yabu-* ‘go’ (AUX)

The analytical construction Tv-*ǰü* + *yabu-* ‘go’ expresses a progressive and continuous aspectual meaning.

(4-186) *üje-ǰü* *bayi-tal_a* *kedün kilomvtr* *urtu bar* *engnere-n*
 see-IPFV.CVB be-CVB several kilometre length INS line.up/file.in-CVB
ire-kü *qar_a sirǰulǰi* *ǰam* *dayau dayarildu-ǰsan* *bökön*
 come-FUT.PTCP black ants road along meet/run.into-PRF.PTCP all
i *ölöb* *daru-n* *ide-ǰü* *yabu-n_a.*
 ACC completely crush-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB go (AUX)-PRS

Note: *ölöb daru-n ide-* ‘eat all that is available; eat until nothing is left’

‘While (sb. was) looking, the black ants which will come, lined up several kilometres long, are eating all that (they) have encountered along the road.’

(4-187) *ene* *bodoly_a* *ban* *qaya-ǰad* *sanay_a amur*
 this thought REF.POSS throw.away/abandon-PRF.CVB feeling.at.ease
ajilla-ǰu *unta-ǰu* *ide-ǰü* *yabu-bal* *kečinen*
 work-IPFV.CVB sleep-IPFV.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB go (AUX)-COND.CVB how.much
ayatai *bile.*
 appropriate/proper PTCL

‘If (they) are working, sleeping and eating with a peaceful mind, having abandoned such a thought of theirs, how appropriate it is.’

In (4-186) and (4-187) the analytical construction *ideǰü yabu-* expresses a progressive continuous action of eating.

(n) Tv-ǰü/-ǰu + *orki-* ‘lose; throw away’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses the completive aspectual meaning.

(4-188) *bi* *le* *ǰayčayar* *iyan* *ide-ǰü* *orki-ǰsan*
 1SG PTCL alone REF.POSS eat-IPFV.CVB throw.away (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
ügei *siü!*
 NEG PTCL

‘I have not eaten alone indeed!’

(4-189) ...*bi* *dotor_a* *ban:<<* *silig ebügen* *önödür* *yeke*
 1SG in/mind REF.POSS PN old.man today big/a.lot
uuǰu-ǰu *orki-ǰai>>* *ge-ǰü* *bodo-ǰu* *sayu-l_a.*
 drink-IPFV.CVB throw.away (AUX)-PST say-IPFV.CVB > that think-IPFV.CVB sit (AUX)-PST

‘...I was thinking in my mind that ‘the old man Silig has drunk a lot (of wine) today.’

In (4-188) and (4-189) the analytical constructions *ideǰü orki-* ‘have eaten’ and *uuǰuǰu orki-* ‘have drunk’ express the completive (or perfective) actions of eating and drinking. The particle *le* is used for emphasis in (4-188).

(o) Tv-ǰü/-ǰu + *sayu-* ‘sit’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses a progressive and continuous aspect.

(4-190) *ǰangǰam_a* *lingqv_a* *kögsin* *qoyar tabay tai* *miq_a ban*
 PN PN elderly/aged two plate COM meat REF.POSS
dumda ban *talbi-ǰad* *ide-ǰü* *sayu-n_a.*
 middle REF.POSS put-PRF.CVB eat-IPFV.CVB sit (AUX)-PRS

‘Both Ganggama and elderly Lingkhua are eating, having put a plate of meat between them.’

(4-191) *bayan bažar...* *köke* *luu* *tai* *könög* *tü* *anggilum_a*
 rich PN blue dragon COM tub/bucket DAT.LOC fragrant

<i>sayıqan</i>	<i>ünür</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>bai quva</i>	<i>čaj</i>	<i>tungya-ju</i>	<i>kölöre-tel_e</i>
good	smell	PROP	PN	tea	filtrate-IPFV.CVB	sweat-CVB
<i>uuju-ju</i>	<i>sayu-n_a.</i>					
drink-IPFV.CVB	sit (AUX)-PRS					

‘The rich Bazhar...is drinking (the Flower Tea) till (he) sweated, filtrating the Flower Tea, which has a fragrant good smell, in the blue-dragon patterned tub.’

(p) Tv-*γad/-ged* = PRF.CVB + *oro-* ‘enter’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses one’s ability to do something.

(4-192) *bi basa ide-ged oro-qu ügei bol-jai.*
 1SG also eat-PRF.CVB enter (AUX)-FUT.PTCP NEG be-PST
 ‘I am also not able to eat.’

(4-193) *ama bar iyan čaj uuju-γad oro-γul-čiqā-qu*
 mouth INS REF.POSS tea drink-PRF.CVB enter (AUX)-CAUS-ASP-FUT.PTCP
du bökö bey_e eče kölösö γoγoji-qu ni yaγ
 DAT.LOC whole body ABL sweat leak-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR just/exactly
la bey_e ni köndei qoγolai bol-čiqā-γad öčöken ču usu
 PTCL body 3POSS gorge/canyon become-ASP-PRF.CVB little even water
toγta-ju čida-qu ügei bol-o-γsan metü
 fix/stay-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG be (AUX)-CONN-PRF.PTCP as.if
bayi-ba.
 be-PST

‘While being able to drink tea by his mouth, the leaking of sweat from his whole body seemed as if even a little water was not able to stay (in his body), his body having become a gorge.’

(q) Tv-*qu/-kü* = FUT.PTCP + *ge-* ‘say’ (AUX)

This analytical construction expresses an imminent aspectual meaning.

(4-194) *qamji-n neyile-ju nama yi ide-kü ge-(g)sen kömön*
 aid/help-CVB unite-IPFV.CVB 1SG ACC eat-FUT.PTCP say (AUX)-PRF.PTCP person
mini qarın minü aq_a bayi-jai.²⁶
 1POSS but/on.the.contrary 1SG.GEN elder.brother be-PST
 ‘The person who is about to eat me, by aiding (others) and uniting (with them), was my brother.’

In (4-194) the analytical construction *idekü ge-* expresses the imminent action of ‘be about to eat’.

(4-195) *tangsuy lam namayi ol-ju tani-qu ügei, buday_a*
 Tang.Monk 1SG.ACC get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB recognize-FUT.PTCP NEG food/rice
yi ide-kü keme-ju bayi-ba.
 ACC eat-FUT.PTCP say (AUX)-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PST
 Note: *ol-ju tani-* ‘be able to recognise’

‘The Tang Monk could not recognize me. (He) was about to eat the food.’

In (4-195) *idekü keme-* expresses the imminent action of eating, and *keme-* is a Classical Mongolian form of *ge-* ‘say’.

(4-196) *bi ču mön kömön bolqor tede namayi ide-kü*
 1SG PTCL (even) also human because 3PL 1SG.ACC eat-FUT.PTCP
ge-ju bayi-n a!
 say (AUX)-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS

²⁶ *gesen* is a colloquial form of *gegsen*.

‘Because I am also a human, they are going to eat me.’

In (4-196) the analytical construction *idekü geǰü bayin_a*²⁷ ‘is/are going to eat’ denotes intention here and it is made up of two analytical constructions, viz. *idekü ge-* ‘will eat’ and *geǰü bayi-* ‘saying’. Therefore, the verb *ge-* still partially remains its lexical meaning.

(4-197) *čino_a* *mori* *yi* *ide-kü* *ge-be.*
 wolf horse ACC eat-FUT.PTCP say (AUX)-PST
 ‘The wolf was about to eat the horse.’ (lit.: ‘The wolf said that (it) would eat the horse.’)

In (4-197) the analytical construction *idekü ge-* expresses the imminent action of ‘be about to eat’. The lexical meaning of *ge-* is negligible in this sentence.

(r) *ol-* ‘get’ (AUX)-*ǰu* + *ide-/uuyu-*

This construction can be seen as a special kind of analytical construction which expresses the modal meaning of possibility; it is special because the verb *ol-* ‘get’ (AUX) occurs before the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-*.

(4-198) <<*toyin* *kömön tuyur* *ol-ǰu* *ide-kü* *inü* *degedü sayin!*>>
 lama person peach get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP NR supreme good
 ‘(The fact that) a Lama person will be able to eat peaches is very good!’

Example (4-198) is an instance of an evaluative construction, in which the analytical construction *ol-ǰu ide-* ‘be able to eat’ expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

(4-199) *qaltar* *noqai* *ni* *usu* *ol-ǰu* *uuyu-mayča* *uy* *ača*
 variegated dog 3POSS water get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB drink-CVB original ABL
ban *ulam* *ču* *kögerükün* *bol-ǰu* *uridayur*
 REF.POSS even.more even lovely/lively become-IPFV.CVB front
qoyiyur *ni* *ergildü-n,* *duqu* *toloyai ban*
 back 3POSS turn.round-CVB the.back.of.the.head head REF.POSS
ködelge-ǰü, *deger_e deger_e ni* *segül* *iyen* *sirba-n_a.*
 move-IPFV.CVB one.after.the.other/again.and.again tail REF.POSS wag-PRS
 Note: *deger_e deger_e ni* ‘one after the other’ < *deger_e* ‘above/on’ + *deger_e* ‘on’ + *ni* = 3POSS
 ‘As soon as his variegated dog was able to drink water, it became even more lovely than (it was) before, turning around his front and back, moving its head, (it) was wagging its tail again and again.’

In (4-199) *olǰu uuyu-* ‘be able to drink’ expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

In this section I have focused on the valency patterns and grammatical forms of the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’, drawing examples mainly from the corpus. In the following §§ 4.3-4.7, I will analyse the different grammatical constructions in which these verbs are found to exist in the corpus. The discussions include the following issues: grammatical means of expressing direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* (§4.3), nominalisation (§4.4), cleft constructions (§4.5), constructions of evaluation (§4.6) and topic-focus structures (§4.7).

²⁷ A similar usage of the analytical construction *-xa geǰe bai-* is noted in Buryat by Brosig & Skribnik (2018, p. 23), where this grammatical process denotes the meaning of intention.

4.3 Grammatical Means of Expressing Direct Objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-*

The verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* most frequently govern direct objects in Mongolian. Thus, in Section 4.3 I will discuss different grammatical means employed in the expression of the direct objects of these two verbs.

As was discussed earlier in Section 4.2.1, *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be used either transitively or intransitively. When they are transitive, direct objects of these verbs are marked by: (1) an overt accusative case marker; or (2) a direct case which coincides with the noun stem.²⁸ An interesting important theoretical question arises concerning the reason for the use of accusative vs. direct cases in Mongolian. A relevant study in Khalkha Mongolian has been done by Guntsetseg (2016) to answer this question. Although I do not entirely agree with her treatment of this issue in my analysis, it provides insights for our discussion here.

Guntsetseg (2016) categorises three differential object marking patterns in Khalkha Mongolian, viz.: (1) obligatory accusative case marking; (2) optional accusative case marking; and (3) unmarking, i.e. direct objects that are never marked.²⁹ She maintains that types (1) and (3) can be simply explained by nominal features of the direct object on the Referentiality Scale (Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 80):

personal pronoun > proper name > definite NP > indefinite specific NP > indefinite non-specific NP > pseudo-incorporated noun³⁰

Based on this scale, the direct objects that are highly referential, i.e. personal pronouns, proper names and definite NPs,³¹ are obligatorily marked with the accusative case marker. In contrast, direct objects which are the lowest on the Referentiality Scale (pseudo-incorporated nouns) are never marked with the accusative case.

As for type (2), the referential feature of the object noun by itself cannot provide a satisfactory answer for optional accusative marking, for indefinite direct objects that occur in the middle of the Referentiality Scale are optionally marked with the accusative case marker. Guntsetseg (2016) emphasizes that specificity is not the triggering factor for the optional object marking. In addition to

²⁸ Guntsetseg (2016, p. 5) states that “regarding the direct objects in Mongolian, it is unclear whether its unmarked form is to be considered as the nominative case form or as ellipsis (i.e. omitting) of the accusative case”. I treated this unmarked form as a direct case form which exists in Written Mongolian.

²⁹ The phenomenon that some direct objects are marked differently from others is known as “differential object marking”. This “unmarking” in (3) is on a par with the direct case marking in the current analysis.

³⁰ The notion of incorporation “describes a phenomenon that a noun and a verb together form a compounding unity, where the noun loses its argument status and rather functions as a modifier of the verb. In other words, the noun is incorporated into the verbal phrase to form a complex predicate” (Mithun, 1984; Dayal, 2003; cited in Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 61). According to Guntsetseg (2016, p. 66), bare nouns which occur close to the verbs in Khalkha Mongolian are pseudo-incorporated into the verbal phrase, due to their low discourse transparency but still keep their argument status.

³¹ “Noun phrases with demonstratives, possessives and bare nouns that refer to semantically unique referents in the world are to be considered definite” (Guntsetseg, 2016, p.81).

specificity, a number of factors such as word-order variation, definiteness, animacy and discourse properties (such as discourse prominence and topicality) and verb semantics all interact with each other to influence the optional case marking of direct objects in Khalkha Mongolian.

I do not fully follow this categorisation in my study. I argue that specificity vs. genericity (definiteness/indefiniteness) of direct object nouns is closely related to the choice of the accusative case vs. the direct case which are governed by *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Modern Written Mongolian.³² Word-order variation and topicality also play an important role in the accusative marking of the direct objects of these two verbs. In the following, the use of different grammatical means with regard to the direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* will be discussed.

4.3.1 Direct case

When the direct case is used to express the direct object, i.e. when the direct object coincides with its stem in *ide-* and *uuyu-* constructions, the object (noun) expresses a generic meaning. Below are some examples:

(4-200) *yayum_a ide-be üüi?*
 thing eat-PST INTR.PTCL
 ‘Did (you) eat things?’

(4-201) *egünčilen lingqv_a kögsin yangyam_a qoyar neyigem ün činar,*
 in.this.way/thus PN elderly PN two society GEN nature
kömön ü jayay_a, tngri yin bayidal kür-tel_e
 human GEN destiny heaven/sky GEN situation reach-CVB > until
bör sigümjile-n yari-lča-γsayar, miq_a ide-jü, šölö uuyu-ba.
 all criticise-CVB say-COOP-CVB meat eat-IPFV.CVB soup drink-PST
 Note: *tngri yin bayidal* ‘astronomy’

‘In this way, both the elderly Linghua and Ganggama ate meat and drank soup, while talking and criticizing all (sorts of phenomena), covering the topics of (lit.: ‘until’) the nature of society, the destiny of human beings and astronomy.’

(4-202) *bečin bayši:<< simnu kömön ide-kü jang iyan gege-kü*
 Master.Monkey bogy human eat-FUT.PTCP habit REF.POSS lose-FUT.PTCP
ügei yum...>> ge-jü kele-be.
 NEG PTCL say-IPFV.CVB > that/COMP say-PST

Note: *bečin bayši* ‘Master Sun or Master Monkey’ from *Journey to the West*.

‘Master Monkey said that “the bogy will not lose/quit its habit of eating humans”.’

(4-203) <<*ariki uuyu-qu uu?>>*
 wine drink-FUT.PTCP INTR.PTCL
 ‘Will (you) drink wine/liquor/alcohol?’

³² Here specificity refers to the uniqueness of an entity (noun or referent) in a given context, which is a semantic feature of noun phrases. For more information on specificity, refer to Fodor & Sag (1982), Enç (1991) and Farkas (1995). Different types of specificity can be found: a) scopal specificity; b) epistemic specificity; c) partitive specificity; and d) relative specificity (Guntsetseg, 2016, pp. 93-105).

(4-204) <<*bide* *oro-ǰu* *čai* *uuγu-y_a*, *čai* *uuγu-qu* *ǰayur_a* *ta*
 1PL.INCL enter-IPFV.CVB tea drink-VOL tea drink-FUT.PTCP moment 2SG
minü *silüg* *i* *üǰe-ged* *öggö-gerei>>* *ge-be.*
 1SG.GEN poem ACC look/check-PRF.CVB give (AUX)-PRSP say-PST

Note: *Tv-ged öggö-* expresses the meaning of “helping someone else to do sth.”.

‘Let’s enter (the house) and drink tea. Please help check my poem while drinking tea.’

Direct objects which are expressed by nominal word combinations denoting main meals (breakfast, lunch and supper) of the day also appear in the form of the direct case, expressing generic meanings.

Note the following examples:

(4-205) *nige* *edür* *bi* *teǰün* *ü* *ger* *ün* *egüden* *dü*
 one day 1SG that > 3SG GEN house GEN door DAT.LOC
sayu-γad *oro* *yin* *qoγola* *ide-ǰü* *bayi-tal_a*, *ǰaǰay_a* *morin*
 sit-PRF.CVB evening GEN food eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CVB outside horse
u *tübergen* *ǰar-u-l_a.*
 GEN clop occur-CONN-PST

Note: *oro* *yin* *qoγola* ‘supper’ < *oro* ‘evening’ + *yin* = GEN + *qoγola* ‘food’

‘One day, while I was sitting at the door of his house and eating supper, there occurred claps of the horse outside.’

(4-206) *ger* *tegen* *qari-ǰu* *ire-kü* *dü*,
 house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS return-IPFV.CVB come-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
oro *yin* *qoγola* *ide-ǰü* *daγus-ča*
 supper/dinner eat-IPFV.CVB finish-PST

‘When (sb.) came back home, (people) finished eating supper.’

(4-207) *örlöge* *yin* *qoγola* *ide-kü* *ǰayur_a...*
 morning GEN food eat-FUT.PTCP time

Note: *örlöge yin qoγola* ‘breakfast’ < *örlöge* ‘morning’ + *yin* = GEN + *qoγola* ‘food’

‘When eating breakfast...’ (lit.: ‘at the time of eating breakfast...’)

(4-208) *üde* *yin* *qoγola* *ide-kü* *bol-o-l_a.*
 noon GEN food eat-FUT.PTCP become (AUX)-CONN-PST

Note: *üde yin qoγola* ‘lunch’ < *üde* ‘noon’ + *-yin* = GEN + *qoγola* ‘food’

‘(It’s time) to eat lunch.’ (lit.: ‘(it) became (the time of) eating lunch.’)

(4-209) *üdesi* *yin* *qoγola* *ide-kü* *üy_e* *dü* *degüü* *degen...*
 dusk GEN food eat-FUT.PTCP time DAT.LOC younger.brother DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
ge-ǰü *kele-be.*
 say-IPFV.CVB > that say-PST

Note: *üdesi yin qoγola* ‘supper’ < *üdesi* ‘dusk; evening’ + *yin* = GEN + *qoγola* ‘food’

‘When (lit.: ‘at the time of’) eating supper, (sb.) said to his/her younger brother that...’

In addition, direct objects which are formed by reduplication³³ and so-called generic rhymes³⁴ appear in the direct case form, expressing generic meanings. Note the following examples:

³³ In example (4-210) *teǰigel bordoγ_a* ‘feed, forage’ forms a kind of reduplication, based on the reduplicated meanings of *teǰigel* ‘feed, forage’ and *bordoγ_a* ‘feed’.

³⁴ Janhunen (2012, p. 102) indicates such word combinations as “generic rhymes” which refers to “the partial reduplication of nominal stems”, expressing either approximate similarity or an indefinite plurality of similar items. In his view, rhyme words like *yuyum_a keüm_e* ‘things and the like’ are formed irregularly.

(4-210) *ene qoni büdiigülig tejigel bordoy_a ide-deg.*
 this sheep rough forage feed eat-PRS.PTCP
 ‘This sheep eats rough forages.’

(4-211) *kürgen aq_a ni čečeg i ben üje-ged << či qurdun ene*
 brother.in.law 3POSS PN ACC REF.POSS see-PRF.CVB 2SG quickly this
ayil du oči-ju yuyum_a keüm_e ide-ju dulayača-γad
 village DAT.LOC go-IPFV.CVB things.and.the.like eat-IPFV.CVB get.warm-PRF.CVB
qubçasu juǰayala-ju emüs-ü-ged ir_e-φ, bi γaǰayar
 clothes get.thick-IPFV.CVB wear-CONN-PRF.CVB come-IMP 1SG alone
qoni ban qoriya-ju bayi-y_a >> ge-ju
 sheep REF.POSS collect-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-VOL say-IPFV.CVB > that
šayarda-ba.
 require-PST

‘The brother-in-law, having seen Chečeg, demanded that, “you go to this village quickly and come (back), eating a few things (lit.: ‘things and the like’), after warming (yourself) and wearing thicker clothes. Let me collect the sheep alone”.’

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* which are modified by interrogative pronouns appear in the direct case. They express generic meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-212) *ta-nar yamar boyorsoy ide-ju bayi-γ_a yum bui?*
 2SG-PL what cake/pastry eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP PTCL COP
 ‘What (kind of) cakes are you eating?’

(4-213) *ürgülji yambar em uuyu-day bui?*
 always/often what medicine drink-PRS.PTCP COP
 ‘What medicine do (you) often drink?’

(4-214) *kedüi ariki uuyu-ba?*
 how.much wine drink-PST
 ‘How much wine did (you) drink?’

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* may be modified by words which can be analysed as either adjectives or indefinite pronouns, depending on the grammatical and textual contexts in which they occur (and on grammatical traditions). These words are used to characterise: (1) a multitude of objects of a certain class; (2) amount (or quantity) of direct objects. These words include: *bayaqan* ‘less, a little, a bit’, *baqan* ‘some, a quantity of’, *neliyed* ‘quite a lot of’ (both *baqan* and *neliyed* mean ‘quite, rather, considerably’ when used as adverbs), *jiyaqan* ‘small, few, little’, *bay_a* ‘small, few, little’, *bay_a say_a* ‘a little, a few’, *arbin* ‘many, much’, *dutayu* ‘insufficient, less, fewer’ and *bököli* ‘entire, whole’. All the above-mentioned words must appear in the direct case, denoting generic meaning, with the additional feature of restricting the amount of the object nouns in a way. Note the following examples:

(4-215) *ene oroi aq_a du qani bol-ju tere*
 this evening elder.brother DAT.LOC keep.company.with-IPFV.CVB that > 3SG
neliyed ariki uuyu-γsan, qayas jing ču uuyu-γsan bije.
 quite.a.lot.of alcohol drink-PRF.PTCP half jin even drink-PRF.PTCP perhaps

Note: *qani bol-* ‘keep company (with sb.)’ < *qani* ‘friend; companion’ + *bol-* ‘to become’; *jing* ‘a unit of weight, which is equal to 12 kilograms’.

‘He drank quite a lot of wine, keeping company with (my) brother tonight.

Perhaps (he) even drank half a jin (of wine).’

In (4-215) the word *neliyed* ‘quite, quite a lot’ modifies the direct object noun *ariki* ‘alcohol’. The direct object denotes a generic meaning here.

(4-216) *bay_a say_a belen* *yayum_a* *ide-ged* *eyimü*
a.little ready.made/prepared thing eat-PRF.CVB like.this
bol-čiqā-ba-u?
become-PRF.ASP-PST-INTR.PTCL
‘Have (you) become like this after eating few prepared things?’

In (4-216) we have two modifiers *bay_a say_a* ‘a little’ and *belen* ‘ready-made’ for the direct object noun *yayum_a* ‘thing’, which are used in combination to restrict the quantity of the objects (*yayum_a* ‘things’). The direct case is used to denote a generic meaning here.

(4-217) ...*odo qoyayula* *bayising* *du* *oro-ju* *baqan yayum_a*
now two-COLL.NUM one.storey.house DAT.LOC enter-IPFV.CVB some thing
ki-ju *ide-y_e...*
make-IPFV.CVB eat-VÖL
‘...now let the two of us enter the house and make and eat some things.’

(4-218) ...*kündü* *yamsiy tu* *dayari-γda-bal,* *basa* *yeke* *arbin*
serious disaster DAT.LOC strike-PASS-COND.CVB also quite many
qudaldıyan u amu *ide-deg.*
commercial.grain eat-PRS.PTCP
Note: *yamsiy dayari-* ‘for a calamity to strike’; *qudaldıyan u amu* ‘commercial grains’ < *qudaldıyan* ‘commerce’ + *u=GEN* + *amu* ‘grain’.
‘...if (people) are stricken by a serious disaster, (they) also eat quite a lot of commercial grains (lit.: ‘grains of commerce’).’

(4-219) ...*yunan,* *türügün* *ü* *edür* *bököli* *qonin u* *miq_a*
PN first GEN day whole/entire sheep GEN meat
ide-ged *daray_a* *edür* *ni* *basa nige* *qonin u* *miq_a*
eat-PRF.CVB next day 3POSS again one sheep GEN meat
yi *ide-čike-jei.*
ACC eat-PRF.ASP-PST
Note: *qonin u miq_a* ‘meat of sheep; mutton’
‘Gunan, having eaten meat of a whole sheep on the first day, ate the meat of another sheep the next day.’

The interrogative pronoun *yayu* ‘what’ may express the direct object of *ide-* by itself, denoting generic meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-220) *amtatu* *čayan sü* *eče* *ben* *sal-u-γad* *yayu*
tasty white milk ABL REF.POSS leave-CONN-PRF.CVB what
ide-kü *bile* *bi.*
eat-FUT.PTCP PTCL 1SG
‘If not eating the tasty white milk which I like, what else can I eat?’ (lit.: ‘having left from my tasty white milk, what will I eat?’)

(4-221) *ger tēgen* *čoqom* *yayu* *ide-ǰü* *bayi-day*
house DAT.LOC.REF.POSS actually/on.earth what eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP
bol?
AUX

‘What is (he/she) actually eating at home?’ or ‘What does (he/she) actually eat at home?’

When direct object nouns which appear in the direct case are modified by numerals, they can express an indefinite generic meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-222) <<*ügei,* *ǰam un kömön ama* *čangγa-γad* *nige tarbus*
NEG road GEN people mouth thirst/be.thirsty-PRF.CVB one watermelon
ide-kü *yi man* *u* *tende qulayai* *du*
eat-FUT.PTCP ACC 1PL.EXCL GEN there theft DAT.LOC
bodo-day *ügei.>>*
consider/count.as-PRS.PTCP NEG

Note: *ǰam un kömön* ‘traveller’

[Do (you) guard, saying what if (it) has been stolen by a thief?]

‘No, as for travellers who will eat a (<one) watermelon because of getting thirsty, (they) are not counted as (committing) a theft in the place where we live (lit.: ‘our there’).’

(4-223) <<*önö* *örlöge* *yayu* *ide-gsen* *bui?>>**ge-bel,* << *öčögedür* *ün*
this morning what eat-PRF.PTCP COP say-COND.CVB yesterday GEN
čai yin *siyaru bučalγa-ǰu* *nige* *qurud* *qobiya-ǰu*
tea GEN dreg boil-IPFV.CVB one a.variety.of.Mongolian.cheese share-IPFV.CVB
ide-gsen.>>
eat-PRF.PTCP

‘If saying about, ‘what did (you) eat this morning?’ [They answered that] ‘(we) boiled the tea dregs left from yesterday, shared and ate a (< one) (slice of) cheese.’

Examples (4-222) and (4-223) illustrate that the numeral *nige* ‘one’ reveals the tendency to shift its grammatical status into an indefinite article in Mongolian.³⁵

As will be seen in the following examples (4-224) and (4-225), indefinite direct objects may be modified by numerals (e.g. *qoyar* ‘two’ etc.) and they always occur in the direct case denoting indefinite generic meanings in the corpus I analysed (see Table 4.1 for its frequency of occurrence). This is different from what is found in Khalkha Mongolian data by Guntsetseg (2016).³⁶ Further experiments might provide a better answer in this respect.

(4-224) *oroï kömös i* *qoyola* *ide-ǰü* *bara-γsan* *u* *daray_a*
night people ACC meal eat-IPFV.CVB finish-PRF.PTCP GEN after
uyunbatu *qobisqal* *un* *ǰöblel* *ün* *qoyolan ger* *tü*
PN revolution GEN committee GEN canteen DAT.LOC
semeger *oči-ǰu* *qoyar* *mantau* *qudaldü-ǰu* *abčira-γad*
quietly go-IPFV.CVB two steamed.bun buy-IPFV.CVB bring-PRF.CVB
ide-ǰu *bayi-tal_a* *genedte* *egüide* *toysi-qu*
eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CVB suddenly door knock.at-FUT.PTCP

³⁵ Guntsetseg (2016, p. 46) also maintains that *neg* in Khalkha Mongolian is “on its way toward becoming a real indefinite article”. The transliteration for *nige* is *neg* in her thesis.

³⁶ Indefinite direct objects with *neg* ‘a/one’ in Khalkha Mongolian are treated as being optionally marked with the accusative case suffix by Guntsetseg (2016).

<<toy toy>> *dayun sonos-da-l_a.*

knock-knock (ONOM.) sound hear-PASS-PST

Note: *ide-ju bayi-* is used to express progressive aspect.

‘At night, after people finished eating meals, Uyunbatu went quietly to the canteen of the revolution committee, bought and brought two steamed buns. While (they) were eating (them), suddenly he heard someone knocking at the door.’

(4-225) ...*bide* *qoya-γula* *neyile-ged* *arbayad*
 1PL.INCL two-COLL.NUM combine/unite-PRF.CVB > altogether a bout.ten
bangsi *ide-megče* *bi* *toloyai segsür-čü,* *ide-kü* *ügei*
 dumpling eat-CVB 1SG head shake-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP NEG
ge-(g)sen *iyen* *mede-gde-be.*
 say-PRF.PTCP REF.POSS know-PASS-PST

‘...as soon as the two of us ate about ten dumplings altogether, I shook my head and revealed my intention to not eat any more (lit.: ‘...my not eating was known’).’

Direct object nominal expressions which include numeral/measure-word combinations describing the quantity of a substance appear in the direct case, expressing an indefinite generic meaning. In Mongolian, numeral/measure-word combinations are essential when the modified direct object noun expresses a plural meaning. However, when the singular of a direct object noun with a measure word is expressed, the numeral *nige* ‘one’ can be omitted. Note the following examples:

(4-226) *abayai* *keüiked eče* *ayay_a* *taray,* *keseg qusum*
 wife/lady children ABL bowl sour.milk/yogurt piece rice.crust
ol-ju *ide-ged,* *tende eče* *γar-ču* *bayan baljir*
 get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-PRF.CVB there ABL go.out-IPFV.CVB PN PNGEN
un du *unay_a* *tata-ju* *ög-čü,* *ayiray*
 GEN DAT.LOC foal/yearling pull.tight-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-IPFV.CVB sour.milk
ol-ju *uuγu-γad* *nige üde yi* *önggere-gül-ü-n_e.*
 get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB drink-PRF.CVB one noon ACC pass-CAUS-CONN-PRS

Note: *qusum* ‘coating adhered on the bottom of a pan after cooking’; *ol-ju uuγu-* ‘be able to drink’ expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

‘Having been able to eat one bowl of yogurt and a piece of rice crust, obtained from the ladies and children, going out of there, Bayan is spending one noontime, being able to drink sour milk (by) helping Balzhir pull along a yearling.’

(4-227) ...*kögsin* *čibayanči...* *oyoči* *usu* *ol-baču* *qobiya-ju*
 old nun mouthful water get-CONC.CVB share-IPFV.CVB
uuγu-n, *jüsüm bisilay* *ol-baču* *talala-ju* *ide-gseger*
 drink-IPFV.CVB slice cheese get-CONC.CVB divide.equally eat-CVB
edüi *bol-jai.*
 these/till.now become-PST

‘Days went past like this until now since the old nun shared and drank a/one mouthful of water (with the boy) and divided and ate a/one slice of cheese (with him when she could)’.

(4-228) *nige* *oyoči* *čaj* *uuγu-ju* *üje-ø,* *tege-bel* *čegeji*
 one mouthful/bite tea drink-IPFV.CVB see/try-IMP do.so-COND.CVB chest/bosom
čini ongyoyi-ju *bey_e čini* *könggere-ju*
 2POSS open.wide-IPFV.CVB body 2POSS lighten-IPFV.CVB
mede-kü *yum.*
 know (AUX)-FUT.PTCP PTCL

Note: *Tv-ju mede-* ‘may do sth.’ Expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

‘Try to drink a/one mouthful of tea, then (lit.: ‘if doing so’), your bosom will open wide and your body may lighten.’

(4-229) *nige jüsüm ide-jü bol-bal bököli ber ni ide-jü*
 one slice eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-COND.CVB whole INS 3POSS eat-IPFV.CVB
bol-qu ni basa yariyan ügei.
 be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR also undisputable/it.goes.without.saying.that/certain

Note: *ide-jü bol-* expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

‘It goes without saying that if (sb.) can eat one slice (of human flesh), (he/she) can (also) eat the whole (of it).’

In (4-229) *nige jüsüm* ‘one slice’ is an abbreviated expression of *nige jüsüm kömön ü miq_a* ‘a slice of human flesh’. The actual direct object noun *kömön ü miq_a* ‘human flesh’ is known from the preceding context.

(4-230) *kedüyiber ċadqulang bayi-l_a ċu ge-sen ayil*
 although full be-PST even say-PRF.PTCP village/household
du γayċ ayay_a ċai uuγu-day ügei, ĵabal qoyar ayay_a
 DAT.LOC single bowl tea drink-PRS.PTCP NEG must two bowl
ċai uuγu-day yosotai.
 tea drink-PRS.PTCP should

‘It was said that although (someone) was full, (he/she) should drink two bowls of tea instead of a single bowl of tea in a village.’

(4-231) *qoyar γurba-qan qunday_a uuγu-γsan dayan yekel_e*
 two three-DIM wineglass drink-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS quite
qalamsa-γsan bololtai.
 to.be.slightly.intoxicated-PRF.PTCP likely/it.seems.to.be

‘Because of drinking only two or three glasses (of wine), (sb.) seems to be quite intoxicated.’

In (4-231) metonymy is used. The word *qunday_a* ‘wineglass’ refers to ‘the wine in the wineglass’.

When the direct object is modified by an indefinite pronoun alone, it also appears in the direct case, expressing indefinite generic meanings:

(4-232) ...*öger_e qoyola ki-jü ide-y_e...*
 other food make-IPFV.CVB eat-VOL
 ‘...let’s make and eat other food...’

It is important to note that when direct object nouns of *ide-* and *uuγu-* are modified by the combination of indefinite pronouns and measure words, they still require the occurrence of the direct case, expressing an indefinite generic meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-233) *bi... ölös-bel kedün adqu qaγur-u-γsan amu*
 1SG get.hungry-COND.CVB several handful.of fry-CONN-PRF.PTCP grain
ide-jü, umdayas-bal nige ayay_a küiten usu uuγu-day.
 eat-IPFV.CVB get.thirsty-COND.CVB one bowl cold water drink-PRS

Note: *qaγuruγsan amu* ‘dry precooked millet’

‘I eat several handfuls of dry precooked millet when I get hungry and drink one bowl of cold water when I get thirsty.’

(4-234) *urida bar kediin ayay_a čai uuγu-γad ta ǰayusi qayur-u-γarai...*
 first INS several bowl tea drink-PRF.CVB 2SG appetizer fry-CONN-PRSP
 Note: *ǰayusi* ‘meat and fish dishes; snacks; appetizers’
 ‘Having drunk several bowls of tea first, (then) you fry appetizers...’

To summarise, direct objects which appear in the direct case are either generic or indefinite generic in their meaning. Below are summary tables for the relatively frequent direct object nouns which appear in the form of the direct case, governed by *ide-* and *uuγu-* (see Appendices 1 and 2 for the complete list of direct object nouns which appear in the direct case form for *ide-* and *uuγu-*).

Table 4.1 Frequent direct object nouns in the direct case form for *ide-*
(Total number of instances of *ide-* is 954)

Direct Object Nouns (which denote generic and indefinite generic meanings)	Raw count
<i>qoyola</i> ‘food/meal/grain’ (including those modified by adjectives/measure words/negation) e.g. <i>dutayū nige eren ü qoyola</i> ‘one less meal’	79
<i>miq_a</i> ‘meat’ (including those modified by measure words/adjectives/genitive case) e.g. <i>ükügšen mal un miq_a</i> ‘the meat of dead cattle’	28
<i>kömön</i> ‘human’ (bare noun)	18
<i>yaγum_a</i> ‘thing’ (including those modified by adjectives and interrogative pronouns)	16
<i>buday_a</i> ‘food/meal’ (including those modified by measure words/adjectives)	11
<i>ebešü</i> ‘grass’ (including those modified by adjectives)	8
<i>boγorsoγ</i> ‘pastry’ (including those modified by numerals and interrogative pronouns)	4
<i>mantau</i> ‘bun’ (including those modified by adjectives and numerals)	4

Table 4.2 Frequent direct object nouns in the direct case form for *uuγu-*
(Total number of instances of *uuγu-* is 443)

Direct Object Nouns (which denote generic and indefinite generic meanings)	Raw count
<i>čai</i> ‘tea’ (including modifiers such as measure words/adjectives/predicative participles/attributes formed by genitive case)	58
<i>ariki</i> ‘alcohol; spirit; wine’ (including modifiers such as adjectives/measure words/interrogative pronoun/attributes formed by genitive case)	53
<i>usu</i> ‘water’ (including modifiers such as participles/measure words/adjectives/attributes formed by genitive case)	33
<i>em</i> ‘medicine’ (including modifiers such as predicative participles/interrogative pronouns)	9
<i>qunday_a</i> ‘goblets (of wine)’ (including modifiers such as numerals/pronouns)	3

4.3.2 Accusative case and grammatical patterns of the direct object

In comparison to the use of the direct case, accusative case marking of a direct object involves more complex factors than specificity (vs. genericity) and definiteness; word-order variation which is

normally a grammatical factor in Mongolian, and pragmatic factors such as discourse prominence and topicality (including both primary and secondary topics) also play important roles in the accusative marking of the direct object. There are the following structural subcategories which have definite specific meaning: (a) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC; (b) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC + PTCL (e.g. *ni/le/ču*); (c) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC+ REF.POSS.

4.3.2.1 *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC

The corpus examples analysed illustrate that when accusative case markers are used to mark direct objects in *ide-* and *uuyu-* constructions, the object noun phrases mostly express a definite specific meaning. The following are prototypical instances of the accusative case which marks the direct objects denoting definite specific meanings:

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* which are either formed by personal pronouns or proper names obligatorily require the accusative case, expressing definite specific meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-235) *bi ču mön kömön bolqor tede nam_a yi ide-kü*
 1SG even also human because 3PL 1SG ACC eat-FUT.PTCP
*ge-jü bayi-n_a!*³⁷
 say-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT
 ‘Because I am also a human, they are going to eat me.’

(4-236) [‘It is said that there was water.’]
angčün tegün i uuyu-y_a ge-bel, sibayu nis-čü
 hunter that > 3SG ACC drink-VOL say (AUX)-COND.CVB bird fly-IPFV.CVB
ire-ged önö usu yi jügür iyer iyen deles-ü-ged
 come-PRF.CVB this water ACC wing INS REF.POSS hit-CONN-PRF.CVB
čöm i saču-čiqajai.
 All ACC splash-PRF.ASP-PST
 ‘When the hunter was going to drink that (i.e. water), a bird came, flying, hitting this water with its wing, and sprinkled (it) all.’

(4-237) *tangsuy lama yi ide-sügei keme-n...*
 the.Tang.Monk ACC eat-VOL say-CVB
 ‘... saying “let me eat the Tang Monk”...’

(4-238) *qokimai yin simnu qoyar uday_a bör uy dürsü ben*
 The.White.Bone.Demon two time all original appearance REF.POSS
tani-γda-ju, ami ban ču esele alda-qu
 recognise-PASS-IPFV.CVB life REF.POSS PTCL almost lose-FUT.PTCP
siqa-γsan tula bečin bayisi bayi-γsan čay tu
 become.almost-PRF.PTCP because Master.Monkey be/exist-PRF.PTCP time DAT.LOC
tangsuy lama yi ide-jü čida-qu ügei ge-jü
 Tang. Monk ACC eat-IPFV.CVB enable-FUT.PTCP NEG say-IPFV.CVB > that

³⁷ *idekü geju bayin_a* ‘will eat, be going to eat’ expresses a future aspect here.

mede-be.

know-PST

Note: *qokimai yin simnu* ‘the White Bone Demon’ < *qokimai* ‘skull’ + *yin* = GEN + *simnu* ‘demon’

‘Because the White Bone Demon has almost lost her life, her original appearance being recognised twice, (she) knew that when the Master Monkey was (around her), (she) was not able to eat the Tang Monk.’

When direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* are modified by demonstrative and possessive pronouns, they are marked by accusative case markers, denoting the definite specific meaning. Note the following examples:

- (4-239) *temege* *öndör küjügüü* *ben* *sungya-ju* *önöki*
camel long neck REF.POSS stretch-IPFV.CVB this
ebesü yi *emkü emkü* *ber* *ide-ju* *yar-ba.*
grass ACC mouthfuls INS eat-IPFV.CVB exit (AUX)-PST
Note: *emkü emkü ber ide-* ‘eat sth. with big mouthfuls’. The combination *ide-ju yar-* ‘be eating’ constitutes an analytical construction which expresses a progressive meaning.
‘The camel reached out its long neck and was eating this grass with big mouthfuls.’

- (4-240) [*tere kömön nigen jüil ün usun em i egüd-ü-n*
that person one sort GEN watery medicine ACC invent-CONN-CVB
yarba-ba.] *ene em i uuyu-ysan u daray_a...*
make-PST this medicine ACC drink-PRF.PTCP GEN after
[‘That person invented a sort of watery medicine.’] ‘After taking (lit.: ‘drinking’) this medicine...’

In (4-240) topic continuity can be seen from the previous context.

- (4-241) *boljomor tere čuuqal i ide-kü ber ire-kü dü*
sparrow that blighted.grain ACC eat-FUT.PTCP INS come-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
ni bi boyoni modon ača uya-ysan sijim i qola ača
3POSS 1SG short tree ABL tie-PRF.PTCP cord/string ACC far ABL
oŋjom tata-bal, boljomor-ud qulusun sayiluur tu
abruptly pull-COND.CVB sparrow-PL bamboo bolt DAT.LOC
kömöri-gde-deg yum.
overturn-PASS-PRS.PTCP PTCL
‘When the sparrows come in order to eat that blighted grain, if I abruptly pull the string which has been tied to the short tree from a faraway place, the sparrows will be overturned by the bamboo bolt.’

- (4-242) *ene longqon u usu yi yamar ary_a bar uuyu-day bile?*
this bottle GEN water ACC what method INS drink-PRS.PTCP PTCL
‘By what method do (I) drink the water from this bottle?’

- (4-243) <<*kerbe qoošang bi činü buday_a yi ide-kül_e*
if lama 1SG 2SG.GEN meal ACC eat-CVB
činü kürgen mede-besü čim_a yi qariya-ju, yadayu toyin
2SG.GEN husband know-COND.CVB 2SG ACC scold-IPFV.CVB poor lama
i basa kereg tiir oro-γul-qu busu uu?>>
ACC also trouble DAT.LOC involve-CAUS-FUT.PTCP NEG INTR.PTCL
‘If your husband knows that I being a lama eat your meal, he will scold you. (In that case), it will also cause trouble to me who is a poor lama.’

(4-244) ...*ta-nar* *minü* *budaγ_a* *yi* *ide-ǰü,* *minü* *amu*
 2SG-PL SG.GEN meal/food ACC eat-IPFV.CVB 1SG.GEN grain
yi *qobiya-ǰu* *bayi-γad,* *minü* *aǰil* *i*
 ACC share-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.CVB 1SG.GEN job ACC
inggi-ǰü *ki-n_e üü?*
 do.like.this-IPFV.CVB do-PRS INTR.PTCL
 ‘...after eating my food and sharing my grain, are you doing my job like this?’

(4-245) *teyin kü* *taray* *ba* *moyai* *yi* *ab-ču* *ire-gsen* *dür,*
 such PTCL clabbered.milk CONJ snake ACC take-IPFV.CVB come-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC
čayan qayan lab *ene* *moyai* *taray* *tur* *una-ǰu*
 PN certainly/surely this snake clabbered.milk DAT.LOC fall-IPFV.CVB
tegün *ü* *qoor_a* *yi* *kömön uuγu-ǰu* *ög-gö-gsen*
 that > 3SG GEN poison ACC human drink-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-CONN-PRF.PTCP

buiǰ_a?

PTCL (perhaps)

Note: *teyin kü* ‘thus; therefore’; *tegün ü* ‘its; his; her’; *Tv-ǰu ög-* means ‘to help someone else to do sth’.

‘Thus, when bringing the clabbered milk and the snake, King Chagaan said, “this snake must have fallen into the clabbered milk and people might have already taken (lit.: drunk) its poison?”’

In (4-245) *moyai* ‘snake’ is mentioned in the previous utterance. Therefore, it is clear that the poison refers to ‘the poison of this snake’. Obviously, we are dealing with continuity of a participant (i.e. direct object) here which involves pragmatic factors.

When direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-* are modified by a relative clause, they are obligatorily marked by the accusative case, denoting definite meanings.³⁸ Being predicative attributes, relative clauses are used to modify nouns which indicate direct objects. These objects become unique as a result of such modification and shift to the semantic area of definiteness (specificity). Note the following examples:

(4-246) *uul* *ni* *bi* *tegün* *ü* *beledke-kü* *oroi* *yin*
 originally PTCL 1SG that > 3SG GEN repair-FUT.PTCP evening GEN
qoyola *yi* *ide-y_e* *ge-ǰü* *bodo-γsan* *yum.* *següler*
 food ACC eat-VOL say-IPFV.CVB > that think-PRF.PTCP PTCL later
bodo-qu *du,* *tegün* *ü* *ki-gseni*
 Ithink-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC that > 3SG GEN make-PRF.PTCP ACC
ide-bel *tegün* *dü* *baγu-ǰu* *öggö-gsen*
 eat-COND.CVB that > 3SG DAT.LOC fall-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
yabudal *bol-čiqa-qu* *bisi-ü?*
 matter become-PRF-FUT.PTCP NEG-INTR.PTCL

Note: *uul ni* ‘originally’; *baγu-ǰu öggö-* ‘surrender; capitulate’

‘Originally, I thought about eating the supper which she would prepare. When thinking later, if eating what she has made, won’t it become a matter of surrendering to her?’

³⁸ Guntsetseg (2016, p. 90) maintains that in Khalkha Mongolian when the direct object is modified by a relative clause, it is obligatorily marked with the accusative case marker. This is also true in Written Mongolian.

In (4-246) *tegün ü kigsen i* ‘what she has made’ is a nominalised direct object which is expressed by a predicative relative clause; and the noun *qoyola* ‘food’ for the direct object is indicated in the preceding discourse.

(4-247)...	<i>ebügen</i> old.man	<i>bide</i> 1PL.INCL	<i>qoya(r)-yula</i> two-COLL.NUM	<i>temege ben</i> camel REF.POSS	<i>dulayan</i> warm	<i>kebteri</i> resting.place
	<i>dü</i> DAT.LOC	<i>uya-γad,</i> tie-PRF.CVB	<i>ger</i> house	<i>tü</i> DAT.LOC	<i>oro-n</i> enter-CVB	<i>ulayan böçeten-nügüd</i> young.pioneer-PL
	<i>ün</i> GEN	<i>bağaya-γsan</i> prepare-PRF.PTCP	<i>čaj</i> tea	<i>yi</i> ACC	<i>uuyu-ǰu</i> drink-IPFV.CVB	<i>qayučı köger-ü-n</i> common.saying talk.freely-CONN-CVB

sayu-ba.
sit-PST

Note: *ulayan böçeten* ‘a pioneer’; ‘a young person who wears a red scarf’ (*ulayan böçe* ‘red scarf’ < *ulayan* ‘red’ + *böçe* ‘scarf’); *qayučı köger-* ‘talk freely to one’s heart’s content’
‘...both the old man and I entered the house after tying our camel to a warm resting place. (We) drank the tea which the young pioneers prepared and sat, talking happily about common sayings.’

(4-248)	<i>nayidan</i> PN	<i>u</i> GEN	<i>eǰi</i> mother	<i>lama</i> lama	<i>yin</i> GEN	<i>öggö-gsen</i> give-PRF.PTCP	<i>em</i> medicine	<i>yi</i> ACC
	<i>uuyu-γsan</i> drink-PRF.PTCP		<i>ača</i> ABL	<i>qoyisi</i> after	<i>ǰasara-n</i> improve-CVB	<i>sayıǰıra-γsan</i> get.better-PRF.PTCP	<i>ǰüil</i> type	<i>ügei</i> NEG
	<i>bol-baču</i> be-CONC.CVB	<i>aǰıl</i> work	<i>iyan</i> REF.POSS		<i>ki-gseger</i> do-CVB	<i>bayı-ba.</i> be (AUX)-PST		

‘Although nothing has improved for Naidan’s mother after (she) took (lit.: ‘drank’) the medicine which the lama gave her, (she) kept doing her work.’

When the direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* include the word *gedeg* ‘so-called’, they must be marked with the accusative case, denoting definite meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-249)...	<i>ǰarım</i> some	<i>professor,</i> professor	<i>tusqai</i> special	<i>mergeǰılten</i> specialist/expert	<i>ü</i> GEN	<i>kele-kü</i> say-FUT.PTCP	<i>ber</i> INS
	<i>kökörge_n_e</i> PN	<i>ge-deg</i> say-PRS.PTCP > so.called		<i>em</i> medicine		<i>yi</i> ACC	<i>ide-bel</i> eat-COND.CVB
	<i>ge-(g)sen</i> say-PRF.PTCP	<i>dü</i> DAT.LOC	<i>kömös</i> people	<i>kökörge_n_e</i> PN	<i>yi</i> ACC	<i>bulıya-ldu-n</i> snatch.up-RECP-CVB	<i>tusataı</i> useful
	<i>ab-čaya-γad</i> take (AUX)-PL-PRF.CVB	<i>tus</i> this	<i>em</i> medicine		<i>nige üy_e</i> for.a.period	<i>yeke</i> very	<i>ünetei</i> expensive
	<i>bol-ǰu,</i> be-IPFV.CVB	<i>čınaysıla-γad,</i> go.further-PRF.CVB	<i>qoyitu</i> back	<i>egüde</i> door	<i>ber</i> INS	<i>sayı</i> only.then	<i>ol-ǰu</i> get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
	<i>ab-qu</i> take-FUT.PTCP	<i>bol-ǰai.</i> be-PST					

Note: *ol-ǰu ab-* ‘be able to take’ expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

‘...according to some professors and specialists, if taking (lit.: ‘eating’) the so-called K-medicine, (it) would be helpful, (so) people have snatched up the medicine, (as a result), this medicine became very expensive for some time; furthermore, (people) can get (the medicine) only by indirect ways (lit.: ‘backdoor influence’).’

(4-250)	<i>tendeki</i> of.that.place	<i>kömös... <<</i> people	<i>ǰay</i> a.kind.of.bush	<i>ge-deg</i> say-PRS.PTCP > so.called	<i>modon</i> tree
	<i>i</i> ACC	<i>tüle-ǰü,</i> burn/set.on.fire-IPFV.CVB	<i>ǰandan</i> sandalwood s	<i>ge-deg</i> ay-PRS.PTCP > so.called	

küreng ulayan čai yi uuγu-day>> aji.
 brown/umber.red tea ACC rink-PRS.PTCP PTCL
 ‘People who live in that place... ‘burn the so-called Zhag tree (a kind of bush) and drink the so-called sandalwood, a brownish-red tea.’

In (4-250) *žandan gedeg küreng ulayan čai yi* ‘the so-called sandalwood, a brownish-red tea’ is a direct object; and the definiteness of the direct object is supported by two factors: 1) the use of the word *gedeg* ‘so-called’; 2) the appearance of the adjective phrase *küreng ulayan* ‘brownish-red’, serving as an attribute.

The corpus examples analysed here illustrate that in addition to specificity (vs. genericity) and definiteness, word-order variation and topicality taken as interrelated factors play a crucial role in the accusative case marking of the direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-*. Note the following examples:

(4-251) *möngke yin rasiyan i ken ču uuγu-l_a mönö-ken*
 eternal GEN hot.spring.water ACC anyone drink-PST this-DIM
čilögen degen jirya-y_a bide.
 leisure DAT.LOC.REF.POSS be.joyful/be.blissfully.happy-VOL 1PL.INCL
 Note: *ken ču* ‘no matter who; whoever; anyone’ < *ken* ‘who’ + *ču* ‘even’
 ‘Everybody has drunk eternal hot spring water. Let’s enjoy pleasure in good time.
 (lit.: ‘let’s be joyful at this short leisure’).’

In (4-251) in contrast to the normal word order (SOV), the direct object *möngke yin rasiyan* ‘the eternal hot spring water’ occurs before the subject *ken ču* ‘whoever’, and it can be interpreted as a topic of the utterance.

(4-252) *aγula siγ arbin idege usu siγ elbeg ariki yi*
 mountain like many food water like abundant wine/alcohol ACC
uγsay_a töröl ün kömö-s uuγu-ju ide-n čengge-y_e.
 lineage kind/kinsfolk GEN person-PL drink-IPFV.CVB eat-CVB amuse.oneself-VOL
 ‘Let the people of different origins amuse themselves (by) eating and drinking lots of food which are (piled) like mountains and wines which are abundant like water.’

In (4-252) the word-order variation is caused by the use of the direct objects (modified by attributes) *aγula siγ arbin idege usu siγ elbeg ariki* ‘lots of food which is (piled) like mountains and wine which is abundant like water’ which occurs before the subject *uγsay_a töröl ün kömö-s* ‘people of different origins’ and can be analysed as the topic of the utterance.

(4-253) *čai buyu miq_a šölö yi eje(n)-d öbesüben le*
 tea or meat soup ACC host-PL themselves PTCL
sayin uuγu-ju ide-n_e.
 well drink-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS
 ‘As far as the tea, meat or soup is concerned, only the hosts themselves are drinking and eating well.’

In (4-253) the direct objects *čai buyu miq_a šölö yi* ‘the tea, meat or soup’ appear before the subject of the sentence, viz. *ejed* ‘the hosts’, which results in word order variation and topicality (viz.

secondary topic in this example). The accusative case is used to mark the direct object because of the interplay of word order variation and topicality.

In the following examples, discourse prominence (viz. continuity of direct objects appearing in the same paragraph of the text) plays a crucial role in the accusative case marking.³⁹ All these occurrences denote definite specific meanings:

(4-254) [‘While the water in the bottle was rising gradually, (it) has come out (of the bottle) soon, overflowing.’]

inggi-ged *tere* *keriy_e* *usu* *yi* *qan-tal_a*
do.like.this-PRF.CVB that crow water ACC to.content.oneself-CVB

uuγu-γsan *ge-n_e*.
drink-PRF.PTCP say-PRS > it.is.said.that

Note: *inggiged* ‘thus’

‘Thus, it is said that the/that crow drank the water until (it) was content.’

(4-255) [‘I, (a person) who has a four-thousand-year history of eating humans, now know that (it is hard to call (myself) a genuine human), although (I) did not know at that time that it was hard to be called a genuine human.’]

kömöni *ide-gediü* *keüked* *basa* *bayi-qu*
human ACC eat-IPFV.PTCP.NEG children still be/exist-FUT.PTCP

yum uu?
PTCL INTR.PTCL

‘Are there still children who have not eaten humans?’

(4-256) [‘Simako received the task of looking after the cow and the calf... Simako helped bring a bundle of grass, (by) carrying (them) in his arms.’]

tuγul ni *dayji-ju* *bayi-baču* *qarin* *kele* *ben*
calf 3POSS tremble/quiver-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONC.CVB but tongue REF.POSS

sungya-n *ebesü yi* *amtarqa-n* *ide-be*.
stick.out/stretch-CVB grass ACC be.fascinated.by-CVB eat-PST

‘Although the calf was trembling, (it) stretched its tongue and ate the grass with pleasure.’

In examples (4-254) to (4-256) the direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-*, viz. *usu* ‘water’, *kömön* ‘human’ and *ebesü* ‘grass’ all denote generic meanings, which are expected to appear in direct case when first mentioned. However, they are marked by the accusative case when mentioned a second time in these examples due to pragmatic continuity. All these object nouns are previously mentioned in the preceding contexts, as is seen above. Below are two more examples where the direct object is expressed by pronouns and are also marked by the accusative case due to the same reason:

(4-257) [‘The Monkey has let the Tang Monk set out for his horse and handed in the fruits which he has brought.’]

³⁹ Specificity, as discourse prominence, refers to “an aspect of discourse prominence, namely “referential persistence” or “topic shift”, i.e. the potential of an indefinite to introduce a referent that will be mentioned again and may even become a topic in the subsequent discourse” (von Heusinger, 2011, p. 13).

<i>tangsuy lam</i>	<i>morin</i>	<i>deger_e</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>kedii</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ide-ged</i>
Tang.Monk	horse	on	REF.POSS	a.few	ACC	eat-PRF.CVB
<i>tür</i>	<i>öl</i>	<i>iyen</i>	<i>daru-bai.</i>			
temporarily	hunger	REF.POSS	suppress-PST			

‘The Tang Monk has eaten a few (fruits) on his horse and suppressed his hunger temporarily.’

In (4-257) the direct object is formed by the indefinite pronoun *kedii* ‘a few’, with the object noun *řimis* ‘fruit’ implied in the preceding context. I argue that pragmatic continuity plays a role in the use of the accusative case here. However, the direct object denotes a partitive specific meaning in this particular utterance.⁴⁰

(4-258) [‘Cholmon bites his apple which is in his hand and is standing, watching with his eyes wide open the person (whom he) does not know.’]

<i>...mai</i>	<i>odo nige</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ide-ćike-ø...</i>
here/take.it again	one.more	ACC	eat-PRF.ASP-IMP

Note: *odo* ‘now’ means ‘again, also’ in colloquial expressions; *odo nige* ‘one more’ < *odo* ‘again’ + *nige* ‘one’.
‘Here you are, eat one more (apple)...’

In (4-258) the direct object is formed by *odo nige* ‘one more’ with the direct object noun *almurad* ‘apple’ implied in the preceding context. I argue that the accusative case here is used to indicate pragmatic continuity. The direct object denotes a partitive specific meaning.

(4-259) *tabay tai idege eće ide-kü degen ekile-ged*
plate PROP food ABL eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS start-PRF.CVB
öröm_e, daray_a ni bisilay, egeřegei, ayaruul, boobo,
clotted.cream next cheese curds dried.sour.cheese pastry
sikir řerge yi ene darayalal iyar, řöb řar iyar
sugar and.so.forth ACC this order/sequence INS the.left.side hand INS
iyan bari-řu ide-deg.
REF.POSS grasp-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS.PTCP
Note: *ekileged* ‘first’; *daray_a ni* ‘next, and then’ < *daray_a* ‘next’ + *ni* = 3POSS
‘As far as eating the food from the plate (lit.: ‘which belongs to a plate’) is concerned, starting (with) clotted cream, and then (eating) the cheese, curds, dried sour cheese, cakes, sugar and so forth, in this order, (sb.) eats, taking (the food) with one’s left hand.’

In (4-259) the object nouns *öröm_e* ‘clotted cream’, *bisilay* ‘cheese’, *egeřegei* ‘curds’, *ayaruul* ‘dried sour cheese’, *boobo* ‘pastry’ and the final object noun phrase *sikir řerge* ‘sugar and so forth’ all refer to certain kinds of food which are served on a plate, which can be seen from the preceding context, viz. *tabay tai idege eće ide-* ‘eat from the food which belong to a plate’; thus, the direct objects denote partitive specific meanings in the utterance.

⁴⁰ Partitive specificity refers to the type of specificity where an indefinite noun phrase is introduced as an element of a set which was mentioned in earlier discourse (Enç, 1991). It serves as an important instance of so-called “d-linked specificity” (cited in Guntsetseg, 2016, p. 98). Examples (4-257), (4-258) and (4-259) should be seen as instances of partitive specificity, because the indefinite direct objects are elements of a set which was previously mentioned. For more information about d-linked specificity, refer to Pesetsky (1987).

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* may denote indefinite specific meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-260) <i>bide</i>	<i>uyangyatu</i>	<i>modon u</i>	<i>toso</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>dvng</i>	<i>bari-ju,</i>	
1PL.INCL	Chinese.parasol.	tree	GEN	oil	INS	lamp	hold-IPFV.CVB
<i>vandeü</i>	<i>burčay, noγoγ_a,</i>	<i>amtatu</i>	<i>tömösö,</i>	<i>eldeb</i>	<i>amu</i>		
peas	beans	vegetables	tasty	potatoes	various	grain	
<i>jerge</i>	<i>yi qoγola</i>	<i>bolya-n</i>	<i>ide-ju,</i>	<i>noγoγ_a</i>	<i>yin</i>		
and.so.forth	ACC	food/meal	make-CVB	eat-IPFV.CVB	vegetables	GEN	
<i>ür_ e eče</i>	<i>siqa-ju</i>	<i>yarya-γsan</i>	<i>toso</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>qoγola</i>		
seed	ABL	squeeze-IPFV.CVB	take.out-PRF.PTCP	oil	INS	meal	
<i>dayan</i>	<i>amta</i>	<i>oro-γul-day.</i>					
DAT.LOC.REF.POSS	taste/flavour	enter-CAUS-PRS.PTCP					

Note: *uyangyatu modon* ‘Chinese parasol tree’ < *uyangyatu* ‘Chinese parasol’ + *modon* ‘tree’; *dvng bari-* ‘to hold a lamp in one’s hand’; *eldeb amu* ‘coarse cereals; food grains other than wheat and rice’; *qoγola bolyan ide-* ‘to eat (something) as food’.

‘We hold a lamp using the oil of the Chinese parasol tree, and eat peas, beans, vegetables, tasty potatoes, coarse cereals and so forth as meals (lit.: ‘making meal from them’) and add flavour to our food by the oil which is squeezed out of the vegetable seeds.’

In (4-260) an array of direct object nouns are listed, namely *vandeü* ‘peas’, *burčay* ‘beans’, *noγoγ_a* ‘vegetables’, *amtatu tömösö* ‘tasty potatoes’ and *eldeb amu jerge* ‘coarse cereals and so forth’. Notably, the accusative case marker occurs after the postposition *jerge* ‘and so forth’. Given that only a few food items are listed here as edible items and the list goes on, the direct object denotes an indefinite specific meaning.

(4-261) <i>yayan ulayan öngge tei</i>	<i>alayan_a jiyasu</i>	<i>buyu köke</i>	<i>nuyturu</i>	<i>yin</i>			
deep.pink	colour	PROP	perch	or	blue	sandgrouse	GEN
<i>jigür i</i>	<i>ide-n</i>	<i>bayi-qu</i>	<i>dayan</i>	<i>kömön i</i>			
wing	ACC	eat-CVB	be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS	human	ACC	
<i>soytoγura-γul-u-m_a</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>isbelje-ju,</i>	<i>jočin</i>	<i>u</i>			
be.intoxicated-CAUS-CONN-DERn	INS	smile.shyly-IPFV.CVB	guest	GEN			
<i>dotonočirqay yariy_a</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>sonos-o-n</i>	<i>sayu-n_a</i>	<i>ge-ju</i>			
kind/intimate	talk	ACC	listen-CONN-CVB	sit-PRS	say-IPFV.CVB	> that	
<i>kei sana-n_a.</i>							
have.a.fantasy-PRS							

Note: *yayan ulayan* ‘deep pink’ < *yayan* ‘pink’ + *ulayan* ‘red’

‘(She) is having a fantasy that (she) is sitting, listening to the guest’s kind talk and smiling shyly in a charming (lit.: ‘an intoxicating’) way while eating either the perch which has a deep pink colour or the wing of the blue sandgrouse.’

In (4-261) the direct object nouns (modified by attributes) *yayan ulayan öngge tei alayan_a jiyasu* ‘the perch which has a deep pink colour’ and *köke nuyturu yin jigür* ‘the wing of the blue sandgrouse’ are linked by a conjunction word *buyu* ‘or’, which is used to denote a choice between two possibilities, denoting indefinite specific meanings. Only the latter noun phrase in the object word combinations is marked by the accusative case.

(4-262) <i>taytay_a</i>	<i>ge-deg</i>	<i>sibayu bol</i>	<i>ür_e</i>	<i>tariy_a</i>	<i>yum uu,</i>		
pigeon	say-PRS.PTCP	bird	TOP	seed	crops/field	PTCL	INTR.PTCL

borčaytu *uryumal* *i* *ide-ǰü* *amidura-day* *amitan yum* *siu.*
 with.beans plant ACC eat-IPFV.CVB live-PRS.PTCP animal PTCL PTCL

Note: *ür_e tariy_a* ‘seed-breeding field’ < *ür_e* ‘seed’ + *tariy_a* ‘field’; the particle *uu* is sometimes used to express alternative questions; the particle *yum* can occur at the end of a sentence or a sentence component to highlight and emphasize one’s statement and it may denote a modal meaning of certainty (Garudi et al., 2001, p. 389).

‘As for the bird, which is the so-called pigeon, it is (a kind of) animal which lives, eating either seed-crops or the plants with beans.’

In (4-262) the direct object noun phrases *ür_e tariy_a* ‘seed-breeding field’ and *borčaytu uryumal* ‘the plant with beans’ are linked by the interrogative particle *uu* meaning ‘either...or’. The affirmative particle *yum* is used after the noun phrase *ür_e tariy_a* ‘seed-breeding field’ for emphasis. Thus, the direct object can be translated as ‘either seed-breeding field or the plants with beans’, expressing indefinite specific meanings. The accusative case marker only appears after the last object noun phrase.

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuryu-* marked with the accusative case may denote indefinite specific meanings when they are modified by universal quantifiers:

(4-263) *eyimü eče* *bide* *yangǰu böri* *yin* *idesin noyoy_a* *yi* *ürgülǰi*
 so/thus ABL 1PL.INCL kind each GEN vegetables ACC often
ide-ǰü *bayi-bal* *ǰoki-n_a*.⁴¹
 eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-COND.CVB fit/suit (AUX)-PRS

Note: *Tv-bal ǰoki-* ‘should/ought to do sth.’; *idesin noyoy_a* ‘vegetables’ < *idesin* ‘food’ + *noyoy_a* ‘vegetable’.
 ‘Thus, we should often eat each kind of vegetable.’

In (4-263) the universal quantifier *böri* ‘each’ is used to modify the noun *yangǰu* ‘kind’. The noun phrase *idesin noyoy_a* ‘vegetables’ denotes a generic meaning by itself; however, after being modified by the attributive phrase *yangǰu böri yin* ‘each kind of’, the direct object denotes an indefinite specific meaning, being marked by the accusative case.

(4-264) *üǰe-ǰü* *bayi-tal_a* *kedün kilomvtr* *urtu bar* *engnere-n*
 see-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CVB several kilometre length INS line.up-CVB
ire-küi *qar_a sirǰulǰi ǰam* *dayau dayari-ldu-γsan* *bökön* *i*
 come-FUT.PTCP black ant road along run.into-RECP-PRF.PTCP every/all ACC
ölöb *daru-n* *ide-ǰü* *yabu-n_a*.
 completely crush-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB go/walk (AUX)-PRS

Note: *ölöb daru-n ide-ǰü* ‘to eat all that is available; eat until nothing is left’

‘While looking, the black ants which are coming in lines several kilometres long are eating everything that (they) have run into along the road.’

Notably, in (4-264) the universal quantifier *bökön* ‘every’ is a postnominal modifier of the direct object noun phrase *ǰam dayau dayarilduγsan* ‘what (the ants) have run into along the road’. The direct object noun phrase including the universal modifier can be interpreted as ‘all (things) that (they) have run

⁴¹ According to Guntsetseg (2016, p. 47), there are several universal quantifiers in Khalkha Mongolian, namely *büx* ‘all’, *büxen* ‘every’, *bolgon* ‘every’, and *bür* ‘each’. While *büx* is used as a prenominal modifier, the other three are used postnominally. We can also find such universal quantifiers in Written Mongolian with similar usages, which I respectively gloss as *bükü~bökö* ‘all’, *bükün~bökön* ‘every’, *bolγan* ‘every’, and *büri~böri* ‘each’.

into along the road’, denoting an indefinite specific meaning, and the accusative case is used after the universal quantifier *bökön* ‘every/all’.

4.3.2.2 *ide-/uuyu-* → *N (DO) + ACC + PTCL* (e.g. *ni/čini/le*)

When direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* are followed by the third-person possessive particle *ni* in Mongolian, they are always marked with the accusative case, denoting either definite specific or partitive specific meaning.⁴² I argue that the direct object denotes a definite specific meaning when the particle *ni* keeps its possessive meaning, viz. ‘someone’s’. It denotes a partitive specific meaning when the particle *ni* adds a partitive meaning to the direct object noun, namely the direct object noun constitutes part of (a set of) food items which are indicated in the preceding discourse.

The following examples (4-265), (4-266) and (4-267) demonstrate the definite specific meaning of *ni* while examples (4-268) and (4-269) illustrate its partitive specific meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-265)	<i>jam</i>	<i>deger_e</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ölön</i>	<i>činv_a</i>	<i>tokiyaldu-γsan</i>	<i>du</i>	
	road	on	3POSS	hungry	wolf	come.across/meet.by.chance-PRF.PTCP	DAT.LOC	
	<i>tere</i>	<i>činv_a</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>arasu</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>qayul-ju</i>	<i>qaya-γad,</i>	<i>γal</i>
	3SG	wolf	GEN	hide	ACC	peel.off-IPFV.CVB	throw.away (AUX)-PRF.CVB	fire
	<i>tiile-ju</i>		<i>miq_a</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>sira-ju</i>	<i>ide-ged,</i>	<i>čayasi jam</i>
	kindle-IPFV.CVB		meat	ACC	3POSS	roast-IPFV.CVB	eat-PRF.CVB	further road
	<i>dayan</i>		<i>oro-l_a.</i>					
	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS		enter-PST					

Note: *qayulju qaya-* ‘have peeled off’ denotes a perfective aspectual meaning with the help of the verb *qaya-*, which has partially lost its lexical meaning here; *jam dayan oro-* ‘set off for one’s journey; start one’s journey’.

‘When coming across a hungry wolf on his route, he peeled off the hide of the wolf. (He) kindled a fire and roasted the wolf’s meat, then ate its (wolf’s) meat and then (lit.: ‘further’) set off on his journey.’

In (4-265) the direct object noun *miq_a yi ni* ‘its meat’ denotes a definite specific meaning, since the particle *ni* preserves its possessive meaning, which refers back to ‘the meat of a wolf’, which is indicated by the preceding context.

(4-266) [‘One day, when a donkey brayed, the tiger, very fearful, saying that (the donkey) wants to seize and eat him, fled far away. But when (the tiger) returned and had a look, it seems that (the donkey) does not have a special ability. (Therefore), (the tiger) got used to the sound of the donkey even more. When it came close to the donkey, the donkey could not seize it. After the tiger approached the donkey a bit and got even more accustomed to it, it dashed straight against the donkey. The donkey was extremely angry and kicked.’]

⁴² Guntsetseg (2016, p. 100) maintains that the particle *ni* (glossed as *n*’ in her work) denotes the partitive specific meaning in Khalkha Mongolian. In her opinion, the third person possessive particle may be considered as a partitive marker. In my view, the particle *ni* could reveal the partitive meaning; however, this meaning should be supported by a certain context in Written Mongolian.

<i>bars</i>	<i>bayarla-ǰu</i>	<i>dotor_a</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>bodo-run:<<</i>	<i>erdem inü</i>	
tiger	get.happy-IPFV.CVB	mind	REF.POSS	think-CVB	ability	3POSS
<i>egün</i>	<i>ü tedüyi le</i>		<i>buyu!>></i>	<i>keme-ged</i>	<i>üsür-ü-n</i>	
such	GEN so.much	PTCL(only)	PTCL	say-PRF.CVB	jump-CONN-CVB	
<i>oči-ǰu</i>	<i>yeke</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>orkira-n</i>	<i>bayalǰuur</i>	<i>i inu</i>	
go (AUX)-IPFV.CVB	very/a.lot	PTCL	roar/howl-CVB	throat	ACC	3POSS
<i>tasu</i>	<i>qajǰa-n</i>	<i>miq_a yi</i>	<i>inu ide-ǰü</i>	<i>bara-ǰad</i>	<i>yabu-ǰuqui.</i>	
off	bite-CVB	meat ACC	3POSS eat-IPFV.CVB	finish-PRF.CVB	go-MIR.PST	

[‘The tiger got happy and thought in his mind, ‘his (i.e. the donkey’s) ability is just so much!’]
‘Afterwards, it jumped at the donkey, roaring a lot, biting off its throat, and unexpectedly it left after finishing eating its (the donkey’s) meat.’]

In (4-266) the particle *inu* which is the personal possessive form in Classical Mongolian is used. It participates in the formation of the definite specific meaning of the object and refers to “the meat of a donkey” here. The preceding context adds to the understanding of this referential meaning. The mirativity meaning is derived from the suffix *-ǰuqui* in this example.

(4-267) [*siyang vang*: << *sayin er_e bulai! ariki uuǰu-ø>>* *keme-ged*
PN good man PTCL wine drink-IMP say-PRF.CVB
qunday_a ergü-n ariki ög-be.
goblet raise-CVB wine/alcohol give-PST
Note: *siyang vang* refers to Xiang Yu, a famous historical figure in Chinese history. *sayin er_e* ‘hero; true man; brave man’; *bulai* is written as *bolai* in Poppe (1954, p.157).
[‘After saying ‘(You) are a hero! Drink wine’, Xiang Yu raised the goblet and gave the alcohol (to Fan Kuai).’]

<i>fan kuvai</i>	<i>tal_a ki-n</i>	<i>bos-ču</i>	<i>ǰoyso-ǰad</i>	<i>ariki yi ni</i>	<i>uuǰu-bai.</i>
PN	do.favour-CVB	get.up-IPFV.CVB	stand-PRF.CVB	wine ACC	3POSS drink-PST

Note: *tal_a ki-* ‘show respect for somebody; save face for sb.’ < *tal_a* ‘favour’ + *ki-* ‘do; make’
‘Fan Kuai drank his wine (Xiang Yu’s wine), after standing up, showing respect for him.’]

In (4-267) the direct object denotes a definite specific meaning with the help of the particle *ni*, considering the preceding context in which *Siyang Wang* ‘the lord Xiang Yu’ gave a toast to *fan kuvai* ‘Fan Kuai’, then Fan Kuai drank Xiangyu’s wine which is offered by Xiang Yu.

(4-268) [*nama yi emnelge dü sayu-ǰsan qoyorondo nököd cögen*
1SG ACC hospital DAT.LOC stay-PRF.PTCP in.between friends few
busu ǰuvantuu küрге-ǰü oči-ǰsan yum.]
NEG canned.fruits send-IPFV.CVB go (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PTCL
Note: *cögen busu* ‘many’ < *cögen* ‘few’ + *busu* = NEG
[‘When I was staying in the hospital, (my) friends sent me many cans of fruit.’]

<i>ǰarim i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>tende</i>	<i>ide-ǰü,</i>	<i>ülede-gsen</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>bi</i>
some	ACC	3POSS	there	eat-IPFV.CVB	leave/remain-PRF.PTCP	ACC	3POSS 1SG
<i>ger</i>	<i>tü</i>	<i>abčira-ǰsan</i>	<i>iyan</i>	<i>čolmon</i>	<i>du</i>		
house/home	DAT.LOC	bring-PRF.PTCP	REF.POSS	PN	DAT.LOC		
<i>kele-gsen</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>tula tere</i>	<i>baruy mede-kü</i>	<i>ügei.</i>			
say-PRF.PTCP	NEG	because that	almost	know-FUT.PTCP	NEG		

‘Because I did not tell Cholmon that I ate some (of the canned fruit) there and that I brought the leftovers (lit.: ‘the remaining ones’) home, he barely knows (about it).’

In (4-268) the direct object is formed by *jarim i ni* ‘some of them’, in which *jarim* ‘some’ can be seen as an abbreviation of *jarim yuvantuu* ‘some canned fruit’. The particle *ni* in this example denotes the partitive specific meaning, viz. ‘part of the canned fruit which my friends brought me’. The partitive specific meaning of the object is seen, first of all, from the context and then it is supported by the use of the accusative case marker together with the particle *ni*.

(4-269)	<i>edüge</i>	<i>yaĵar</i>	<i>bökön</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>yadayadu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>buday_a</i>	<i>yulir</i>
	at.present	place	all	DAT.LOC	foreign	GEN	rice	flour
	<i>dügür-čü</i>		<i>bayi-n_a,</i>	<i>türügüči</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>ire-gsen</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>
	be.filled.with -IPFV.CVB		be (AUX)-PRS	foregoing	GEN	come-PRF.PTCP	ACC	3POSS
	<i>ide-ĵü</i>	<i>daĵus-u-ĵa-dui</i>		<i>bayi-tal_a</i>	<i>basa</i>	<i>yadayadu</i>	<i>yin</i>	
	eat-IPFV.CVB	finish-CONN-IPFV.PTCP-NEG		be (AUX)-CVB	also	foreign	GEN	
	<i>ĵaltu onĵoča</i>	<i>kedün</i>	<i>bölög</i>	<i>tegegebürile-ĵü</i>	<i>ire-gsen.</i>			
	steamboat	several	group/section	transport-IPFV.CVB	come-PRF.PTCP			

Note: *ĵaltu onĵoča* ‘steamer; steamboat; steamship’ < *ĵaltu* ‘having.fire/fiery’ + *onĵoča* ‘ship’

‘At present, there is foreign rice and flour everywhere. While having not yet finished eating the foreign rice and flour which came earlier, the foreign steamboat has come again, transporting several batches/shipments (of food).’

In (4-269) the direct object is made up of a predicative participial construction *türügüči yin iregsen* ‘those which came earlier’.⁴³ The partitive specific meaning is partially supported by the particle *ni* (with the help of context), namely ‘(part of) the foreign rice and flour which came earlier’.

Apart from the third person possessive particle *ni*, which may reveal a partitive meaning in certain contexts, our corpus examples illustrate the occurrence of the second person possessive particle *čini* which follows the accusative case marker in the direct object construction; and the direct objects denote a definite specific meaning. Note the following examples.

(4-270)	[<i>tangsuy</i>	<i>egün</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>üĵe-ged</i>	<i>simnu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>meke</i>	<i>dü</i>
	PN	this	ACC	see-PRF.CVB	bogey /demon	GEN	trick	DAT.LOC
	<i>oro-ĵsan</i>		<i>iyan</i>	<i>mede-ĵü: <<</i>	<i>simnu</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>ĵurban</i>	<i>uday_a</i>
	enter-PRF.PTCP		REF.POSS	know-IPFV.CVB	bogey	2SG	three	times
	<i>nama yi</i>	<i>mekele-kü</i>	<i>inü</i>	<i>yamar yoson?>></i>		<i>keme-n</i>	<i>aĵurla-n</i>	
	1SG ACC	cheat-FUT.PTCP	NR	what reason		say-CVB	be.angry-CVB	
	<i>asaĵu-ba.]</i>							
	ask-PST							

[‘After seeing this, the Tang Monk realised that he himself had fallen for the bogey’s trick. (He) angrily asked, “why do you, the bogey, cheat me three times?”]

<i>egün</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>qokimai</i>	<i>yin simnu</i>	<i>qadayana-tal_a</i>	<i>iniye-ĵü: <<</i>
this	DAT.LOC	White.bone.demon	laugh.heartily-CVB	laugh-IPFV.CVB	

⁴³ This is a very interesting construction: the actual object noun is missing, and the predicative attribute is used as an analogue of the noun to denote the direct object.

nige le üge, miq_a yi čini ide-n_e!>> ge-be.
 one PTCL word meat/flesh ACC 2POSS eat-FUT say-PST

Note: *egün dü* ‘for this; therefore’ < *egün* ‘this’ + *-dü* = DAT.LOC

‘Therefore, the White bone demon, laughing heartily, said: ‘in a word, (I) will eat your flesh!’’

In (4-270) the direct object *miq_a yi čini* ‘your flesh’ actually refers to ‘the Tang Monk’s flesh’, which can be seen from the preceding context.

(4-271) *tegün i yabu-qu du ni vang noyan*
 that > 3SG ACC go-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC 3POSS > NR > TOP king lord
tayay iyar iyan toloyai yi ni jıya-ju.<< či türgen
 walking.stick INS REF.POSS head ACC 3POSS point-IPFV.CVB 2SG quickly
yabu-ju qurdun ir_e-ø, kerbe ariki darasu uuyu-ju
 go-IPFV/CVB fast come-IMP if wine rice.wine drink-IPFV.CVB
minü yabudal i sayataya-bal miq_a yi čini ide-n_e>>
 1SG.GEN matter/business ACC delay/hold.up-COND.CVB meat ACC 2POSS eat-FUT
ge-ju dodomda-jai.
 say-IPFV.CVB ask/reproach-PST

‘When it comes to his leaving, the lord pointed towards his head using his crabstick, saying, “Go and return quickly (without wasting any time)” (lit.: ‘You come fast, going quickly’). If you dare delay my work by drinking wine, I will punish you.’ (lit.: ‘If (you) drink wine and delay my business, (I) will eat your flesh!’)

In (4-271) *miq_a yi čini ide-* ‘eat your flesh’ is used as a threat, functioning as a chunk. The particle *čini* adds a definite specific meaning to the direct object.

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be followed by the particle *le* ‘only’ which has a restrictive meaning and it is used together with the accusative case. Together they denote an indefinite specific meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-272) *tede bol ükügsen miq_a yi la ide-ju čida-n_a!*
 3PL TOP die-PRF.PTCP meat ACC PTCL eat-IPFV.CVB enable.to-PRS
 ‘As for them, (they) can eat only the dead meat.’

(4-273) *tere temegen ü jöbtei nidü ni soqor ge-deg i*
 that camel GEN left eye 3POSS blind say-PRS.PTCP > that ACC
jam un barayun qaıayı yin ebesü yi le ide-ged
 road GEN right side GEN grass ACC PTCL eat-PRF.CVB
yabu-ısan iyar ni mede-gsen yum.
 walk/go(AUX)-PRF.PTCP INS 3POSS know-PRF.PTCP PTCL
 ‘I realised that the left eye of that camel is blind by (the fact that) the camel ate only the grass which was on the right side of the road.’

In (4-272) and (4-273) the particle *la/le* ‘only’ is used to restrict the class of objects. Since the direct objects do not refer to unique objects, they denote restrictive specific meanings in these examples.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ We introduce a new term “restrictive specificity” in the current study; it is used in the sense that the object nouns denote specificity which lies somewhere between the definite specific and indefinite specific meanings on the referential scale.

4.3.2.3 *ide-/uuγu-* → *N (DO) + ACC+ REF.POSS*.

Direct object nouns of *ide-* and *uuγu-* which are marked by the accusative case may be followed by the reflexive-possessive suffix, denoting definite specific meaning. Note the following examples:

(4-274) *tere* *na-da* *bičig jīya-qu* *dayan*
 that > 3SG 1SG-DAT.LOC teach/instruct-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
 <<*keüked yügen* *solī-n* *ide-ǰü* *bol-o-mui*>>
 children ACC.REF.POSS exchange-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONN-PRS
ge-ǰü *bey_e ber* *iyen* *yari-ǰu* *bayi-γsan*
 say-IPFV.CVB body INS REF.POSS speak/talk-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP
yum.
 PTCL

Note: *bičig jīya-* ‘teach’ < *bičig* ‘book’ + *jīya-* ‘teach’; *-yügen* < *-yi* = ACC + *-ben* = REF.POSS; *Tv-ǰü bol-* denotes the modal meaning of possibility ‘may do sth.’.

‘When he taught me, he was saying that (people) may exchange (their children) and eat their own children.’

(4-275) <<*keüked yügen* *solī-n* *ide-ǰü* *bol-ǰu*>>
 children ACC.REF.POSS exchange-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
bayi-qu *tula* *yayu* *i* *ču* *bör* *solī-ǰu*
 be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP because what ACC PTCL (even) all exchange-IPFV.CVB
bol-o-n_a, *ken* *i* *ču* *bör* *ide-ǰü* *bol-o-n_a.*
 be (AUX)-CONN-PRS who ACC PTCL all eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-CONN-PRS

Note: *yayu i ču* ‘no matter what’; *ken i ču bör* ‘no matter whom’

‘Because (people) are able to exchange their own children and eat (them), (they) can exchange no matter what and can eat no matter whom.’

Notably, there are a number of corpus examples where the reflexive-possessive suffix directly follows the direct object noun. In such instances, the original generic meaning of the direct object is transformed into definite specific meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-276) *örlöge erte* *bide* *qoyola* *ban* *ide-megče* *anggi bar*
 in.the.morning 1PL.INCL food/meal REF.POSS eat-CVB class INS
iyen *čuylara-γad* *masin* *du* *sayu-ǰu* *yabu-ǰai.*
 REF.POSS gather-PRF.CVB automobile/car DAT.LOC sit-IPFV.CVB go-PST

Note: *örlöge erte* ‘in the morning’ < *örlöge* ‘morning’ + *erte* ‘morning’

‘In the morning, as soon as we ate our (own) meal, (we) gathered as a class, (then) we went by car (lit.: ‘went, sitting in the car’).’

(4-277) *či* *oro-ǰu* *čai* *ban* *uuγu-ø!*
 2SG enter-IPFV.CVB tea REF.POSS drink-IMP
 ‘Enter (the house) and drink your tea!’

(4-278) *qoya-γula* *ban* *čai* *ban* *uuγu-l_a.*
 two-COLL.NUM REF.POSS tea REF.POSS drink-PST
 ‘Both of us drank our tea.’

(4-279) *tege-kü* *degen* *kesegle-ǰü*
 do.that-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS cut.into.pieces-IPFV.CVB
ab-u-γsan *iyen* *ǰabal ide-deg.*
 take (AUX)-CONN-PRF.PTCP REF.POSS must eat-PRS.PTCP

Note: *Tv-ǰü ab-* constitutes an analytical construction, denoting the meaning of “doing sth for oneself”.

‘Moreover, (sb.) must eat what (he/she) has cut for oneself.’

In (4-279) the direct object is formed by the construction *keseglejü abuγsan* ‘what (sb.) has cut for oneself’, followed by the reflexive possessive suffix; and its referential meaning can be analysed as restrictive specificity.

In examples (4-276) to (4-279) the reflexive-possessive suffix adds the definite meaning to direct object nouns of *ide-* and *uuyu-*. Direct objects in these examples are not marked with the accusative case, probably because the function of the reflexive-possessive suffix coincides with that of the accusative case marker in these examples.⁴⁵

4.3.3 Optional case marking (ACC vs. DIR)

Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* may be optionally marked with the accusative case or appear in the direct case form when they are modified by participles and most adjectives (except for those adjectives which denote: 1) either a multitude of objects of a certain class; or 2) the amount of a substance mentioned earlier (in Section 4.3.1). Note the following examples:

(4-280) *čidür tei mori-d ni qola busu belči-jü, qata-γsan*
 hobble PROP horse-PL 3POSS >TOP far NEG graze-IPFV.CVB dry-PRF.PTCP
ebešü yi ide-n_e.
 grass ACC eat-PRS
 ‘As for the hobbled horses they are grazing not far away and eating dried grass.’

(4-281) *...jarim ni sira-γsan miq_a ide-jü ariki balyu-n_a.*
 some 3POSS >TOP roast-PRF.PTCP meat eat-IPFV.CVB alcohol gulp/swallow-PRS
 ‘...some (of them) are eating roasted meat and gulping wine.’

(4-282) [*qoničin nayidan sayiqan čečeg üd i ebür dügüreng*
 shepherd PN good/beautiful flower PL ACC bosom/heart full
tegu-jü] qonin süriig-üd simetei noγoγ_a yi gedesü dügüreng
 pick-IPFV.CVB sheep flock-PL nutritious vegetables ACC stomach full
ide-be.
 eat-PST
 Note: *ebür dügüreng* ‘full of one’s bosom, with one’s bosom full’ < *ebür* ‘heart’ + *dügüreng* ‘full’
 [‘The shepherd Naidan picked a big armful of beautiful flowers, which he held to his chest.’]
 ‘The flocks of sheep ate their full of nutritious vegetables.’

(4-283) *ebedčiten kerbe buruyu em i uuyu-bal kečinen*
 patient if wrong medicine ACC drink-COND.CVB how.much

⁴⁵ Guntsetseg (2016, p. 58) uses the term “reflexive suffix” to refer to the reflexive-possessive suffix in Khalkha Mongolian. According to her, the reflexive form without the accusative case is more common than those with overt accusative case which “occurs almost exclusively with kinship and friendship terms”. The current corpus examples in Written Mongolian also support this assumption. However, only a limited number of instances where direct object nouns are marked with the accusative case and are followed by reflexive-possessive suffixes are found, probably due to the semantic properties of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* which we discuss here.

yeke ayuultai bui ge-jü tere dotor_a ban
 big dangerous COP say-IPFV.CVB > that that > 3SG in/mind REF.POSS
bodo-γad...
 think-PRF.CVB

Note: *dotor_a ban bodo-* ‘think to oneself’ < *dotor_a* ‘mind’ + *ban* = REF.POSS + *bodo-* ‘think’
 ‘He thought to himself ‘if a patient takes (lit.: drinks) the wrong medicine, how dangerous (it) is!’ ...’

(4-284) *qalayun čai uuγu-ø...*
 hot tea drink-IMP
 ‘Drink hot tea...’

(4-285) ...*bay_a dayan tügükeiusu yek_e uuγu-γsan...*
 small/young DAT.LOC.REF.POSS raw water a.lot drink-PRF.PTCP
 ‘...when (sb.) was young, (he/she) drank unboiled water a lot...’

In the above examples (4-280) to (4-285), direct object nouns denote restrictive generic meanings. By restrictive genericity is meant that the generic meaning of direct objects is restricted in the sense that it denotes a multitude of objects of a certain class or nature only, with the direct objects being modified by certain participles and adjectives. It is unclear why some direct objects are marked with the accusative case while others occur in direct case. Both pragmatic (discourse continuity) and stylistic factors (alliteration) can be used to explain the phenomenon of optional case marking.

Likewise, direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-* may be either marked with the accusative case or appear in the direct case when they are modified by nouns in the genitive case, which are used as attributes to the direct object nouns. Note the following examples:

(4-286) *orenbüireg tü ölösköleng jöbalang tokiyaldu-ju,*
 TN DAT.LOC hunger suffering encounter-IPFV.CVB
ükü-gsen mal un miq_a ide-jü bayi-n_a...
 die-PRF.PTCP cattle GEN meat eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
 ‘In Orenbüireg (people) encounter hunger and suffering and (they) are eating dead cattle meat ...’

(4-287) *yurban qonoy un tursi gegüü yin miq_a ide-jü,*
 three one.day.and.one.night GEN during mare GEN meat eat-IPFV.CVB
ariki uuγu-γad...
 alcohol drink-PRF.CVB
 ‘(Sb.) has drunk alcohol, eating mare meat for three days and nights...’

In (4-286) and (4-287) the direct objects of *ide-* are modified by attributes which are formed by the genitive case. Direct objects which appear in the direct case denote restrictive generic meanings.

(4-288) ...*bi čečegtü malayai jëgü-jü, gkibtü debel emus-čü,*
 1SG flowery hat wear-IPFV.CVB with.a.rug clothes wear-IPFV.CVB
altan siryal buday_a ide-jü, arsi qobilγan u
 golden yellowish rice eat-IPFV.CVB immortal Living.Buddha GEN

bulay un usu uuγu-ǰu, yosotai debaǰan u amidural i
 spring GEN water drink-IPFV.CVB indeed heaven GEN life ACC
edle-ǰü bayi-qu bisi üüi?
 enjoy-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP NEG PTCL

‘...I am wearing a flower’s hat, wearing clothes made of a rug, eating the golden rice, drinking the spring water of the immortal Living Buddha, aren’t (I) enjoying the life of heaven indeed?’

In (4-288) both eating and drinking expressions are used. The direct object of *ide-*, viz. *altan siryal buday_a* ‘golden rice’, being modified by adjectival phrases, appears in the direct case; and the direct object of *uuγu-*, i.e. *arsi qobilγan u bulay un usu* ‘spring water of the immortal Living Buddha’, modified by the noun in the genitive case, also occurs in the direct case. Direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-* denote restrictive generic meanings.

In contrast, in the following examples (4-294) and (4-295) direct objects of *ide-* and *uuγu-* are marked by the accusative case when they are modified by nouns in the genitive case:

(4-289) *ta-nar qamtural un yaγum_a yi ide-ǰü qobi ban*
 2SG-PL collectivity GEN thing ACC eat-IPFV.CVB self REF.POSS
bayaǰi-γul-ǰai ge-n_e?
 get.rich-CAUS-PST say-PRS > it.is.said.that
 ‘It is said that you let yourself get rich, exploiting things owned collectively (lit: ‘eating things of collectivity?’)’

In (4-289) *qamtural un yaγum_a yi ide-* ‘exploit collective things’ is a phraseological expression, where *ide-* ‘eat’ denotes a metaphorical meaning of ‘exploit’. The direct object noun phrase *qamtural un yaγum_a* ‘things of collectivity’ denotes an epistemic specific meaning.

(4-290) [*udayan ediür çeber usu ol-ǰu uuγu-γ_a ügei*
 long day clean water get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB drink-IPFV.PTCP NEG
torγud çerig-üüd tungyalay sayiqan nayur un usu yi üǰe-nggüte
 Torghut soldier-PL clear good lake GEN water ACC see-CVB
γalǰayura-n dabki-ǰu, urulduyan ǰarla-γsan siγ
 go.mad-CVB hurry.along-IPFV.CVB competition announce-PRF.PTCP as.if/like
nayur ögede güyü-ldü-n_e.]
 lake towards run-RECP-PRS

Note: the analytical construction *olǰu uuγu-* ‘be able to drink’ denotes the modal meaning of possibility.

[‘The Torghut soldiers who have not been able to drink clean water for long days, as soon as (they) saw the clear good lake water, rushing along, going mad, and running towards the lake, as if (they were) announcing a competition.’]

torγud çerig-üüd ama ama bar nayur un usu yi uuγu-ǰu
 Torghut soldier-PL mouthfuls INS lake GEN water ACC drink-IPFV.CVB
udayan ediür ǰuǰayan qonoγ un čangγaγ_a
 long day thick one.day.and.one.night GEN thirst
ban γarya-n_a.
 REF.POSS release-PRS

‘The Torghut soldiers are drinking lake water by mouthfuls and quenching their long-lasting thirst.’

In (4-290) there was an earlier mention of the direct object noun phrase *tungyalay sayiqan nayur un usu* ‘the clear good lake water’ in the preceding discourse; thus the direct object noun phrase *nayur un usu yi* ‘the lake water’ is the second mention of the same object and denotes definite specific meaning.

It is noteworthy that in the following corpus examples the direct objects which denote definite specific meanings appear in the direct case. The reason for this is unclear. Note the following examples:

(4-291) *arban tabun jil ün emün_e, bide qoya-γula minü*
 fifteen year GEN before/ago 1PL.INCL two-COLL.NUM 1SG.GEN
bayiri yin ger tü eyimü qoyar jüül ün ariki uuγu-ju,
 dormitory DAT.LOC such two sort GEN wine drink-IPFV.CVB
 [*ünen kele-y_e ge-sen sanay_a tai ban mingγ_a*
 true say-VOL say-PRF.PTCP thought COM REF.POSS thousand
tumen γaγar un jayitai üge yari-lča-ju
 ten.thousand place/li GEN spacious/far.away.from word speak-COOP-IPFV.CVB
bayi-γsan bisi-ü?]
 be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP NEG.INTR.PTCL
 ‘Fifteen years ago, the two of us were drinking these two sorts of wine in my dormitory; [aren’t we talking about something that is thousands of lis/kilometres away from the thought which (we) truly wanted to express/say?]

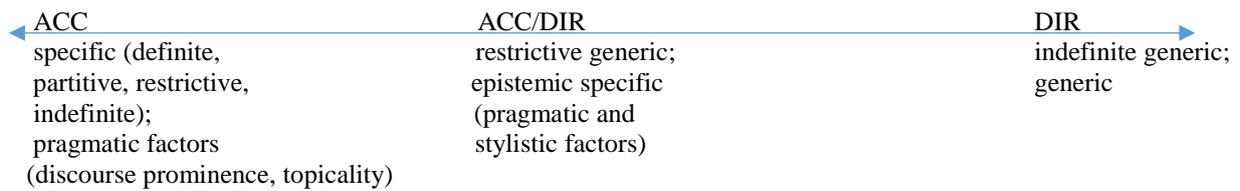
In (4-291) the direct object noun phrase *eyimü qoyar jüül ün ariki uuγu* ‘such/these two sorts of wine’ denotes a definite specific meaning, supported by the use of the demonstrative pronoun *eyimü* ‘such’ in it; however, contrary to our expectation, the direct object noun phrase appears in the direct case.

(4-292) *erketü qatun bol-o-γad ejen ü siregen*
 powerful lady/queen become-CONN-PRF.CVB lord/ruler GEN table
dü sayu-γad... dalai yin čayan_a ača abčira-γsan
 DAT.LOC sit-PRF.CVB sea GEN at.that.side/beyond ABL bring.here-PRF.PTCP
darasu uuγu-γad narγi-ju bayi-ba.
 rice.wine drink-PRF.CVB revel/make.merry-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PST
 ‘After becoming a powerful lady, (she) sat at the lord’s table... (she) was revelling, after drinking the rice wine which was brought from the other side of the sea.’

In (4-292) the direct object noun phrase *dalai yin čayan_a ača abčiraγsan darasu* ‘the rice wine which was brought from the other side of the sea’ denotes a definite specific meaning, because the object noun is modified by a predicative attributive clause, whose predicate is formed by a participle. Again, contrary to our expectation, the direct object noun phrase appears in the direct case.

The use of direct case and accusative case for direct objects of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuγu-* ‘drink’ is summarised in the following Figure 4.1:

Figure 4.1 Direct object case marking (ACC/DIR) for *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian



4.4 Nominalisation of Participial Forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*

In Mongolian the third person possessive particle *ni* may be added to the participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*, and also to the negative forms of participles.⁴⁶ Either a single participle or a dependent (subordinate) predicative construction with a participle functioning as a head can be followed by the particle *ni*.⁴⁷

The nominalised forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*, viz. participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* followed by the particle *ni*, may denote the following meanings: 1) concrete process for eating or drinking actions (activities); sometimes nominalisations are expanded with dependent words. Such nominalisations can serve as objects and subjects. 2) A concrete object which is of a material nature, i.e. ‘things that someone ate or drank’. Such objects can be expressed either by a single participle or by clauses with a participle as a head which are nominalised.

The syntactic context plays a crucial role in understanding the difference between these meanings. Note the following examples:

(4-293) <i>kömön</i>	<i>ide-deg</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kömön ide-deg</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>ben</i>
human	eat-PRS.PTCP	3POSS > NR	human eat-PRS.PTCP	NEG	REF.POSS
<i>bodo-bal</i>	<i>yayutai</i>	<i>ičigüritei</i>	<i>aĵi.</i>		
think.of-COND.CVB	how	shameful	PTCL		

Note: *bodo-* is used in the sense of ‘compare’ in this sentence.

‘(The act of) eating humans is more shameful than (the act of) not eating humans.’

In (4-293) the participial construction *kömön idedeg* ‘eat humans’ followed by *ni* may be interpreted as ‘the action of eating humans’. The nominalisation of *idedeg* ‘eating’ is expanded with its dependent direct object *kömön* ‘humans’.

⁴⁶ According to Poppe (1954, p. 50; p. 139), **inu* < **in* = 3SG + *-u/-ü* = GEN; **anu* < **an* = 3PL + *-u* = GEN. Janhunen (2012, p. 138) maintains that the third-person possessive suffix *ni* (PX 3P - *n*’ [-n] in his gloss) represents “the merger of the otherwise lost third-person singular and plural pronominal genitives (3P GEN SG **+in-U*: PL **+an-u*)”.

⁴⁷ The particle *ni* can function as a nominaliser in special constructions. The term “nominalisation” refers to a process by means of which a word of any grammatical class (e.g. participial forms of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* in the current study) is able to function as the noun analogue; it can also designate the result of such a function (use).

(4-294) *dabayan oroi yin qoyolan ger tü öndegen šölö tei*
 mountain.range top GEN restaurant DAT.LOC egg soup PROP
qoyola ide-kü ni öndürtegiün dü qamuy un
 meal eat-FUT.PTCP NR today that >3SG DAT.LOC most GEN
jiryaltai yabudal bayi-ǰai.
 happy/blissful event/matter be-PST
 ‘Eating the meal with egg soup in the dining room which is (located) on the top of the mountain range was the happiest event for him today.’

In (4-294) the participial construction *öndegen šölö tei qoyola ide-kü* ‘eating the meal with egg soup’ is nominalised with the help of the particle *ni*. The nominalisation expresses the action of eating and serves as the subject, which is put into correlation with the main predicate having an evaluative meaning.

(4-295) *qalayun čai uuyqu-ni qar_a ariki uuyqu*
 hot tea drink-FUT.PTCP NR spirit/Chinese.liquor drink-FUT.PTCP
tai adali ügei biǰe?
 COM same NEG perhaps/maybe
 ‘Perhaps drinking hot tea is not the same as drinking spirits?’

It is clear that the nominalisation in (4-295) expresses the concrete action of ‘drinking hot tea’. The nominalisation of *uuyqu* ‘drinking’ is expanded with its dependent direct object *qalayun čai* ‘hot tea’.

(4-296) *esekül_e uuyqu-γsan ide-gsen ni tegeger_e*
 otherwise drink-PRF.PTCP eat-PRF.PTCP 3POSS > NR burden/hindrane
bol-o-γad sayuri ügei bol-o-γsan yum
 become-CONN-PFR.CVB unstable/unsteady become-CONN-PRF.PTCP PTCL
uu?
 INTR.PTCL
 Note: *sayuri ügei* ‘unstable’ < *sayuri* ‘base/foundation’ + *ügei* = NEG
 ‘Otherwise has (someone) become unsteady (because) what he/she has eaten and drunk was too much?’

In (4-296) nominalisation of participial forms of *uuyqu-* and *ide-* refers to ‘things that someone has eaten and drunk’.

In a construction where the participial form of *ide-* and *uuyqu-* serves as a head, the subject of the dependent predicative construction is expressed by a noun in the genitive case. Note the example below:

(4-297) *bičiqan bandi yin uuyqu-ǰu ide-kü ni*
 little Buddhist.novice GEN drink-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR
sayijira-γsayar udal ügei tengkege tamir oro-l_a.
 improve-CVB immediately physical.power/energy strength/energy enter-PST
 Note: *bandi* ‘Buddhist novice; pupil of a lama’; *udal ügei* ‘soon’ < *uda-* ‘to delay/linger’ + *-l* = DERn + *ügei* = NEG; *tamir oro-* ‘to gain strength’.
 ‘While the little Buddhist novice’s drinking and eating was improving, (his body) soon gained strength.’

In (4-297) the noun phrase *bičiqan bandi* ‘the little Buddhist novice’, which is marked with the genitive case marker *-yin*, serves as the subject of the dependent predicative construction with dependent predicates *uuyujū idekü*. The nominalised participial construction expresses eating and drinking action here and it serves as a subject in the sentence.

The nominalised participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyū-* can occur either in a subject or in an object function. The subject is marked with the nominative case which has a zero case marker; whereas the object is marked by the accusative case marker which follows the participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyū-* but precedes *ni*. Note the following examples:

(4-298)	<i>jočirqay</i>	<i>jang</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>samtan,</i>	<i>tanil</i>	<i>busu</i>	<i>bösegüi</i>
	polite	character/disposition	COM	PN	acquaintance	NEG	woman/wife
	<i>eče</i>	<i>ide-y_e</i>	<i>uuyū-y_a</i>	<i>ge-jü</i>	<i>kele-kü</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>oron</i>
	ABL	eat-VOL	drink-VOL	say-IPFV.CVB > that	say-FUT.PTCP	GEN	place
	<i>du</i>	<i>tal_a</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>urūy-γsan</i>	<i>tayan_a</i>	<i>γoyod</i>	<i>tegü-jü</i>
	DAT.LOC	field	DAT.LOC	grow-PRF.PTCP	wild.leeks	chives	pick-IPFV.CVB
	<i>ide-gsen</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>deger_e</i>	<i>ge-jü...</i>			
	eat-PRF.PTCP	NR	better	say-IPFV.CVB			

Note: *Tv-kü yin oron-du...Tv-gsen ni deger_e* ‘it is better to do sth. instead of doing sth.’

‘*Samtan*, who has a polite disposition, saying that instead of asking for food from a woman stranger, it would be better to pick the wild leeks and chives which have grown in the field and eat (them)...’ (lit.: ‘... (the act of) picking and eating the wild leeks and chives which have grown on the field is better than asking for food from a woman stranger.’)

In (4-298) the participial construction of *ide-*, viz. *tal_a du urūyγsan tayan_a γoyod tegüjü idegsen ni*, is nominalised to mean ‘the act of picking and eating the wild leeks and chives which have grown on the field’ and the nominalisation serves as a predicative subject in the sentence.

(4-299)	<< <i>ja,</i>	<i>keriy_e</i>	<i>aq_a</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>boli-y_a,</i>	<i>kegür</i>	<i>ide-jü</i>
	all.right	crow	elder.brother	1POSS	give.up-VOL	corpse	eat-IPFV.CVB
	<i>γurban</i>	<i>γayun</i>	<i>jil</i>	<i>amidu</i>	<i>yabu-γsan</i>	<i>ača</i>	<i>nige</i>
	three	hundred	year	alive	go-PRF.PTCP	ABL	one
	<i>čisu</i>	<i>uuyū-yad,</i>	<i>burqan</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>qayir_a</i>	<i>yamar</i>	<i>bol-qu</i>
	blood	drink-PRF.CVB	Buddha/God	GEN	love	what	be-FUT.PTCP
	<i>qara-jü</i>	<i>sayu-γsan</i>		<i>mini</i>	<i>deger_e</i>	<i>bayi-n_a>></i>	<i>ge-be.</i>
	watch/look.at-IPFV.CVB	sit/live-PRF.PTCP		1POSS	better	be (AUX)-PRS	say-PST

‘(Sb.) said “All right. My (dear) elder brother Crow, stop it. Instead of eating corpses and walking alive for three hundred years, having drunk hot blood once and living while watching what it will be like to be loved by Buddha is better”.’

In (4-299) the first person possessive particle *mini* functions as a nominaliser. In this example, the nominalisation is expanded with converbal forms of *ide-* and *uuyū-* and it serves as a predicative subject.

(4-300)	<i>bi</i>	<i>tegün</i>	<i>eče:<<</i>	<i>kömön i</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>ni</i>
	1SG	that	ABL	human	ACC	eat-FUT.PTCP
						3POSS > NR

tayara-n_a uu?>> ge-ǰü asaγu-γsan du tere
 be.correct-PRS INTR.PTCL say-IPFV.CVB > that ask-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC that > 3SG
mön iniyemsügle-ǰü:<< yačiy ǰil bisi bayi-tal_a yaγun du
 still smile-IPFV.CVB disaster year NEG be-CVB what DAT.LOC
kömön ide-kü bui>> ge-be.
 human eat-FUT.PTCP COP say-PST

‘When I asked him “Is (the activity of) eating humans correct?”, he, still smiling, answered “When it is not a year of disaster, why are (we) going to eat humans?”’

In (4-300) the subject clause with the participle *idekü* as a head is nominalised with the help of *ni* to denote ‘the activity of eating humans’.

(4-301) *bi ide-kü yi ni dutayu ög-gö-gsen ügei...*
 1SG eat-FUT.PTCP ACC 3POSS > NR less/insufficient give-CONN-PRF.PTCP NEG
 ‘What I gave (someone) to eat is enough (lit.: ‘not less’).’

In (4-301) the expression *idekü yi ni* ‘what to eat, things to eat’ serves as a predicative object and it is nominalised.

(4-302) *daray_a edür eče ekile-ged arbayad edür ide-kü*
 next day ABL start-PRF.CVB over.ten day eat-FUT.PTCP
uuγu-qu yi ni qasu-γad elde-ǰü
 drink-FUT.PTCP ACC 3POSS > NR diminish-PRF.CVB beat-IPFV.CVB
čoki-qu ni arbid-ču γalǰayura-γsan
 hit-FUT.PTCP 3POSS > NR increase-IPFV.CVB go.mad/become.insane-PRF.PTCP
metü aγasila-ba.
 as.if/like lose.one’s.temper-PST

‘Starting from the next day, over a period of ten days, (sb.) reduced his/her eating and drinking, increased beating and hitting (people), and acted crazily (lit.: ‘lost one’s temper as if he/she has gone mad’).’

In (4-302) *idekü uuγuqu yi ni* is a nominalisation, meaning ‘the action (process) of eating and drinking’, and it serves as a predicative object.

(4-303) *ene qayas sar_a du, ariki tamaki ača terigüle-n ide-ǰü*
 this half month DAT.LOC wine tobacco ABL start-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB
uuγu-qu yi ni bör man iyar
 drink-FUT.PTCP ACC 3POSS > NR all 1PL.EXCL INS
γarγa-γul-u-n_a ge-n_e!
 take.out/afford.to-CAUS-CONN-FUT say-PRS>it.is.said.that

‘In this half a month’s time, starting from wine and tobacco, it is said that as for the cost of someone’s food and drinks (lit.: ‘as for someone’s eating and drinking’), (it) will all be paid by us!’

In (4-303) the nominalised eating and drinking expression *ideǰü uuγuqu yi ni* refers to ‘the expenditure or cost of someone’s food and drinks.’ The nominalisation serves as an object in the sentence.

(4-304) *dalan qudalči ayurla-qu dayan ilegüü*
 PN (the.Confirmed.Liar) be.angry-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS superfluous
ide-gsen i ni qoyar, dutayu ide-gsen i ni
 eat-PRF.PTCP ACC 3POSS > NR two insufficient eat-PRF.PTCP ACC 3POSS > NR
nige alayada-γad dakin unta-ǰai.
 one slap-PRF.CVB again sleep-PST
 ‘When (he) got angry, the Confirmed Liar, having slapped the one who has eaten more twice and (slapped) the other one who has eaten less once, slept again.’

In (4-304) the nominalisation of *ide-* refers to the person who is characterised according to the action of eating, viz. the eater, i.e. *ilegüü idegsen i ni* ‘the person who has eaten more’ and *dutayu idegsen i ni* ‘the person who has eaten less’.

Negative participial forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-* followed by the particle *ni* express similar nominalised meanings to those of affirmative ones. Note the following example:

(4-305) *getel_e, masi olan dalai yin amitan eyimü tangsuy sayiqan*
 but very many sea GEN animal such tasty/splendid beautiful/good
 << *dalai* yin teǰigel i>> *ide-deg ügei ni*
 sea GEN nutrition/nourishment ACC eat-PRS.PTCP NEG 3POSS > NR
qarin qačın γayiqaltai kereg yum.
 but/on.the.contrary strange wonderful/marvellous thing PTCL
 ‘But (the fact that) numerous sea animals do not eat such tasty and good sea nutrition is a strange and wonderful thing indeed.’

In (4-305) the negative form of the participle *idedeg* in the construction *masi olan dalai yin amitan eyimü tangsuy sayiqan <<dalai yin teǰigel i>>idedeg ügei* is nominalised with the help of *ni* and it can be translated as ‘(the fact that) numerous animals do not eat such tasty sea nutrition’. The subject denotes a fact or an event of the outside world and it is evaluated by the nominal predicative expression *qačın γayiqaltai kereg* ‘strange and wonderful thing’.

Nominalised clauses with participial heads can be grammatically analysed as either clefts or evaluative constructions (see discussion of *clefts* and *constructions of evaluation* in §§ 4.5-4.6). At the pragmatic level, some of the clauses can be analysed as topics. Below are several examples:

(4-306) *kömönide-deg ni minü aq_a!*
 human eat-PRS.PTCP NR 1SG.GEN elder.brother
 ‘The one who eats humans is my elder brother!’

In (4-306) nominalization of the participial clause *kömön idedeg* ‘(the one) who eats humans’ refers to ‘the person who eats humans’. This sentence forms a cleft construction (see Section 4.5 for *clefts*).

(4-307) [As far as the children are concerned, there are no shoes for their feet. All the year round (lit.: no matter it is winter or summer) (they) are running bare-footed.]

<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>ni</i>		<i>čayan</i>	<i>γulir</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bitegei sana-φ,</i>	<i>qar_a</i>
eat-FUT.PTCP	3POSS > NR > TOP		white	flour	ACC	NEG	want/desire-IMP
<i>γulir</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>miyanbou</i>	<i>dayan</i>		<i>ču</i>		<i>ol-ju</i>
flour	GEN	bread	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS		PTCL (even)		get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
<i>čad-qu</i>		<i>ügei,</i>	<i>jayusi</i>			<i>ni</i>	<i>jiyasu ača</i>
be.full-FUT.PTCP		NEG	snacks/meat.and.fish.dishes			3POSS > TOP	fish
<i>öger_e yayum_a</i>		<i>ge-ju</i>	<i>alay_a.</i>				
other	thing	say-IPFV.CVB	nothing				

Note: *olju čad-* ‘be able to be full/can satiate’

‘As for what they eat, don’t think of white flour! There is not even enough bread which is made of black flour. As far as meat is concerned, there is nothing except for fish.’

In (4-307) the participle *idekü* ‘what (sb.) eats’ is nominalised with the help of the particle *ni*; the participial construction is also topicalised (see Section 4.7 for *topicalisation*).

(4-308) [Sanaatu...has already poured the glass of wine down his throat. (He is) indeed showing the style of a driver.]

<i>ariki</i>	<i>darasu</i>	<i>uuyu-qu</i>	<i>ni</i>		<i>tergen degen</i>	<i>toso</i>
wine	rice.wine	drink-FUT.PTCP	3POSS > NR > TOP		vehicle	DAT.LOC
<i>usu</i>	<i>neme-ju</i>	<i>bayi-qu</i>	<i>siy</i>	<i>e!>></i>	<i>ge-d</i>	<i>olan</i>
water	add-IPFV.CVB	be-FUT.PTCP	like	EXCLM	say-CVB	people
<i>iyar</i>	<i>qa qa</i>	<i>ge-tel_e</i>	<i>iniye-ldü-n_e.</i>			
REF.POSS	haha	say-CVB	laugh-RECP-PRS			

‘Saying “As for his (action of) drinking wine, (it) is like adding oil and water to his vehicle.” (i.e. it is quick and efficient), people were laughing together.’

In (4-308) the nominalisation of the participial construction of *uuyu-*, viz. *ariki darasu uuyuqu ni* ‘as for his (action of) drinking wine’ serves as a topic in the sentence.

4.5 Cleft Constructions Which Include *ide-* and *uuyu-*

In Section 4.4 I analysed both non-predicative and predicative nominalisations of *ide-* and *uuyu-*. As was stated in Section 4.4, predicative nominalisation refers to both the process of transformation of the predicative construction into nominal analogues and the result of the process. Due to the process of nominalisation, the nominalised clause can function as a subject in polypredicative constructions,⁴⁸ which are understood here as neither simple nor complex sentences. One type of such constructions with the predicative subject (clause) can be considered to be the functional equivalent of cleft constructions. The main predicate in such structures is normally expressed by nominals/pronouns occasionally followed by existential verbs or just existentials (Cheremisina et al., 1984; Gorelova, 2002, pp. 263-266, p. 467).

⁴⁸ The polypredicative construction is a syntactic unit which is formed by the combination of several (minimally two) predicative constructions (Cheremisina & Kolosova, 1987; Cheremisina et al., 1984; Gorelova, 2002, p. 466).

A cleft sentence can be understood as “the expression of a single proposition via biclausal syntax” (Lambrecht, 2001, p. 463). Clefts are used for pragmatic purposes (information structuring), so that the clefted constituent is put into a focused position in the sentence.

There are numerous studies of English cleft constructions (Jespersen, 1937; Prince, 1978; Hedberg, 2000; Lambrecht, 2001; Calude, 2007, 2011 et al., etc.). Researchers of clefts in other languages either take the English language as a starting point when analysing clefts or tend to base themselves on existing definitions of English cleft constructions.⁴⁹ In English, the commonly discussed cleft types are *it*-clefts, pseudo-clefts (*wh*-clefts) and inverted pseudo-clefts. There are only a limited number of papers devoted to clefts in quasi-Altaic languages (cf. Hiraiwa & Ishihara, 2002, pp. 35-54; Saito, 2004, pp. 21-50). Research on Mongolian clefts is rather limited and there is not a convincing definition of clefts in Mongolian (Hashimoto, 2006; Sakamoto, 2012).⁵⁰

I maintain that cleft constructions in Mongolian which include *ide*- and *uuyu*- display the following characteristics: (i) the same indicators are normally used to nominalise and topicalise the predicative subject (clauses); (ii) the predicative subject of a cleft construction is presented by a clause. The subject clauses can: 1) denote a person or a thing or 2) relate (describe) the state of affairs (or an event) of the outside world; (iii) the predicate of a cleft construction serves as a focus and it makes a further statement about the subject. The predicate can be expressed by: 1) nominals expressing the semantics of classification or identification (as a special case of classification) which can be followed by the existential *bayi*-; 2) interrogative pronouns (or nominals modified by interrogatives) followed by a copula. There is a special class of cleft construction where a predicate is expressed by a verb (which can be expanded with a temporal modifier). This kind of construction can be understood as a pseudo-cleft.

Notably, most cleft examples below instantiate cleft constructions represented by nominalisations and analysed as topics in the same sentence (at different levels of the grammatical and pragmatic analysis).

The nominal predicates can denote meanings of (a) classification and (b) identification (as a subtype of classification). In type (a) a certain (given) object is put into correlation with a particular class of objects while in type (b) the given object is identified with a particular object. Such predicates are often followed by the existential verb *bayi*-. Thus the cleft construction in Mongolian may be formed

⁴⁹ For example, Lambrecht (2001) develops a framework for the analysis of cleft constructions cross-linguistically. However, the point of departure for his analysis of clefts is based on English *it*-clefts. Also see Merchant (1998) where the structure of English clefts is considered as a basis in the analysis of elliptical clefts in Japanese and in English.

⁵⁰ Hashimoto (2006) discusses cleft structures in Khalkha Mongolian adapting the theory and structure of English *it*-clefts.

by the following syntactic pattern in Mongolian: S {Tv-PTCP + *ni*} = P {NP (+EXIST)}.⁵¹ Note the examples below:

(4-309) *kömön* *ide-deg* *ni* *minü* *aq_a* !
 human eat-PRS.PTCP 3POSS > NR > TOP 1SG.GEN elder.brother
 ‘(The one) who eats humans is my elder brother!’
 ‘It is my elder brother who eats humans!’

(4-310) ...*urtu qubčasu* *emüsügčid* *ün* *dotor_a* *jöγso-γ_a* *bar*
 long clothes wearers GEN in/among stand-IPFV.PTCP INS
iyan *ariki* *uuyu-day* *ni* *γaγča* *küng i jii* *bayi-l_a*.
 REF.POSS wine drink-PRS.PTCP 3POSS > NR > TOP only PN be-PST
 ‘...among those who wear the long-sleeved clothes, (the one) who drinks wine while he is standing (lit.: by his standing manner) is only Kong Yiji.’
 ‘...among those who wear the long-sleeved clothes, it is only Kong Yiji who drinks wine while he is standing (lit.: by his standing manner)’

In (4-309) and (4-310) *ni* first functions as a nominaliser and then it functions as a topic marker. The nominal phrase *minü aq_a* ‘my brother’ serves as a focus in (4-309), while the existential structure *küng i jii bayil_a* ‘was Kong Yiji’ is the focus in (4-310). These predicates form identification structures.

There is a special cleft construction where the interrogative pronoun is involved in expressing the focus in the utterance;⁵² the interrogative pronoun is often followed by such nouns as *učir* ‘reason’, *yabudal* ‘matter’ and *kereg* ‘thing’ which semantically can be understood as nominalisers. Such cleft constructions can be illustrated by the syntactic pattern S {Tv-PTCP + *ni*} = P {INTR.PRON + N + COP}. Note the examples below:

(4-311) ...*lamaköbegün* *danjin gedesü* *ben* *yeke* *bol-qu*
 lama boy PN abdomen REF.POSS big become-FUT.PTCP
du *qoyola eyimü* *baγ_a ide-kü* *böge-tel_e* *gedesü eyin* *kü*
 DAT.LOC food such little eat-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-CVB stomach such PTCL
yeke *bol-qu* *ni* *yamar učir* *bui?* *ge-jü*
 big become-FUT.PTCP NR > TOP what reason COP say-IPFV.CVB > that
γayiqā-day *bile.*
 wonder/marvel-PRS.PTCP PTCL
 ‘When the lama boy Danzhin’s abdomen grows bigger, (he) is wondering what reason / why it is that his stomach gets so big when (he) eats such little food?’
 ‘When the lama boy Danzhin’s abdomen grows bigger, (he) is wondering about the fact that (his) stomach gets so big when (he) eats such little food is what reason?’

⁵¹ The signs S and P stand for a subject and a predicate respectively. The subject and the predicate are formed by the constructions enclosed in the curly brackets { }. The sign “=” stands for correlation between the subject and the predicate. Tv stands for the stem of a verb.

⁵² Refer to Onea & Guntsetseg (2011) for a discussion of focus and *wh*-questions in Khalkha Mongolian. The paper explicates the function of the *wh*-word as being involved in expressing the focus in the utterance.

<<ügei, öčögediür oroi uuyu-γsan ni angqaduγar uday_a.>>
 NEG yesterday evening drink-PRF.PTCP 3POSS > NR first time
 ‘No, the fact that I drank (wine) last night (happened) for the first time.’
 ‘No, it is the first time when (I) drank (wine) last night.’ (lit.: ‘no, (when I) drank last night was for the first time.’)

Example (4-315) in Mongolian is functionally an equivalent of a pseudo-cleft construction in English, because the focus is formed by a verbal predicate in the syntactic structure S {Tv-PTCP + ni} = P {VP}:

(4-315)...qabsai boobo bay_a say_a ög-küü dü küliye-ǰü
 a.long.deep.pastry pastry a.little.bit give-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC receive-IPFV.CVB
 ab-u-γad nökö-d tei ben ide-gsen
 take-CONN-PRF.CVB friend-PL COM REF.POSS eat-PRF.PTCP
 ni γayča ediür ün dotor_a dayus-čai.
 3POSS > NR > TOP single/sole day GEN in finish-PST
 Note: küliye-ǰü ab- ‘accept; take’
 ‘... when (sb.) gave a long piece of pastry to (him/her), after accepting (the pastry) what (he/she) ate with friends finished in one day.’

In (4-315) the subject is presented by a predicative nominalisation of *ide-*, viz. *nököd tei ben idegsen* ‘what he/she ate with friends’. The verbal predicate *γayča ediür ün dotor_a dayusčai* ‘finished in one day’ which is expanded by a temporal modifier serves as the focus of the utterance.

To summarise, I discussed four syntactic patterns which are considered to be cleft constructions above: (1) S {Tv-PTCP + ni} = P {NP/ NP + EXIST}; (2) S {Tv-PTCP + ni} = P {INTR.PRON + N + COP}; (4) S {Tv-PTCP + ni} = P {adverbial modifier (time)}; (5) S {Tv-PTCP + ni} = P {VP}. What they have in common is that: (a) all the cleft constructions have predicative subjects which are formed by subordinate clauses; (b) subjects of these cleft constructions are nominalised (and sometimes topicalised) with the help of the particle *ni*; (c) predicates of these cleft constructions are formed by nominal phrases which may be accompanied by existentials or copulae.

4.6 Constructions of Evaluation Including *ide-* and *uuyu-*

In Mongolian, there exist special constructions with evaluative semantics, which are built according to the following syntactic pattern: S {Tv-PTCP (NEG) + ni} = P {NP (+EXIST/*yum*)}. They are structurally similar to cleft constructions, but they should not be identified with clefts. Unlike clefts, the evaluative constructions are not used for a particular highlighting (focusing) function.

In English, it is also debatable if constructions with semantics of evaluation are considered as clefts or not. Scholars have attempted to compare the structural and functional similarities of such constructions with clefts and differentiate them from the latter (cf. Calude, 2008, pp. 7-33) named such

constructions “extraposed clauses”).⁵⁴ According to Pérez-Guerra (1998, cited in Calude, 2008, p. 15) clefts and extraposed clauses reveal different syntactic features: different types of clauses such as *that*-clauses, WH-clauses, and very rarely infinitive clauses can appear in the cleft clause position, whereas extrapositions involve a wider range of clause types like *that*-clause, *whether*-clause, *if*-clause, *why*-clause, adverbial clauses, NPs and PPs in the extraposed clause position. The two also differ in terms of discourse functions: clefts are used to highlight and contrast “particular bits of information”; extrapositions do not serve a highlighting function (pragmatic purpose), but function to state the speaker’s evaluative comments in an effective way (Calude, 2008, p. 9, p. 13).

Predicative nominalisations serving as subjects of polypredicative constructions which include *ide*- and *uuyu*- verbs normally denote presupposition in Mongolian; the particle *ni* can function as a topic marker. There is a correlation between the presuppositional subject and the semantics of the main predicate in the utterance. Main predicates of such constructions are rendered by words which have evaluative meanings such as the adjectival expressions *yariyan ügei* ‘certain, undisputable’, *qačın γayiqaltai* ‘strange and wonderful’ and *üneker iniyeltei* ‘really laughable’ etc. The substantivizer *kereg* ‘matter, thing’ often accompanies such evaluative words. Constructions with evaluative semantics in Mongolian are mainly formed by the following syntactic pattern: S {Tv-PTCP (NEG) + *ni*} = P {NP}. Note the examples below:

(4-316) *getel_e, masi olan dalai yin amitan eyimü tangsuy sayiqan*
 but very many sea GEN animal such tasty/splendid good
 <<*dalai yin tejigel i*>> *ide-deg ügei ni*
 sea GEN nutrition ACC eat-PRS.PTCP NEG NR > TOP
qarin qačın γayiqaltai kereg yum.
 but/on.the.contrary strange wonderful/marvellous thing PTCL
 ‘But (the fact that) quite a lot of sea animals do not eat such tasty and good sea nutrition is a strange and wonderful thing indeed.’
 ‘But it is a strange and wonderful thing that quite a lot of sea animals do not eat such tasty good sea nutrients.’

(4-317) *ayala-n yabu-γ_a ongyočan deger_e möli kisuy_a yi*
 travel-CVB go-IPFV.PTCP ship on oyster clam ACC
eyimürkü erkimsüg narin iyar ide-kü arγ_a du minü
 so/such honourable careful INS eat-FUT.PTCP method DAT.LOC 1SG.GEN
ečige sedkil ködelge-gde-gsen ni yariyan ügei kereg.
 father excite-PASS-PRF.PTCP NR > TOP certain/undisputable matter
 Note: *sedkil ködelge-* ‘to get excited/be impressed’ < *sedkil* ‘thought/heart/mind’+ *ködel-* ‘move’ + *-lge-* = CAUS;
yariyan ügei ‘certain’ < *yariyan* ‘talk’ + *ügei* = NEG
 ‘On the traveling ship, it is an undisputable thing that my father has been impressed by the method of eating oysters in such an honourable and careful manner.’

⁵⁴ Clefts and extraposed clauses (extrapositions) are differentiated by Calude (2008, pp. 20-28) on the basis of “a word order rearrangement test”, i.e. it is ungrammatical for clefts to shift the clefted constituent to the sentence-initial position, whereas extraposition is still grammatical if the extraposed clause is reinstated to the subject position.

The third person singular possessive marker *iniü* which is prevalent in Classical Written Mongolian can function as a topic marker in formal literary texts. Note the following two examples:

(4-321) << *toyin kömön tuyur ol-ju ide-kü*
 lama person peach get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP
iniü degedü sayin!>>
 3POSS > NR > TOP high/supreme good

Note: the analytical construction *ol-ju ide-* ‘be able to eat’ denote the modal meaning of possibility.
 ‘The fact that a Lama person is able to eat peaches is very good!’
 ‘It is very good that a Lama person is able to eat a peach.’

(4-322) *jiči baysi ta tariyan u ür_e jïmis tömösö ide-deg*
 also/furthermore teacher 2SG crops GEN seed fruits potatoes eat-PRS.PTCP
keme-gsen iniü qudal bol-ju...
 say-PRF.PTCP 3POSS > NR > TOP false be/become-IPFV.CVB

‘Furthermore, the claim that it is said that, teacher, you eat the seeds of crops, fruits and potatoes, is false...’
 ‘Furthermore, it is false that, teacher, you eat the seeds of crops, fruits and potatoes...’

In (4-321) and (4-322) subjects are presented by predicative nominalisations of *ide-* and predicates are respectively formed by the nominal expression (adjectival phrase) *degedü sayin* ‘very good’ and the combination of a nominal (an adjective) and an existential verb *qudal bolju* ‘is false’. The predicates denote evaluative meanings in these sentences.

The following sentence (4-323) is a phraseological expression, in which the subject is presented by the predicative nominalisation of *ide-* and the predicate is formed by the single nominal *jüi* ‘propriety, a proper thing’ which has an evaluative meaning:

(4-323) *tingri eče tari-γsan buta borolj(a)i yi tingri yin imay_a*
 heaven ABL sow-PRF.PTCP substance costmary ACC heaven GEN goat
ide-kü ni jüi, tere tei tere ügei
 eat-FUT.PTCP NR > NR > TOP propriety/regularity that COM that NEG
qurdun tonil-φ!
 quickly to.be.saved-IMP

‘The fact that the goat of heaven will eat the costmary which has been sown from heaven is a proper thing/propriety...’
 ‘It is a proper thing that the goat of heaven will eat the costmary which has been sown from heaven...’
 ‘Things should be done reasonably with justice.’

In (4-324) the nominal predicate *tong bay_a* ‘very little’ is formed by an adjectival phrase with an evaluative meaning:

(4-324) *ebedčile-n kebte-gsen čay ača qoyisi qoyola umda ide-gsen*
 get.sick-CVB lie.down-PRF.PTCP time ABL after food drinks eat-PRF.PTCP
ni tong bay_a, ide-kü dur_a ču ügei bayi-jai.
 3POSS > NR > TOP very little eat-FUT.PTCP interest/desire PTCP NEG be-PST

‘Since (sb.) got sick and lay in bed, what (he/she) ate was very little; (he/she) did not even wish to eat.’

‘Since (sb.) got sick and lay in bed, it was very little that (he/she) ate; (he/she) did not even wish to eat.’

4.7 Topic-focus Structures Which Include *ide-* and *uuyu-*

In §§ 4.4-4.6 I described the syntactic structures which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-*. It was argued that the processes of nominalisation and topicalisation are interrelated and cleft constructions are often used to express topic-focus structures. In Section 4.7 I will further explicate the topicalisation of structures with these verbs at the pragmatic level of analysis. The relevant topic-comment constructions will be discussed.

To date, a large number of scholarly works seek to account for the notion of “topic” and “focus” and other relevant notions and terms in the field of pragmatics (Kuno, 1972; Haiman, 1978; Dahl, 1974; Chafe, 1976 etc.). However, it is still difficult to come up with an all-inclusive definition of topic. In the current study, I understand topic as what the speaker is talking about and it is the given information in a sentence; topical expressions occupy a left-dislocated position in the sentence. Comment⁵⁵ is defined as “the main predication that is asserted, questioned etc., relative to the topic” (Gundel, 1988, p. 210). It is noteworthy that a distinction can be made between the notions of topic and stage (scene). I adopt the view that spatial or temporal nominals which are located in the sentence-initial position are creating a stage (or setting a scene) of a discourse; these elements are presented in discourse by existential constructions which appear discourse-initially to pave way for the appearance of real actors (Givón, 1976, p. 175). Other later-developed notions are “primary clausal topic” and “secondary clausal topic” etc. In Mongolic languages direct objects which are marked by the accusative case play the pragmatic role of secondary clausal topics; and subjects serve as the primary clausal topics of the sentence (Skribnik, 2001b, cited in Gorelova, 2006b, p. 154).

In Mongolian there are special topic markers (particles) which are traditionally regarded as subject indicators (designators) (cf. Poppe, 1970, p. 154; Hashimoto, 2004, p. 96).⁵⁶ However, Apatóczky (2007) regards the particles *n'*, *čin'* and *bol* in Khalkha Mongolian as topic markers instead of subject markers. He also argues convincingly that these particles are not focus markers as some scholars have mistakenly treated them.⁵⁷ Some of these topic markers originate from conditional converbs which are

⁵⁵ The terms *rheme*, *comment* and *focus* are treated as equivalents in this study.

⁵⁶ See Janhunen (2003, p. 53) for topic markers in Mongolian where he listed the particles *bar*, *buigasū*, *bulbal* and *bul*. He distinguishes the particle *bar* from the graphically identical variant of the instrumental case marker *bar*.

⁵⁷ Apatóczky (2007) argues that Street (1963) analysed these particles as possessing the main attributes of topic. In reality they function as topic markers. The particles *n'* and *čin'* correspond to *ni* and *čini* respectively in the current study.

In (4-327) the verb *ide-* occurs in the topic expression *tegiin dü idegdekü amitan* ‘as for the animals which are eaten by it’. The particle *ni* functions a topicaliser and nominalisation is not involved in this example. The following syntactic structure can be used to express the topic construction which includes the verb *ide-* in this example: S {NP + *ni*} = P {VP + *yum* + COP}.

In addition to *ni*, the commonly used subject indicators (topicalisers) include: *bol*, *bolbasu*, *mini* (*mani*), *gejü*, *gebel*, *gedeg*, *gegçi* and *ber*. The topic constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are expressed by the following syntactic structures: (a) S {NP + *bolbasu*} = P {sentence}; (b) S {NP/finite VP + *gejü*} = P {expletive *it* + NP/VP}; (c) S {NP + *gejü*} = P {passive verbal construction}; (d) S {Tv-PTCP + *gegçi*} = P {VP + EXIST}; (e) S {NP + *gebel*} = P {NP + EXIST}; (f) S {sentence + *gebel*} = P {complex sentence}; (g) S {NP + *mini*} = P {empty subject + NP + EXIST}; (h) S {Tv-PTCP + *ber*} = P {INTR+EXIST}.

When *bolbasu* is used as a topicaliser, the focus is presented by a sentence in our corpus example. Note the example below:

- (4-328) *yambar* *yayum_a* *ide-kü*, *yambar* *yayum_a* *nayad-qu*
 what thing eat-FUT.PTCP what thing play-FUT.PTCP
keregtei *bol-basu* *qamiy_a ügei nada* *kele-ju*
 must/necessary be-COND.CVB > TOP does.not.matter 1SG.DAT.LOC say-IPFV.CVB
bayi-ytun.
 be (AUX)-IMP
 Note: *qamiy_a ügei* ‘does not matter; never mind; all the same’ < *qamiy_a* ‘relevance’ + *ügei* = NEG
 ‘Talking about what things (you) need to eat and what things (you) need to play, (it) does not matter, please tell me.’

In (4-328) the nominal expression *yambar yayum_a idekü, yambar yayum_a nayadqu keregtei* ‘what things (you) need to eat and what things (you) need to play’ is a topic. The conditional converb *bolbasu* which is derived from the existential verb *bol-* serves as a topicaliser. The focus is presented by the clause *qamiy_a ügei nada keleju bayiytun* ‘never mind, just tell me’.

When *gejü* serves as a topicaliser, the focus is presented either by a construction which has an empty subject with a nominal or verbal predicate or by a passive verbal construction. Note the following examples:

- (4-329) [*arban* *yaqai* *ge-ju* *bodo-y_a.*] *tegiin eçe* *olan* *bol*
 ten pig say-IPFV.CVB > that estimate-VOL that ABL many COND.CVB
amar *bisi*, *yaqai* *yin* *ide-kü* *budayan* *ge-ju*
 easy NEG pig GEN eat-FUT.PTCP food say-IPFV.CVB > TOP
bay_a *ügei* *siü*.
 little/few NEG PTCL
 ‘[Let’s estimate ten pigs.] If more than that, (it is) not easy. As for (the amount of) food which the pig will eat, (it is) not little.’

(4-330) *oyir_a* *ača* *ekile-ged* *inggi-ǰü* *čad-tal_a*
 recently ABL start-PRF.CVB do.like.this-IPFV.CVB eat.one's.fill/satiate.oneself-CVB
ide-n_e *ge-ǰü* *bayaturküü* *dü* *baruy*
 eat-PRS say-IPFV.CVB > TOP PN DAT.LOC almost
yar-u-yadui.
 happen/occur-CONN-IPFV.PTCP.NEG
 'Since recently, talking about eating like this to his fill, (it) probably hasn't occurred to Baaturkhu.'

In (4-329) and (4-330) *geǰü*, the imperfective converbal form of the verb *ge-* 'say', functions as a topicaliser. In (4-329) the nominal phrase *yaqai yin idekü budayan* 'the food which the pig eats' is the topic, while the nominal phrase *bay_a ügei* 'not little' is the focus, with the predicative particle *siü* functioning as a focus maker. The focus contains an empty subject. In (4-330) the topic is formed by the finite verbal construction *inggiǰü čadtal_a iden_e* 'eat like this to one's fill'; the focus is presented by the clause which contains an empty subject and a verbal phrase.

(4-331) ...*ide-kü* *yayum_a* *ge-ǰü* *qamiy_a* *ača*
 eat-FUT.PTCP thing say-IPFV.CVB > TOP where ABL
ol-da-qu *aǰi.*
 find-PASS-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 'Talking about things to eat, from where can (they) be found?'

In (4-331) the nominal phrase *idekü yayum_a* 'things to eat' is topic, while the focus is presented by the passive construction *qamiy_a ača oldaqu aǰi* 'from where can (they) be found?' ending with the PTCL *aǰi*.

When *gegči* serves as a topicaliser, the focus is presented by a verbal phrase followed by an existential verb. Note the following example:

(4-332) *odo* *bögelǰi-gsen* *iyen* *ide-kü* *ge-gči*
 now throw.up/vomit-PRF.PTCP REF.POSS eat-FUT.PTCP say-AGT.PTCP > TOP
noqai yi ču kür-kü *ügei bol-čiqaba uu?*
 dog ACC even reach/be.sufficient-FUT.PTCP NEG become-PRF.ASP-PST INTR.PTCL
 Note: *noqai yi ču kürkü ügei* 'cannot compete with a dog, worse than a dog' < *noqai* 'dog' + *-yi* = ACC + *ču* = PTCL ('even') + *kür-* 'reach' + *-kü* = FUT.PTCP + *ügei* = NEG
 'Talking about eating the vomit now, has (sb.) become even worse than a dog?'

In (4-332) the participial construction *odo bögelǰigsen iyen idekü* 'eating the vomit now' serves as the topic. The focus is presented by the verbal phrase *noqai yi ču kürkü ügei* 'be worse than a dog' followed by the existential *bol-*.

When *gebel* serves as a topicaliser, the focus is presented by either a nominal phrase followed by an existential verb or by a complex sentence. Note the following examples:

(4-333) *man u ide-deg idesin noyoy_a ge-bel*
 1PL.EXCL GEN eat-PRS.PTCP vegetable say-COND.CVB > TOP
yooldayu čayan nonoya... jerge bol-o-n_a.
 mainly Chinese.cabbage and.so.forth be-CONN-PRS
 Note: *idesin noyoy_a* ‘vegetables/greens’ < *idesin* ‘food’ + *nonoya* ‘vegetables’; *čayan nonoya* ‘Chinese cabbage; cabbage’ < *čayan* ‘white’ + *nonoya* ‘vegetables’.
 ‘As for the vegetable that we eat, (it) is mainly cabbage etc.’
 (lit.: ‘if talking about vegetables that we eat, (they) are mainly cabbages etc.’)

In (4-333) the nominal phrase *man u idedeg idesin noyoy_a* ‘the vegetables that we eat’ serves as topic. The focus is presented by the nominal phrase *čayan noyoy_a* ‘cabbage’ with the help of the postposition *gerge* followed by the existential verb *bol-*.

(4-334) *bide takiyan öndege ben ebdere-gül-kii ügei,*
 1PL.INCL egg REF.POSS deteriorate-CAUS-FUT.PTCP NEG
udayan qadayala-ju ide-y_e ge-bel, öndege yi
 long preserve-IPFV.CVB eat-VOL say-COND.CVB > TOP egg ACC
čoqoi tai usu(n) du ki-ju talbi-bal öndege
 lime PROP water DAT.LOC put-IPFV.CVB place-COND.CVB egg
ebdere-kii ügei udayan qadayala-ju bol-day.
 go.bad/deteriorate-FUT.PTCP NEG long keep-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP
 Note: the analytical construction *Tv-ju bol-* denotes the modal meaning of possibility.

‘As for eating our chicken eggs (by) preserving (them) for a long period, without causing deterioration (lit.: if talking about let’s eat our chicken eggs, keeping for long, without letting it deteriorate), if (we) place the eggs into the water with lime, the eggs can be kept for a long time, without deteriorating.’

In (4-334) the sentence *bide takiyan öndege ben ebderegülkü ügei, udayan qadayalaju idey_e* ‘let’s eat our chicken eggs, keeping for long, without letting it deteriorate’ serves as topic. The focus is presented by a complex sentence which contains a conditional clause.

When *mini* serves as a topicaliser, the focus is presented by a nominal phrase followed by an existential verb. Note the example below:

(4-335) *qamji-n neyile-ju nama yi ide-kü ge-(g)sen kömön*
 aid/help-CVB unite-IPFV.CVB 1SG ACC eat-FUT.PTCP say (AUX)-PRF.PTCP person
mini qarın minü aq_a bayi-jai.
 1POSS > TOP but/on.the.contrary 1SG.GEN elder.brother be-PST
 Note: the analytical construction *Tv-kü ge-* ‘be about to do sth.’ denotes a future aspectual meaning.
 ‘As for the person who is going to eat me, aiding (others) and is united (with them), (it) happens to be my elder brother.’

In (4-335) the topic is formed by the nominal *kömön* ‘person’ with its predicative attribute including the verb *ide-*, viz. *qamjin neyileju nama yi idekü ge(g)sen* ‘who is going to eat me, aiding (others) and is united (with them)’. The first person possessive particle *mini* functions as a topicaliser here and it denotes an emotional stance. The focus is formed by the existential construction *qarın minü aq_a bayijai* ‘happens to be my elder brother’ with an empty subject.

The particle *ber* also functions as a topicaliser. There is only one corpus example whose topic construction includes the verb *ide-*. Note the following example:

- (4-336) [köyi, ebügen ta čini aru yaǰar iyar kesü-jü
 hey old.man 2SG 2POSS > TOP back place INS wander/roam-IPFV.CVB
 orqodai ol-o-γad ide-čike-gsen yum uu?...]
 ginseng get (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB eat-PRF.ASP-PRF.PTCP PTCL INTR.PTCL
 orqodai ide-kü ber yaγu bayi-n_a...
 ginseng eat FUT.PTCP PTCL > TOP what be/exist-PRS
 ‘[Hey, as for the old man, you, have you been able to eat some ginseng while wandering by the back region?] Talking about eating ginsengs, there is no such a thing/ it is not really true (lit.: ‘what exists?’)’

In (4-336) the particle *ber* serves as a topicaliser. The participial construction *orqodai idekü* ‘eating ginsengs’ serves as a topic, while the focus is presented by an interrogative pronoun *yaγu* ‘what’ followed by the existential *bayi-*.

The particle *üü* may function to introduce topic. Note the following example:

- (4-337) yaγu ban ide-jü yaγu ban emüs-ii-n_e üü
 what REF.POSS eat-IPFV.CVB what REF.POSS wear-CONN-FUT INTR.PTCL
 bayi-qu la buyan>>
 be/exist-FUT.PTCP PTCL merit/virtue
 Note: *bayiqu la* ‘abundant; numerous’
 ‘No matter what (you want to) eat or wear, there is plenty of merit.’
 (lit.: ‘as for what to eat and what to wear, the merit is numerous.’)

In (4-337) the particle *üü* could be seen as an equivalent of a topicaliser; at least, together with the interrogative pronoun *yaγu* ‘what’, it is used to build a topic expression. The finite verbal construction *yaγu ban idejü yaγu ban emüsün_e* ‘what to eat and what to wear’ serves as the topic; and the focus is presented by the phraseological expression *bayiqu la buyan* ‘there is plenty’.

The combination of *gedeg*, viz. the present participial form of *ge-* ‘say’, with *čini* may be used to mark a topic. Topic constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are expressed by the following syntactic structures: (a) S {finite VP + *gedeg čini*} = P {complex sentence}; (b) S {finite VP + *gedeg čini*} = P {NP + COP}. Note the following examples:

- (4-338)...eren eren belen buday_a ide-n_e ge-deg čini eyimü sayiqan
 every.time prepared eat-PRS say-PTCP 2POSS >TOP such good
 čay ire-gsen ügei bol qamar nada qamiγ_a
 time/period come-PRF.PTCP NEG COND.PTCL nose 1SG.DAT.LOC where
 ača ol-da-qu san bile!
 ABL find/get-PASS-FUT.PTCP PTCL PTCL
 Note: *eren eren* ‘every time’ < *eren* ‘times, age, era’ + *eren* ‘times’; *qamar* ‘nose’ here is an abbreviated expression for *qamar Lodon* ‘the big-nosed Lodon’, referring to the person *Lodon* himself instead of the nose, based on the context; *qamiγ_a ača oldaqu san bile* can be seen as an idiomatic expression, meaning ‘sth. is all that one could wish for, sth. is most welcome by sb.’.

‘Talking about eating prepared food every time, (it is) most welcome by me, who is the big-nosed one, thanks to my arriving at a good time. (lit.: if not having come at such a good time, from where can (such a good thing) be found by the big nosed me?)’

In (4-338) the combination of the participle *gedeg* ‘say’ and the second person possessive particle *čini* functions as a topicaliser. The finite verbal expression *eren eren belen buday_a iden_e* ‘eating prepared food for every meal’ serves as the topic. The focus is formed by a complex sentence, which contains a conditional clause *eyimü sayıqan čay iregsen ügei bol* ‘if not having come at such a good time’.

(4-339) *uuyu-čiq-a-γad* *uuyu-γsan* *dayan* *ejen bol-qu* *ügei*
 drinkPRF.ASP-PRF.CVB drink-PRF.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS can.cope.with-FUT.PTCP NEG
kömön *ğodo-n_a* *ge-deg* *čini* *yaγu* *ge-(g)sen*
 person hit-PRS say-PRS.PTCP 2POSS > TOP what say-PRF.PTCP
üge *bui.*
 word COP
 Note: *ejen bol-* ‘can handle with; can cope with; take the responsibility for sth.’ < *ejen* ‘owner’ + *bol-* ‘become’
 ‘Talking about hitting people without taking good care of yourself after getting drunk, how nonsensical/outrageous/unreasonable it is.’

In (4-339) the combination of *gedeg* and *čini* serves as a topicaliser. The finite verbal construction *...kömön ğodon_a* ‘hitting people...’ serves as the topic. The nominal *üge* ‘word’ modified by an interrogative pronoun and followed by the copula *bui* serves as the focus.

Apart from particles, under certain circumstances when the canonical word order is violated and expressions for direct objects are placed in the left-dislocated topic position, case markers (accusative and ablative) may also function as equivalents of topicalisers in Mongolian. In the left-dislocated position, the dative-locative case can also be used to build a topic construction on the basis of its normal circumstantial function. Note the following examples:

(4-340) <<*la* *deger_e* *öndege* *sira-ju* *ide-kü* *ary_a yi*
 candle on egg bake-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP method ACC
bi *ediüge* *angq_a* *uday_a* *čim_a ača* *sur-u-l_a>>*
 1SG now first time 2SG ABL learn-CONN-PST
ge-ju *ayurla-n* *qaskir-čai.*
 say-IPFV.CVB lose.temper/get.angry-CVB shout-PST
 ‘(He/she) cried out in anger that “as for the method of baking eggs over a candle and eating (them), I have now learnt it for the first time from you”.’

In (4-340) the nominal phrase *la deger_e öndege siraju idekü ary_a* ‘the method of baking eggs over a candle and eating (them)’ could be analysed as the topic, being marked by the accusative case marker *yi*. This phrase is syntactically the direct object of the verb *sur-* ‘learn’. The whole structure reflects a variant word order, because the topic expression appears in the left-dislocated sentence-initial position. In the canonical word order SOV, this expression should occur after the subject *bi* ‘I’ and before the verb *sur-* ‘learn’.

(4-341) *üde dü ide-kü aysişun buday_a yi ǰangǰuyida*
 noon DAT.LOC eat-FUT.PTCP condensed food ACC >TOP shopkeeper
ni kömön iyer üiledbüri yin ǰaǰar tu kürggöl-ü-n_e.
 3POSS person INS factory/plant GEN place DAT.LOC send/deliver-CONN-FUT/PRS
 ‘As for the food which (sb.) will eat at noon, the manager will send a person to the factory (with it).’

In (4-341) the nominal phrase *üde dü idekü aysişun buday_a* ‘the food which (sb.) will eat at noon’ serves as the topic, being marked by the accusative case marker *yi*. There is a variant word order in the sentence. The nominal expression should follow the subject *ǰangǰuyida* ‘shopkeeper’ in the canonical word order and syntactically function as the direct object of the verb *kürggöl* in the sentence.

(4-342) << *ćima yi ide-kü dü sayin siu da*>>
 2SG ACC eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC good PTCL PTCL
ge-d qoortu ćinv_a bićiqan ulayan malayayitu yin
 say-CVB poisonous/harmful wolf Little Red Riding Hood GEN
ǰüg üsür-ü-n tegün i ide-kü ge-tel_e,
 towards jump-CONN-CVB that > 3SG ACC eat-FUT.PTCP say (AUX)-CVB
ćib kemen kedün tülegećin dayari-n oro-ǰad
 quietly several woodsman dash.against-CVB enter (AUX)-PRF.CVB
ćinv_a yi ćabći-ǰu ala-ǰsan ge-n_e.
 wolf ACC chop-IPFV.CVB kill-PRF.PTCP say-PRS > it.is.said.that

Note: the analytical construction *idekü ge-* denotes the future aspectual meaning; the analytical construction *dayarin oro-* denotes the perfective aspectual meaning.

‘When he was about to eat Little Red Riding Hood, jumping towards (her), the harmful wolf said “eating you is a good thing”. At that moment, several woodsmen chopped the wolf to death, having quietly dashed against (the wolf).’

In (4-342) the dative-locative case marker *dü* is involved in building the topic expression, viz. the participial construction *ćima yi idekü* ‘talking about (the matter of) eating you’. The focus is presented by the nominal *sayin* ‘good’ followed by the predicative particle *siu*.

The verbs *ide-* and *uuyü-* are also used to build focus constructions which can be expressed by the following syntactic structures:

- (a) S {NP + *bol*} = P {NP/NP + EXIST};
- (b) S {NP + *bol*} = P {NP + *yum* + *siu*/NP + *mön*};
- (c) S {NP + *bol*} = P {VP (*ide-*)/VP (*ide-*) + *siu*};
- (d) S {NP + *ni*} = P {VP (*ide-/uuyü-*)/sentence/EXIST/VP + COP};
- (e) S {NP + *ćini*} = P {VP (*ide-/uuyü-*)/VP + COP};
- (f) S {NP + *mini*} = P {VP/NP + NEG};
- (g) S {Tv-PTCP + *mani*} = P {FIN.V (*ide-*)};
- (h) S {NP + *gebel*} = P {empty subject + VP + *ǰerge* + COP};

(i) S {finite VP + *gebel*} = P {complex sentence};

(j) S{NP + *geji de*} = P {sentence}.

When the topicaliser *bol* is used, focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuɣu-* may be presented by: (1) nominal phrases; (2) nominal phrases which are followed by existentials or predicative particles; (3) verbal phrases which may be followed by predicative particles. Note the following examples (4-343) and (4-344) for the illustration of (a) S {NP + *bol*} = P {NP/NP + EXIST}:

(4-343) *bi bol kömön ide-deg kömön ü degüü!*
 1SG TOP human eat-PRS.PTCP person GEN younger.brother
 ‘(As for me), I am a younger brother of a person who eats humans!’

In (4-343) the pronoun *bi* ‘I’ is the topic. The focus is formed by the nominal *degüü* ‘younger brother’. The verb *ide-* ‘eat’ constitutes a part of the focus; it is used as a predicative attribute to the nominal *kömön* ‘human’ which in turn serves as an attribute to *degüü*.

(4-344) *ene sumu yin kin 5 jil ün emün_e bol mön ču*
 this PN GEN POSS five year GEN ago TOP also PTCL
jil jil qudalduyan u amu ide-jü bayi-ɣsan sumu bayi-ǰai.
 every.year commercial.grain eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP som be-PST
 Note: *sumu* ‘som, i.e. an administrative unit’; *jil jil* ‘every year’ < *jil* ‘year’ + *jil* ‘year’
 ‘This som, if talking about five years ago, was also a som which was depending on (lit.: ‘eating’) commercial grain every year.’

In (4-344) the nominal phrase *5 jil ün emün_e* ‘five years ago’ which is followed by the genitive case and the postposition *emün_e* serves as the topic. The focus is presented by the nominal *sumu* ‘som’ with a predicative attribute followed by the existential verb *bayi-*. The verb *ide-* is used as a predicative attribute of the focus construction.

Examples (4-345) and (4-346) illustrate the syntactic structure (b) S {NP + *bol*} = P {NP + *yum* + *siu*/NP + *mön*}:

(4-345) *taytay_a ge-deg sibayu bol ür_e tariy_a yum uu,*
 pigeon say-PRS.PTCP bird TOP seed grain PTCL INTR.PTCL
borčaytu urɣumal i ide-jü amidura-day amitan yum siu.
 with.beans plant ACC eat-IPFV.CVB live-PRS.PTCP animal PTCL PTCL
 ‘As for the bird which is called pigeon, (it) is an animal which lives by eating seeds, grains or plants with beans.’

In (4-345) the nominal phrase *taytaya gedeg sibayu* ‘the bird which is called pigeon’ serves as the topic; the focus is presented by the nominal *amitan* followed by the predicative particles *yum* and *siu*. The verb *ide-* occupies the position of the predicative attribute in the focus construction.

(4-346) *amidural un bökö yabuča bol törö-gsen eče ben ükü-kü yin*
 life GEN whole process TOP be.born-PRF.PTCP ABL REF.POSS die-FUT.PTCP GEN
qoyorondoki quɣučayan u ide-kü emüs-kü qono-ju
 between period GEN eat-FUT.PTCP wear-FUT.PTCP spend.the.night-IPFV.CVB

kebte-kü yin dögömken šal demei dabtalta mön.
 lie-FUT.PTCP GEN simple utterly.useless/nonsensical repetition AFFM.PTCL

Note: *šal demei* < *šal* ‘extremely, exceedingly’ + *demei* ‘absurd’

‘As for the whole process of life, (it) is a simple nonsensical repetition of eating, putting on clothes, lying and sleeping between the periods of being born and dying.’

In (4-346) the nominal phrase *amidural un bökö yabuča* ‘the whole process of life’ serves as the topic; the focus is presented by the nominal *dabtalta* ‘repetition’ followed by the predicative particle *mön*. Likewise, the verb *ide-* is used as a predicative attribute in the focus construction.

In examples (4-347) and (4-350) the syntactic structure (c) S {NP + *bol*} = P {VP (*ide-*)/VP (*ide-*) + *siu*} is illustrated:

(4-347) *jige bol nayaču yin dergede, söbege (qabiry_a) ide-ju*
 nephew TOP uncle GEN beside flank rib/side eat-IPFV.CVB
bol-o-n_a...
 be (AUX)-CONN-PRS

‘As for the nephew, (he) can eat the flank (or rib) beside the uncle.’

(4-348) *tede bol ükü-gsen miq_a yi la ide-ju čida-n_a!*
 3PL TOP die-PRF.PTCP meat ACC PTCL eat-IPFV.CVB enable-PRS

‘As for them, (they) can only eat meat from dead animals (lit.: ‘the dead meat’).’

(4-349) *rivera bol... mönggö ol-ju qoyola ide-n, unta-ju*
 PN TOP money/cent get-IPFV.CVB food eat-CVB sleep-IPFV.CVB

qono-ju bayi-day.
 spend.the.night-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP

‘As for Rivera... (he) earns money, eats food, sleeps and spends the night.’

In examples (4-347), (4-348) and (4-349) *bol* is used as a topicaliser. The nominals *jige* ‘the nephew’ and *Rivera* ‘Rivera’ and the pronoun *tede* ‘they’ serve as topics, while the verb *ide-* is used to form foci in these sentences.

(4-350) *bi bol kegür ide-ju bayi-n_a siu de.*
 1SG TOP corpse/dead.body eat-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS PTCL PTCL

‘As for me, I am eating corpses.’

In (4-350) the pronoun *bi* ‘I’ serves as the topic, the verb *ide-* is used to form the focus, and the predicative particle *siu* serves as a focus marker.

When the topicaliser *ni* is used, focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* may be presented by: (1) verbal phrases; (2) clauses; (3) existential constructions. Note the following examples (4-351)-(4-356) for the illustration of the syntactic structure (d) S{NP + *ni*} = P{VP(*ide-/uuyu-*)/sentence/EXIST/VP + COP}:

(4-351) *mayu aq_a ni eregelel ügei ide-l_e, uuyu-l_a...*
 bad elder.brother 3POSS >TOP politeness/modesty NEG eat-PST drink-PST

Note: The word *mayu* ‘bad’ has an extended meaning of ‘cute, likeable, lovely’. In this sentence, it is used by

the speaker in a self-effacing way to show respect for the hearer. *eregelel ügei* ‘without being modest’ < *eregelel* ‘modesty’ + *ügei* = NEG.

‘As for your bad elder brother, (I) would eat and drink without being modest...’

In (4-351) the topic is *mayu aq_a* ‘bad elder brother’; the verbs *ide-* and *uuγu-* serve as the focus of the utterance.

- (4-352) *jarim ni* *čai* *uuγu-ju* *öröm_e* *bisilay kemkel-ü-n*
 some 3POSS > TOP tea drink-IPFV.CVB clotted.cream cheese chew-CONN-CVB
üge delge-n_e.jarim ni *temegen* *ü* *čisu uuγu-ju*
 chat-PRS some 3POSS > TOP camel GEN blood drink-IPFV.CVB
ami jalγa-n_a.
 make.ends.meet-PRS
 Note: *üge delge-* ‘chat’ < *üge* ‘word’ + *delge-* ‘unfold’; *ami jalγa-* ‘to make ends meet’ < *ami* ‘life’ + *jalγa-* ‘connect; join’
 ‘As for some, (they) are drinking tea, chewing clotted cream and cheeses and chatting; as for others, (they) are drinking camel blood and trying to make ends meet.’

In (4-352) the topicaliser *ni* is used to mark the contrastive topics *jarim...jarim...* ‘some...others...’

The verb *uuγu-* is used to build the focus construction.

- (4-353) *nige bölöğ ni* *yerü eče* *eyimü le* *bayi-γsan,*
 one group 3POSS > TOP usually ABL like.this PTCL be/exist-PRF.PTCP
ide-kü *le* *yosotai ge-ju* *sana-n_a.* *nögögebölög*
 eat-FUT.PTCP PTCL should say-IPFV.CVB > that think-PRS another group
ni *ide-kü* *yoso ügei* *ge-gči* *yi mede-kü*
 3POSS > TOP eat-FUT.PTCP custom NEG say-AGT.PTCP ACC know-FUT.PTCP
bol-baču *mön ide-kü* *yi küse-kü* *böged basa busud*
 be (AUX)-CONC.CVB still eat-FUT.PTCP ACC wish-FUT.PTCP CONJ also others
tu *mede-gde-kü* *eče* *ben* *ayu-n_a.*
 DAT.LOC know-PASS-FUT ABL REF.POSS fear-PRS
 Note: *Tv-kü yoso ügei* ‘should not do sth.’
 ‘As for one group, (they) are usually/always like this. (They) think they should just/only eat (humans). As for the other group, although (they) know that (they) should not eat humans, (they) still wish to eat (humans) and (they) are also afraid of being found out by others.’

In (4-353) the contrastive topics *nige bölöğ* ‘one group’ and *nögöge bölöğ* ‘the other group’ are marked by the topicaliser *ni*. The foci in these utterances are presented by clauses. The focus constructions contain the verb *ide-*.

- (4-354) *segülde-ju* *ire-ged* *bodoly_a* *sanaγ_a* *ni* *ondoo*
 lag.behind-IPFV.CVB come (AUX)-PRF.CVB thought mind 3POSS different
bol-o-γsan *učir ača* *jarim ni* *kömön ide-kü*
 become-CONN-PRF.PTCP reason ABL some 3POSS > TOP human eat-FUT.PTCP
ben *bayi-ju,* *sayin i* *sana-γsayar* *kömön bol-ju,*
 REF.POSS stop-IPFV.CVB good ACC think.of-CVB human become-IPFV.CVB
jingkini *kömön bol-jai.* *jarim ni* *mön qoroqai* *sibaži sig*
 genuine human become-PST some 3POSS > TOP still insect/worm insect like
ide-gseger *bayi-n_a.*
 eat-CVB be (AUX)-PRS

‘Later on, because their thoughts became different, as for some (people), (they) stopped eating humans and became humans while thinking of good (things), i.e. (they) became genuine human beings; as for others, (they) are still eating (humans) as if (humans are) insects.’

In (4-354) the contrastive topics are presented by the pronoun *jarim* ‘some (people)’ marked by the topicaliser *ni*. The foci are formed by verbal phrases. The verb *ide-* is used in the focus constructions.

- (4-355) *teden ü kebte-deg bayiri ni singgen buday_a*
 3PL GEN lie-PRS.PTCP dormitory 3POSS > TOP congee
ide-kü čaj tu sulala-ju ög-kü ügei ber
 eat-FUT.PTCP time DAT.LOC release-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-FUT.PTCP NEG INS
kerki-bečü ülü bol-qu yařar tu bayi-day.
 what.to.do-CONC.CVB NEG may-FUT.PTCP place DAT.LOC be/exist-PRS.PTCP
 Note: *kerkibečü* ‘no matter what; in any case’; *ülü bol-* ‘may not do sth.; sth. is not allowed’.
 ‘As for the dormitory where they sleep, (it) is in a place where it is not ever allowed without being released (from handcuffs) when it is time to eat congee.’

In (4-355) the topic is *teden ü kebtedeg bayiri* ‘the dormitory where they sleep’ and *ni* functions a topicaliser. The focus is presented by the existential construction ...*yařar tu bayi-* ‘be in a place where...’ which contains the verb *ide-* in its adjunct position.

- (4-356) [*qurudge-gči kedüi amtatai bui, qayas jil*
 cheese say-AGT.PTCP > TOP how.much tasty COP half year
yarui kele deger_e ben talbi-ju üje-ge ügei,
 about tongue on REF.POSS put-IPFV.CVB see/try-IPFV.PTCP NEG
yamar buyantai kömös ni čad-tal_a ide-ju
 what fortunate/happy people 3POSS > TOP eat.one’s.fill/have.enough-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB
yabu-day bile ge-ju eldeb i bodo-n
 go (AUX)-PRS.PTCP PTCL say-IPFV.CVB all.kinds.of ACC think-CVB
yabu-qu du...
 go (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
 Note: the analytical construction Tv-*ju/-n* + *yabu-* denotes the progressive aspectual meaning.
 ‘As far as cheeses are concerned, how tasty (it) is! (I) have not tried putting (them) on my tongue for about half a year. Saying “what sort of fortunate people are eating (the cheeses) to their heart’s content?” while thinking about all kinds of (things)...’

In (4-356) the nominal phrase *yamar buyantai kömös* ‘what sorts of blessed people’ serves as topic; and *ni* functions as a topicaliser. The focus of this utterance is presented by the verbal phrase *ideju yabuday* ‘eating’ followed by the particle *bile*. The direct object of *ide-* is implied in the preceding context, i.e. *qurud* ‘cheeses’.

When the particle *čini* functions as a topicaliser, the focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuγu-* are normally presented by verbal phrases which may be followed by predicative particles or copulas. Note the following examples (4-357)-(4-360) for the illustration of the syntactic structure (e) S{NP + *čini*} = P{VP (*ide-/uuγu-*)/VP + COP}:

- (4-357) *ta čini čai ban sayin uuγu-ba uu?*
 2SG 2POSS > TOP tea REF.POSS well drink-PST INTR.PTCL
 ‘[As for you,] have you drunk your tea to your heart’s content?’

In (4-357) *ta* ‘you’ is the topic. The focus is presented by the finite verbal construction *čai ban sayin uuγuba* ‘have drunk your tea to your heart’s content’ followed by the interrogative particle *uu*.

(4-358) *köyi, ebügen ta čini aru ɣaʃar iyar kesü-jü*
 hey old.man 2SG 2POSS > TOP back place INS wander/roam-IPFV.CVB
orqodai ol-o-ɣad ide-čike-gsen yum uu?
 ginseng get (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB eat-PRF.ASP-PRF.PTCP PTCL INTR.PTCL

Note: the analytical construction *oloyad ide-* denotes the modal meaning of possibility.

‘Hey, as for the old man, you, have (you) been able to eat some ginseng, wandering by the back region?’

(4-359) *ebeü, bi čini qoɣola ban ide-gedüi siu.*
 PTCL 1SG TOP meal/food REF.POSS eat-IPFV.PTCP.NEG PTCL
 ‘Oops/oh, as for me, (I) have not even eaten my meal.’

In (4-358) and (4-359) the verb *ide-* is used to form the foci of the utterances. In (4-358) *ebügen ta* ‘the old man, you’ serves as the topic, and the predicative particle *yum* serves as the focus marker; in (4-359) the pronoun *bi* ‘I’ serves as the topic, and the predicative particle *siu* serves as a focus marker. Notably, in (4-358) the predicate *ide-* is negated by the suffix *-gedüi*.

(4-360) *činiü naɣaču eke bolon berge-d činiü ende qoɣola ide-deg*
 2SG.GEN aunt CONJ sister.in.law-PL TOP here food eat-PRS.PTCP
ügei bulai.
 NEG PTCL

Note: *naɣaču eke* ‘aunt; wife of mother’s brother’ < *naɣaču* ‘mother’s brother; uncle’ + *eke* ‘mother’

‘As for your aunt and your sisters-in-law, (they) do not eat food here.’

In (4-360) the nominal phrase *činiü naɣaču eke bolon berge-d* ‘your aunt and your sisters in law’ serves as the topic, and the focus is presented by the verbal phrase *ende qoɣola idedeg ügei* ‘do not eat here’ followed by the particle *bulai*. Notably, the particle *činiü* is used as a topicaliser instead of *čini* here.

When the particle *mini* serves as a topicaliser, focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* may be presented either by verbal phrases or by nominal phrases followed by the negative particle *ügei*. Note the following examples (4-361)-(4-362) which illustrate the syntactic structure (f) S {NP + *mini*} = P {VP/NP +NEG}:

(4-361) *aq_a mini kedün qundaɣ_a ariki uuyu-qu dura tai...*
 elder.brother 1POSS> TOP several wineglass wine drink-FUT.PTCP like PROP
 ‘As for my elder brother, (he) likes drinking a few glasses of wine...’

In (4-361) the nominal *aq_a* ‘elder brother’ serves as the topic. The focus construction contains the verb *uuyu-*.

(4-362) *abu eji mini üyile tamu amsa-ju, labtai*
 father mother 1POSS > TOP manual.labour suffering/misery taste/suffer-IPFV.CVB surely
ide-jü uuyu-qu yaɣum_a ügei bayiɣ_a.
 eat-IPFV.CVB drink-FUT.PTCP thing NEG PTCL (perhaps)
 ‘As for my parents, (they) suffer miseries and probably have nothing to eat or drink.’

In (4-362) the nominal phrases *abu eji* ‘father and mother’ serve as the topic. The focus is presented by the nominal *yaɣum_a* ‘things’ followed by the negative particle *ügei*. The verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* serve as predicative attributes of the nominal *yaɣum_a* ‘things’ in the focus construction.

When *mani* serves as a topicaliser, the verb *ide-* serves as a focus in its volutative form. Note the following examples (4-363)-(4-364) which illustrate the syntactic structure (g) S {Tv-PTCP + *mani*} = P {FIN.V (*ide-*)}:

(4-363) *činv_a kele-gsen ni:<< arikin du ken amarqan*
 wolf say-PRF.PTCP 3POSS liquor/wine DAT.LOC who easy
soyto-day mani ide-y_e>> ge-be.
 get.drunk-PRS.PTCP 1PL.POSS > TOP eat-VOL say-PST
 Note: the object of *ide-* is missing but known from the preceding context.
 ‘The wolf said ‘as for those among us who get drunk easily (lit.: ‘as for us who get drunk easily to the wine’), let’s eat (the jujube)’.’

(4-364) *getel_e ünege:<< uruldu-yad ken terigule-gsen mani*
 but fox compete-PRF.CVB who get.first-PRF.PTCP TOP
ide-y_e>> ge-jei.
 eat-VOL say-PST
 ‘But the fox said ‘as for those among us who won the game (lit.: ‘as for us who got first after competing’), let’s eat (the jujube)’.’

In (4-363) and (4-364) the first person plural possessive particle *mani* serves as the topicaliser. The topic is formed by participial constructions, the foci are presented by the verb *ide-*, and the direct object of *ide-* is known from the preceding context.

When *gebel* serves as a topicaliser, focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuru-* are presented either by a verbal phrase followed by a copula or by a complex sentence. Note the following example (4-365) for the illustration of the syntactic structure (h) S {NP + *gebel*} = P {empty subject + VP + *jerge* + COP}:

(4-365) *sonos-ču ba(y)i-ø, man u amidural du*
 listen-IPFV.CV be-IMP 1PL.EXCL GEN life DAT.LOC
duta-yda-ju bol-o-si ügei jüil ge-bel
 lack-PASS-IPFV.CVB be.impossible.to./be.unable.to item/thing say-COND.CVB > TOP
yooldayu ide-kü, uuru-qu, unta-qu jerge bile.
 mainly eat-FUT.PTCP drink-FUT.PTCP sleep-FUT.PTCP and.so.on PTCL
 Note: the function of *-si ügei* is “to form nouns designating qualities rendering something unfit to act on” (Poppe, 1954: 49).
 ‘Listen! Talking about things that are indispensable in our life, (it) is mainly eating, drinking, sleeping and so on.’

In (4-365) *gebel*, the conditional converbal form of the verb *ge-* ‘say’, serves as a topicaliser. The nominal phrase *man u amidural du dutaydaju bolosi ügei jüil* ‘the thing that is indispensable in our life’ is the topic. The verbs *ide-* and *uuru-* build the focus construction with the help of the postposition *jerge* followed by the particle *bile*. Note the following example (4-366) for the illustration of the syntactic structure (i) S {finite VP + *gebel*} = P {complex sentence}:

(4-366) *yayun du ayurla-n_a ge-bel, činü küčir jobalang*
 what DAT.LOC be.angry-PRS say-COND.CVB 2SG.GEN difficulty suffering
un emün_e čegeji teneyi-kü ügei, temečel ki-kü ügei, qarın
 GEN before puff.one’s.chest.out-FUT.PTCP NEG strive-FUT.PTCPNEG but

<i>ediür</i>	<i>tuji</i>	<i>ariki</i>	<i>darasu</i>	<i>uuγu-ju</i>	<i>bey_e</i>	<i>ben</i>
day	whole/entire	wine	rice.wine	drink-IPFV.CVB	body	REF.POSS
<i>dabqur</i>	<i>jobaya-ju</i>			<i>bayi-qu</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>čini</i>
double/two	torment/torture-IPFV.CVB			be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC	2POSS
<i>ayurla-n_a!</i>						
be.angry-PRS						

Note: *čegeji teneyi-* ‘puff one’s chest out’ < *čegeji* ‘chest’ + *teneyi-* ‘become.straight’

‘As for why (I) am angry (lit.: ‘if talking about being angry for what’), (I) am angry at your not puffing your chest out in front of difficulties and sufferings and not striving hard, but drinking wine the entire day and causing yourself double torture.’

In (4-366) the finite verbal construction *yayun du ayurlan_a* ‘why being angry’ serves as the topic. The focus is presented by a complex sentence which contains the verb *uuγu-*.

There is one corpus example where the special topicaliser *geji* followed by the particle *de* is used. Note the following utterance (4-367) for the illustration of the syntactic structure (j) S{NP + *geji de*} = P {sentence}:

(4-367) <<*tal_a nutuy un kömös ge-ji de, miq_a ban bayi-γad*
 grassland GEN people say-PST PTCL/EXCLM meat REF.POSS be-PRF.CVB
ide-ju čiq-a-qu ügei...>> bököli ber ni činačiq-a-γad...
 eat-IPFV.CVB enable.to-FUT.PTCP NEG whole INS 3POSS boil/cook-PRF.CVB
 ‘‘As for the people of the grassland, although they have meat, (they) cannot eat (it) properly.’’
 (They), having cooked (it) whole...’

In (4-367) *geji*, the past finite suffixal form of the verb *ge-* ‘say’ serves as the topicaliser. The nominal phrase *tal_a nutuy un kömös* ‘the people of the grassland’ serves as the topic and the focus is presented by a clause which includes the verb *ide-*.

The combination of *gedeg*, viz. the present participial form of *ge-* ‘say’, with *čini* or *ni* may serve as a topicaliser. Focus constructions which include the verbs *ide-* are expressed by the following syntactic structures: (a) S {NP + *gedeg čini*} = P {VP (*ide-*)}; (b) S {NP + *gedeg ni*} = P {complex clause}. Note the following examples:

(4-368) *üker qoni ge-deg čini ebesü noγoγ_a ide-deg eče*
 cattle sheep say-PRS.PTCP 2POSS > TOP grass vegetables eat-PRS.PTCP ABL
bisi čečeg quvar ide-deg ügei yum.
 NEG flower juice let.out/emit-PRS.PTCP CONJ eat-FUT.PTCP

Note: Tv-*eče bisi...* Tv-*deg ügei* ‘would rather do sth than do sth.’

‘As for cattle and sheep, (they) would rather eat grass and vegetables than flowers.’

In (4-368) *gedeg čini* serves as the topicaliser, the nominal phrase *üker qoni* ‘cattle and sheep’ serves as the topic, and the focus is presented by a clause which includes the verb *ide-*.

(4-369) *temegen kökө ge-deg ni jimis i ni kele-ju bui...*
 mosquito.plant say-PRS.PTCP 3POSS > TOP fruit ACC 3POSS say-IPFV.CVB COP
sü sig sigüsü yar-day böged ide-kü dü amta
 milk ike juice let.out/emit-PRS.PTCP CONJ eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC taste
tai bayi-day.
 PROP be-PRS.PTCP

Note: *temegen kökө* ‘mosquito plant’ < *temegen* ‘camel’ + *kökө* ‘breast’

‘As far as the mosquito plant is concerned, (we are) talking about its fruit...(it) emits juice which is like milk and when eating (it), (it) is tasty.’

In (4-369) *gedeg ni* serves as the topicaliser, the nominal *temegen kökö* ‘mosquito plant’ serves as the topic, and the focus is presented by a complex clause which involves the verb *ide-*.

The verb *ide-* is used to build focus constructions in the following examples where expressions for direct objects are placed in the left-dislocated topic position and accusative and ablative case markers function as equivalents of topicalisers respectively:

(4-370) <i>alim_a</i>	<i>öndege</i>	<i>jerge</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>kerči-ged</i>	<i>serege</i>	<i>ber</i>
pear	egg	and.so.forth	ACC > TOP	cut-PRF.CVB	fork	INS
<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ide-deg.</i>	<i>činamal,</i>	<i>qayil(u)may,</i>	<i>jimis jerge</i>		<i>yi</i>
take-IPFV.CVB	eat-PRS.PTCP	boiled/broth	PN	fruit and.so.on		ACC > TOP
<i>qalbay_a</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>ab-ču</i>	<i>ide-deg.</i>			
spoon	INS	take-IPFV.CVB	eat-PRS.PTCP			

Note: *qayilmay* is ‘a special dairy product; a type of Mongolian food which is made from the combination of non-oily cheese and flour’.

‘As for pears, eggs and so forth, (they) are eaten using a fork after being cut (lit.: ‘(one) eats (them) taking by a fork after cutting (them).’) As for the broth, special dairy products, fruit and so forth, (they) are eaten using a spoon, after being taken. (lit.: ‘(one) eats, taking by a spoon.’)’

In (4-370) the accusative case marker *yi* is used to mark the contrastive topics, viz. the nominal phrases *alim_a öndege jerge* ‘pears, eggs and so forth’ and *činamal, qayil(u)may, jimis jerge* ‘broth, dairy products, fruit and so forth’. The subjects of these utterances are omitted. The foci of these utterances are translated as passive constructions here.

(4-371) <i>qulusu</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>nilq_a</i>	<i>üy_e</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>tejigel</i>	<i>bordoγ_a</i>
bamboo	ACC > TOP	young	period	DAT.LOC	cattle	GEN	forage	forage/feed
<i>bol-γa-ju,</i>		<i>sin_e</i>	<i>süy_e</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kömön</i>		
become-CAUS-IPFV.CVB		new	bud/sprout/shoot	ACC > TOP	3POSS	human/person		
<i>basa</i>	<i>ide-ju</i>	<i>bol-day.</i>						
also	eat-IPFV.CVB	be (AUX)-PSR.PTCP						

Note: *Tv-ju bol* ‘can, be able to’ expresses the modal meaning of possibility.

‘As for bamboo, when (they are) young, (they) can be used as forage for cattle; as for their new shoots, people can also eat (them).’

In (4-371) the accusative case marker *yi* functions as the equivalent of a topicaliser. The nominals *qulusu* ‘bamboo’ and *sine süy_e* ‘new shoots’ are topics. Here we see a variant word order, i.e. the subject *kömön* comes after the topic expression. The verb *ide-* builds the focus.

(4-372) <i>qayari-γsan</i>	<i>boγorsoγ</i>	<i>ača</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>γurba</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>basa</i>
fry-PRF.PTCP	cookie	ABL	1SG	three	eat-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC	also
<i>tabu</i>	<i>ülede-l_e.</i>						
five	leave/remain-PST						

‘As for baked cookies, while I ate three, there were still five left.’

In (4-372) there is a variant word order and the nominal phrase *qayariγsan boγorsoγ* ‘baked cookies’ functions as the topic, being marked by the ablative case marker *ača*; it should function as the direct

object of the verb *ide-* in a sentence with a canonical word order. The focus is presented by a complex clause containing the verb *ide-*.

The topicalisers *bol*, *ni* and *čini* can follow the demonstrative pronoun *ene* ‘this’ (sometimes *önöki* ‘this’) which possesses an anaphoric function. Structurally, this demonstrative pronoun belongs to the sentence where it occurs; but pragmatically, it refers to the context of the previous utterance (sometimes also to the following utterance). Note the following examples:

(4-373) [*bi tong yeke bayarla-ba.*] *gebečü ene bol tere almurad*
 1SG very big/much be.glad-PST but this TOP that apple
i ide-y_e ge-(g)sen bodol bisi, qarin...
 ACC eat-VOL say-PRF.PTCP thought NEG but
 ‘[I was very happy.] But this is not because I want to eat that apple, but...’

In (4-373) the particle *bol* serves as a topicaliser; it is used after the pronoun *ene* ‘this’, which refers to the preceding proposition *bi tong yeke bayarlaba* ‘I was very happy’. The topicaliser *bol* places emphasis on the anaphoric function of the demonstrative pronoun *ene*. The focus of the utterance is formed by the nominal phrase *tere almurad i idey_e ge(g)sen bodol* ‘the thought of wanting to eat that apple’, followed by the negative particle *bisi*. The verb *ide-* is involved in building the focus construction.

(4-374) [...*nökö(r)-d ni čing ünen sedkil iyer bayarla-n uytu-ba.*]
 friends-PL 3POSS sincere real mind/heart INS be.gla-CVB welcome-PST
ene ni tegün ü unta-ju ču čida-qu ügei,
 this TOP that > 3SG GEN sleep-IPFV.CVB PTCL enable-FUT.PTCP NEG
ide-ju ču čida-qu ügei, amisqu-ju ču
 eat-IPFV.CVB PTCL enable-FUT.PTCP NEG breathe-IPFV.CVB PTCL
čida-qu ügei bayi-γsan sedkil ün jobalang
 enable-FUT.PTCP NEG be-PRF.PTCP heart/mind GEN suffering/torture
i ni arilya-ju ög-be.
 ACC 3POSS eradicate/eliminate-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-PST

Note: the analytical construction *Tv-ju ög-* denotes the meaning of ‘help others do sth.’

‘[...his friends welcomed (him) sincerely.] The warm welcome by his friends (lit.: ‘as for this’) helped eradicate his mental torture which was making him restless (lit.: ‘being unable to sleep, eat or breathe’).’

In (4-374) the subject pronoun *ene* ‘this’ refers to the preceding utterance *nököd ni čing ünen sedkil iyer bayarlan uytuba* ‘his friends welcomed (him) sincerely’. The topicaliser *ni* is used to put emphasis on the anaphoric function of the subject. The focus is presented by a finite verbal expression which involves the verb *ide-*.

(4-375) [*tere... nigen keseg qar_a tamaki yi adqu-n ab-ču,*
 that > 3SG one piece opium ACC grasp/hold-CVB get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB
quruyun dayan imer-ü-n üje-n_e.]
 finger DAT.LOC.REF.POSS twirl.or.rub.between.the.fingers-CONN-CVB see (AUX)-PRS
 Note: the analytical construction *adqu-n ab-* ‘to have grasped’ denotes the perfective aspectual meaning; the analytical construction *Tv-CVB üje-* denotes the meaning of ‘to try doing sth.’.

<<egeči	<i>e</i>	<i>köyi,</i>	<i>quruğu ban</i>	<i>büü</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>doliya-φ,</i>	<i>önöki</i>
elder.sister	PTCL	PTCL	finger REF.POSS	NEG	PTCL	lick-IMP	this
<i>čini</i>	<i>qoor_a</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>ge-n_e,</i>	<i>qar_a tamaki</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>quruğubči</i>
2POSS > TOP	harm/poison	PROP	goods	say-PRS	opium	ACC	thimble
<i>yin</i>	<i>kiri</i>	<i>ide-gseger</i>	<i>čay</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>qoor_a >></i>	<i>ge-ju</i>	
GEN	degree	eat-CVB	time/age	GEN	harm	say-IPFV.CVB > that	
<i>γutulčün</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>yari-ju</i>	<i>bayi-γsan</i>		
shoemaker/cobbler	uncle	1SG	DAT.LOC	say-IPFV.CVB	be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP		
<i>yum.</i>							
PTCL							

Note: *qar_a tamaki* ‘opium’ < *qara* ‘black’ + *tamaki* ‘cigarette’

‘[(She)...has grasped one piece of opium and tried twirling (it) between her fingers.] The cobbler uncle was saying to me “elder sister, don’t lick your finger. As for this, (it) is said to be harmful goods; once (you) take opium (lit.: ‘eat the opium’) the size of a thimble, (it will become) a lifetime of harm (lit.: ‘harm of an age’)”.’

In (4-375) the second person possessive particle *čini* functions as a topicaliser. It follows the demonstrative pronoun *önöki* which refers to its referent *qar_a tamaki* ‘opium’ in both the preceding and following utterances. The focus is presented by a nominal phrase *qoor_a tai ed* ‘harmful goods’.

Last but not least, several examples of stage-setting (scenes) are given below, where the temporal and spatial nominals function as stage-setters in the utterance and the verb *ide-* builds the focus constructions:

(4-376) *dalai du...* *kömös ün* *ide-kü* *dura* *tai* *jiγasun u* *töröl*
 sea DAT.LOC people GEN eat-FUT.PTCP like PROP fish GEN kind/type
bui.
 COP
 ‘In the sea...there is the type of fishes which people will like eating (lit.: ‘will eat with like’)’

(4-377) *γadan_a* *γaγar un* *qoγolan ger* *tü* *bi* *ürgülji amta simte*
 outside place GEN restaurant DAT.LOC 1SG often taste/local.colour
tei qoγola ol-ju *ide-deg.*
 PROP food get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-PRS.PTCP
 Note: the analytical construction *ol-ju ide-* ‘be able to eat’ denotes the modal meaning of possibility.
 ‘In restaurants in a foreign place, I can always eat some delicious food.’

In (4-376) the dative-locative case marker *du* is used to mark the spatial nominal *dalai* ‘sea’ to set the scene (stage) of the utterance. Focus is presented by a nominal predicative construction with the copula *bui*. In (4-377) the dative-locative case marker *tü* is used to mark the nominal phrase *γadan_a γaγar un qoγolan ger* ‘restaurants in a foreign place’ which denotes a location, serving as a stage for the following discourse. The focus is presented by the clause which contains the verb *ide-*.

(4-378) *tere* *oroi* *bide* *budaγ_a* *ban* *ide-megče* *erte-ken* *sig*
 that evening 1PL.INCL meal REF.POSS eat-CVB early-DIM like
kebte-l_e.
 lie.down-PST
 Note: *erteken sig* ‘a bit early’
 ‘That evening, as soon as we had/ate our own meal, (we) lay down a bit early.’

(4-379) *üde* *yin* *qoyin_a* *bide* *yaγu* *ču* *ide-gsen* *ügei,* *[eji*
 noon GEN after 1PL.INCL what PTCL eat-PRF.PTCP NEG mom

dakin dakin yar-ču *abu yin čimege* *yi surayla-n_a.*
 again.and.again go.out-IPFV.CVB dad GEN news ACC inquire.about-PRS
 ‘In the afternoon, we ate nothing. (lit.: ‘After the noon, we have not eaten whatever.’) [Mom is inquiring about dad’s news, going out again and again.]’

In (4-378) and (4-379) the nominal phrases with temporal meanings, viz. *tere oroi* ‘that evening’ and *üide yin qoyin_a* ‘in the afternoon’, are used to set the scenes (stages) of the utterances. The foci of these utterances are presented by clauses which contain the verb *ide-*.

4.8 Summary

In Chapter 4, I have discussed various verbs of consumption, verb valency, differential object marking and grammatical forms and constructions regarding the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’.

Firstly, the semantics of the verbs of consumption in Mongolian is characterised by the following features (see §4.1): (1) there are both verbs with broad semantics and narrow (concrete) semantics which may denote different processes of eating and drinking; (2) the ingestive verbs ‘eating’, ‘drinking’ and ‘smoking’ are closely interrelated in their meanings; (3) different verbs may be used to distinguish between humans’ and animals’ eating and drinking actions; (4) verbs of consumption in Mongolian may denote both honorific and pejorative semantics; (5) eating and drinking verbs may denote a number of metaphorical meanings. The valency patterns of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ were then described in §4.2.1 and the relevant grammatical forms of these verbs were listed in §4.2.2. It was demonstrated in §4.3 that differential object marking of these verbs in the corpus examples is related to such factors as specificity and topicality. Several important interrelated grammatical constructions, including nominalisations, clefts and constructions of evaluation, were analysed in §§ 4.4-4.6. Finally, the functioning of different constructions with the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* at a pragmatic level (topic-focus structures) was discussed in §4.7.

CHAPTER 5 PHRASEOLOGICAL EATING AND DRINKING EXPRESSIONS IN MONGOLIAN

Free word combinations and phraseology lie at two extremes on the cline (continuum) of semantic transparency and structural variability (fixedness) in a language, with the most transparent and variable ones at one end and the most opaque and fixed ones at the other. In Chapter 4, I discussed semantic and grammatical features of free word (verbal) combinations which contain the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’. In the current chapter I will discuss the relevant linguistic features of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian, primarily based on the Eastern European theoretical tradition of phraseology. I will explain the cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy relating to the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ in Section 5.3 and Section 5.4 respectively.

5.1 The Eastern European Framework of Phraseology

The term “phraseological unit”¹ is “perhaps the most widely used umbrella term in Russian phraseology” (Cowie, 1998, p. 214). Ginzburg *et al.* (1979, p. 74, cited in Cowie, 1998) defines phraseological units as “non-motivated word-groups that cannot be freely made up in speech but are reproduced as ready-made units”. A similar definition is given by Gläser (1998, p. 125) who defines (from morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic perspectives) a “phraseological unit” as “a lexicalised, reproducible billexemic or polylexemic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatized, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text”. The phraseological units which contain EAT and DRINK verbs are called “phraseological eating and drinking expressions” in the current study.

Many phraseologists who work in the Eastern European tradition divide word combinations (phraseological units) into “semantic combinations” and “pragmatic combinations”: the former “function syntactically at or below the level of the simple sentence’, while the latter operate at a level higher than the simple sentence level (complex/compound) “as proverbs, catchphrases and slogans” (Cowie, 1988, 1998, cited in Cowie, 2001, p. 1). ‘Semantic combinations’ are also referred to as ‘word-like units’ or ‘semantic units’; ‘pragmatic combinations’ are also known as ‘sentence-like units’ or

¹ The terms “phraseological unit” and “word combination” are used interchangeably in the current study.

‘pragmatic units’ (Cowie, 1998, p. 1; p. 4). Note Figure 5.1 for a distinction between semantic and pragmatic combinations:

Figure 5.1 Categorisation of word-combinations (cited from Cowie, 2001, p. 2)

Word-combinations Phrasemes (Mel’čuk 1995, 1998), Phrasal lexemes (Moon 1998)			
Semantic combinations Semantic phrasemes (Mel’čuk 1995, 1998) Nominations (Gläser 1986, 1998)		Pragmatic combinations Pragmatic phrasemes (Mel’čuk 1995, 1998) Propositions (Gläser 1986, 1998)	
Collocations ²	Idioms	Proverbs (etc) ³	Routine Formulae

Phraseological units vary in complexity and internal stability. As Granger & Paquot (2008, pp. 27-28) argue, the Eastern European tradition of the study of phraseology prefers to deal with largely fixed combinations such as idioms or proverbs, and linguists who work in that tradition mostly seek to differentiate varying types of phraseological units basing themselves on linguistic criteria, and they are particularly interested in distinguishing between (a) those multi-word units which are the most variable and transparent (restricted collocations)⁴ and (b) free combinations that are restricted only by syntax and semantics, and do not belong to the scope of phraseology. Scholars (cf. Howarth, 1998, p. 35, p. 42) argue that there is a degree of limitation on the substitutability of words in restricted collocations, e.g., one lexeme used in a specialised (figurative) meaning can co-occur with a limited set of lexemes (e.g. *introduce a bill/amendment/motion*); it is not a trivial task to distinguish between restricted collocations and free combinations, as it involves differentiating between word combinations that are collocational and highly specific and those semantically analysable and generalizable ones (free combinations). The analysis of different subtypes of restricted collocations (most or least restricted) should consider factors such as substitutability of components within the restricted collocations and degree of limitation of word choice (Howarth, 1996, cited in Cowie, 1998, pp. 216-218). Within the Eastern European tradition, idioms form the majority among different types of phraseological units and they can be considered to be prototypical (Gläser, 1998, p. 126; Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 28).

² Collocation is also known as “restricted collocation” (Cowie, 1998).

³ Pragmatic combinations contain catchphrases and slogans other than proverbs (Cowie 1988, 1998, cited in Cowie, 2001, p. 1).

⁴ According to Vinogradov (1947, cited in Cowie, 1998, p. 215) and Amosova (1963, cited in Cowie, 1998, p. 215), phraseological combinations (i.e. restricted collocations) contain one element which is used in a figurative sense and this figurative sense is determined (restricted) by its context: in Vinogradov’s opinion, the determining context can be either a single word or a limited set of words (e.g. *meet the demand/necessity/requirements*); according to Amosova, in order for certain word combinations to be phraseological, there should be only one single item which restricts (controls) the figurative sense (e.g. *grind one’s teeth*).

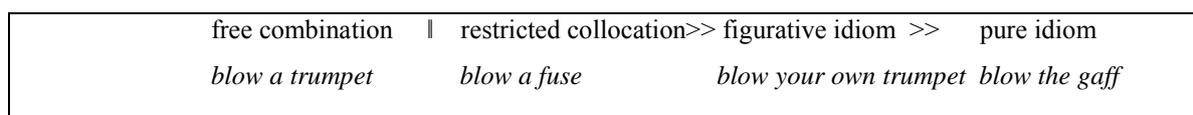
Non-compositionality and fixedness are the two most commonly used formal criteria which characterize idioms and other types of phraseological units to a smaller extent (Read & Nation, 2004, p. 32). Numerous definitions of idioms can be found in the existing literature (Cornell, 1999; Irujo, 1986; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992; Wood, 1986; Gläser, 1998 etc.). However, a central definition of idioms is related to “the meaning of the whole being different to the sum of the parts” (Wray, 2002, p. 56). For example, Healey (1968, p. 71) defines idioms as “any group of words whose meaning cannot be deduced from the meanings of the individual words”. This central definition of idioms can be also applied to Eastern European studies of phraseology as can be seen from Gläser’s (1998, p. 125) definition of idioms, i.e. “an idiom is a lexicalised, reproducible word group in common use, which has syntactic and semantic stability, and may carry connotations, but whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its constituents”. Notably, idioms were traditionally viewed as “dead metaphors”, i.e. the origin of metaphors is lost in the course of time and idioms are frozen in form and non-compositional in meaning (Gibbs, 1993, p. 57). However, according to recent findings (Gibbs, 1993, pp. 57-77), only a small number of idioms are non-compositional and fixed; the majority of idioms are still quite “alive” in terms of their metaphoricity, and they are (partially) motivated/motivatable from a cognitive perspective, whose figurative meanings can be explained by a conceptual metaphor theory. Nowadays the conceptual metaphor view of idioms has attracted wide scholarly attention in the development of phraseology as a research field; it can complement the Eastern European framework of phraseological studies. Gibbs (1993, p. 74) argues that the traditional view of idioms (as “dead” metaphors) and the conceptual metaphor theory applied to idioms are not competing with each other; actually we have to embrace different theories which explore idioms to understand the underlying mechanism of their formation. He stresses the complexity in a comprehensive analysis of idioms as phraseological units and maintains that each individual idiom deserves a careful examination of its own (Gibbs, 1993, p. 74).

In this study, I will adopt the above two formal criteria, i.e. non-compositionality and fixedness, in identifying phraseological eating and drinking expressions with idioms being prototypical types. By non-compositionality is meant that the meaning of the whole expression is not deducible from that of the constituents (it is non-decomposable). Sometimes individual words may occur as part of the expression but do not exist on their own (Read & Nation, 2004, p. 25). Fixedness refers to the degree of flexibility in changing the word order in the sequence, replacement of individual words, and insertion or inflection of certain items (Read & Nation, 2004, p. 32). To further clarify the term, the notion of ‘fixedness’ or ‘flexibility’ covers all the following levels of linguistic analysis: (1) word order; (2) grammar (morphology and syntax); (3) lexical substitutability.

Similar to idioms, proverbs “express general ideas by means of non-literal meaning (metaphors, metonymies etc.)”; they either appear in complete sentences or can be abbreviated (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 44). As stated earlier in Section 3.2.2, Schmitt & Carter (2004, p. 9) argue that one way to distinguish between idioms and proverbs is their conditions of use: idioms are “typically used to express a concept”, while proverbs “typically state some commonly believed truth or advice”. Based on the Eastern European tradition of phraseological studies, I adopt the view that idioms and proverbs belong to two different levels of analysis: the former is a semantic unit, while the latter is a pragmatic one.

Given that the number of completely invariable or opaque examples is small among the phraseological units (Cowie, 1998, p. 12), in the following discussion I will aim to draw a continuum within the phraseological eating and drinking expressions based on the examination of my corpus data. I follow Cowie’s (1981) continuum model of word-like combinations which is in line with most other subcategories of word-like combinations in the Eastern European tradition (Cowie, 1998, p. 7). Note Figure 5.2:

Figure 5.2 Cowie’s (1981) phraseological continuum (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 36)



5.2 The Relevant Linguistic Features of Phraseological Eating and Drinking Expressions in Mongolian

At present, the study of the phraseology of Mongolian is in general under-developed, although several subtypes of phraseological units such as idioms and proverbs are accounted for in some grammar books (IMU, 2005, p. 810). The corpus examples in the current study illustrate that phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian, notably idioms and proverbs, indicate gradable (scalar) linguistic features, namely different degrees of semantic transparency and structural variability which can be placed on a continuum/cline. Notably, there is an obvious influence from Chinese in phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian. I will give relevant examples in the forthcoming discussion. Only about 10% of corpus examples are phraseological expressions (approx. 89/1000).

Based on the corpus data, I divide the phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian into the following types: (1) idioms; (2) proverbs and slogans; (3) routine formulae and (4) other phraseological eating and drinking expressions (such as similes and exaggeration). In the category of

semantic combinations, there are no corpus examples of restricted collocations containing *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’.

5.2.1 Idioms

Following Cowie (1981, 1988), idioms are divided into pure idioms and figurative idioms.

5.2.1.1 Pure idioms in relation to *ide-* and *uuyu-*

Prototypical phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian are represented by pure idioms, which are known to be expressions (usually verbal phrases) whose overall meanings cannot be deduced (derived) from the component parts (cf. Cowie. 1981, p. 229). Their meanings are the most opaque and their structures are the most fixed. There are a limited number of such examples in the corpus. Note the following corpus examples:

(5-1) <i>abu</i>	<i>eji</i>	<i>qoyar</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>qoyar</i>	<i>ide-l</i> ⁵	<i>ügei,</i>	<i>qoyoson</i>	<i>qono-l</i>
father	mother	two	2POSS	two	eat-PTCP	NEG	empty	spend.the.night-PTCP
<i>ügei</i>	<i>jidkü-jü</i>			<i>yabu-ju</i>	<i>tanusa yi</i>	<i>öske-jü</i>		
NEG	pull/make.an.effort-IPFV.CVB			go-IPFV.CVB	2SG ACC	raise-IPFV.CVB		
<i>kömön</i>	<i>bolγa-γsan.</i>							
person/adult	be-CAUS-PRF.PTCP							

Note: *tanusa* ‘you’ has a depreciative connotation.

‘Both your parents raised you well to your adulthood, eking out a living.’

(lit.: ‘Both of your parents suffered a lot in order to raise you to become an adult, i.e. they did not have much to eat and only managed to sleep with an almost empty stomach.’)

In (5-1) *qoyar idel ügei, qoyoson qonol ügei* means ‘eke out one’s living; manage to live but with difficulty’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 732). This idiom is opaque in meaning and fixed in structure. Notably, *qoyar* ‘two’ and *qoyoson* ‘empty’ alliterate and *ügei* ‘not’ is used twice to rhyme at the end so that the whole expression is rhythmic and full of expressive power. It is hard to explain why the numeral *qoyar* ‘two’ is used to denote the meaning of ‘much food’ here.

(5-2) <i>teyimü eče</i>	<i>küčün ü</i>	<i>kömö(n)-s</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>dotor_a <<</i>	<i>bayasu</i>	<i>ban</i>
thus	labour GEN	person-PL	GEN	inside/among	excrement	REF.POSS
<i>qataya-ju</i>	<i>ide-mer</i>	<i>bařar bayan>></i>		<i>ge-deg</i>	<i>qoči</i>	<i>tai</i>
dry-IPFV.CVB	eat-PTCP	PN rich		say-PRS.PTCP	nickname	PROP
<i>bol-o-γsan</i>	<i>yum.</i>					
become-CONN-PRF.PTCP	PTCL					

Note: *teyimü eče* ‘thus’ < *teyimü* ‘such; like that’ + *eče*=ABL

‘Thus, among the labourers, there was a nickname for (Bazhar), namely “the rich Bazhar, the miser” (lit.: ‘the rich Bazar, who acts as if eating his own faeces after drying it.’)

⁵ -l here is treated as a participial suffix.

In (5-2) the idiom *bayasu ban qatayaǰu idemer* denotes a sarcastic meaning of ‘be stingy, mean and miserly’ (lit.: ‘acting as if eating one’s own faeces’) and it is semi-fixed, as it is lexically-substitutable: *bayasu ban qataya-* ‘be stingy’ (lit.: ‘dry one’s faeces’) can replace the idiom *bayasu ban qatayaǰu ide-* ‘be stingy’ (lit.: ‘eat one’s faeces after drying’). This idiom alliterates with the rest of the sentence, i.e. *baǰar bayan* ‘the rich Bazhar’, to produce a coherent textual structure. An alternative idiom with the same meaning is *bayasu ban qatayaǰu idemer qaramči bol-* ‘be stingy as if eating one’s own faeces after drying it’, in which *qaramči* denotes the meaning of ‘miserly; stingy’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 488).

(5-3) *tere soytoyu... toloyai ergi-ǰü bayi-ǰsan ču quǰirliǰ*
 that drunkard become.dizzy.headed-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP even salty
böliyen usu ača gedesü mede-nuuyu-ǰai.
 lukewarm water ABL stomach know-CVB drink-PST
 ‘That drunkard...despite getting dizzy, (he) drank a lot of the salty lukewarm water.’

In (5-3) the idiom *gedesü meden uuyu-* means ‘drink a lot’ (<*gedesü* ‘stomach’ + *mede-* ‘know’ + *-n=CVB* + *uuyu-* ‘drink’). Its structure is semi-fixed: *uuyu-* can be replaced by *ide-*, in which case it would mean ‘eat a lot’.

In the following idiom *noqai ide-* (< *noqai* ‘dog’ + *ide-* ‘eat’), the meaning is opaque and the structure is fixed:

(5-4) *minü šayardaly_a yi ta tatayalǰa-qu du kür-bel*
 1SG.GEN demand ACC 2SG hesitate-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC reach-COND.CVB
čünü qauli yi noqai ide-g!
 2SG.GEN law ACC dog eat-PERM
 Note: *Tv-qu du kür-bel* ‘if...’
 ‘If you hesitate about (meeting) my demand, your law is useless.’ (lit.: ‘...let the dog eat your law!’)

In (5-4) *noqai ideg* is an idiom, meaning “something is completely useless; pointless”, with the verb *ide-* appearing in the permissive mood. The idiom *noqai ideg* ‘completely useless’ (< *noqai* ‘dog’ + *ide-* ‘eat’ + *-g=PERM*) is found in Bürintegüs (2001, p. 457). In (5-4) the law is useless if it cannot serve a justified purpose. See a similar usage below:

(5-5) <<...*minü aǰur ge-ǰü de, noqai ide-ø>> ge-ǰü*
 1SG.GEN anger say-IPFV.CVB > TOP PTCL dog eat-IMP say-IPFV.CVB > that
ügele-gseger bayi-ǰu ǰal iyan köǰǰige-ǰü oroi
 say-CVB be (AUX)-IPFV.CVB fire REF.POSS kindle-IPFV.CVB evening
yin buday_a ban bajaya-l_a.
 GEN food REF.POSS prepare-PST
 ‘...while saying “speaking about my anger, it is totally useless”, (sb.) kindled his/her fire and prepared his/her supper.’ (lit.: ‘let the dog eat...’)

In (5-5) the verb *ide-* appears in the imperative mood in *noqai ide-ø* ‘it is useless’. There are three occurrences of *noqai ide-ø* in the corpus analysed. The use of the noun *noqai* ‘dog’ in the above examples can be explained by cultural factors; people usually feed dogs with remainders of food (which they do not eat themselves), which leads to the meaning of “be useless”.

In the following idioms, someone who likes eating and drinking is typically compared to an actively mobile animal like a fast horse (or a male tiger), whereas a lazy human being is compared to a still object such as a rock (or animals such as a lazy bull). Note the examples below:

(5-6) *uuyu-ju* *ide-kü* *dü* *ury_a yin mori*
 drink-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC specially.trained.horses.used.to.lasso.horses
uruysi *alqu-qu* *du* *uryu-γ_a* *qada.*
 forward walk-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC grow/rise-IPFV.PTCP rock/cliff
 Note: *ury_a yin mori* < *ury_a* ‘a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses’ + *-yin=GEN* + *mori* ‘horse’

‘be gluttonous and lazy’; ‘be fond of eating and drinking and unwilling to work’

(lit.: ‘[be like] a fast horse when it’s time to eat or drink; [be like being] nailed to the ground when it’s time to work’)

Or (lit.: ‘When eating and drinking, (someone) is active like a specially trained horse which is used to lasso horses; when walking forward, (someone) is still and motionless like a rising cliff.’)

In (5-6) the idiom *uuyuju idekü dü ury_a yin mori uruysi alququ du uryuγ_a qada* denotes the relatively opaque meaning of ‘be fond of eating and drinking but lazy to work’. Here ‘someone who likes eating and drinking’ is compared to ‘a fast horse’ while ‘someone who does not like work’ is compared to ‘a growing cliff/rock which does not move’. This idiom expresses sarcasm to criticize lazy and gluttonous people. The structure is semi-fixed, allowing lexical substitutability and grammatical change: the verb *alqu-* ‘walk’ can be changed into *giski-* ‘step’, and the dative-locative case marker can appear in its reflexive possessive form. Note the following example:

(5-7) *uuyu-ju* *ide-kü* *degen* *ury_a yin mori*
 drink-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS specially.trained.horses.used.to.lasso.horses
uruysi *giski-kü* *degen* *uryu-γ_a* *qada*
 forward walk/step-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS rise-IPFV.PTCP cliff
uquri-ju...

step.backward-IPFV.CVB

‘be gluttonous and lazy’

(lit.: ‘when eating and drinking, (someone moves fast) like a specially trained horse which is used to lasso horses; when walking forward, (someone) steps backward like a rising cliff.’)

In (5-7) the verb *uquri-* ‘step backward’ is added at the end of the sentence, without affecting the meaning of the idiom as a whole.

However, instead of nouns such as *ury_a yin mori* ‘a fast specially trained horse’ and *uryuγ_a qada* ‘a rising cliff’, nouns such as *er_e bars* ‘a male tiger’ and *qašang buq_a* ‘a lazy bull’ normally appear among idioms which are related to EAT and DRINK verbs denoting the same meaning of ‘enjoy eating and drinking but be lazy and reluctant to work’. For instance, in the idiom *uuyuju idekü degen ury_a yin mori, uruysi jidgükü degen qašang buq_a* ‘be fond of eating and drinking but be lazy to work’ (lit.: ‘when eating and drinking, (someone moves fast) like a specially trained horse, when pulling forward, (someone) is lazy and slow like a bull.’), the verb *giski-* ‘step’ is replaced with *jidgü-* ‘pull’ and *uryuγ_a qada* ‘a rising cliff’ is altered into *qašang buq_a* ‘a lazy bull’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 250). In another

grammatically variant idiom which denotes a similar meaning *iden_e gebel er_e bars, yabun_a gebel qašang buq_a* ‘be fond of eating and unwilling to work’, the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *yabu-* ‘go’ end with the present finite form *n_a/n_e* and are followed by the verb *ge-* ‘say’ in the conditional converbal suffix *-bel*. Here *er_e bars* ‘a male tiger’ is compared to an eager person who runs off to eat, and *qašang buq_a* ‘a lazy bull’ is used to describe someone who is unwilling to work (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 251).⁶

Context and world knowledge can play a decisive role in understanding some idioms containing *ide-* and *uuyu-*. Take for example the following idioms where the literal meanings do not make sense otherwise:

(5-8)	<i>činggis</i>	<i>qayan</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>bayatur-čud</i>	<i>i <<</i>	<i>ala-ldu-qui</i>	<i>edür</i>	<i>aran (kömön)</i>	
	Chinggis	khan	GEN	hero-PL	ACC	kill-RECP-FUT.PTCP	day	the.common.people	
	<i>ü</i>	<i>miq_a</i>		<i>ide-jü,</i>	<i>kürülče-kü</i>	<i>edür</i>	<i>kömön</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>miq_a</i>
	GEN	meat/flesh		eat-IPFV.CVB	be.sufficient-FUT.PTCP	day	human	GEN	meat/flesh
	<i>künesüle-n>></i>	<i>ge-kü</i>		<i>metü</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>dürsüle-gsen</i>	<i>bayatur</i>	<i>un</i>	
	eat-CVB	say-FUT.PTCP		as/like	INS	describe-PRF.PTCP	hero	GEN	
	<i>tuulis</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>kele</i>		<i>kelelge</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>silügüel</i>	<i>bui.</i>	
	narrative.poem	GEN	language		expression/phrase	COM	poem/verse	COP	

‘There is (a certain) verse with language expressions of the heroic epics which described Chinggis Khan’s heroes as being invincible and heroic (lit.: ‘eating the common people’s flesh in days of killing (while) eating human’s flesh in food-sufficient days’).’

In (5-8) the idiom *alalduqui edür aran (kömön) ü miq_a idejü, kürülčekü edür kömön ü miq_a künesüle-* ‘be fearless and courageous’ (lit.: ‘eat the common people’s flesh in days of killing (while) eating human’s flesh in food-sufficient days’) is used to describe the bold and heroic behaviour of Chinggis Khan’s army in history. The meaning of the whole expression cannot be understood from the combination of the literal meanings of the individual words in it; it must be deduced from the context. The structure is fixed in parallelism. Notably, each poetic line has very similar meanings, with the verbs *ide-* and *künesüle-* both meaning ‘eat’. The two lines of the idiom repeat the same meaning to achieve an emphatic, poetic effect.

(5-9)	<i>ebešün</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bol-basu</i>	<i>ereü</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>ide-n,</i>	<i>usun</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bol-basu</i>
	grass	ACC	be-COND.CVB	chin/jaw	INS	eat-CVB	water	ACC	be-COND.CVB
	<i>uruγul</i>	<i>iyar</i>	<i>adaliqan</i>	<i>uuyu-ju</i>		<i>a-tal_a,</i>	<i>ai,</i>	<i>abuγai</i>	
	lip	INS	similarly/alike	drink-IPFV.CVB		be-CVB	PTCL	Mr/your.excellency	
	<i>minü,</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>arasu</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>sirbüsütei</i>	<i>inggi-jü</i>			
	1SG.GEN	2SG	skin/hide	COM	muscle	COM	do.like.this-IPFV.CVB		
	<i>qata-γsan</i>	<i>činü</i>		<i>yayun</i>	<i>bui.</i>				
	dry-PRF.PTCP	2SG.GEN		what	COP				

‘There is always a way to survive and have a good life if you work hard.’

‘While being well-equipped for a good life if we make good use of our talents and rely on natural resources, my dear sir, why are you so miserable/how come you are so skinny and

⁶ See Bürintegüs (2001, pp. 208-211; pp. 249-251) for more idioms relating to EAT and DRINK in Mongolian which denote the meaning of ‘enjoy eating and drinking but lazy to work’.

unfit?’

(lit.: ‘while (we) can eat the grass by chin and drink the water by lips, likewise, oh/hey, (my) excellency, why have you become skinny like this, with pure skin and muscle?’)

In (5-9) the idiom *ebesüin i bolbasu ereü ber iden, usun i bolbasu uruyul iyar adaliqan uuyu-* denotes the meaning of ‘be well-equipped for a good life if we make good use of our talents and rely on natural resources; lead a happy life if one is not lazy’, which can be explained on the basis of one’s cultural knowledge: in Mongolian nomadic culture, grass and water is essential for the existence of animals on the steppes; jaw and lips are equally important for one’s consumption of food, viz. the acts of eating and drinking. If one is provided with the grass and water on the steppe, all that one has to do is to actively mobilise one’s jaw and lips to eat and drink to survive. The structure of the idiom is semi-fixed, allowing syntactic changes, which can be seen from the following example:

(5-10) *ebesü bol-basu ereü ber, usu bol-basu uruyul iyar adaliqan*
grass be-COND.CVB chin/jaw INS water be-COND.CVB lip INS similarly/alike
ide-n uuyu-n a-tal_a, ken tarγula-γsan, ken ese
eat-CVB drink-CVB be-CVB who become.fat-PRF.PTCP who not
tarγula-γsan i ken mede-nem.
be.fat- PRF.PTCP ACC who know-PRS

‘While we are well-equipped for a good life if we make good use of our talents to explore the surroundings, it is not evident that you live better than me, i.e. no one knows (it is hard to tell) which one of us is skinny and unfit. (lit.: ‘while (both of us) can eat the grass by chin and drink the water by lips, likewise, who knows who has become fat and who has not become fat?’)’

In (5-10) the idiom *ebesü bolbasu ereü ber, usu bolbasu uruyul iyar adaliqan iden uuyu-* denotes the same meaning of ‘be well-equipped for a good life if we make good use of our talents and rely on natural resources’, without using the accusative case marker, and the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* are used together at the end of this idiom. Based on the context, we can deduce that the speaker and the hearer are involved in a dialogue about their weight: neither of them thinks that they made good use of the resources and the faculties they have to feed themselves well and stay in good health; in other words, they are criticising each other for being too lazy to lead a good life; to be specific, the resources which are available to them are *ebesü* ‘grass’ and *usu* ‘water’⁷ and they both have the organs such as *ereü* ‘jaw’ and *uruyul* ‘lips’ which they can use to eat the grass and drink the water, but neither of them makes full use of their resources and natural gifts, and as a result, they both look unhealthy in each other’s eyes. Therefore, the underlying meaning behind the dialogue is sarcastic: they criticize each other for wasting their resources and natural gifts by not working hard enough to make a good life for themselves.

(5-11) <<*qobisqal ki-n_e ge-gči bol belen buday_a ide-ju*
revolution do-PRS say-AGT.PTCP TOP prepared.meals eat-IPFV.CVB
ükü-gsen temege qariyul-ju bayi-qu yabudal
die-PRF.PTCP camel herd/graze-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP matter

⁷ In a nomadic culture, *ebesü* ‘grass’ and *usu* ‘water’ are seen as important resources for horses and sheep.

<i>bisi,</i>	<i>ǰebseg</i>	<i>ol-ǰu</i>	<i>ire-kü</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>bol</i>	<i>bide</i>	<i>dayisun</i>	<i>u</i>
NEG	weapon	get-IPFV.CVB	come-FUT.PTCP	NEG	if	IPL.INCL	enemy	GEN
<i>puu</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>buliya-ǰaya-y_a!>></i>	<i>ge-(g)sen</i>			<i>üge</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>bayaturliǰ</i>
gun	ACC	snatch-PL-VOL	say-PRF.PTCP > so.called			word	3POSS	brave
<i>ǰoriǰ</i>	<i>iyar</i>	<i>bilqa-m_a</i>	<i>bayi-ba.</i>					
courage/will	INS	overflow-PTCP	be (AUX)-PST					

‘The words “Talking about starting a revolution, it is not an easy thing (lit.: ‘a matter of eating prepared meals and herding dead camels’); if (we) cannot get any weapons, let’s snatch the enemy’s guns!” were full of brave courage.’

In (5-11) the idiom *belen buday_a ideǰü ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* “eat prepared meals and herd dead camels” means “live too easy a life; lead an idle life and enjoy the fruit of someone else’s labour”. In this idiom, *belen buday_a ide-* ‘eat a ready-made meal’ has an extended meaning of ‘enjoying someone else’s labour fruits’ and *ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* ‘herd dead camels’ alludes to ‘being idle and doing nothing but pretend being busy’. The whole expression is relatively transparent in meaning based on its context, where revolution is considered a serious matter which requires each participant’s own hard work in order to make changes rather than relying on other people’s work achievement. The idiomatic expression is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability so that it is possible to replace *belen buday_a* ‘ready-made meal/rice’ with *belen qoyola* ‘ready-made meal’ while keeping its meaning; moreover, *ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* ‘herd dead camels’ can be used by itself to denote the meaning of ‘lead an idle life’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 513; p. 362). It is unclear why *ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* ‘herd dead camels’ is used to denote the meaning of ‘idleness’. In (5-11) the idiom *belen buday_a ideǰü ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* “eat prepared meals and herd dead camels” can be analysed as comprising two parts: the first part *belen buday_a ideǰü* ‘eating ready-made meal’ is a figurative idiom, whereas the second part *ükügsen temeǰe qariǰul-* ‘herd a dead camel’ is a pure idiom; to understand the second part, one should refer to the first one.

5.2.1.2 Figurative idioms in relation to ide- and uuǰu-

Figurative idioms refer to those phraseological expressions which denote figurative (metaphorical) meanings on the whole, while preserving a current literal interpretation; there is no clear-cut boundary between pure idioms and figurative idioms, whose judgements may vary according to different linguistic and cultural experience of individuals (Cowie, 1981, p. 229). Their meanings are relatively transparent and their structures are fixed or semi-fixed. In comparison to pure idioms whose meanings are unmotivated, figurative idioms are partially-motivated.

As Omazić (2008, pp. 69-72) argues, a number of interrelated (interplaying) factors such as knowledge of the language (word meanings/the meanings of the constituents of idioms, etymology and contextual clues), knowledge of the world (e.g. cultural and historical background) and cognitive

mechanisms typically realised through conceptual metaphor jointly exert an influence on the understanding of idioms. The following examples of figurative idioms can be interpreted by one or the other factors listed by Omazić (2008).

Unlike the pure idiom of *noqai ide-∅* (< *noqai* ‘dog’ and *ide-* ‘eat’) ‘useless’ (lit.: ‘let the dog eat’) discussed earlier, in the following figurative idioms involving *noqai* ‘dog’ and *ide-* ‘eat’, the meanings of these idioms are transparent in that they can be easily deduced from the meanings of the constituents and the structures are fixed. Note the examples below:

(5-12) *minü ene mayu teneg ayur ge-ǰü noqai ide-ged*
 1SG.GEN this bad silly anger say-IPFV.CVB > TOP dog eat-PRF.CVB
bara-quügei yum.
 finish-FUT.PTCP NEG PTCL
 ‘Talking about this bad silly anger of mine, there was plenty.’ (lit.: ‘A dog will not finish eating it.’)

(5-13) *mayu ǰalsarai čiči! noqai ide-kü ügei sedkil tei!*
 bad/evil PN 2SG dog eat-FUT.PTCP NEG heart/mind PROP
 ‘Evil Zhalsarai, you! What a cruel heart you have/how cruel-hearted you are!’
 (lit.: ‘(You) have a heart which a dog would not eat!’)

In (5-12) the figurative idiom *noqai ideged baraqu ügei* means ‘there is plenty’ (lit.: ‘a dog cannot finish eating (it)’). In (5-13) the figurative idiom *noqai idekü ügei sedkil tei* denotes the meaning of ‘be cruel-hearted and merciless’ (lit.: ‘having a heart which a dog would not eat’). Both idioms denote depreciative meanings: in (5-12) the speaker implies a self-criticism that ‘I am so easy to anger, which is annoying’, in other words ‘I should not get angry so easily’; in (5-13) Zhalsarai’s cruel-heartedness is outrageous.

(5-14) *dorǰi yin noyir i noqai ide-gsen sig bol-o-l_a.*
 PN GEN sleep/pancreas ACC dog eat-PRF.PTCP as.if become-CONN-PST
 ‘Dorǰi began to suffer from sleeplessness.’ or ‘Dorǰi was hardly able to sleep.’
 (lit.: ‘it became as if a dog has eaten Dorǰi’s sleep.’)

In (5-14) the idiom *noyir i noqai idegsen sig* has a sarcastic meaning. Sometimes the verb *ide-* in this idiom can be replaced by *ab-* ‘take’ with a slightly modified structure, i.e. *noyir i ni noqai abqu* ‘suffer from sleeplessness’ (< *noyir* ‘sleep’ + *-yi=ACC* + *ni=PTCL* + *noqai* ‘dog’ + *ab-* ‘take’ + *-qu=FUT.PTCP*) (lit.: ‘as for one’s sleep, a dog takes (it)’.) (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 456).

Likewise, the following figurative idioms in relation to *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ are transparent in meaning; however, their structures are flexible, considering that many of them allow a reverse word order of their constituents:

(5-15) *neme-ǰü qasu-ǰu ösken tösken tei yari-ǰu*
 add-IPFV.CVB subtract/decrease-IPFV.CVB exaggeration COM speak/talk-IPFV.CVB
sur-u-ǰ_a ügei üneden iyen keke-ǰü belen
 learn-CONN-IPFV.PTCP.NEG truth REF.POSS speak-IPFV.CVB prepared/ready.made
iyen ide-deg kömön čini inggi-ǰü yari-qu

REF.POSS eat-PRS.PTCP person 2POSS do.like.this-IPFV.CVB speak-FUT.PTCP
ača öger_e yayaqi-qu bile!
 ABL other what.to.do-FUT.PTCP PTCL

‘He/She does not exaggerate things by adding or reducing his/her original words. Since he/she is a person who lives an honest life and behaves oneself (lit.: ‘speaks the truth and eats the prepared food’), what else can he/she do apart from speaking like this?’

In (5-15) *ünen iyen kelejü belen iyen ide-* ‘live an honest life and be well-behaved’ is a figurative idiom whose meaning is transparent and the structure is flexible in terms of word order. This idiom has a positive connotation. Note the following example (5-16) where *belen iyen idejüünen iyen kele-* ‘be well-behaved and live an honest life’ has a reverse word order of its components but denotes exactly the same meaning as that of (5-15):

(5-16) *bi yamar kömön dü adali urbay_a körbege jang ügei,*
 1SG what people DAT.LOC same unstable/changeable temper/character NEG
belen iyen ide-jüünen iyen kele-deg
 ready.made REF.POSS eat-IPFV.CVB true/truth REF.POSS say-PRS.PTCP
le kömön de!
 PTCL person PTCL

‘I do not have a changeable character like (other) people. (I) am a person who is well-behaved and lives an honest life (lit.: ‘who eats the ready-made/prepared food and speaks the truth’).’

(5-17) *atay_a jütöge, qob marıulduyan ali ni çu ge-(g)sen*
 jealousy greed dispute which 3POSS even say-PRF.PTCP > TOP
angyayi-ju ide-ged, emseyi-jü sayu-day
 open.one’s.mouth-IPFV.CVB eat-PRF.CVB compress.one’s.mouth-IPFV.CVB sit-PRS.PTCP
degedüs iyer ayilçila-ju...
 ancestor INS visit-IPFV.CVB

Note: *degedüs* ‘ancestor; forebears’ is used sarcastically here to refer to ‘those arrogant and lazy people’ ‘Talking about jealousy, greed and dispute, no matter which (of them), (they) will visit those (lazy and arrogant people) who lead an idle life and behave in an unseemly manner.’ (lit.: ‘who eat (prepared meals) with their mouths wide open, while sitting, compressing their mouths...’)

In (5-17) the meaning of the figurative idiom *angyayiju ideged, emseyijü sayu-* ‘be idle and behave in an unseemly, gluttonous and lazy manner’ is transparent and its structure is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability. Note the following example (5-18) where the second part of the idiom *emseyijü sayu-* ‘sit with mouth compressed’ is superseded by *tangyayiju kebte-* ‘lie on one’s back comfortably’, while keeping the overall meaning of the original idiom:

(5-18) *eyimü bolqor ajilçin angyi ba örgen olan arad tumen ü dumda*
 thus/such because.of worker class CONJ broad.masses people GEN among
jarim najayai üjel sanayan u kücün jüil, jışıyele-bel
 some negative opinion/thought GEN element/factor take.as.an.example-COND.CVB
asiy qonjibori du sinu-qu, bey_e ben
 benefit profit DAT.LOC covet body/self REF.POSS
bodo-ju busud i qokira-γul-qu, keveli qaquuli ide-kü,
 think/consider-IPFV.CVB others ACC suffer-CAUS-FUT.PTCP bribes eat-FUT.PTCP

<i>ĵabsin</i> (<i>ĵabsiyan</i>)	<i>dalimdayul-ĵu</i>					<i>kiqa-n</i>
good.luck/opportunity	take.advantage.of.favourable.circumstances-IPFV.CVB					exploit-CVB
<i>mekele-kü</i> <i>ĵerge</i>		<i>mayu</i> <i>üĵegdel</i>	<i>ĵiči</i> <i>najĵayai</i>			<i>kebsimel,</i>
cheat-FUT.PTCP and.so.on		bad phenomenon	CONJ negative			stereotypical
<i>angĵayai-ĵu</i>		<i>ide-ged</i>	<i>tangĵayai-ĵu</i>			<i>kebte-kü,</i>
open.one's.mouth-IPFV.CVB		eat-PRF.CVB	lie.on.one's.back-IPFV.CVB			lie-FUT.PTCP
<i>ögerečilelte</i> <i>ki-kü</i>		<i>ba</i> <i>čilöge tei</i>	<i>yabulča-qu</i>			
reform	do/make-FUT.PTCP	CONJ leisure COM	intercommunicate-FUT.PTCP			
<i>yi</i> <i>seĵigle-kü</i>		<i>ba</i> <i>qarsila-qu</i>	<i>ĵerge</i> <i>buruĵu</i>			
ACC	get.suspicious-FUT.PTCP	CONJ hinder/impede-FUT.PTCP	and.so.forth			wrong
<i>üĵel sanay_a</i> <i>adali</i> <i>busu</i> <i>kemĵiy_e</i>		<i>ber</i> <i>orosi-qu</i>	<i>ni</i>			
opinions/thoughts same	NEG degree	INS exist-FUT.PTCP	NR			
<i>ĵayilasi ügei</i>	<i>yum.</i>					
unavoidable/inevitable	PTCL					

Note: *örgeŋ olan* 'broad masses' < *örgeŋ* 'wide' + *olan* 'many'; *küčün ĵüil* 'element; factor' < *küčün* 'power' + *ĵüil* 'kind'; *ĵayilasi ügei* 'inevitable' < *ĵayila-* 'avoid' + *-si=DERn* + *ügei=NEG*.

'Because of this, it is inevitable that among the working classes and the broad masses some negative thought elements and stereotypical wrong opinions will exist to different degrees. For example, the bad phenomena (are): being greedy for profits, considering one's own profits and sacrificing others' (interests), taking bribes, taking advantage of opportunities, deceiving (by) exploiting and so forth. The negative stereotypical wrong opinions (are): being idle and behaving in an unseemly, gluttonous and lazy manner (lit.: 'eating with one's mouth wide open and lying on one's back comfortably'), suspicious of doing reforms and intercommunication freely and hindering (them).'

In (5-18) in the figurative idiom *angĵayaiĵu ideged tangĵayaiĵu kebte-* 'be idle and behave in an unseemly manner', the converb *tangĵayaiĵu* 'lying one one's back' can be changed into *alčayaiĵu* 'straddling; sitting with legs spread', without changing the overall meaning of the idiom (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 7). In the following example (5-19) the original word order is reversed but the meaning is unchanged:

(5-19) <i>yamar nigen</i>	<i>kömön kerbe</i>	<i>öber ün</i>	<i>ene neyigem</i>	<i>dü</i>
any	person	if oneself GEN	this society	DAT.LOC
<i>ire-gsen</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>busud un</i>	<i>ködelmüri yin</i>	<i>ür_e bötögel deger_e</i>
come-PRF.PTCP	3POSS > NR	others GEN	labour GEN	fruits on
<i>tangĵayai-n</i>		<i>kebte-ged</i>	<i>angĵayai-n</i>	<i>ide-ĵü,</i>
lie.on.one's.back/lie.supinely		lie-PRF.CVB	open.one's.mouth	eat-IPFV.CVB
<i>ĵirĵa-ĵu</i>	<i>čengge-kü</i>		<i>yin tölöge ge-ĵü</i>	
be.joyful-IPFV.CVB	amuse.oneself/enjoy-FUT.PTCP		GEN for say-IPFV.CVB > that	
<i>bodo-ĵsan</i>	<i>yum bol tere</i>	<i>darui neyigem</i>	<i>ün daruĵasu</i>	
think-PRF.PTCP	PTCL if that > 3SG	just society	GEN burden	
<i>ba egürgelel</i>	<i>bol-qu</i>	<i>yum.</i>		
CONJ responsibility	become-FUT.PTCP	PTCL		

'Any person, if (he/she) thought that their coming to this society is for the sake of being lazy and idle (lit.: 'lying on their backs, supine and eating with mouth wide open') on the basis of others' labour fruits and enjoying oneself, then (he/she) will become the burden and responsibility of the society.'

(5-20) ['For the power holders, there are times of crisis.']

<i>qimural</i>	<i>ĵar-day</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>učir</i>	<i>yi</i>	<<	<i>deger_e</i>
crisis	happen/occur-PRS.PTCP	GEN	cause/reason	ACC		top
<i>ni</i>	<i>sayu-bal</i>	<i>šoro,</i>	<i>degeĵi yi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ide-bel</i>	<i>qoor>></i>
3POSS	sit-COND.CVB	pointed.edge.of.metal	top ACC	3POSS	eat-COND.CVB	poison

ge-ǰü *dögöm iyer* *baǰčala-ǰü* *bol-qu* *ügei.*
 say-IPFV.CVB simple INS generalise-IPFV.CVB be/can-FUT.PTCP NEG

Note: *degeǰi* ‘the first or the choicest part of food or drink offered to the deities’

‘(We) cannot simply summarise the cause of crisis as being difficult to rule people.’

(lit.: ‘Sitting on top, (it) may be sharp-edged; eating the first part of food, (the food) may be poisonous.’)

In (5-20) the meaning of the figurative idiom *deger_e ni sayubal šoro, degeǰi yi ni idebel qoor* ‘it is not easy to rule people’ is transparent. The structure is grammatically variable and lexically substitutable, as indicated by the following example cited from a dictionary (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 1195):

(5-21) *deger_e* *ni* *sayu-n_a* *uu* *šoron* *deger_e,*
 on 3POSS sit-PRS INTR > TOP pointed.edge.of.metal on
degeǰi yi *ni* *ide-n_eüü* *qoron deger_e.*
 top ACC 3POSS eat-PRS INTR > TOP poison on

‘It is difficult to occupy a high position.’

(lit.: ‘Talking about sitting on top, (it is) on a pointed edge of metal; talking about eating the first part of food, (it is) on poison.’)

It denotes exactly the same figurative meaning of ‘it is difficult to occupy a high position’, where the interrogative *uu/üü* is used as a topicaliser. The conditional converb in *-bal* is changed into the finite form in *-n_a*; regarding the nouns *šoro* and *qoor*, we can see inflectional changes, i.e. the nouns *šoro* and *deger_e* are replaced by the corresponding forms *šoron* and *qoron* with unstable *-n* when they occur before the postposition *deger_e*.

Another figurative idiom, semantically the same but with a slightly different grammar and a word order variation is: *degeǰi idebel qoor iden_e, deger_e sayubal šoro⁸ deger_e sayun_a* (Sodobilig, 2006, p. 730). In this idiom, the particle *ni* is missing; the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *sayu-* ‘sit’ are repeated in the present finite form *-n_a/n_e* at the end of each clause.

The following figurative idioms are largely fixed in structure but are less transparent in their meaning, and require either contextual clues or one’s world knowledge such as cultural and historical background to understand. Note the following examples:

(5-22) *čoqom* *yayun* *ača* *bol-o-ǰsan* *i* *büü* *mede-ø,* *abu* *ni* *yay*
 actually what ABL be-CONN-PRF.PTCP ACC NEG know-IMP father 3POSS just
qotala *abay_a* *tai* *ni* *üǰügür ügei* *kele ama bol-ǰu,* *nigen nige*
 PN uncle COM 3POSS limitless/boundless quarrel-IPFV.CVB each.other
ben *bari-ǰu* *ide-mer* *küǰügüü* *gürdeyi-lge-ǰü*
 REF.POSS seize/catch-IPFV.CVB eat-DERn neck stretch-CAUS-IPFV.CVB

bayi-ba.

be (AUX)-PST

Note: *üǰügür ügei* ‘limitless/boundless’ < *üǰügür* ‘end’ + *ügei*=NEG; *kele ama bol-* ‘quarrel/dispute’ < *kele*

‘tongue’ + *ama* ‘mouth’ + *bol-* ‘become’; *nigen nige ben* ‘each other’ < *nigen* ‘one’ + *nige* ‘one’ + *ben*=REF.POSS

‘Don’t know exactly why. (Uyahan’s) dad was quarrelling endlessly with her Uncle Khotala.

⁸ *šoro* is spelt as *šor* in Sodobilig (2006, p. 730), which I believe is a misspelling.

They accused each other in a violent manner.’
 (lit.: ‘...(they) were stretching necks as if (they) were going to seize and eat each other.’)

- (5-23) <<kele-gsen ügen dii čini qudal bayi-bal
 say-PRF.PTCP word DAT.LOC 2POSS false/unreal be-COND.CVB
 kerki-n_e? ken kömön gereči bol-o-n_a?>> ge-ju
 what.to.do-FUT who/whoever proof/witness become-CONN-PRS/FUT say-IPFV.CVB > that
 nidü ereyilge-n bari-ju ide-mer jangna-n_a.
 eye stare/glare-CVB seize-IPFV.CVB eat-DERn scold/reproach-PRS
 ‘(Someone) is glaring and scolding aggressively (lit.: ‘scolding as if going to eat (people) by seizing’), saying “what if your words are false? Who will become a witness?”’

In the above examples (5-22) and (5-23) the figurative idiom *bari-ju ide-* ‘be aggressive; fierce; violent’ (lit.: ‘eat, seizing’) has a relatively fixed structure, for the verb *ide-* often appears with the participial suffix *-mer*. Its meaning is relatively opaque, as the context of accusation, condemnation, criticism or blame is required to understand the connotation of ‘be aggressive’.

- (5-24) *siraküü bi čoqom kedüi dabusu ide-gsen kömön ge-deg*
 PN 1SG on.earth how.much salt eat-PRF.PTCP person say-PRF.PTCP
i olan iyar iyan bör mede-n_e, nasu bay_a čisu singgen,
 ACC people INS REF.POSS all know-PRS age young blood thin
öčögedür ün öndege, önödür ün juljay_a siu!
 yesterday GEN egg today GEN the.young/cub PTCL
 ‘Everyone knows how (little) experience I, Sirahuu, have got. I am young and inexperienced; ignorant and unsophisticated.’
 (lit.: ‘Everyone knows how much salt Sirakhuu, I, have eaten as a person. (My) age is young and (my) blood is weak/thin. (I am) an egg of yesterday and a cub of today.’)

In (5-24) the figurative idiom *kedüi dabusu ide-gsen kömön* ‘an inexperienced person’ (lit.: ‘a person who eats how (little) salt’) may be interpreted literally; based on one’s world knowledge, the amount of salt one has eaten can be counted as one’s experience of the world.

- (5-25) *γayča niske ni noγoγ_a ide-deg ügei noyan aburi*
 single/alone PN 3POSS vegetables eat-PRF.PTCP NEG official disposition
tai tula ary_a busu longqo ban γarya-ju, baybur
 PROP because method NEG bottle REF.POSS take.out-IPFV.CVB a.bowl.with.cover
ayayan dayan qayas kiri tei qayurai buday_a
 bowl DAT.LOC.REF.POSS half degree/extent PROP dry.precooked.millet
qudqu-ju ide-gül-be.
 mix/stir-IPFV.CVB eat-CAUS-PST

Notes: *arg_a busu* ‘have no choice but; no way out’; *qagurai buday_a* ‘a staple food of Mongolians’.

‘Because Niskhe alone was very picky and assumed great airs, having no choice but to take out a bottle, (Batunasun) stirred the dry precooked millet to the size of half the bowl and fed Niskhe.’

In (5-25) the figurative idiom *noγoγ_a idedeg ugei noyan aburi tai* denotes the meaning of ‘be arrogant; assume great airs; put on airs; picky’ (lit.: ‘having the disposition of an official who does not eat vegetables’); the structure is fixed where *noγoγ_a* ‘vegetables’ and *noyan* ‘official’ are alliterated. The meaning of this idiom can be explained if we use our world knowledge, i.e. to assume a scenario in which an official might be picky in eating if he/she puts on airs.

(5-26) *qayučin neyigem* *dü* *örlöge ide-bel* *üdesi ügei, ömödö*
old society DAT.LOC morning eat-COND.CVB dusk NEG trouser
ki-bel *qantayağa*⁹ *ügei eyimü ayil* *toyalasi ügei*
make-COND.CVB shirt NEG such village/hamlet countless
olan bayi-γsan siu...
many be-PRF.PTCP PTCL

‘In the old days, there are countless poor villages like those [mentioned earlier].’

In (5-26) the figurative idiom *örlöge idebel üdesi ügei, ömödö kibel qantayağa ügei* ‘be poor’ (lit.: ‘if/after eating in the morning, there will be no (meal) for evening; if/after making trousers, there will be no shirts.’) has a semi-fixed structure in terms of lexical substitutability; the word *üdesi* ‘dusk’ can be changed into *oroı* ‘evening’ and *qantayağa* ‘shirt’ can be replaced by *čamča* ‘shirt; gown’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 337). Word order can also be reversed without changing the meaning of the idiom, so *ömödö kibel qantayağa ügei, örlöge idebel üdesi ügei* still means ‘be poor’. The meaning of this idiom is relatively transparent. To understand its meaning, one should rely on one’s world knowledge, considering that poor people can neither enjoy abundant meals nor own a rich wardrobe of clothes.

(5-27) *či bide* *qoyar čini* *čisu ban* *uγyu-γsan*
2SG 1PL.INCL two 2POSS > TOP blood REF.POSS drink-PRF.PTCP
aq_a degüü.
brothers

‘As for the two of us, (we are) blood brothers/close friends like brother.’

In (5-27) the meaning of the idiom *čisu ban uγyuγsan aq_a degüü* ‘blood brothers; close friends like brothers’ (lit.: ‘brothers who have drunk each other’s blood’) can be understood literally in the sense that the speaker and the addressee (hearer) drank each other’s blood to become blood brothers.¹⁰ The structure is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability, so *čisu ban uγyuγsan aq_a* would refer to ‘one of the blood brothers’.

(5-28) <<*bi abu du* *kele-n_e* *de!>>* << *kele-ϕ kele-ϕ! kele-ged*
1SG father DAT.LOC tell/say-FUT PTCL say-IMP say-IMP say-PRF.CVB
kele činegen *miq_a ol-ju* *ide-kü üü,*
tongue as.big.as/of.the.same.size.as meat get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP INTR.PTCL
abu čimayi jodo-n_a.>>
dad/father 2SG.ACC hit/beat-FUT
‘I will tell father. Tell (it)! Tell (it)! But there is no benefit for you in doing so. Father will hit you.’

In (5-28) *keleged kelečinegen miq_a olju ide kü üü* ‘there is no benefit for you in doing so’ (lit.: ‘After saying, will you be able to eat a small piece of meat which is as big as a tongue?’) is a figurative idiom whose meaning is relatively transparent and structure is fixed. Context plays a crucial role in the proper

⁹ Sometimes the word *qantayağa* ‘shirts’ is written as *qandayasu* ‘shirts’.

¹⁰ In the old days people who are biologically unrelated may attend a ritual ceremony to build a brotherhood (or sisterhood) connection out of common interests; the ceremony usually involves a process in which people drink a cup (or a bowl) of alcohol which contains drops of each other’s blood and take an oath of loyalty to each other.

interpretation of this idiom. ‘Eating meat’ is seen as something profitable here. Based on the context, the speaker’s sibling would not benefit in telling the truth to the father, because the father would hit him/her if he found out the truth. Notably, the whole utterance appears in alliteration with the preceding statement by means of repetition of *kele-* ‘say’ to build a cohesive textual structure.

In corpus examples analysed here, there are 54 figurative idioms in relation to *ide-* and *uuyu-* which are calque expressions from Chinese, most of which can be interpreted via conceptual metaphor in our conceptual system (see Section 5.3 for more examples of such figurative idioms and the cognitive mechanism by which they are formed). Notably the majority of these idioms appear in the political texts. Note the following examples:

(5-29) << *ayay_a* *ban* *bari-bal* *miq_a ide-ǰü*, *sabq_a*
 bowl REF.POSS hold/seize-COND.CVB meat eat-IPFV.CVB chopstick
ban *talbi-bal* *qariyal talbi-qu*>> *üǰgedel* *neyidem*
 REF.POSS put.down-COND.CVB swear-FUT.PTCP phenomenon widely
orosi-ǰu *bayi-n_a*.
 exist-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS

‘The phenomenon of ‘behaving as a gentleman while the dishes are being served; swearing like a bully when the dinner is over’ (i.e. enjoying the benefits that society brings while blaming the society for the ugly side that it has) widely exists.’

(lit.: ‘The phenomenon that “(one) eats meat when he/she holds one’s bowl and (one) starts swearing when he/she puts down one’s chopsticks” is widely existing’.)

The idiom *ayay_a ban baribal miq_a ideǰü, sabq_a ban talbibal qariyal talbi-* in (5-29) is a calque which originates from the Chinese idiom 端起碗来吃肉, 放下筷子骂娘 (*duānqǐ wǎn lái chīròu, fàngxià kuàizi màniáng*) ‘eat meat when one holds one’s bowl and swear at mother when one puts down chopsticks’. It refers to the phenomenon that some people in the early stages of the reform and opening policies in China (around the 1970s) enjoy the fruits of the reform, but in the meanwhile, they also criticise and blame the reform without reason. Nowadays, this expression is generally used for criticising some people’s negative and sceptical life attitude. This Chinese expression shows a fixed parallel structure of a typical Chinese idiom with equal number of syllables in each line. In the Mongolian equivalent expression, the author sticks to this syntactic feature of the original expression.

(5-30) *tere* *kü* << *mangǰan toγoγan* *ača* *qoγola ide-kü*>> *system door_a*
 that PTCL cauldron ABL food eat-FUT.PTCP system inside
bui bol-o-γsan *amuγulang* *sedkilge* *ba* *tegiin eče*
 occur-CONN-PRF.PTCP peaceful.and.content emotion/feeling CONJ that/it ABL
bui bol-o-γsan *ǰalqayū* *üǰel sanay_a, qoyiryū* *surtal*
 occur-CONN-PRF.PTCP lazy opinion/thought slow/lazy style.of.work/breeding
i *qobira-γul-qu* *keregtei*.
 ACC change-CAUS-FUT.PTCP must

Note: *tere kü* ‘that’ where the particle *kü* is used for emphasis; *bui bol-* ‘occur; appear’ <*bui* ‘have; exist’ + *bol-* ‘become’; *üǰel sanay_a* ‘opinion; thought’ <*üǰel* ‘opinion’ + *sanay_a* ‘thought’

‘(We) must change the peaceful and content feeling which occurs inside the system of “getting an equal share regardless of the work done” (lit.: ‘eating food from the cauldron’) and change

the lazy thoughts and slow style of work which have occurred because of that.’

(5-31)	<i>qoyaduyar</i>	<i>tu,</i>	<i>kerbe</i>	<i>jaq_a delgegür</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>system tegülder</i>			
	secondly	DAT.LOC	if	market	GEN	system	complete/perfect		
	<i>busu,</i>	<i>aju aquyilal</i>	<i>mön</i>	<i>ču</i>	<i>ulus un</i>	<i>jasay jaqiryän u</i>	<i>bayiyulumji</i>		
	NEG	enterprise	still	PTCL	state GEN	administration	GEN	institution	
	<i>yin</i>	<< <i>mangjan toyoyan</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>qoyola</i> >>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>dü</i>			
	GEN	cauldron	GEN	food	eat-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC			
	<i>tüsigle-kü</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>bol,</i>	<i>ulus un</i>	<i>jarim</i>	<i>aju aqui</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>törö</i>	
	rely.on-FUT.PTCP	PTCL	COND	state GEN	some	economy	GEN	nation	
	<i>yin</i>	<i>bodoly_a</i>	<i>bolon</i>	<i>aju aqui</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>törö</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>kösigürge</i>	<i>yi</i>
	GEN	thought	CONJ	economy	GEN	state	GEN	lever/leverage	ACC
	<i>aju aquyilal</i>	<i>keregle-kü</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>basa</i>	<i>idebkitei</i>	<i>qariyu üyiledül</i>			
	enterprise	use/apply-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC	also	positive	reaction/counteraction			
	<i>yar-ya-ju</i>	<i>čida-qu</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>yum.</i>					
	occur-CAUS-IPFV.CVB	can-FUT.PTCP	NEG	PTCL					

Note: *qoyaduyar tu* ‘secondly’ < *qoyaduyar* second’ + *-tu*=DAT.LOC; *törö yin bodoly_a* ‘national policy; state policy’ < *törö* ‘country, nation’ + *-yin*=GEN + *bodoly_a* ‘thought; tactic’

‘Secondly, if the market system is not perfect and enterprises still rely on getting an equal share from the administrative institution of the state, when implementing some of the national economic policies and (national economic) leverage effects on the enterprises, there may still be no positive reaction.’

In (5-30) the idiom *mangjan toyoyan ača qoyola ide-* ‘get an equal share regardless of the work done’ (lit.: ‘eat food from the cauldron’) is used; in (5-31) the idiom *mangjan toyoyan u qoyola ide-* with the same meaning is used. Both phraseological expressions are calques of the Chinese idiom 吃大锅饭 *chī dàguōfàn*¹¹ ‘get an equal share regardless of the work done’ (lit.: ‘eat from the (public) cauldron/big pot’). The Chinese structure is fixed, viz. *chī* ‘eat’ + *dàguō* ‘big pot’ + *fàn* ‘food’: the noun phrase *dàguō* ‘big pot’ serves as attribute and the idiom has a pejorative connotation. Notably, the corresponding calque idioms in Mongolian are semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability and grammatical flexibility. There are altogether twelve calque instances of this idiom in the corpus analysed: eight appear in the shape of *mangjan toyoyan ača qoyola ide-*; only four occur in the form of *mangjan toyoyan u qoyola ide-*. The alternation of the case markers in the idiom between the ablative *ača* and the genitive *u* does not affect the overall meaning of the idiom. Occasionally, the noun *qoyola* ‘meal; food’ can be replaced by *čab* ‘meal; meal for lamas’.

(5-32)	<i>eb qamtu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>buday_a</i>	<i>ge-deg</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>ide-deg</i>	<i>le</i>
	Communism	GEN	food	say-PRS.PTCP > TOP	2POSS	eat-PRS.PTCP	PTCL
	<i>qoyola</i>	<i>bayi-n_a!</i>					
	food	be-PRS					

‘In Communism, people can share other people’s fruits of labour.’

(lit.: ‘As far as the food of Communism is concerned, there is (plenty of) food to eat!’)

¹¹ The idea of 大锅饭 (*dàguōfàn*) ‘eat from the (public) cauldron/big pot’ can be traced back to 1958 with the appearance of 人民公社 (People’s Commune); it is also closely related to the 大跃进 (Great Leap Forward), i.e. the acceleration of industrialisation in the history of China. According to Zhang (2010, p. 124), the component *dàguōfàn* ‘food of big pot’ per se has its own metaphorical meaning, i.e. ‘egalitarianism [in the distribution of social wealth and material amenities]’.

(5-33)	<i>eb qamtu</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>buday_a</i>	<i>ge-deg</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>ide-deg</i>	<i>le</i>
	Communism	GEN	food	say-PRS.PTCP > TOP	2POSS	eat-PRS.PTCP	PTCL
	<i>qoyola, eren eren</i>		<i>belen buday_a</i>	<i>ide-n_e</i>	<i>ge-deg</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>eyimü</i>
	food all.the.time		prepared.food	eat-PRS	say-PTCP	2POSS	such
	<i>sayıqan čay</i>		<i>ire-gsen</i>	<i>ügei bol</i>	<i>qamar nada</i>		<i>qamiy_a</i>
	good time/period		come-PRF.PTCP NEG	COND.CVB	nose 1SG.DAT.LOC		where
	<i>ača</i>	<i>olda-qu</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>bile!</i>			
	ABL	be.found-FUT.PTCP	PTCL	PTCL			

Note: *eren eren* ‘all the time’ < *eren* ‘times/age/era’ + *eren* ‘times’; *qamar* is short for *qamar lodon* ‘big-nosed Lodon’, referring to the person who has a big nose.

‘We can share the fruits of other people’s labour.’

(lit.: ‘As far as the food of communism is concerned, there is (plenty of) food to eat.’)

[‘Talking about eating the prepared food all the time, I was born in a good time of communism so that I, the big-nosed (Lodon), can eat the ready-made meal all the time.’]

As is seen from (5-32) and (5-33), the idiom *eb qamtu yin buday_a gedeg čini idedeg le qoyola (bayin_a)* ‘we can share the fruits of other people’s labour’ has a figurative meaning and the structure is semi-fixed in terms of grammatical flexibility. The entire utterance *eb qamtu yin buday_a gedeg čini idedeg le qoyola [bayin_a]* can be seen as an extended structure of the idiom *eb qamtu yin buday_a ide-* ‘share people’s labour fruits’ (lit.: ‘eat the food of Communism’) < *eb qamtu* ‘communism’ + *yin*=GEN + *buday_a* ‘food’ + *ide-* ‘eat’, which is a calque based on the Chinese idiom 吃共产党的饭 (*chī gòngchǎndǎng de fàn*)¹² ‘live on the Communist Party’ (lit.: ‘eat the food of the Communist Party’) (<*chī* ‘eat’ + *gòngchǎndǎng* ‘the Communist Party’ + *de* ‘of’ + *fàn* ‘food’) where the attribute *gòngchǎndǎng* ‘the Communist Party’ is marked with the particle *de* ‘of’. Based on the Chinese source idiom, *eb qamtu yin buday_a* ‘the food of Communism’ may figuratively refer to ‘the collective wealth’ and *ide-* ‘eat’ metaphorically refers to ‘live on’ here. In the current example, the idiom *eb qamtu yin buday_a ide-* ‘share the fruits of people’s labour’ is topicalised using *gedeg čini* while the particle *le* and the noun *qoyola* ‘food’ are used to modify the verb *ide-* to emphasize the benefit of ‘sharing’, without affecting the overall idiomatic meaning. In the particular context of (5-33), the idiom *eb qamtu yin buday_a ide-* ‘rely on communism to live’ (lit.: ‘eat the food of communism’) has a positive connotation, since the speaker benefits from this egalitarian distributive system and he is happy to live in such a time when he can share ready-made meals all the time. A larger context is required in order to fully interpret the connotation of the idiom in (5-32), which might be pejorative if the speaker is criticizing the status quo.

¹² The structure of *chī X fàn* (吃 X 饭) ‘eat X food’, which denotes the meaning of ‘be lazy and share other people’s fruits of labour’, is widely studied in Chinese. For example, see Pu (2009) where the structure of *chī X fàn* is examined from the perspectives of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In Pu’s opinion, *chī X fàn* can be subcategorized into different semantic types where some keep their literal meanings and others display metaphorical or metonymic usages. My corpus examples of the corresponding Mongolian structure mainly exhibit metaphorical meanings.

5.2.2 Proverbs and slogans

As is stated earlier in Section 5.1, such a phraseological unit as an idiom belongs to the category of “semantic combinations”, functioning either below or at the simple sentence level, while entities like proverbs and slogans function at the pragmatic level, falling into the category of “pragmatic combinations” (Cowie, 1988, 1998, cited in Cowie, 2001, p. 1, see also Figure 5.1).

5.2.2.1 Proverbs

A proverb is a saying which states commonly believed truth or advice (Schmitt & Carter, 2004, p. 9). Granger & Paquot (2008, p. 44) argue that proverbs “express general ideas by means of non-literal meaning (metaphors, metonymies etc.)”. They divide phraseological units into three categories, namely referential, textual and communicative phrasemes. Proverbs belong to the category of communicative phrasemes, whereas idioms are categorised as referential phrasemes (Granger & Paquot, 2008, pp. 42-44). An expression is treated as a proverb here mainly based on its pragmatic function of giving advice.

The features of semantic transparency and structural variability can also be used to analyse proverbs and slogans. In the following examples of proverbs, the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* still keep their literal meanings, and the overall meanings of the expressions are metaphorical (figurative). The meanings of most proverbs can be deduced from our general knowledge of the world, just like in figurative idioms. Note the following examples:

(5-34) *ide-gsen* *ereü* *qubaqayira-ju,ide-gde-gsen* *dobo* *noyoyara-n_a*.
eat-PRF.PTCP chin wither-IPFV.CVB eat-PASS-PRF.PTCP knoll turn.green-FUT
‘The honest and righteous people will not always suffer. Those who oppress others will be punished eventually.’ Or ‘Everything has its time and place, so your time will come too.’
(lit.: ‘A chin which has eaten withers, a knoll that has been grazed bare turns green.’)

In (5-34) the expression *idegsen ereü qubahayiraju, idegdegsen dobo noyoyaran_a* ‘The honest and righteous people will not always suffer; those who oppress others will be punished eventually’ is a proverb with a relatively transparent meaning in which *idegsen ereü* ‘the chin which has eaten’¹³ alludes to the oppressors who are in power; *idegdegsen dobo* refers to ‘those who were bullied and suppressed’; the meaning of *qubahayira-* ‘wither’ contrasts with *noyoyara-* ‘turn green’, with the former implying despair and the latter alluding to hope. The whole expression has a political connotation. It is used to advise people not to oppress others, as the oppressor will be punished in the end; at the same time, it is used to encourage the weak and the oppressed to hold on and keep being

¹³ The expression *idegsen ereü* ‘the chin which has eaten’ refers to ‘the person who has eaten’, so it can be analysed as metonymy.

strong-willed, as the future is bright and promising for them. The structure of the proverb is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability: the verb *noyoyara-* ‘turn green’ can be replaced with *kökere-* ‘be blue; be green’; it is also possible to change *ide-gde-* ‘be eaten’ into *ide-gül-* ‘cause sb. to eat’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 212).

(5-35) <*amidu yabu-bal altan ayayan ača usu uuyu-n_a*> *ge-deg*
 alive go-COND.CVB golden bowl ABL water drink-FUT say-PRS.PTCP >TOP
ünen yum bayi-n_a...
 true PTCL be-PRS

‘It is true that if you are healthy and strive hard you will have a chance to achieve your goal and enjoy beautiful things in life.’

(lit.: ‘If (one) is being alive, (one) will drink water from the golden bowl.’)

In (5-35) *amidu yabubal altan ayayan ača usu uuyun_a* ‘if you are healthy and strive hard you will have a chance to achieve your goal and enjoy beautiful things in life’ is a proverb whose meaning is relatively transparent (like figurative idioms) because we can guess its metaphorical meaning based on our world knowledge. It is used to advise people to take good care of themselves and enjoy the best things in life, as beautiful things can be achieved in a lifetime. The structure of this proverb is semi-fixed in terms of grammatical variability and lexical substitutability: *altan ayayan ača* ‘from the golden bowl’ can be changed into *altan ayay_a bar* ‘by the golden bowl’; *usu* ‘water’ can be replaced with *rasiyan* ‘hot spring water’ or *umda* ‘drinks; beverages’ (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 62). There are three occurrences of this proverb in the corpus analysed.

(5-36) ...*tedener una-γsan siroi mini alta siu,*
 3PL fall.down/give.birth.to-PRF.PTCP earth/soil 1POSS gold PTCL
uuyu-γsan usu mini rasiyan siu ge-d la
 drink-PRF.PTCP water 1POSS hot.spring.water PTCL say-CVB PTCL
şaysi-γad jöyso-qu ügei bayi-day siu da.
 highly.praise-PRF.CVB stop-FUT.PTCP NEG be (AUX)-PRS.PTCP PTCL PTCL
 Note: *rasiyan* ‘hot spring water; holy water for religious uses’; *Tv-γad jöysoqu ügei bayiday* ‘cannot stop doing sth.; keep doing sth.’.

‘They keep highly praising, saying “home, sweet home”.’

(lit.: ‘... they cannot stop highly praising that the soil which we were born on is gold; the water which we have drunk is holy water’.)

In (5-36) the expression *unaysan siroi mini alta siu, uuyuyusan usu mini rasiyan siu* ‘home, sweet home’ is a proverb whose meaning is again relatively transparent (like figurative idioms). It is used to advise people not to forget their own hometown. Here the *unaysan siroi* ‘the soil on which one was born’ is seen as *alta* ‘gold’ which is precious; *uuyuyusan usu* ‘the water one drank’ is regarded as *rasiyan* ‘holy water’ which is sacred. The structure of the proverb is semi-fixed in terms of grammatical variability, allowing absence of some elements as seen in the example below:

(5-37) *mongyol un sečen ügen dii: una-γsan siroi alta*
 Mongol GEN proverb/aphorism DAT.LOC drop-PRF.PTCP earth gold
uuyuyusan usu rasiyan ge-deg.
 drink-PRF.PTCP water hot.spring.water say-PRS.PTCP

Note: rasiyan ‘holy water for religious uses’

‘According to the Mongolian proverb, the saying goes that ‘Home, sweet home (there’s no place like home).’

(lit.: ‘In the proverbs of Mongol, it is said that “the soil on which (you) were born is gold, while the water which (you) drank is hot spring/holy water.”’)

In (5-37) the proverb *unaysan siroi alta uuγuγsan usu rasiyan* ‘home, sweet home’ is still a full sentence, without the first person possessive particle *mini* and the predicative particle *siu*.

Some proverbs pertaining to EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian are borrowed from Chinese; the source of these expressions will be given in the analysis of each example.¹⁴ Normally their meanings are relatively transparent and the structures are fixed. Note the following examples:

- (5-38) *taulai bayital_a kebteri yin ebesü ben ide-kü ügei*
 rabbit even nest/burrow GEN grass REF.POSS eat-FUT.PTCP NEG
bayi-tal_a, čim_a mayu qarin nutuy qusiγu ban
 be-CVB > despite/even 2SG bad but homeland banner REF.POSS
tüid-čü, saquul mayimayičin du minü
 disturb/make.trouble-IPFV.CVB vendor/pedlar trader/businessman DAT.LOC 1SG.GEN
keiiken i bari-ju ög-kü degen!
 young.girl ACC seize/capture-IPFV.CVB give (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
 ‘A villain does not harm his neighbours/a hare does not foul its own burrow.’
 (lit.: ‘Even the hare doesn’t eat the grass around its burrow.’) [‘But you, the bad guy, disturbed your own homeland and banner. How dare you help capture my young daughter for the vendor!’]

In (5-38) the proverb *taulai bayital_a kebteri yin ebesü ben idekü ügei*¹⁵ ‘a villain does not harm his neighbours’ is a calque of 兔子不吃窝边草 (*tùzi bù chī wō biān cǎo*) (lit.: ‘the hare does not eat the grass around its burrow’) in Chinese, which is used to advise people to be friendly with their neighbours.¹⁶

- (5-39) *<jalaly_a yin ariki yi uuγu-qu ügei, jarliy un ariki yi*
 invitation GEN wine ACC drink-FUT.PTCP NEG order GEN wine ACC
uuγu-n_a> ge-bel basa bol-qu ügei bisi, qoyar jam
 drink FUT say-COND.CVB also may-FUT.PTCP NEG NEG two way/path
un nige yi le songγo-n_a bije?
 GEN one ACC only choose-FUT perhaps
 ‘It is also possible to decline one’s polite request first and then succumb to one’s order due to pressure.’ [‘Perhaps you will have to choose between either way.’]
 (lit.: ‘(You) can also say that “(you) will not drink the toast, but (you) are forced to drink the ordered wine”; perhaps (you) will choose only one of the two ways?’)

¹⁴ The sources are obtained via the Baidu Search Engine in the Chinese website.

¹⁵ In his dictionary, Bürintegüs (2001, p. 1091) lists other 6 different versions of the same proverb *taulai bayital_a kebteri yin ebesü ben idekü ügei*, where *ebesü ben* (< ‘grass’ + REF.POSS) is replaced with *ebesü yi* (< ‘grass’ + ACC) and the noun *kebteri* ‘burrow’ is changed into such synonyms as *kebtgesen oron* ‘the area to lie down’ and *kebtgesen γajar* ‘the place to lie down’ etc.

¹⁶ This proverb is first used in 胡雪岩全传·平步青云 (*Hú Xuěyán quán zhuàn_píng bù qīng yún*), translated as *Biography of Hu Xueyan, a meteoric rise*. The author of the book is 高阳 (*gāo yáng*), a famous Taiwanese writer. He lived from 1922 to 1992, and is mainly known for his historical legendary stories. The protagonist of this book is named *Hú Xuěyán*, a historical person who lived from 1823 to 1885. The book depicts the protagonist’s legendary life experience. Many common sayings originate in this book.

In (5-39) the proverb *jalaly_a yin ariki yi uuyuqu ügei, jarliy un ariki yi uuyun_a* ‘decline one’s polite request first and then succumb to one’s order due to pressure’ originated from 敬酒不吃吃罚酒¹⁷ (*jìngjiǔ bù chī chī fájiǔ*) (lit.: ‘not to drink the toast, but to drink wine of punishment’) in Chinese, which is used to advise people not to decline a good offer and then suffer from a bad consequence. It is widely used when someone fails to appreciate another person’s kindness, and as a result he/she is blamed for not knowing chalk from cheese so that he/she asks for trouble. In this example, *jarliy un ariki* ‘wine of order’ is used to denote the meaning of 罚酒 (*fájiǔ*) ‘the wine which is offered as a punishment’. Notably, the verb 吃 (*chī*) ‘eat’ is used to denote ‘drink’¹⁸ in the Chinese proverb, while the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’ is used in the Mongolian calque.

(5-40) <<*bol-qu* *ügei,* *arad* *un* *sečen ügen* *dü*
 be/can-FUT.PTCP NEG people GEN proverb/aphorism DAT.LOC
kele-gsen-čile-n < *sayin* *em* *i* *uuyu-qu* *du*
 say-PRF.PTCP-DERv-CVB good medicine ACC drink-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
yasiyunbol-baču *ebedčin* *dü* *tusatai, sayin* *sanal*
 bitter be-CONC.CVB disease/illness DAT.LOC helpful good opinion
i *sonos-qu* *du* *čikin* *dü* *sirügün*
 ACC listen-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC ear DAT.LOC hard/strong
bol-baču *dabsilta* *du* *asiytai*> *ge-deg* *yum.*
 be-CONC.CVB progress DAT.LOC beneficial say-PRS.PTCP PTCL
 ‘(No), (it) cannot be (so). As was said in the folk proverb, “Truth is a hard pill to swallow. Honest advice is hard to accept.”’ (Or ‘It takes bitter medicine to cure a disease properly and it takes blunt advice to put us on the right track.’)
 (lit.: ‘Although it is bitter to drink the helpful medicine, (it will be) helpful for a disease; although it is harsh to the ear to hear good advice, (it will be) beneficial for progress.’)

In (5-40) the proverb *sayin em i uuyuqu du yasiyun bolbaču ebedčin dü tusatai, sayin sanal i sonosqu du čikin dü sirügün bolbaču dabsilta du asiytai*¹⁹ ‘It takes bitter medicine to cure a disease properly and it takes blunt advice to put us on the right track.’ is a calque of the Chinese expression 良药苦口利于病, 忠言逆耳利于行 (*liángyào kǔkǒu lìyú bìng, zhōngyán nìěr lìyú xíng*) (lit.: ‘good medicine tastes bitter to the mouth but it is beneficial to illness; honest speaking is harsh to the ear but it is helpful for action’). It is used to advise people that one should be open-minded about others’ criticism, given that honest advice is hard to accept but it is good for personal progress. Here one’s honest (or

¹⁷ Its origin can be arguably traced back to the Peking Opera Art Film titled 红灯记 (*hóng dēng jì*), translated as *Red Light Story*, which was produced in 1970. The film was directed by 成荫 Yin Cheng.

¹⁸ In Classical Chinese, 吃 (*chī*) ‘eat’ is used to denote either ‘eat’ or ‘drink’. In Modern Chinese the verb 喝 (*hē*) ‘drink’ is preferred in the context of drinking wine.

¹⁹ See Būrintegüs (2001, p. 982) where he listed 5 other Mongolian versions for the same proverb, whose basic form is *sayin em aman du yasiyun* ‘good medicine is bitter to the mouth’.

blunt) advice is compared to good medicine which is bitter to one’s mouth but helpful for one’s health.²⁰

5.2.2.2 Slogans

According to Granger & Paquot (2008, p. 44), slogans belong to the category of communicative phrasemes. Slogans are short phrases which are characterised by their frequent usage either in advertising or in politics (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 44). In the current study, I do not distinguish between slogans and catchphrases. The structure of a slogan is fixed and the meaning is transparent. I found only one corpus example, and this is a calque from Chinese:

(5-41)...*nam un töb qoriy_a san yan ning kijayar oron du << öber*
 party GEN central.committee PN border place/area DAT.LOC self
iyen yar ködel-jü, ide-kü emüs-kü ben
 REF.POSS hand move-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP wear-FUT.PTCP REF.POSS
elbeg delbeg bolya-qu>> yeke üiledbürilel ün ködelgegen i
 plenty become-FUT.PTCP big production GEN movement ACC
örnigül-ü-gsen bayi-n_a.
 develop/spread-CONN-PRF.PTCP be (AUX)-PRS
 Note: *yeke üiledbürilel ün ködelgegen* ‘large-scale production campaign’ < *yeke* ‘big’ + *üiledbürilel* ‘production’
 + *ün*=GEN + *ködelgegen* ‘campaign; movement’
 ‘...the central committee of the [Communist] Party [of China] has developed a large-scale
 production campaign “to get enough food and clothes by working hard with your own
 hands” in the Shaanxi Gansu and Ningxia border areas [in China].’

In (5-41) the expression in quotation marks, *öber iyen yar ködeljü, idekü emüskü ben elbeg delbeg bolyaqu*, is a slogan which was used during the large-scale production campaign that occurred between 1943 and 1945 (War of Resistance against Japan) in China. The Chinese source expression is 自己动手, 丰衣足食 (*zìjǐ dòngshǒu, fēngyīzúshí*) ‘get enough food and clothes by working hard with our own hands’.

5.2.3 Routine formulae

According to Cowie (2001, p. 2), routine formulae also belong to the category of pragmatic combinations like proverbs and slogans; they are phraseological expressions which typically function as greetings, warnings and prohibitions etc., serving as different types of speech acts. Granger & Paquot (2008, p. 44) also regard routine formulae (or speech act formulae) as “relatively inflexible phrasemes” which are used to perform certain functions like greetings, compliments, invitations and

²⁰ The source text where this proverb first appeared is *Records of the Grand Historian*, viz. 史记·留侯世家 (*shǐ jì liú hóu shì jiā*) which was compiled by the famous historian 司马迁, Sima Qian (145 or 135 BC – 86 BC), in the Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD 220).

so forth; they belong to the category of communicative phrasemes. The features of semantic transparency and structural variability may also be used to analyse routine formulae. The following sentence can be seen as a routine formula, as it is a warning; the overall meaning is relatively transparent and the structure is fixed:

(5-42) *či unta-γad la bayi-∅, čiki yi čini quluyan_a*
 2SG sleep-PRF.CVB PTCL be (AUX)-IMP ear ACC 2POSS > TOP mouse
ide-n_e de. ayiluu ayiluu ayiluu.
 eat-FUT PTCL shame (INTJ.) shame (INTJ.) shame (INTJ.)

Note: *ayiluu* is used by adults when they address children to show their compassion towards them, meaning “what a shame”, used as an interjection or exclamation.

‘Don’t continue sleeping, otherwise you will be in danger. Shame, shame, shame.’

(lit.: ‘You keep sleeping, as for your ears, the mouse will eat (them).’)

In (5-42) the expression *či untaγad la bayi-*, *čiki yi čini quluyan_a iden_e de* ‘Don’t continue sleeping, otherwise you will be in danger.’ is a warning against being lazy; it warns against sleeping for a long time, as something bad might happen. The words *či* ‘you’ and *čiki* ‘ear’ form alliteration here, making the overall structure more cohesive. This example is culturally specific to Mongolian.

(5-43) *tegiin i yabu-qu du ni vang noyan tayay*
 that ACC go/leave-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC 3POSS king lord walking.stick
iyar iyan toloyai yi ni jiyajū:<< či türgen yabu-ju
 INS REF.POSS head ACC 3POSS point-IPFV.CVB 2SG quickly go-IPFV/CVB
qurdun ir_e-∅, kerbe ariki darasu uuyujū minü yabudal
 fast come-IMP if wine rice.wine drink-IPFV.CVB 1SG.GEN business
i sayatayabal miq_a yi čini ide-n_e>> ge-ju
 ACC delay-COND.CVB flesh ACC 2POSS eat-FUT say-IPFV.CVB > that
dodomda-žai.
 edify/educate-PST

‘When he was leaving, the lord, pointing to his head with his walking stick, edified ‘Come and go quickly. If you (dare) drink wine and delay my business, I will punish you.’ (lit.: ‘...I will eat your flesh!’)

In (5-43) *kerbe ariki darasu uuyujū minü yabudal i sayatayabal miq_a yi čini iden_e* ‘if you dare drink wine and delay my business, I will punish you’ is a routine formula, which functions as a warning or a threat.

5.2.4 Other phraseological eating and drinking expressions, including similes, exaggeration, riddles and two-part allegorical sayings

Apart from the above types of phraseological expressions (both semantic and pragmatic combinations), our corpus examples illustrate that there are other phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian. I regard these phraseological expressions as ‘stylistic combinations’ in the current study, because they are specifically used for rhetorical (stylistic) purposes. These expressions belong to figurative language just like all the above-mentioned types, i.e. semantic and pragmatic combinations.

There exist a small number of studies which are devoted to these kinds of phraseological expressions in the current literature. The features of semantic transparency and structural variability are also applicable to the phraseological eating and drinking expressions of this kind.

5.2.4.1 Similes in relation to ide- and uuγu-

A simile is a rhetorical device of comparison which describes something. Granger & Paquot (2008, p. 43) define similes as “sequences of words that function as stereotyped comparisons”. In their opinion, similes belong to referential phrasemes, which refer either to objects, phenomena or real-life facts (Granger & Paquot, 2008, p. 42).

Similes involving EAT and DRINK verbs have relatively transparent meanings based on the context and their structures are (semi-)fixed, as they are syntactically marked either by the postposition *sig* ‘like’ or *adali* ‘as; the same as’ in Mongolian. Human physiological and psychological states or physical appearance such as being hungry, thirsty, lovely or cruel can be compared to the similar features pertaining to animals in simile structures which include EAT and DRINK verbs. Note the following examples:

(5-44) <i>čolmon neliyed</i>	<i>ölös-ö-gsen</i>	<i>bololtai.</i>	<i>ölön bars</i>
PN quite	get.hungry/starve-CONN-PRF.PTCP	likely/possible	hungry tiger
<i>ögyögen</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>bayu-ju</i>	<i>bayi-γ_a</i>
bait/lure	DAT.LOC	fall/drop-IPFV.CVB	be (AUX)-IPFV.PTCP
<i>ama ama</i>	<i>bar ide-n_e.</i>		<i>sig</i>
big.mouthfuls	INS eat-PRS		as.if

‘Cholmon seems quite hungry. (He) is eating violently.’

In (5-44) the expression *ölön bars ögyögen dü bayuju bayiy_a sig ama ama bar iden_e* ‘eat with big mouthfuls as if a hungry tiger is surrendering to a bait’ is a simile, by means of which Cholmon’s act of eating is compared to that of a hungry tiger that is trapped by a bait due to its hunger. The meaning of ‘eat violently’ can be deduced based on the vivid description of the action of eating. The postposition *sig* ‘as if’ is used in the structure to form a simile. A pejorative meaning is intended by the speaker via this phraseological expression.

(5-45) <i>tere</i>	<i>ger</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>qoyimor</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>γar-ču</i>	<i>laylayi-n</i>
that > 3SG	house	GEN	northern.part	DAT.LOC	go-IPFV.CVB	slouch-CVB
<i>sayu-γad</i>	<i>nige</i>	<i>ayay_a</i>	<i>küiten čai</i>	<i>ki-ju</i>	<i>ab-u-γad,</i>	
sit-PRF.CVB	one	bowl	cold tea	add-IPFV.CVB	take-CONN-PRF.CVB	
<i>usurqa-γsan</i>	<i>üker</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>soro-ju</i>	<i>uuγu-γad</i>	<i>soγtoγu</i>	<i>nidü</i>
get.watery-PRF.PTCP	cattle	like	suck-IPFV.CVB	drink-PRF.CVB	drunk	eye
<i>ber</i>	<i>iyen</i>	<i>namayi</i>	<i>nige</i>	<i>qara-ju</i>	<i>ab-u-γad...</i>	
INS	REF.POSS	1SG.ACC	one	watch/look-IPFV.CVB	take (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB	

Note: *usurqaγsan üker* ‘a thirsty buffalo’ < *usurqa-* ‘get.watery’ + *-γsan=* -PRF.PTCP + *üker* ‘cattle’;
nige qara-ju ab- ‘take a glance at; have a look at sth.’ < *nige* ‘one’ + *qara-* ‘look’ + *ab-* ‘take’=AUX.
 ‘He went to the northern part of the yurt, sat in a slouching way, took one bowl of cold tea and drank (it) wildly, taking a look at me with his drunk eyes...’

In (5-45) the phraseological expression *usurqaysan üker sig soro-ju uuyu-* ‘drink, sucking like a buffalo which got very thirsty’ describes one’s wild action of drinking lots of water due to one’s thirst. A simile is formed by the postposition *sig* ‘as if’. Here the drunkard’s action of drinking is compared to that of a thirsty buffalo. A satire for the drunk man’s action is implied here.

(5-46) [‘Suddenly (I) was sitting on the riverside together with my younger brother, (so I) took out some of the cheeses from my bag and fed them to my brother.’]

<i>degüü</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>taulai</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>bobor bobor</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>degen</i>
younger.brother	3POSS	rabbit	like	bit.by.bit	eat-FUT.PTCP	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
<i>bayin bayin</i>	<i>egeči</i>		<i>yin</i>	<i>iyen</i>	<i>aman du</i>	<i>ki-ju</i>
now.and.then	elder.sister		GEN	REF.POSS	mouth DAT.LOC	put-IPFV.CVB
<i>öggö-n_e.</i>						
give (AUX)-PRS						

‘The younger brother was helping to put (the food) into his sister’s mouth now and then when (he) was eating slowly in a lovely way.’

In (5-46) the phraseological expression *taulai sig bobor bobor ide-* ‘eat like a rabbit bit by bit’ describes the cute slow action of one’s eating. The postposition *sig* ‘like’ is used to mark a simile here; the younger brother’s act of eating is compared to the slow but adorable action of a rabbit’s eating.

(5-47) <i>noyan</i>	<i>kömön ü</i>	<i>örösiyel</i>	<i>noqai</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>taryun</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>adali,</i>
lord/officer	person GEN	mercy	dog	GEN	fat/fatness	COM	same
<i>noqai kedüi</i>	<i>taryun ču</i>	<i>kömön tegün</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>ügei.</i>		
dog how.much	fat PTCL	human that	ACC	eat-FUT.PTCP	NEG		

‘The official’s mercy is useless.’

[‘No matter how merciful an official is, nothing good will be obtained by the masses. Even if (the official) says merciful words, (he/she) does a job which ends up being avenged.’]

In (5-47) the structure of the phraseological expression *noyan kömön ü örösiyel noqai yin taryun tai adali, noqai kedüi taryun ču kömön tegün i idekü ügei* ‘the official’s mercy is useless’ is fixed and the meaning is relatively transparent. The first part of the phraseological expression is formed by a simile: *noyan kömön ü örösiyel* ‘the official’s mercy’ is compared to *noqai yin taryun* ‘the fatness of a dog’; the comparison is marked with the postposition *adali* ‘like’. The second part of the phraseological expression *noqai kedüi taryun ču kömön tegün i idekü ügei* ‘no matter how fat a dog is, people will not eat it’ further clarifies the meaning of the former simile structure, viz. the official’s words are not trustworthy and their mercy is useless. The whole phraseological expression involves alliteration formed by *noyan* ‘official’ and *noqai* ‘dog’, which makes the whole structure coherent.

(5-48) <i>tere</i>	<i>soytoyu</i>	<i>ebesü</i>	<i>ide-gsen</i>	<i>metü</i>	<i>nayiyu-n</i>	<i>dayibilja-n</i>	<i>eke</i>
that	drunkard	grass	eat-PRF.PTCP	as.if	sway-CVB	sway-CVB	mother
<i>yi</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>daya-n</i>	<i>geldüri-gseger</i>	<i>nayur</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>usun</i>	<i>du</i>
ACC	REF.POSS	follow-CVB	stagger-CVB	lake	GEN	water	DAT.LOC
<i>kür-čü</i>	<i>kedüyiber</i>	<i>dotor_a</i>	<i>mayuqayira-ju,</i>	<i>toloyai ergi-ju</i>			
reach-IPFV.CVB	although	inside	worsen-IPFV.CVB	feel.dizzy-IPFV.CVB			
<i>bayi-γsan</i>	<i>ču</i>	<i>qujirliγ</i>	<i>böliyen</i>	<i>usu</i>	<i>ača</i>		
be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP	PTCL	full.of.soda	lukewarm	water	ABL		

gedesü meden uuyu-γai.

drink.to.one's.content-PST

‘That drunkard, losing his balance when walking, reached the lake water while following his mother, staggering and drank as much lukewarm water which is full of soda as he could despite feeling bad inside and getting dizzy.’

In (5-48) the expression *ebesü idegsen metü nayiyun dayibilja-* ‘sway as if having eaten grass’ is formed by a simile structure which is marked by the postposition *metü* ‘like; as if’. Here the drunkard’s staggering walk is compared to the swaying of grass (in the wind) to describe the state of losing one’s balance when walking. The meaning of the whole phraseological expression is transparent due to the use of *nayiyun dayibilja-* ‘sway’.

(5-49) *getel_e bi udayan jil tursi ene tamaqin u utuy_a tai*
 but 1SG long/slow year during this cigarette GEN smoke COM
masi dasulča-jai. čolmon ger tü ügei, ilangyuy_a yadaysi
 very get.used.to-PST PN house DAT.LOC NEG particularly outside
yabu-γad ediir uda-tal_a bi tamaqin u utuy_a yi
 go-PRF.CVB day delay-CVB 1SG cigarette GEN smoke ACC
ol-ju üniürtü-kü ügei bol qarin yamar nigen
 get (AUX)-IPFV.CVB smell-FUT.PTCP NEG if but/on.the.contrary certain
yayum_a duta-γda-ju, uuyu-qu čai yin dabusuni
 thing lack-PASS-IPFV.CVB drink-FUT.PTCP tea GEN salt 3POSS
sulada-γsan siy bodol oro-day.
 become.loose/be.weak-PRF.PTCP as.if thought enter-PRS.PTCP

Note: *yamar nigen* ‘a certain; some sort of’

‘But I have been much used to this smoke of cigarettes during the long years. When Cholmon is not at home, particularly going away for days, if I cannot smell the smoke of the cigarette, on the contrary (instead of being comfortable), (I) will feel that something is lacking and boring.’

In (5-49) the expression *uuyuqu čai yin dabusu ni suladaysan siy* ‘(sth. is dull) as if the tea which one drinks has got less salt in it’ is formed with the help of a simile which is marked by the postposition *siy* ‘like; as if’. It is a vivid expression where the concept/idea of ‘tea which lacks salt’ implies the meaning of ‘tasteless’, which consequently refers to ‘dull or boring’. This phraseological expression denotes a relatively transparent meaning which is culturally motivated, as the Mongolians are used to drinking *sü tai čai* ‘milk tea’ (lit.: ‘tea with milk’), a traditional diet where a proper amount of salt should be added in order to make it tasty.

5.2.4.2 Exaggeration in relation to ide- and uuyu-

Exaggeration is an overstated or understated expression, which is widely used to form phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian. The use of such a device makes a description more emphatic or vivid. The semantics of such phraseological expressions is transparent, considering that the overall meaning is deducible from individual components, with *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ keeping their literal meanings; their structures are largely fixed. Note the following examples:

(5-50) *tere mani üyer qali-tal_a ariki uuyu-ju emkü*
 that TOP flood overflow/spill.over-CVB alcohol drink-IPFV.CVB bite/morsel

<i>dügür-tel_e</i>	<i>miq_a ide-ǰü,</i>	<i>amur</i>	<i>sayiqan</i>	<i>dayan</i>
fill-CVB	meat eat-IPFV.CVB	safe/peaceful	well	DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
<i>ǰirya-ǰad</i>		<i>engke</i>	<i>tübsin</i>	<i>amidura-ba ge-n_e>>.</i>
be.blissfully.happy-PRF.CVB		peaceful/tranquil	calm/quiet	live-PST say-PST

‘It is said that, as for him, (he)...ate and drank to his heart’s content and he led a happy and peaceful life (lit.: ‘lived joyfully while being safe and calm’).’

In (5-50) the phraseological expression *üyer qalital_a ariki uuǰuǰu emkü dügürtel_e miq_a ide-* ‘eat and drink to one’s fill’ (lit.: ‘drink until the flood overflows and eat until one’s bite is full’) contains a fixed parallel structure and its meaning is transparent. It is exaggeration (overstatement) which is often used in story-telling.

(5-51) <i>ger ün eǰen ni yisün söbe ben delbere-tel_e</i>							
house GEN host 3POSS nine hole/aperture REF.POSS							explode/burst-CVB
<i>ide-ǰü uuǰu-ǰad ǰaqai sig unta-ǰsan u daray_a, ǰorki</i>							
eat-IPFV.CVB drink-PRF.CVB pig like sleep-PRF.PTCP GEN after PN							
<i>önöki bičiqan dvng iyen asaya-ǰu ǰuuqa(n) u qajǰayu</i>							
this little lamp REF.POSS light/ignite stove GEN side							
<i>du sedkil talbi-n nom üje-deg.</i>							
DAT.LOC pay.attention-CVB book see-PRS.PTCP							

‘After the host of the house, having eaten and drunk too much, falls asleep like a pig, Gorky lights this little lamp of his and reads books attentively by the side of the stove.’

In (5-51) the phraseological expression *yisün söbe ben delbere-tel_e ide-ǰü uuǰu-* (lit.: ‘eat and drink until one’s nine holes/apertures explode’) is exaggeration (overstatement) which is used to denote the meaning of ‘eat and drink too much’. As a rule of thumb, human bodies contain *yisün söbe* ‘nine holes/apertures’, so the meaning of the whole expression is understandable based on our general knowledge of the human body, viz. a person eats and drinks so much that he feels his body will explode. The structure of this phraseological expression is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability: the verb *delbere-* ‘explode’ can be replaced by the verb *böglere-* ‘obstruct’ and be used with *ide-* alone, viz. *yisün söbe ben böglere-tel_e ide-* ‘eat too much’, used to describe someone who is lazy and does nothing but eat and drink (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 1360). Notably, the phraseological expression *delberetel_e ide-* ‘eat until exploding’ can appear without *yisün söbe ben* ‘one’s nine apertures’, keeping the same meaning of ‘eat too much’. See the example below:

(5-52)... <i>ǰurban čay un qoyola yi ni delbere-tel_e ide-ged</i>							
three meal GEN food ACC 3POSS explode-CVB eat-PRF.CVB							
<i>ǰarǰu yin učir ǰüg ǰar-qu yi la küliye-n_e.</i>							
lawsuit/law.case GEN affair towards go.out-FUT.PTCP ACC PTCL wait.for-PRS							

‘...after eating too much of the three meals provided by him/her (lit.: ‘eat until [the stomach almost] exploded’), (someone) is simply waiting to go out for the lawsuit affair.’

In both (5-51) and (5-52) a pejorative meaning is intended when the word *delbere-* ‘explode’ is used.

In Mongolian, a range of body parts and organs such as *sarkinay* ‘ventriculus’, *ǰüjege* ‘rumen’ and *gedesü* ‘abdomen; stomach; intestine’, appearing in combination with verbs like *debtü-* ‘soak’ and *sun-* ‘stretch’ in their converbal suffixal form (*-tala/-tele*), are used to form exaggeration and denote the

meaning of ‘someone has an extreme ingestion (eating and drinking), especially drinking’. In (5-53) to (5-55) the following phraseological pattern can be formulated: N (REF.POSS) + Tv-*tal_a ide-uuγu-*, denoting ‘eat or drink too much; eat or drink to one’s heart’s content’; the noun normally refers to body parts and the verb is a predicate which describes these body parts. The meanings of these phraseological expressions are transparent and the structures are semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability. Note the following corpus examples:

(5-53) *jingginem_e sayiqan usu dayari-ldu-γsan bolqor qaltar*
 piercing.cold good water meet/encounter-RECP-PRF.PTCP because variegated
noqai tai ban qoya-γula sarkinaγ iyan
 dog COM REF.POSS two-COLL.NUM ventriculus.of.ruminants REF.POSS
debtü-tel_e uuγu-ǰai.
 be.soaked-CVB drink-PST

‘Because of encountering the piercing cold good water, both the variegated dog and I have drunk a lot (of water).’ (lit.: ‘have drunk until our ventriculi have been soaked’)

(5-54) *kečinen qonoy iyar qoros-o-n bokinido-ǰu*
 how.many day.and.night INS hate/be.indignant-CONN-CVB be.annoyed-IPFV.CVB
yabu-γsan bayaturküü yin dotor_a ongyoyi-ǰu jölgen
 go (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PN GEN in/mind be.wide.open-IPFV.CVB soft.lawn
deger_e yayum_a keüm_e ben talbi-ǰu, γool un usun
 on articles.for.daily.use REF.POSS put-IPFV.CVB river GEN water
du oči-ǰu güjege ben debtü-tel_e uuγu-ǰu
 DAT.LOC go-IPFV.CVB rumen/ingluvies REF.POSS be.soaked-CVB drink-IPFV.CVB
niγur γar iyan uqiya-ǰu γar-u-l_a.
 face hand REF.POSS wash-IPFV.CVB exit (AUX)-CONN-PST

Note: *bokinido* can be written as *bukinido* and *jölge(n)* is interchangeable with *jülge(n)*.

‘Baatuurhuu, who has been indignant and worried for many days and nights, his mind becoming wide open, putting his articles for daily use on the soft lawn, went to the river water, drank a lot of (the water) (lit.: ‘drank till his rumen was soaked’), and washed his face and hands.’

(5-55) *gedesü ben sun-tal_a ayiray uuγu-ǰu...*
 stomach REF.POSS stretch/extend-CVB sour.milk/koumiss drink-IPFV.CVB
 ‘Drinking the koumiss to his heart’s content (lit.: ‘drinking until his abdomen stretches’)...’

In certain contexts when the verb *ide-* ‘eat’ is modified by converbal forms of verbs such as *ǰajil-* ‘chew’ and *ala-* ‘kill’, it can form exaggeration (overstatement) and denote the extreme degree of a person’s anger or aggressiveness. The meanings of such phraseological expressions are transparent, depending on the context. Note the following examples:

(5-56) *ǰalsarai, ǰalsarai! ǰajil-u-γad ide-bečü qorosol talbiγura-qu*
 PN PN chew-CONN-PRF.CVB eat-CONC.CVB hate appease-FUT.PTCP
ügei, erke ügei yum čini arγ_a bayi-n_a uu?
 NEG power NEG PTCL 2POSS method be-PRS/FUT INTR.PTCL

‘Zhalsarai, Zhalsarai! (He is such an evil person that) no punishment for him can do enough justice. However, since (we) don’t have power, what can we do?’
 (lit.: ‘Even if eating (Zhalsarai) (by) chewing, (we) still cannot appease our hate (towards him). But do we have any method, given no power (at hand)?’)

In (5-56) the phraseological expression *jažiluyad idebečü qorosol talbiyuraqu ügei* ‘one cannot punish him enough’ is exaggeration which is used to show the speaker’s extreme dissatisfaction and anger towards the person in question. In this example, the person named Zhalsarai is disgusting and outrageous to the extent that the speaker’s anger cannot be appeased; the meaning of ‘anger’ is implied by the expression *qorosol talbiyuraqu ügei* ‘the hate will not be appeased’ in the context. Notably, the verb *jažil-* ‘chew’ alliterates with *jałsarai* ‘Zhalsarai’ in the preceding utterance to make the overall structure coherent and rhythmic.

(5-57) [‘What a pitiable girl! (She) will spend the rest of her life under that foreign businessman’s control. As for Hkanda, has (he) become so muddle-headed while getting old?’]

<i>bi</i>	<i>bol-o-γsan</i>	<i>bol</i>	<i>ala-ju</i>	<i>ide-kü</i>	<i>eče</i>	<i>bisi</i>	<i>araljiyačın</i>
1SG	be-CONN-PRF.PTCP	if	kill-IPFV.CVB	eat-FUT.PTCP	ABL	NEG	tradesman
<i>mayimayičın</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>ög-kü</i>		<i>ügei!>></i>			
businessman	DAT.LOC	give/marry-FUT.PTCP		NEG			

‘If (it) were me, I would never let her marry that businessman.’

In (5-57) the phraseological expression *alaju idekü eče bisi araljiyačın mayimayičın du ögkü ügei* (lit.: ‘would rather kill and eat than give to a businessman’) is an exaggerated statement which is used to show the speaker’s extreme anger towards a certain thing or person. An alliteration is formed by *ala-* ‘kill’ and *araljiyačın* ‘tradesman’ to make the whole structure compact and coherent. Its meaning is semi-transparent and the full meaning can only be understood from the context. While the latter component *araljiyačın mayimayičın du ögkü ügei* ‘will not give (her) to the businessman’ can be understood without the context, the former component *alaju ide-* ‘eat, killing’ cannot be interpreted literally. Based on the context, the old man Khanda agreed to let his daughter marry a foreign businessman, but in the speaker’s opinion, Khanda made a wrong decision about this marriage and the daughter might suffer. The speaker would never have agreed with the marriage if he were the father. The structure of this phraseological expression is partially fixed: *Tv-eče bisi... Tv-kü ügei* means ‘would rather do something than do something’.

5.2.4.3 Riddles in relation to *ide-* and *uuγu-*

Apart from similes and exaggeration, several instances of riddles containing the verb *ide-* ‘eat’ are encountered in the corpus, which I count as phraseological expressions. Some utterances can be understood in two ways: (a) literal and (b) metaphorical. A riddle is a puzzle which should be solved and an answer which gives a solution. The meaning of the whole expression is metaphorical. Their structures are fixed. Note the following examples:

(5-58) *šölö yi ni uuγu-γad miq_a yi ni ide-deg ügei (čai)*
 soup ACC 3POSS drink-PRF.CVB meat ACC 3POSS eat-PRS.PTCP NEG (tea)
 ‘One drinks its soup but does not eat its meat.’ [The answer is ‘tea’.]

(5-59) *yal qoyar nidü tei yaraqan dörben köl tei ebesü bordoγ_a*
 fire two eye PROP ring/hoop four leg/foot PROP grass forage/fodder
ide-kü ügei edürjin dabki-γad yadara-qu
 eat-FUT.PTCP NEG all.day.long gallop-PRF.CVB get.tired/exhaust-FUT.PTCP
ügei (masin terge)
 NEG (car)

‘(Sth.) has two fiery eyes and four ring-like feet; (it) does not eat grass and fodder; (it) does not get exhausted after galloping all day long.’ [The answer is ‘car’.]

In (5-58) and (5-59) two riddles are illustrated. In both examples, individual components from which the puzzles are built refer to the concrete material objects *çai* ‘tea’ and *masin terge* ‘car’ respectively. The contrast of the content of the puzzles and the answers to them create a kind of figurative meaning. In (5-58) the water in a cup of tea is compared to *şölö* ‘soup’, while tea leaves are compared to *miq_a* ‘meat’. In (5-59) *yal qoyar nidü* ‘two fiery eyes’ refers to the headlights of cars while *yaraqan dörben köl* ‘four ring-like feet’ refers to the car wheels, and a poetic parallel structure is formed by means of alliteration and rhyming: the words *yal* ‘fire’ and *yaraqan* ‘ring-like’ alliterate; the words *ebesü* ‘grass’ and *edürjin* ‘all day long’ also alliterate; both *tei* and *ügei* are repeated twice to rhyme.

5.2.4.4 Two-part allegorical sayings relating to *ide-* and *uuyu-*

Our corpus examples also demonstrate the existence of a special kind of phraseological expression using the verb *ide-* ‘eat’, which is known as a two-part allegorical saying; it is borrowed from Chinese *xiēhòuyǔ* (歇后语). The first part of such sayings which are always explicitly stated is descriptive, while the second part, which is sometimes omitted, carries the message. Such phraseological expressions tend to have opaque meanings and (semi-)fixed structures in terms of grammatical variability and lexical substitutability. Note the following examples:

(5-60) *lay melekei qun yalayu yin miq_a ide-kü yi küse-müi!*
 soft.shelled.turtle swan GEN meat eat-FUT.PTCP ACC wish/hope-PRS
 ‘That is wishful thinking!’ Or ‘That would be like begging for the moon!’
 (lit.: ‘A soft-shelled turtle/toad wishes to eat swan meat!’)

In (5-60) the phraseological expression *lay melekei qun yalayu yin miq_a idekü yi küsemüi* originates from the Chinese two-part allegorical saying (*xiēhòuyǔ*) *lànháma xiǎng chī tiānéròu* (癞蛤蟆想吃天鹅肉) (<*lànháma* ‘toad’ + *xiǎng* ‘want to’ + *chī* ‘eat’ + *tiānéròu* ‘swan meat’) where the second part is omitted.²¹ This expression is widely used when an ugly man hopes to marry a pretty girl. It is used to advise that someone should be practical and stop day-dreaming. The component *tiānéròu* ‘swan meat’ has an extended meaning of ‘something desirable’.

²¹ The second part of this two-part allegorical saying can be expressed using different expressions such as (1) 异想天开 *yìxiǎngtiānkāi*, (2) 痴心妄想 *chīxīnwàngxiǎng*, (3) 想得倒美 *xiǎngdedàoměi* and (4) 不知天高地厚 *bùzhī tiāngāodìhòu*, all of which denote the meaning of ‘impossible; wishful thinking’.

(5-61) *demei balai bar qun ʧalayun u miq_a ide-kü yi bodo-mui*
 absurdly/in.vain INS swan GEN meat eat-FUT.PTCP ACC think-PRS
uu!>
 INTR.PTCL

‘Do not daydream’ Or ‘Doesn’t (one) crave for what one is not worthy of?’
 (lit.: ‘Doesn’t someone uselessly think of eating the meat of a swan?’)

In (5-61) the phraseological expression *qun ʧalayun u miq_a idekü yi modomui* is an abbreviated version of the two-part allegorical saying *lay melekei qun ʧalayu yin miq_a idekü yi küsemüi* with the same meaning as (5-60), where the subject noun *lay melekei* ‘toad’ is missing, the verb *küse-* ‘wish’ is replaced by *bodo-* ‘think’ and *qun ʧalayu yin* ‘of the swan’ is changed into *qun ʧalayun u* ‘of the swan’ (different grammatical forms caused by unstable *-n* of the compound noun *qun ʧalayu/n*).²²

(5-62) <<*dangjıyad a, yaba kömön bangši ide-kü dü*
 head.of.a.family PTCL mute person dumpling eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
dotor_a ban toy_a tai ge-deg iyer, küčün ü kömön
 inside REF.POSS number PROP say-PRS.PTCP INS labourour
kürelböike bi ču köndei saba bisi siü, bičig suvampan
 PN 1SG even empty container NEG PTCL book abacus
ügei ču bayi-day učir i čegejile-gseger, bide önödiür
 NEG even be-PRS.PTCP reason ACC learn.by.rote-CVB 1PL.INCL today
toyačay_a ki-jü tuyilburitai bodo-čiqay_a. ...>> ge-be.
 business.accounting do-IPFV.CVB thoroughly do.accounts-PRF.ASP-VOL say-PST

‘(Hkürelböikh) said that ‘Hey the boss, don’t belittle people, for people are not stupid; even the weakest know what they are doing (lit.: ‘As the saying goes “when mute people eat dumplings, they count the numbers in their mind”’). [Even I, the labour man Hurelbuihe, am not a useless person (lit.: ‘an empty container’). I still remember all the things even if there is no writing or abacus. Let’s sort things out today. (lit.: ‘Let’s count and calculate everything today and do accounts thoroughly.’)]

In (5-62) the two-part allegorical saying *yaba kömön bangši idekü dü dotor_a ban toy_a tai* is a calque of the Chinese phraseological expression 哑巴吃饺子, 心中有数 (*yǎbā chī jiǎozi, xīnzhōng yǒushù*), where the first part 哑巴吃饺子 (*yǎbā chī jiǎozi*) ‘a mute eats dumplings’ is descriptive and the second part 心中有数 (*xīnzhōng yǒushù*) ‘know well in one’s mind’ carries the message. This phraseological expression is used to suggest that in one’s mind a person has a clear idea of what he/she is doing, so even the weakest people should be respected.

(5-63) *yaba kömön bayital_a bangši ide-kü degen*
 mute person despite/even dumpling eat-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
dotor_a ban toy_a tai yum čini, qaraču irgen i
 inside REF.POSS number PROP PTCL 2POSS commoner people ACC
neng yaγun ügüle-kü aji.
 especially/more what say-FUT.PTCP PTCL

‘Do not despise people, as everyone knows what they are doing. The common people will be even more aware of what is happening.’

(lit.: ‘Since even a mute person inside his/her mind counts the number of dumplings when

²² According to Bürintegüs (2001, p. 977), the verb *küse-* ‘wish’ can also be replaced by *durala-* ‘want; desire’; and *qun ʧalayun u miq_a* ‘swan meat’ is interchangeable with *luu yin miq_a* ‘dragon meat’.

eating them, what can we say particularly about the common people?’)

In (5-63) the two-part allegorical saying *yaba kōmōn bayital_a bangši idekü degen dotor_a ban toy_a tai* ‘do not despise people; everyone knows what they are doing’ has a slightly different structure than that of *yaba kōmōn bangši idekü dü dotor_a ban toy_a tai* in (5-62): the conjunction *bayital_a* is added and the dative *dü* is changed into *degen* without changing the meaning of the allegorical saying. Sometimes the noun *bangši* ‘dumpling’ can be replaced by *boobo* ‘cake; pastry’ in this phraseological expression (Bürintegüs, 2001, p. 1334).

5.2.5 Summary

Table 5.1 summarises phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian in terms of their semantic transparency and structural variability:

Table 5.1 The continuum within phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian

Scale of Transparency & Variability Word combinations	Transparent & fixed	(Semi-)transparent & (semi-)fixed	Opaque & (semi-)fixed
Semantic combinations		(a) Figurative idioms	(b) Pure idioms
Pragmatic combinations	(c) Slogans	(d) Proverbs (e) Routine formulae	
Stylistic combinations		(f) Similes (g) Exaggeration	(h) Riddles (i) Two-part allegorical sayings

Notes: (a) Figurative idioms: cognitively/culturally motivatable; they allow both word order variation and lexical substitutability of the constituents; calques of Chinese are available; (b) pure idioms: they allow lexical substitutability of internal components; there are a small number of corpus examples; the examples are culturally-specific; (c) slogans: they occur in political texts, being calques of Chinese, with a limited number of examples; (d) proverbs: they are used to give advice; calques of Chinese are available; (e) routine formulae: warnings; there is a limited number of corpus examples; (f) similes: syntactically marked either with the postposition *sig* ‘like’ or *adali* ‘as’; culturally motivatable; corpus examples are culturally-specific; (g) exaggeration: either overstatement or understatement, involving natural phenomena or body parts; typically used in story-telling or in poetic texts; corpus examples are culturally specific; (h) riddles: a combination of puzzles and answers; corpus examples are culturally-specific; (i) two-part allegorical sayings: calques of Chinese *xīē hòuyǔ*.

5.3 The Cognitive Mechanism of Metaphorical (Figurative) Extensions of the Verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’

In a number of languages like Hausa and Chinese, it is argued that the verbs EAT and DRINK represent complex lexical (semantic) categories with radial structuring, whose central prototypical meaning is linked to its extensions by means of metaphorical or image schematic projections. Notably, the various extensions of meaning are linked by chaining²³ so that each meaning is either directly or distantly related to the prototypical meaning: a certain extended meaning associated with these verbs can itself be extended and therefore its meaning is only distantly related to the prototypical meaning (cf. Williams, 1991, p. 321, p. 336; Zhang, 2010, pp. 123-125; Qiu, 2014, pp. 31-42; Wang, 2007, pp. 1-6).

In Mongolian the basic prototypical meaning of the verb *ide-* ‘eat’ is represented as ‘put food into the mouth and chew and swallow it’ and the central (prototypical) meaning of the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’ is ‘take liquids into the mouth and swallow’. As was stated earlier (see Section 4.1.5), the semantics of *ide-* is more complex than that of *uuyu-*: the former has several extensions of meaning such as ‘take/accept (bribes)’, ‘exploit; oppress’ and ‘suffer; undergo’, while the latter usually recognises two extensions only: (a) ‘take (medicine)’ and (b) ‘inhale, smoke’. In Section 5.3, I will explore metaphorical extensions of the two verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* from a cognitive perspective.

Cognitive linguistics theory explores how human cognition shapes language (Agbo, 2011, p. 8). Based on theoretical assumptions of cognitive linguistics, experiential reality, especially a human perspective, plays a crucial role in the explanation of linguistic phenomena (Newman, 1997, p. 214; Lakoff, 1987, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

There exist various approaches to the understanding of metaphor, i.e.: (1) the Aristotelian approach, which defines metaphor from the perspective of poetics and rhetoric as “transference, naming one thing in terms of another”; (2) the traditional linguistic approach, by which metaphor is generally understood as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them”;²⁴ (3) the pragmatic approach;²⁵ (4) the interaction approach, which maintains that the meaning of a metaphor is produced

²³ According to Taylor (1989, p. 108, cited in Wang, 2007), the different meanings of a polysemantic word are often connected in a Meaning Chain. Meaning A and meaning B are linked by certain common properties, and meaning B serves as a basis of extension for meaning C, whose subsequent chaining can be generalised as $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow D \dots$

²⁴ See Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 1986.

²⁵ According to Mac Cormac (1985), metaphor can be seen as a special speech act, considering that metaphors not only stimulate emotions but also perform speech acts such as producing wonder and puzzlement. See also Goatly (1997) and Searle (1993) who use Relevance Theory and a set of other pragmatic principles respectively to explain the pragmatic processes involved in understanding metaphor. According to scholars who adopt Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson

through an interaction between two elements of the metaphor, i.e. the tenor and the vehicle, with the former referring to “the underlying idea which the metaphor expresses” and the latter meaning “the basic analogy that performs the function of carrying or embodying the tenor” (Richards, 1936, cited in Zeng, 2013, p. 9);^{26, 27} and (5) the cognitive approach, which emphasizes conceptual (or cognitive) metaphor “as a central tool of cognitive apparatus” (see Zeng, 2013, pp. 5-14). The body of work on metaphor in cognitive linguistics is much too vast to be summarisable in the little space available in the current chapter and readers are directed to Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Langacker, 1987; 2008 for a fuller account of metaphor.

Scholars maintain that cognitive domains²⁸ (or human conceptual systems in a different terminology)²⁹ are largely metaphorically structured (Langacker, 1997, p. 241, cited in Agbo, 2011, p. 8). From the cognitive perspective, metaphor is seen as a relationship (conceptual mapping) between two concepts, one of which is related to the source domain and the other is related to the target domain (Newman, 1997, p. 213). According to the cognitive concept of metaphor, “Metaphor is the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially ‘mapped’, i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one. The domain that is mapped is called the *source* or *donor domain*, and the domain onto which the source is mapped is called the *target* or *recipient domain*. Both domains have to belong to different superordinate domains” (Barcelona, 2012, p. 3). In line with the above-mentioned scholars’ opinions, Zeng (2013, p. 11) contends that a conceptual (or cognitive) domain is a sort of human experience which is coherently organised; the source domain is a basic human experience on which we develop metaphorical extensions of meaning (e.g., journey in “love is a journey”) and the target domain is a more abstract human experience which is our target to understand (e.g., love in “love is a journey”). Conceptual mapping (also known as “metaphorical projection”, Lakoff, 1987, p. 268) is understood as a corresponding relationship which is used to link constituent elements between these two domains in a systematic way.

(1986), cited in de Mendoza Ibáñez (1997, p. 172)), metaphor is seen as “an economical way of producing a large amount of contextual effects by implication.”

²⁶ The similarity between the tenor and the vehicle is known as “ground” (Zeng, 2013, p. 9). See also Black (1993) who further develops Richards’ (1936) interaction view of metaphor by elaborating both the process and result of the interaction between the two components of metaphor.

²⁷ Based on such an approach, metaphor is seen to be a pervasive phenomenon.

²⁸ The cognitive domain is characterised as an encyclopedic domain which includes “all the entrenched knowledge that a speaker has about an area of experience” (Langacker, 1987, pp. 154-158; Taylor, 1995, pp. 83-87, cited in Barcelona, 2012, p. 8). The current understanding of a conceptual (cognitive) domain is consistent (compatible) with the definition of a frame, i.e. “a coherent region of human knowledge” developed by Croft & Cruse (2004, p. 14).

²⁹ This terminology is suggested by Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

The human body, the body parts and the associated processes are understood as conceptually basic experiences and function as source domains (images) for various metaphors, because the human body plays a unique role in everyday life. Eating and drinking are basic acts which involve our bodies; thus the relevant concepts of these acts serve as sources of metaphorical extension in many languages (Newman, 1997, p. 213).³⁰

Moreover, our bodily experiences of eating and drinking actions have internal structure involving different processes and some processes (components/facets) of eating and drinking acts motivate different metaphorical extensions of EAT and DRINK verbs (Lakoff, 1987; Newman 1997, 2009). According to Newman & Abera (2009, p. 255), the basic bodily experience of eating involves the following components: (1) intake of food into the mouth; (2) mastication of the food which involves mainly teeth, tongue and roof of the mouth; (3) swallowing of the masticated food; and (4) sensory experiences on the part of the consumer. In comparison, the event of drinking involves the following components: (1) intake of liquid into the mouth; (2) swallowing of the liquid and (3) (usually positive) sensory experiences on the part of the consumer. Apart from these facets of actual acts of eating and drinking, it is important to recognise the crucial function of both eating and drinking, i.e. to supply nourishment for the body and the accompanying sensory effect of (normally) enjoyable gustation, i.e. pleasant impression of taste for both eating and drinking; the experiences of hunger and thirst which precede the acts of eating and drinking should also be acknowledged in understanding typical kinds of eating and drinking acts (Newman, 1997, p. 215).³¹

My study follows the theoretical assumptions of metaphor proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987). Based on corpus examples of a limited size in Mongolian, I explore the concepts of eating and drinking functioning as source domains, which provide the basis for metaphorical extensions of the two verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ (typically used together with non-edible or non-drinkable entities, as are cross-linguistically observed). These extensions can be conceptualised as different target domains such as (a) acquiring material objects (e.g. taking bribes), (b) the breathing domain (e.g. smoking cigarettes), (c) the emotional domain (e.g. experiencing unpleasantness), and (d) the psychological domain (e.g. bullying someone) in Mongolian. Since different components (facets) of eating and drinking acts play a role in motivating metaphorical extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-*, in

³⁰ The concepts of “eating” and “drinking” as source domains for metaphorical extension have been examined in many languages, such as English, Chinese, Korean, Hausa and Igbo. Typically, the conceptual domain of eating and drinking serves as the source domain, and the target domains vary (Newman, 1997; Zeng, 2013; Song, 2009; Jagger & Buba, 2009; Agbo, 2011).

³¹ Since human beings prefer to eat food with a pleasant taste, “there is an experiential bias towards enjoyable gustation” (Newman, 1997, p. 215).

Section 5.3 I will discuss different metaphorical mappings which are caused by each of these components.

Following Newman (1997; 2009), I divide metaphorical extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-* into the following three categories: (1) Agent-oriented extensions which highlight the role of the consumer in the source domain; (2) Patient-oriented extensions which describe types of “destruction” (of the patient), stressing the effects on the consumed object (food or drink) in the source domain; and (3) extensions involving both Agent and Patient orientation, which describe both the sensation of the agent and destruction of the patient. These categories will be explicated below.

5.3.1 Agent-oriented extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-*

Some metaphorical extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-* are agent-oriented, as the properties of the agent (i.e. consumer) are vital in the process of metaphorical mappings (Newman, 1997, p. 216).³² The source domain of this type of metaphor mainly involves two components of eating and drinking acts, i.e. (1) intake of food and drink into the mouth whereby a transition of food and drink from outside the body to inside the body is finished; and (2) swallowing which moves the food and drink from being in the mouth to being in the intestines and then to the stomach. Both components highlight the agent’s role in eating and drinking acts, serving as the basis for conceptualising different kinds of events. The agent also plays a role in such aspects of eating and drinking as mastication, digestion, nourishment and enjoyable gustation which accompany both acts.

5.3.1.1 The acquisition of material objects

The source domain of eating relating to the verb *ide-* ‘eat’ can be metaphorically mapped onto the target domain of the acquisition of material objects like bribes, salaries and prizes. Note the following examples:

(5-64)...*eb qamtu nam un gesigüd bey_e ber iyen türügüle-n*
 Communist.party GEN members body INS REF.POSS be.first/be.ahead-CVB
qauli čayaža yi čingγ_a jirumla-qu keregtei, kegele qaquuli
 law/statute ACC tightl/strong obey-FUT.PTCP must bribes
ide-jü qauli čayaža yi jöriče-jü bol-qu ügei.
 eat-IPFV.CVB law ACC break/violate-IPFV.CVB may-UT.PTCP NEG
 ‘...the Communist party members themselves should firmly obey the law first. (They) cannot take bribes³³ (lit. ‘eat bribes’) or break the law.’

³² Newman (1997, p. 216; 2009, p. 8) describes such agent-oriented extensions of the concepts of eating and drinking as a process of “internalisation”, which refers to the agent’s act of incorporating something into his/her personal sphere.

³³ In the corpus, there are altogether 18 instances of *ide-* ‘eat’ used with the meaning of ‘taking bribes’. See also Song (2009, p. 208) and Newman & Aberra (2009, p. 262) who discuss ‘taking a bribe’ as an example of agent-oriented extensions (i.e. internalisation).

(5-65) [‘Why do I care to be the manager of the poor herdsmen’s association?’]

<i>tere</i>	<i>ügei</i>	<i>bol-baču</i>	<i>sar_a</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>norm_a</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>adaliqan</i>
that	NEG	be-CONC.CVB	month	GEN	norm	REF.POSS	same
<i>ab-u-γad</i>			<i>ide-jüi</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>bayi-n_a</i>	<i>uu?</i>	
take (AUX)-CONN-PRF.CVB			eat-IPFV.CVB	be.not	be (AUX)-PRS	INTR.PTCL	

Note: *ab- ide-* denotes the modal meaning of possibility.

‘Even if without that, aren’t (I) able to receive my quota of the month (monthly pay) (lit.: ‘eat monthly pay’) just the same?’

(5-66) *γoγojingqai* *nisu* *ban* *jab seb* *ügei* *qančui bar* *iyān*
leaking nasal.mucus REF.POSS free.time NEG sleeve INS REF.POSS

šudur-u-γsan *yisü-ken* *nasu* *tai* *nige* *mayu* *küü* *yabu-γad*
wipe-CONN-PRF.PTCP nine-DIM age PROP one bad/naughty boy go-PRF.CVB

yeke surγayuli *yin* *qayaly_a* *tata-ju* *ulus* *un* *ažil* *du*
university GEN gate pull-IPFV.CVB nation GEN work DAT.LOC

orolča-γad *čaling* *ide-gsen* *kadr* *bol-o-γad*
participate-PRF.CVB salary eat-PRF.PTCP cadre become-CONN-PRF.CVB

ire-n_e *ge-deg.*
come (AUX)-FUT say-PRS.PTCP

Note: *jab seb ügei* ‘not giving a break/all the time’ < *jab seb* ‘leisure; free time’ + *ügei*=NEG

‘It is said that a little naughty boy who was only nine years old and wiped his runny nose with his sleeves all the time (back then), has now become a cadre who receives a salary (lit.: ‘eats salary’), after going to the university and participating in the nation’s work.’

(5-67)...*morin urulduyan* *du* *tüirügüü* *šang* *ide-gsen* *kömön*
horse race DAT.LOC first award eat/receive-PRF.PTCP person

nige nasun dayan *iraγu aldar* *tai* *yum.*
one life DAT.LOC.REF.POSS renown/fame PROP PTCL

Note: *nige nasun dayan* ‘all one’s life’ < *nige* ‘one’ + *nasun* ‘age; life’ + *dayan*=DAT.LOC.REF.POSS
‘...the person who won the first prize (lit.: ‘ate first award’) in the horse race has great fame all his life.’

In (5-64) to (5-67) the verb *ide-* has the metaphorical meaning of ‘receive; accept’ here. The source domain of eating (taking food into the body) is mapped onto the target domain of the acquisition of material objects, i.e. putting entities into the sphere of possession of a person. Just as the food consumed, material objects such as bribes, salaries and awards become parts of the agent’s possession through the processes of intake and swallowing. In these examples the agent benefits through receiving the thematic patient; thus a positive sensory experience on the part of the consumer is mapped onto a pleasant feeling associated with the new possession of items.

The conceptual mappings between the source domain of eating and the target domain of acquisition of material objects are listed in Table 5.2, where the correspondences between the sub-components of both domains are illustrated. Notably, it is possible that certain sub-components of the source domain cannot be assigned corresponding sub-components in the target domain.

Table 5.2 Mappings between the eating domain and the domain of the acquisition of material objects

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EATING	Target domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL OBJECTS
Hunger	Need for material objects for existence
Intake of food	People acquire material objects into their possession
Mastication	N/A
Swallowing	People transfer the visible material objects into something invisible
Digestion	Material objects are arranged in a desired way and consumed
Nourishment	Acquiring material objects contributes to one's possessions
Pleasant gustation	Spending material objects is enjoyable

5.3.1.2 Inhaling

In the following examples (5-68) and (5-69) the extension of *ide-* and *uuɣu-* is used to denote the meanings of ‘inhale’ and ‘smoke’, which are based on the pleasant sensation of the consumer:³⁴

(5-68) *egeči* *e* *köyi,* *quruɣu ban* *büü* *le* *doliya-ø,*
elder.sister PTCL EXCLM finger REF.POSS NEG PTCL lick-IMP
önöki čini *qoor_a* *tai ed ge-n_e,* *qar_a tamaki yi*
this 2POSS > TOP harm/poison PROP goods say-PRS opium ACC
quruɣubči *yin kiri* *ide-gseger čaɣ un qoor_a*
thimble GEN degree/limit eat-CVB time/age GEN harm/evil
ge-ǰü *ɣutulčün* *abu nada du* *yari-ǰü*
say-IPFV.CVB shoemaker/cobbler uncle 1SG DAT.LOC speak/talk-IPFV.CVB
bayi-ɣsan *yum.*
be (AUX)-PRF.PTCP PTCL

Note: *qar_a tamaki* ‘opium’ < *qara* ‘black’ + *tamaki* ‘cigarettes’

‘The cobbler uncle has told me ‘Elder sister, don’t lick your finger. This thing is said to be harmful; once (you) take a thimbleful of opium (lit.: ‘eat (this) opium to the size of a thimble’) (it will be) a lifetime of harm.’

In (5-68) the intake of opium (something physical) into the mouth is involved and the extension of *ide-* in *qar_a tamaki ide-* ‘inhale opium’ is based on the agent’s pleasant inhaling process of the opium, although the result of its consumption causes a detrimental effect on the health.

(5-69) *ta* *tamaki* *uuɣu-qu* *uu?* (this example is created by me)
2SG cigarette drink-FUT.PTCP INTR.PTCL
‘Will you smoke a cigarette?’

³⁴ See Newman (2009, p. 9) for a similar use of EAT and DRINK verbs in Enga (a language of the East New Guinea Highlands) & Lango (Eastern Nilotic language); see also Newman & Aberra (2009, p. 263) for a similar use of the DRINK verb in Amharic (an Ethiopian Semitic language).

As is seen from (5-69) extensions of the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’ involve the intake of physical items such as cigarettes and medicines into the body. In such uses, the role of the drinker motivates the extensions, i.e. the extensions of *uuyu-* ‘drink’ are based on the sensation of the consumer: it is a pleasant inhaling in terms of smoking while it may be an unpleasant sensory experience when taking medicine (see Section 4.1.2 for more examples of extensions of *uuyu-* ‘drink’).

The conceptual mappings between the source domains of eating and drinking and the target domain of inhaling are listed in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3 Mappings between the eating-and-drinking domains and the inhaling domain

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS OF EATING & DRINKING	Target domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF INHALING
Hunger	Need for breathing in
Intake of food	Intake of something physical into the mouth
Mastication	N/A
Swallowing	Inhaling of physical items into the body
Digestion	N/A
Nourishment	Physical items have a soothing or numbing effect
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	Typically pleasant sensation of inhaling (occasionally unpleasant in terms of taking medicine)

5.3.1.3 Absorbing

In the following example (5-70) *ide-* denotes the metaphorical meaning of ‘absorb’. Here the extension of *ide-* is agent-oriented again, because water is incorporated into the private sphere of the ship. The ship is functioning like a human body, which takes the water into its sphere, so the amount of water outside the agent (i.e. the ship) visibly decreases. The following example is a translation of Chinese writing:

(5-70) [Cao Cao asked “how much does this elephant weigh in fact?” To this, everyone was at a loss to answer. If wanting to know about its weight exactly, it would be a must to use a steelyard. But during that period, where can (we) get such a big steelyard? At the moment, Cao Chong thought out a good method. He (said that) “Let’s lead the huge elephant out to the big ship.”]

tege-ged *ongyočan* *u* *usu* *ide-gsen* *kemjij_e* *yi*
do.that-PRF.CVB ship GEN water eat-PRF.PTCP degree ACC
ab-u-γsan *u* *daray_a* *tomo* *ḡayan* *iyān* *bayulya-ḡu,*
take-CONN-PRF.PTCP GEN after huge elephant REF.POSS let.down-IPFV.CVB
teḡün *ü* *kemjij_e* *ber* *čilay_u* *jögege-ḡü* *oroḡul-u-ḡad,*
that > 3SG GEN degree INS stone carry-IPFV.CVB fill.in/get.in-CONN-PRF.CVB
tere *čilay_u* *ban* *kemḡi-ḡü* *üḡe-bel* *enekü*
that stone REF.POSS measure-IPFV.CVB see (AUX)-COND.CVB this
tomo *ḡayan* *u* *kündüče* *yi* *mede-čike-kü* *bisi*
huge elephant GEN weight ACC know-ASP-FUT.PTCP NEG
üü?>> *ge-ḡü* *kele-be.*
PTCL say-IPFV.CVB say-PST

Note: *bayulyaḡu* ‘to lower, to let down’ < *bayu* ‘descend’ + *-lya*=CAUS+ *-ḡu*=IPFV.CVB; *usu idegsen kemjij_e*

‘the degree of the ship’s draught’, where ‘draught’ refers to the depth of water needed for a boat to be able to float, (< *usu* ‘water’ + *ide-* ‘absorb’ + *-gsen*=PRF.PTCP + *kemjy_e* ‘degree’); *kemji-jü üje-* ‘try measuring’.

‘(Cao Chong) said “Having done that, after measuring how much water the ship can absorb (lit.: ‘how much water the ship can eat’), (we) let the huge elephant get down (the ship); then according to the depth of the ship’s draught, if (we) put the stones into the ship and try measuring those stones, won’t (we) know the weight of the huge elephant?”’

The conceptual mappings between the source domain of eating and the target domain of absorbing are listed in the following Table 5.4:

Table 5.4 Mappings between the eating domain and the absorbing domain

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EATING	Target domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF ABSORBING
Hunger	N/A
Intake of food	Intake of physical items into the body
Mastication	N/A
Swallowing	Physical items are absorbed into the body of the entity
Digestion	N/A
Nourishment	N/A
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	N/A

5.3.1.4 Experiencing unpleasantness

The metaphorical extension of *ide-* may also denote the meaning of ‘undergo; suffer from’, which is represented by unpleasant experiences of being scolded, hit by a walking stick and undergoing hardships in the corpus analysed. In the following examples the agent’s unpleasant or painful experiences serve as the basis for metaphorical extensions of *ide-*, given that consumption of some food provides an unpleasant gustation (see also Song, 2009, p. 211 for similar examples of metaphorical extensions of the EAT verb in Korean):

(5-71) [*qari qola yin bololtai nige kömön jogso-ju bayi-n_a.*
 strange/foreign far GEN likely one person stand-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-PRS
qajayu du ni yajarči bar yabu-γ_a nutuy un kömön
 beside DAT.LOC 3POSS guide INS go-IPFV.PTCP homeland GEN person
qara-γda-n_a.
 see-PASS-PRS

qamuy amitan u qariyalide-gsen tusalayči yin küü bayi-n_a.
 all creature GEN curse eat-PRF.PTCP assistant GEN son be (AUX)-PRS

‘[A person is standing far-away from home. Beside him, a person from the homeland who is going as a guide is seen.] (He) is the son of the assistant who was scolded by everyone (lit.: ‘who has eaten the curses of all living beings’).’

(5-72) *ene yabudal ača qoyisi bayisi yin aγur killing ni ürgülji*
 this matter ABL after teacher GEN anger 3POSS constantly
badara-n, undurqu yin töbed nom du dur_a ügeyiče-kü
 prosper/spread-CVB PN GEN Tibetan book DAT.LOC dislike-FUT.PTCP
ni neme-gde-gsen tula bayisi yin γar un tayay i
 3POSS add-PASS-PRF.PTCP because teacher GEN hand GEN walking.stick ACC

ediür tü kedü dakin ide-kü bol-ba.
 day DAT.LOC again.and.again eat-FUT.PTCP be (AUX)-PST

Note: *ayur killing* ‘anger’ < *ayur* ‘anger’ + *killing* ‘wrath; anger’; *dur_a ügeyiče-* ‘dislike’ < *dur_a* ‘like’ + *ügeyiče-* ‘lack’; *kedü dakin* ‘again and again’ < *kedü* ‘several’ + *dakin* ‘again’; *Tv-kü bol-* denotes the phasal meaning of ‘begin to do sth’.

‘After this event, the teacher was always imbued with anger. Because Undurkhu’s dislike towards the Tibetan book has increased, (he) has begun to be hit by the walking stick in the teacher’s hands (lit.: ‘eat the walking stick in the teacher’s hands’) a few times a day.’

(5-73)...*jobalang un dalai ača qan-tal_a ban uuyü-ju,*
 suffering GEN sea ABL be.content-CVB REF.POSS drink-IPFV.CVB
orčilang un jobalang ača čad-tal_a ide-ju dönggeji
 universe/world GEN suffering ABL satiate.oneself-CVB eat-IPFV.CVB barely/hardly
mayu ökin iyen aračila-n amidura-ba.
 bad/cute daughter/girl REF.POSS take.care.of/look.after-CVB live-PST

‘... (sb.) suffered all hardships in life and led a hard life while looking after her lovely daughter.’

(lit.: ‘... (sb.) drank from the sea of sufferings until (she) had enough, ate sufferings of the world until (she) satiated herself, and lived, barely managing to look after her lovely daughter.’)

The conceptual mappings between the source domains of eating and drinking and the emotional domain are listed in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 Mappings between the eating-and-drinking domains and the emotional domain

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS OF EATING & DRINKING	Target domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EMOTIONAL DOMAIN
Hunger & Thirst	N/A
Intake of food & liquid	N/A
Mastication	Some emotions strongly affect the experiencers
Swallowing	People have to undergo negative emotions
Digestion	N/A
Nourishment	N/A
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	Unpleasant sensation for the experiencers

5.3.2 Patient-oriented extensions of *ide-* and *uuyü-*

The second category of metaphorical extensions of *ide-* is patient-oriented, which means this type of metaphor is motivated by the patient in the eating process, i.e. the effect of eating on the food consumed plays a crucial role in giving rise to different extensions; and the most striking feature which concerns food is that it changes from the state of being visible to being invisible after being taken into the body (Newman, 1997, p. 224). The source images for the destruction of the patient are: (a) mastication of the food which involves mainly teeth, tongue and roof of the mouth and (b) swallowing of the masticated food. The patient-oriented extensions differ from that of agent-oriented extensions: the former highlights the destructive or transformative effect of eating on the food which is violent

chewing and processing of food into digestible particles, whereas in the latter extensions of *ide-*, the emphasis is on the eater’s role of taking something into the body (Newman, 1997, p. 224; Newman, 2009, p. 16). Unlike languages such as Amharic (Semitic) (see Newman & Aberra, 2009, p. 266), in Mongolian there is no use of DRINK verbs in the category of patient-oriented extensions.

5.3.2.1 Bullying and oppressing someone

Extensions of *ide-* can be based on the physical destruction of concrete objects such as *čisu miqan* ‘blood and flesh’ and *kömön* ‘human’. The destructive effect of eating on the patient is evident in these examples where those people who are oppressed either lose their property (in e.g. (5-74)) or are psychologically tormented (in e.g. (5-75)). Note the following examples:

(5-74) *noyad-ud minü čisu miqan ača ču neliyed*
 official-PL 1SG.GEN blood meat/flesh ABL PTCL quite
ide-gsen de.
 eat-PRF.PTCP PTCL
 ‘The officials also exploited/bullied me a lot (lit.: ‘ate quite (a lot) from my blood and flesh’).’

(5-75) *getel_e kömön kömön iyen ide-deg qarangyui neyigem dü*
 but human human REF.POSS eat-PRS.PTCP dark society DAT.LOC
enekü tangsuy sayiqan nutuy un mini ebesü modon du
 this splendid beautiful hometown GEN 1POSS grass tree DAT.LOC
kür-tel_e malčin arad edle-kii erke ügei...
 reach-CVB > evenherdsman people enjoy/use-FUT.PTCP right NEG
 Note: *tangsuy sayiqan* ‘beautiful; splendid’ < *tangsuy* ‘splendid; beautiful’ + *sayiqan* ‘beautiful’
 ‘But in a dark society where humans exploit/oppress each other (lit.: ‘humans eat humans’), the herdsmen have no right to enjoy even the grasses and trees of this splendid hometown of mine.’

The conceptual mappings between the source domain of eating and the target domains (material and psychological) are listed in Table 5.6:

Table 5.6 Mappings between the eating domain and material & psychological domains

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EATING	Target domain: MATERIAL & PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAINS
Hunger	N/A
Intake of food	N/A
Mastication	Bullying and oppression can be powerful and long-lasting; people can be psychologically tortured if they are bullied and oppressed
Swallowing	N/A
Digestion	People can undergo psychological changes by constant pressure
Nourishment	N/A
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	N/A

5.3.2.2 Living on intellectual or material wealth

Extensions of *ide-* are based on the destruction of the patient in the following examples, where *ide-* denotes the meaning of ‘live on; spend; use up’.³⁵ Objects such as *köröngge* ‘wealth’, *öb* ‘legacy’, *olan u buyan* ‘the riches of the common people’ and *qayučin ben_e* ‘original capital’ are consumed in examples (5-76) to (5-80), and the destructive effects of eating on these patients are attested below:

(5-76) *bi... abu yin iyan köröngge yi ide-ǰü bara-day*
 1SG dad GEN REF.POSS wealth ACC eat-IPFV.CVB finish-PRS.PTCP
ügei kömön bile.
 NEG person PTCL

‘I...am a person who continues spending my father’s wealth.’
 (lit.: ‘I am a person who does not finish eating my dad’s wealth.’)

(5-77) *qayan u mini öb i qasar un ür_e či ide-kü*
 king GEN 1POSS heritage ACC PN GEN offspring 2SG eat-FUT.PTCP
buyu, qasar un ür_e činü öb i bide
 PTCL PN GEN offspring 2SG.GEN heritage ACC 1PL.INCL
ide-kü bile uu?
 eat-FUT.PTCP PTCL INTR.PTCL

‘As for our king’s heritage, you, who are Khasar’s offspring, will inherit (it); as for your heritage (i.e. the heritage of Khasar’s offspring), shall we live on/inherit/spend (it)?’

(5-78)...*yabu-ǰu sayu-ǰu bol-ǰu bayi-qu du*
 walk-IPFV.CVB sit-IPFV.CVB be.able.to-IPFV.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP DAT.LOC
yayaki-ǰu olan u buyan ača ǰüger ide-ged
 what.to.do-IPFV.CVB masses GEN riches ABL for.nothing eat-PRF.CVB
kebte-ged bayi-qu bui.
 lie.down-PRF.CVB be (AUX)-FUT.PTCP COP

‘... while being able to walk and sit, why are you idle (lit.: ‘lying down’), living on the common people’s riches for nothing?’

(5-79) *urtu quyučayan u tursi bisigüi olan aǰu aquyılal-ud tonoy*
 long period GEN during a.lot many enterprise-PL utensil/spare.parts
tökögerümǰi eblegül-ǰü, qayučin ben_e ben
 equipment/facilities piece.together-IPFV.CVB original.capital REF.POSS
ide-ǰü...³⁶
 eat-IPFV.CVB

Note: *qayučin ben_e* ‘principal; original capital; past experience’ < *qayučin* ‘old’ + *ben_e* ‘value, capital’
 ‘For a long time, many enterprises, piecing together the utensils and equipment, living off their past gains (lit.: ‘eating their original capital’)...’

(5-80) *ta-nar qamtural un yayum_a yi ide-ǰü qobi ban*
 2SG-PL collectivity GEN thing ACC eat-IPFV.CVB self REF.POSS
bayajı-ǰul-ǰai ge-n_e?
 get.rich-CAUS-PST say-PRS

‘I heard that you make yourselves get rich by exploiting things owned collectively.’

³⁵ A similar metaphorical use of the eating verb with the sense of destruction of one’s assets is also noted in Song (2009, p. 213).

³⁶ A similar metaphorical expression in Chinese is 吃老本 *chī lǎoběn* ‘rest on past achievements’. The Mongolian phraseological expression *qayučin ben_e ben ide-* seems to be a calque of Chinese.

(lit.: ‘Is it said that you eat the things of collectivity and make yourselves get rich?’)

In the following examples (5-81) and (5-82), the abstract objects/patients *ner_e* ‘fame’ and *ködelmüri* ‘labour’ serve as the resources of eating and the eaters/agents rely on these resources, so they are described as being destroyed by the agents. The source image for metaphorical extension involves: (a) intake of food into the mouth, (b) crushing and biting the food in the mouth and (c) swallowing of the masticated food, emphasizing the latter two (b & c):

(5-81) ...*yağça eçige eke qoyar un iyan ner_e yi ide-ǰü*
 just father mother two GEN REF.POSS name/reputation ACC eat-IPFV.CVB
bara-γad dayus-day bol çu basa yağaqi-qu bui.
 finish-PRF.CVB end-PRS.PTCP if PTCL still/also what.to.do-FUT.PTCP COP
 ‘...one can only be sorry if (these children) end up with simply using up both of their parents’ fame.’
 (lit.: ‘What are (we) going to do then if (these children) just finished eating both their parents’ reputations?’)

(5-82) *tede qoya-γula ködelmüri ben ide-ǰü qobi ban*
 3PL two.COLL.NUM labour REF.POSS eat-IPFV.CVB one’s.duty/part REF.POSS
saqi-γsan sidurγu kömöš mön ge-deg i bi
 comply.with/guard-PRF.PTCP honest people PTCL say-PRS.PTCP ACC 1SG
mede-n_e, yağunai eyimü tangnayul, teyimü nam yum bui?
 know-PRS how like.this spy like.that party PTCL COP
 ‘I know that both of them are honest people who live on their labour and have complied with their duties. Why (would you say) (they are) either this kind of spy or (belong to) that kind of (political) party?’

The conceptual mappings between the source domain of eating and the target domains of spending intellectual or material wealth are listed in the following Table 5.7:

Table 5.7 Mappings between the eating domain and the domain of spending intellectual or material wealth

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EATING	Target domains: CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS OF SPENDING INTELLECTUAL OR MATERIAL WEALTH
Hunger	N/A
Intake of food	N/A
Mastication	Spending intellectual or material wealth
Swallowing	Intellectual or material wealth is destroyed
Digestion	Wealth is spent and no longer visible
Nourishment	N/A
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	N/A

5.3.2.3 Corroding/Corrupting/Decaying

The verb *ide-* can also denote the metaphorical extension of ‘corroding; decaying’. There are no corpus examples pertaining to this meaning. The following example is created by myself:

(5-83) *temür ǰibe ide-deg.*
 iron rust eat-PRS.PTCP

‘The iron rusts.’ (lit.: ‘The iron eats rust.’)

In (5-83) *temür* ‘iron’ is an undergoer which is destroyed or corroded by *ǰibe* ‘rust’.

The conceptual mappings between the source domain of eating and the target domain of decaying are listed in the following Table 5.8:

Table 5.8 Mappings between the eating domain and the domain of decaying

Source domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF EATING	Target domain: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN OF DECAYING
Hunger	N/A
Intake of food	N/A
Mastication	Eating into (or corroding) a physical object
Swallowing	The physical object experiences corrosion & corruption
Digestion	The physical object is transformed into something of a different nature
Nourishment	N/A
Pleasant (unpleasant) gustation	N/A

5.3.3 Extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-* involving both agent and patient orientation

Some metaphorical extensions of *ide-* can be seen as both agent-oriented and patient-oriented. They are motivated by: (a) the agent’s sensation and (b) the destruction of the patient in the process of eating (Newman, 1997, p. 228; Newman, 2009, p. 18). Note the following example:

(5-84) *qotala abay_a üge ben ide-ǰü, qaltar*
 PN uncle word REF.POSS eat-IPFV.CVB variegated/spotted
day_a ban man u du
 horse/colt.between.one.and.two.years REF.POSS 1PL.EXCL GEN DAT.LOC
ög-kü ben boli-γsan ge-ǰi üü?
 give-FUT.PTCP REF.POSS stop/give.up-PRF.PTCP say-PST INTR.PTCL
 ‘Did Uncle Hotala break his promise (lit.: ‘eat his own words’) and not give his variegated colt to us?’

In (5-84) the phraseological expression *üge ben ide-* ‘to retract one’s own words’ can be put on a par with the English idiomatic expression *eat one’s words*. The destructive effect of eating on the patient is clear when one’s words or claims are withdrawn. In the meantime, the unpleasant sensation of an eater is involved here, considering that the agent has to eat something that previously came out his/her mouth like eating one’s own vomit (Newman, 2009, p. 18).

The metaphorical extensions of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian can be summarised respectively as Table 5.9 and Table 5.10 below:

Table 5.9 Metaphorical extensions of verbal concepts relating to the verb *ide-* ‘eat’

(i) Agent-oriented extensions:
1. ‘taking/ accepting (bribes etc.)
2. ‘absorbing’
3. ‘suffering; undergoing’ (‘experiencing unpleasantness’)
(ii) Patient-oriented extensions:
4. ‘bullying; oppressing’
5. ‘living on; embezzling’
6. ‘corroding; corrupting; decaying’
(iii) Both agent & patient orientations
7. ‘going back on one’s word; breaking one’s promise’

Table 5.10 Metaphorical extensions of verbal concepts relating to the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’

(i) Agent-oriented extensions:
1. ‘taking medicine’ (unpleasant sensation)
2. ‘inhaling, smoking’ (pleasant sensation)
3. ‘suffer; undergo (difficulty)’ (unpleasant experience)

5.4 Metonymy Pertaining to the Verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ in Mongolian

Unlike metaphor, which is a much thoroughly investigated and theoretically identifiable concept, metonymy has had a more controversial past (Littlemore, 2015; Panther & Thornburg, 2018; Blanco-Carrión, Barcelona, & Pannain, 2018) and the definition of metonymy is a controversial issue. According to Seto (1999, p. 91-92), some definitions of metonymy might be so vague as to cover concepts like synecdoche, metaphor and irony; and synecdoche, which typically denotes a relation in which the part stands for the whole, is generally supposed to be a subtype of metonymy. However, in his opinion, synecdoche should be treated independently of metonymy.

In traditional rhetorical studies, metonymy is described as “a figure of speech that consists in using the name of one thing for that of something else with which it is associated” (Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 1986).

Kövecses and Radden (1998, p. 39) regard metonymy as a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity (i.e. the vehicle) provides mental access to another conceptual entity (i.e. the target) within the same domain (or Idealised Cognitive Model). Seto (1999, p. 91) argues that metonymy can

be defined as “a referential transfer phenomenon based on the spatiotemporal contiguity as conceived by the speaker between an entity and another in the (real) world”.

Other scholars maintain that metonymy is a sort of mapping. Steen (2005, p. 3) argues that metonymy is “a conceptual relation where one concept stands for another concept in the context of an encompassing knowledge frame, called an Idealized Cognitive Model, or ICM”.³⁷ According to Barcelona (2012, pp. 4-6), metonymy is “a conceptual projection whereby one experiential domain (the target) is partially understood in terms of another experiential domain (the source) included *in the same common experiential domain*”. In his opinion, the source domain mentally activates the target domain. Likewise, Gibbs (1999, p. 66) contends that metonymy is a special type of mental mapping by means of which an entire person, object or event is understood in terms of a salient part of a person, object or event. Unlike in metaphor where two conceptual domains are involved, “metonymy involves only one conceptual domain”, because the mapping between two concepts is within the same domain (Gibbs, 1999, p. 62). From the cognitive perspective, both conceptual metaphor (shortened as metaphor) and conceptual metonymy (shortened as metonymy) are experientially motivated (see Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and they are systematically organised in our mind, basic to our thinking, and are considered to be conventional mental (cognitive) mechanisms by Barcelona (2012) or basic types of cognitive models by Lakoff (1987). Metaphor and metonymy interact with each other, and we can postulate metonymic motivation for metaphor; in other words, metaphors can be motivated by metonymy. In the recent development of cognitive linguistics, both metaphor and metonymy are regarded as “special cases of more general mental mapping mechanisms” in a theory of conceptual integration, which is also known as “blending” (Fauconnier, 1997; Turner & Fauconnier, 1995, cited in Barcelona, 2012, p. 7). However, it is not always easy to distinguish between metaphorical and metonymic mappings and “the distinction between metaphor and metonymy should be regarded as scalar, rather than as absolute” (Barcelona, 2012, p. 8, p. 10). Notably, de Mendoza Ibáñez (1997) argues that metonymy does not have to be referential.³⁸ Moreover, according to him, metaphor and metonymy resemble each other in terms of their communicative (or contextual) effects; i.e. both metaphor and metonymy play an important communicative role in their uses.

In my study, I understand metonymy to be a conceptual mapping of two related concepts in the same domain of experience, whereby one salient aspect of a person, object or event is used to stand for the person, object or event as a whole. There are generally three types of metonymic relationships: (a) PART FOR WHOLE; (b) WHOLE FOR PART; and (c) PART FOR PART. In my study, I

³⁷ See also Lakoff (1987, p. 7) for a similar view.

³⁸ de Mendoza Ibáñez (1997, p. 164) argues that metonymy can be predicative in which case it is not referential, e.g. *John is a real brain*, meaning ‘John is extremely intelligent’.

discovered two types of metonymic relationship, viz. (a) and (c). In the corpus analysed, I have found relatively few examples of metonymy relating to the concepts of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ in Mongolian. The phraseological eating and drinking expressions formed out of metonymy have transparent meanings and (semi-)fixed structures considering word order and lexical substitutability. Note the following examples:

- (5-85) *tomo bol-o-γsan ača qoyisi morin u niruyun deger_e*
 big be-CONN-PRF.PTCP ABL after horse GEN back on
γar-u-γ_a ügei, uuyu-γsan usu una-γsan siroi bar
 climb-CONN-IPFV.PTCP NEG drink-PRF.PTCP water fall-PRF.PTCP soil INS
ıyan yabu-γ_a ügei bol-o-γad ču tere üü
 REF.POSS go-IPFV.PTCP NEG be-CONN-PRF.CVB PTCL that INTR.PTCL
tngri yin köbege kür-tel_e dabqi-mar bodo-γda-qu aji...
 sky GEN edge reach-CVB gallop/rush-PTCP think-PASS-FUT.PTCP PTCL
 Note: *Tv-γad ču tere üü* ‘perhaps even because...’
 ‘After growing up, (because he) has never climbed on a horse and perhaps even because (he) has not visited his hometown, (he) felt as if galloping until the edge of the sky...’

In (5-85) the phraseological expression *uuyuγsan usu unayγsan siroi* ‘one’s hometown or birthplace’ (lit.: ‘the water which one drank and the soil to which one fell’) involves metonymy, since parts of the homeland, *uuyuγsan usu* ‘the water which one drank’ and *unayγsan siroi* ‘the soil to which one fell’ (or ‘the soil on which one was born’), are used to refer to ‘homehand’ per se. This expression normally carries a positive connotation, implying the speaker’s love and respect towards his/her birthplace. The word order can be reversed in this example: *unayγsan siroi uuyuγsan usu* means just the same.

- (5-86) *tere nige kömön bayi-γsan ıyan tabun ama*
 that >3SG one person be-PRF.PTCP REF.POSS five mouth/family
bol-ju ide-kü ereü ni olasira-γsan ıyar
 become-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP lower.jaw 3POSS increase-PRF.PTCP INS
amidural ıyan aryača-ju deyil-kü ügei
 life REF.POSS deal.with-IPFV.CVB be.capable.of-FUT.PTCP NEG
bol-o-l_a.
 become-CONN-PST
 ‘He has established a five-member family instead of being single. Because the number of people who eat has increased, he could not cope with his life anymore.’

In (5-86) the phraseological expression *idekü ereü* ‘people who eat’ (lit.: ‘chins which eat’) involves metonymy, considering that a part of a human body, viz. *ereü* ‘chin’, refers to ‘a human being’ itself. This expression has a fixed structure.

- (5-87) *ta nige qoyar qunday_a uuyu-qu uu?*
 2SG one two wineglass drink-FUT.PTCP INTR.PTCL
 Note: *nige qoyar* ‘a few’
 ‘Would you like to drink some wine?’
 (lit.: ‘Would you like to drink a few glasses (of wine)?’)

In (5-87) the phraseological expression *nige qoyar qunday_a uuyu-* ‘drink a few glasses of wine/alcohol’ involves metonymy, whereby the container of beverages, *qunday_a* ‘wineglass; goblet’,

stands for the content, viz. the alcohol contained inside the container. The structure is semi-fixed in terms of lexical substitutability where both the numeral and the measure word can be altered and the verb *uuyu-* ‘drink’ can be changed into *ide-* ‘eat’.

(5-88) <<*ene bol-basu* *miq_a ide-ǰü* *mangnuy* *emüs-ü-gči-d*
 this be-COND.CVB>TOP meat eat-IPFV.CVB brocade wear-CONN-AGT.PTCP-PL
iin bodolkila-qu yabudal *bölöge,* *či* *egün* *dür*
 GEN think-FUT.PTCP matter PTCL 2SG this DAT.LOC
orolča-qu *kereg* *yayun?>>*
 participate-FUT.PTCP thing/business what
 ‘If talking about this, (it) is a matter of thinking for the rich people (lit.: ‘those who eat meat and wear brocade’). What is the point of your attending this?’

(5-89) <<*miq_a* *ide-ǰü* *mangnuy* *emüs-ü-gči-d* *bol-basu*
 meat eat-IPFV.CVB brocade wear-CONN-PTCP-PL be-COND.CVB>TOP
uqayan *moqoyo* *tula qola* *yi* *bodolkila-ǰu* *ülü* *čida-mui>>*
 intellect blunt because far ACC think-IPFV.CVB NEG can-PRS
 ‘Talking about the rich people (lit.: ‘those who eat meat and wear brocade’), (they) can not think far ahead, because (they) are unintelligent (lit.: ‘intellect (is) blunt’).’

In (5-88) and (5-89) the phraseological expression *miq_a ideǰü mangnuy emüsügčid* ‘those who eat meat and wear brocade’ involves metonymy, since ‘people who eat meat and wear brocade’ refers to rich people. In both examples, this phraseological expression carries a pejorative, negative connotation. The meaning is transparent and the structure is fixed in these two examples. Alliteration formed by *miq_a* ‘meat’ and *mangnuy* ‘brocade’ is used to show a cohesive structure.

The metonymic mappings of concepts relating to *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian can be summarised as Table 5.11 below:

Table 5.11 Metonymic mappings of concepts relating to the verbs *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’

Types of metonymic mapping	Subtypes of metonymic mappings/relationships & conceptual notions involved
(i) PART FOR WHOLE metonymy	(a) WATER AND SOIL FOR THE HOMELAND (The domain of homeland)
	(b) BODY PART FOR PERSON (The domain of person)
	(c) THOSE WHO EAT MEAT AND WEAR BROCADE FOR THE RICH PEOPLE (The domain of rich people)
(ii) PART FOR PART metonymy	CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS (The domain of containment)

5.5 Summary

This chapter discussed linguistic features (i.e. semantic transparency and structural variability) of various phraseological eating and drinking expressions (idioms, proverbs, slogans, routine formulae) in Mongolian based on the Eastern European framework of phraseology, where idioms (both pure and

figurative) form the prototypical types of phraseological units. Other phraseological eating and drinking expressions in question are similes, exaggeration, riddles and two-part allegorical sayings. They can all be located on a continuum, displaying varying degrees of semantic transparency and structural variability at different linguistic levels (semantic, pragmatic and stylistic).

A range of factors are considered for understanding these phraseological units, especially idioms. They are: (1) knowledge of the language, including the meanings of the constituents of idioms, etymology and context; (2) knowledge of the world (e.g. cultural and historical background) and (3) cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy regarding idioms. Discussion of both conceptual metaphor and metonymy is given special attention in my analysis of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian, considering their important role in the understanding of language from both cognitive and pragmatic perspectives. Most phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian go beyond the language from a cultural perspective, but some of them, including pure idioms, similes and riddles, are culturally-specific.

In addition, I explicated the corpus examples of calques of Chinese phraseological eating and drinking expressions, which reveal an influence of Chinese on the Mongolian language.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter comprises two sections: Section 6.1 discusses findings and contributions of the present study; Section 6.2 first discusses limitations of the current study and goes on to explore the future prospects of the current research topic, providing possible implications for further research.

6.1 Findings of the Current Study

The current study is innovative in its comprehensive discussion of semantic and grammatical issues regarding the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian. It also enriches the cross-linguistic study of EAT and DRINK verbs, given that no previous research which is specifically devoted to the study of *ide-* and *uuyu-* is available in Mongolian scientific literature, although attention is given to the study of consumption verbs in such typologically and geographically different languages as English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Hausa or Amharic. In contrast to previous research on consumption verbs in general which is conducted cross-linguistically, my study emphasizes the important theoretical notion of ‘phraseological units’ when exploring the semantics and syntax of eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian, and this has led to interesting and important findings.

The present study covers three major parts: (A) a sketch of Mongolian grammar; (B) free word combinations of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ which are non-phraseological expressions in Mongolian; and (C) phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian.

Considering that there are relatively few studies of Mongolian grammar written in English on the whole, with the study of the Inner Mongolian variety of the language which is used in China especially lacking, a sketch of Mongolian grammar in Chapter 2 is provided in my study to serve as a basis and a guide for a systematic classification and a detailed discussion of grammatical issues regarding EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian. It covers the definition of Written Mongolian, general typological characteristics of the language, nominal categories involving number, case and reflexive and personal possession, pronouns, verbs (both finite and non-finite forms) with their general properties of voice, aspect, mood (modality) and tense, and types of syntactic links in Mongolian. Such a basic overview of grammar will contribute to the existing volume of work in further understanding Mongolian grammar and serve as a basis for comparison with other varieties of the Mongolian language, including

different dialects. It will also be helpful for those who are interested in learning the language from scratch.

Free word combinations and phraseology exhibit different degrees of grammatical (syntactic) and semantic complexity; they lie at two extremes on the cline of structural variability and semantic transparency in a language. Hence, in my analysis I move from free word combinations at one pole of the continuum to phraseological expressions at the other pole.

My data analysis and discussion in Chapter 4 focus on free verbal combinations of *ide-* and *uuyu-* but there are occasionally several overlapping instances with phraseological eating and drinking expressions. The latter are intensively discussed in Chapter 5, where their special structural and semantic features are emphasized. Table 6.1 is a summary of semantic and grammatical features of eating and drinking expressions, focusing on free word combinations in Mongolian which are analysed in Chapter 4:

Table 6.1 Semantic and grammatical features of free verbal combinations containing *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ in Mongolian

(I) Verbs of consumption in Mongolian (Ch. 4 § 4.1)
(II) Semantico-grammatical properties of the verbs <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.2)
(III) Grammatical means of expressing direct objects of <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.3)
(IV) Nominalisation of participial forms of <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.4)
(V) Cleft constructions which include the verbs <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.5)
(VI) Constructions of evaluation including <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.6)
(VII) Topic-focus structures which include <i>ide-</i> and <i>uuyu-</i> (Ch. 4 § 4.7)

Regarding (I) of Table 6.1, I briefly discussed the following issues: (1) verbs referring to food consumption; (2) close interrelation of ingestive verbs: ‘eating,’ ‘drinking’ and ‘smoking’; (3) distinction of EAT and DRINK verbs between animals and human beings; (4) EAT and DRINK verbs with honorific and pejorative meanings and (5) metaphorical (or figurative) extensions of EAT and DRINK verbs, which were explored in depth in Chapter 5.

(II) of Table 6.1 consists of two major parts: (1) valency patterns of *ide-* ‘eat’ and *uuyu-* ‘drink’ and (2) grammatical forms of these verbs attested in the corpus. To be specific, I discussed eight grammatical categories of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in part (2), based on the Mongolian grammatical system the sketch of which is provided in Chapter 2: 1) voice; 2) aspect; 3) mood and modality; 4) tense; 5) non-finite verbal forms; 6) analytical verbal forms and constructions; 7) negative forms of *ide-/uuyu-*; 8) interrogative forms of *ide-* and *uuyu-*.

Verb valency is a universal semantico-grammatical category which relates semantic and syntactic roles (actants/arguments: agents and patients; subjects and objects). In other words, verb valency is the number of arguments that a verb can have. A simple clause is normally composed of nominal and

verbal components where the verb is the main element of the sentence; the semantics of the verb and its valency properties function together to determine the forms of nominal components in a clause. I have argued that the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be either monovalent (detransitivised) or bivalent (transitive), and the commonly-seen valency patterns of these verbs where they are transitive are described as: (1) S + DO + V, containing the following subtypes: (a) S + DO (ACC) + V; (b) S + DO (DIR) + V; (c) S + DO (DIR + REF.POSS/ACC + REF.POSS) + V; (d) S + DO (ABL) + V; and (2) S + Oblique O (COM) + DO + V. Another valency pattern of these verbs can be described as: (2) S + V (detransitivised), where the verbs express the activities of eating and drinking without relating to any objects.

The verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* often govern direct objects in Mongolian, so regarding (III) of Table 6.1 I discussed different grammatical means which are used to express the direct objects of these two verbs. I argued that, when used transitively, direct objects of these verbs are marked either by an overt accusative case marker or a direct case which coincides with the noun stem. Then, partially basing myself on Guntsetseg (2016), I provided an explanation for why accusative case and direct case are used to mark the direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-*. To sum up, direct objects appearing in the direct case are either generic or indefinite generic in meaning. In comparison, accusative case marking is used when the direct object denotes the definite specific meaning expressed by the following structural patterns: (a) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC; (b) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC + PTCL (e.g. *ni/le/ču*); (c) *ide-/uuyu-* → N (DO) + ACC + REF.POSS. However, accusative case marking involves more complex factors than specificity (vs. genericity) and definiteness. Word-order variation and pragmatic factors such as discourse prominence and topicality also influence the accusative marking of the direct object (Guntsetseg, 2016, pp. 105-111). Notably, direct objects of *ide-* and *uuyu-* can be optionally marked with the accusative case marker or appear in the direct case form under certain conditions (see Section 4.3.3 in Chapter 4). The use of direct object case marking for the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* is summarised in Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4.

(IV), (V), (VI) and (VII) of Table 6.1 are grammatically closely interrelated. However, nominalisations, clefts and evaluative constructions which include the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* should be analysed at a syntactic level. The process of topicalisation relates to a pragmatic level (topic-focus structures).

In Chapter 5, I adopted the Eastern European theoretical framework of phraseology to analyse phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian which are understood as multiword units which are structurally more or less fixed and semantically more or less opaque (see Section 5.1 in Chapter 5 for the definition of phraseological units). Idioms are considered to be the prototypical type among all phraseological units. Idioms, including pure and figurative ones, belong to the category of

semantic combinations. Phraseological eating and drinking expressions, which involve proverbs, slogans and routine formulae, belong to the category of pragmatic combinations. All above-mentioned phraseological expressions function for rhetorical purposes. However, I categorised similes, exaggeration, riddles and two-part allegorical sayings as “stylistic combinations” in my study, because stylistic functions are emphasized via the use of these expressions. Among the above-mentioned phraseological units, pure idioms, similes, exaggeration and riddles are culturally-specific, whereas figurative idioms, proverbs, slogans and two-part allegorical sayings involve calques of Chinese, which is due to the influence of Chinese on Mongolian. Based on the criteria of semantic transparency and structural fixedness, different types of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian can be located on a continuum which ranges from semantically most opaque and structurally most fixed word combinations to semantically least opaque and structurally most variable word combinations (see Table 5.1 in Chapter 5).

Such factors as knowledge of the language and the realities of the outside world, including cultural factors, and cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy are used to explain motivations of both meanings and use of these phraseological units. Within cognitive linguistic theory, metaphor and metonymy are closely related to each other: both conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy are basic cognitive tools, which are experientially motivated and structurally organised in our minds. It is demonstrated that conceptual metaphors of eating and drinking expressions display the following three types of extension: (a) agent-oriented extension; (b) patient-oriented extension and (c) both agent and patient orientations. Metonymic mappings of eating and drinking expressions involve mainly two types: (a) PART-FOR-WHOLE relationship; and (b) PART-FOR-PART relationship. The study of phraseological eating and drinking expressions in Mongolian conducted on the basis of a cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and metonymy will contribute to our understanding of motivations of the complex semantics of EAT and DRINK verbs cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, reflecting on the interplay between language and thought.

6.2 Limitations and Implications

My current study is based on a corpus, viz. the Corpus of Modern Mongolian (CMM) which was developed in the early 1990s by a team of scholars from the Mongolian Language Studies Institute at Inner Mongolia University in China. The corpus is limited in size, containing 1,060,000 word tokens only and the genres it covers are imbalanced in proportion; also it does not provide detailed citation information of the relevant texts. Larger corpora of both spoken and written texts of Mongolian are

being developed by researchers in China. They will complement data for all areas of future research in Mongolian.

In my study I focus on two basic verbs of consumption with broad semantics, i.e. *ide-* and *uuyu-*, and exclude the study of other consumption verbs with specific semantics, such as ‘chew’, ‘bite’, ‘swallow’ and so forth. These verbs with specific semantics in Mongolian deserve further explorations. The study of such verbs will enrich our understanding of Mongolian EAT and DRINK verbs in general.

The present study concentrates on the analysis of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* in the written language, which tends to ignore the colloquial Mongolian languages. However, for future concerns other Mongolian dialects (or colloquial languages) which are used both in Inner Mongolia (China) and in Mongolia equally deserve attention. We might gain some new insights if we examine different usages of EAT and DRINK verbs among Mongolian dialects. For example, there are some interesting phraseological eating expressions such as *qorim ide-* ‘eat at a wedding’ (lit.: ‘eat wedding’) or *buyan ide-* ‘eat at a funeral banquet’ (lit.: ‘eat blessings’) in my own dialect (Khorchin dialect), whose argument structures are influenced by that of Chinese (e.g. compare *qorim ide-* ‘eat at a wedding’ vs. 吃婚宴 (*chī hūnyàn*) ‘eat at a wedding banquet’ (lit.: ‘eat wedding banquet’)).

Moreover, it will be enlightening to look at the diachronic (historical) development of EAT and DRINK verbs in Mongolian (i.e. how the meaning and forms of EAT and DRINK verbs evolved in the history of the Mongolian language) to better understand the chain of various meaning extensions of these verbs. Hopefully, my study of the verbs *ide-* and *uuyu-* will shed some light on the rich usage of verbs in Mongolian and will pave the way for similar studies of verbs from the cognitive perspective, as the research of other Mongolian verbs could be equally productive in the field of Cognitive Linguistic studies. It would also be interesting to compare the use of *ide-* and *uuyu-* in Mongolian with that of EAT and DRINK verbs in other languages from a typological perspective, but this is outside of the scope of this current research.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Direct object nouns with generic meanings in the direct case form for *ide-* ‘eat’

Direct Object Nouns	Raw Count
<i>qoγola</i> ‘food/meal/grain’ (including those modified by adjectives/ measure words/negation) e.g. <i>dutaγu niqe eren ü qoγola</i> ‘one less meal’	79
<i>miq_a</i> ‘meat’ (including those modified by measure words/adjectives/genitive case) e.g. <i>ükügsen mal un miq_a</i> ‘the meat of dead cattle’	28
<i>kömön</i> ‘human’ (bare noun)	18
<i>yayum_a</i> ‘thing’ (including those modified by adjectives and interrogative pronouns)	16
<i>buday_a</i> ‘food/meal’ (including those modified by measure words/adjectives)	11
<i>ebesü</i> ‘grass’ (including those modified by adjectives)	8
<i>boγorsoγ</i> ‘pastry’ (including those modified by numerals and interrogative pronouns)	4
<i>mantau</i> ‘bun’ (including those modified by adjectives and numerals)	4
<i>öndege</i> ‘egg’	2
<i>bordoy_a</i> ‘forage’	1
<i>qudaldıγan u amu</i> ‘commercial grain’	2
<i>toso</i> ‘oil’	2
<i>yasu</i> ‘bone’	1
<i>ilam_a</i> ‘pear’	1
<i>berčigir luu yin nidiün ü sin_e ĵimis</i> ‘new fruit of lichi’	1
<i>berčigir luu yin nidiün ü bal</i> ‘the honey of lichi’	1
<i>qoyiloγ un miq_a</i> ‘meat of snow cocks’	2
<i>qoyiloγ</i> ‘snow cocks’	1
<i>dalu</i> ‘scapula’	1
<i>söbeqe (qabiry_a)</i> ‘flank’	1
<i>buγudai yin γulir un quyimay</i> ‘battercake made of wheat flour’	1
<i>tuyur</i> ‘peach’	1
<i>bars</i> ‘tiger’	1
<i>čayan siroi</i> ‘white soil’	1
<i>idesi</i> ‘food/meal/grain’	1
<i>ĵimis</i> ‘fruit’	2
<i>boloy-san idegen</i> ‘cooked food’	1
<i>tutury_a</i> ‘rice’	2
<i>aγar</i> ‘air’	1

<i>möli kisuy_a</i> ‘oyster’	1
<i>ayaγ_a taray, keseg qusum</i> ‘one bowl of yogurt and a piece of rice crust’	1
<i>gedesü</i> ‘intestine’	2
<i>noγoy_a</i> ‘vegetables’	3
<i>čayariγ čisu čayasun güjege</i> ‘ring-shaped blood and paper-shaped rumen’	1
<i>jüsüm bisilay</i> ‘a slice of cheese’	1
<i>qataysan talq_a</i> ‘dried bread’	2
<i>jürüke</i> ‘heart’	1
<i>nige jüsüm</i> ‘one slice (of human flesh)’ (implied object) (cf. corpus example No. 550)	1
<i>amtatu tömösö</i> ‘delicious potatoes’	1
<i>mal</i> ‘cattle’	1
<i>sün ündüsü</i> ‘water chestnut’	1
<i>yambar idege</i> ‘what food’	1
<i>800 tümen jing qangyal_a yin amu</i> ‘8 million jins of supply food’ (compound noun)	1
<i>kedün adqu qayuruγsan amu</i> ‘several handfuls of fried millet’ (compound noun)	2
<i>γulir</i> ‘flour’	2
<i>bingjilin</i> ‘ice-cream’	2
<i>boobo</i> ‘cake; pastry’	1
<i>injaγ_a</i> ‘wild goat’	1
<i>bangši</i> ‘dumplings’	3
<i>dabusu</i> ‘salt’	2
<i>orqodai</i> ‘ginseng’	2
<i>qar_a tamaki</i> ‘opium’	1
<i>yisüken keseg ayaruul</i> ‘only nine pieces of dried cheese’	1
<i>bököli</i> ‘meat of a whole sheep’	1
<i>nige tarbus</i> ‘one watermelon’	2
<i>nige qurud</i> ‘one cheese’	1
<i>kegür</i> ‘corpse’	1
<i>ebesü bordoy_a idekü ügei</i> ‘not eat grass and forage’	1
<i>ebesü noγoy_a idegsen</i> ‘eat grass and vegetables’	1
<i>boobo sikir idekü</i> ‘eat pastries and sugar’	1
<i>usu</i> ‘water’	2

Appendix 2 Direct object nouns with generic meanings in the direct case form for *uuyu-* ‘drink’

Direct Object Nouns	Raw Count
<i>čaj</i> ‘tea’ (including modifiers such as measure words/adjectives/predicative participles/attributes formed by genitive case)	58
<i>ariki</i> ‘alcohol; spirit; wine’ (including modifiers such as adjectives/measure words/interrogative pronoun/attributes formed by genitive case)	53
<i>usu</i> ‘water’ (including modifiers such as participles/measure words/adjectives/attributes formed by genitive case)	33
<i>em</i> ‘medicine’ (including modifiers such as predicative participles/interrogative pronouns)	9
<i>qunday_a</i> ‘goblets (of wine)’ (including modifiers such as numerals/pronouns)	3
<i>darasu</i> ‘rice wine’	1
<i>sine öndege</i> ‘new egg’	1
<i>ayıray</i> ‘sour milk’	2
<i>orqodai bar nayırayuluysan bey_e yin teǵigel ün rilü</i> ‘pill made of ginseng for nutrition’	1
<i>rasiyan rilü</i> ‘hot spring water and pill’	1
<i>pijuu</i> ‘beer’ (including those modified by adjectives)	1
<i>nige ĵing</i> ‘one jin (of wine)’	2
<i>dang talq_a</i> ‘pure powder’	1
<i>šölö</i> ‘soup’ (including attributes formed by genitive case, i.e. qonin-u šölö ‘mutton soup’)	2
<i>qalayun čisu</i> ‘hot blood’	1

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