

CHAPTER ELEVEN

KALMUCK

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The Kalmuck (Kalmyk) language (*xalyng keln*) is a Western Mongolic language spoken mainly in the Kalmuck Republic (Republic of Kalmykia), the former Kalmuck ASSR, which since 1992 forms a sovereign entity within the Russian Federation. Outside of the republic, Kalmuck is spoken in several other parts of Russia, including, in particular, the provinces (*oblast'*) of Astrakhan, Rostov, Volgograd, and Orenburg, and the region (*krai*) of Stavropol'. A small number of people identified as Kalmuck also live in the Issyk Kōl region of Kyrgyzstan. The total Kalmuck population in the Russian Federation, according to the census of 1989, is about 165,800 people, most of whom (146,300) live in the Kalmuck Republic. A large proportion of the Kalmuck have, however, lost the native language in favour of Russian, and it is unclear whether the recent political changes can revert the ongoing process of linguistic assimilation.

In the ethnic and linguistic sense the Kalmuck belong to the larger context of the Oirat (Torghut, Dörbet, Öelet, Khoshut). More specifically, they descend from those Oirat tribes (mostly Torghut and Dörbet) which were forced to emigrate from their original homeland in Jungaria in 1616 because of internal political pressure. They migrated westwards and settled along the Lower Volga and the Caspian Sea, submitting to Russian suzerainty. Much ink has been spilled about the etymology of the ethnonym Kalmuck (*xalyng*), but according to one of the most convincing hypotheses it is connected with the Mongolic stem **kali-* 'to fly away, to soar; to flow over' (+ the suffix **.mag*), implying that the Kalmuck were 'people who flew away from their country', i.e. emigrants from Jungaria. However, after their relations with the Russians worsened in the eighteenth century, part of the Kalmuck population returned in 1771 to Jungaria, where they re-entered the composition of the rest of the Oirat.

From 1648 till approximately 1918–24 the Kalmuck used the Oirat 'Clear Script' (*tod bicg*), created by the Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita (1599–1662) by adding new letters and diacritics to the Mongol (Uighur-Mongol) script, as used for Written Mongol and known to the Kalmuck as the 'Original Script' (*xudm bicg*). Since 1918, except for a short period between 1931 and 1938, when a Roman orthography was used, Kalmuck has been written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Several Cyrillic orthographies have been in use, with the current official variety including a number of special letters also used in the Cyrillic orthographies of Khalkha and/or Buryat. The Kalmuck literary language has an official norm, used in native language education in the Republic of Kalmykia, though much of the administration in the republic takes place in Russian.

There are two main dialects in Kalmuck. Dörbet is mostly spoken in the west of the Kalmuck Republic, while Torghut prevails in the east. The subdialects spoken by the Orenburg and Ural Kalmuck also belong to the Torghut dialect. Busawa or Don Kalmuck is a mixture of Dörbet and Torghut. The modern literary language is mainly based on the Torghut dialect, though it incorporates a large number of concessions to Dörbet. The dialectal differences are generally small, and standard Kalmuck, even in its modern form,

retains a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility with regard to the Oirat dialects spoken in China.

The main argument for recognizing Kalmuck as a separate language, at least in the political sense, is its special history in the context of Russia. Especially in the modern standard language, the strong Russian impact is reflected by the presence of a large number of Russian loanwords. In all other respects the Kalmuck lexicon coincides by and large with Common Mongolic. Like other Mongolic languages, Kalmuck therefore also has borrowings from Sanskrit and Tibetan (especially in the older religious vocabulary), as well as from Chinese (mainly indirectly) and, of course, Turkic. Occasional Persian and Arabic words have mainly entered the language via the intermediation of Turkic. Most of these foreign elements are well known also from other Mongolic languages.

DATA AND SOURCES

Kalmuck is a well-documented language with rich sources on all fields, as summarized by Nicholas Poppe (1955) and D. A. Pavlov (1984). As the first general description of the language, the classic work by Władysław Kotwicz (1929) has to be mentioned, followed by G. D. Sanzheev (1940). Modern works of a more normative character include those by D. A. Pavlov (1963, 1968) on phonology, B. B. Badmaev (1966) on morphology, P. C. Bitkeev *et al.* (1983) on phonology and morphology, as well as U. U. Ochirov (1964) and G. C. Pyurbeev (1977–9) on syntax. Brief grammatical sketches in collective works include Udo Posch (1964), B. X. Todaeva (1968), and G. C. Pyurbeev (1997). Specialized topics of morphology and morphosyntax are discussed by Pentti Aalto and Armas Salonen (1945) and Uwe Bläsing (1984), while J. C. Street (1962) is an important contribution to the phonological analysis of Kalmuck.

The Kalmuck lexicon is documented in several large works. The most comprehensive scientific dictionary, based on a wide range of dialects and containing also grammatical information, is that by G. J. Ramstedt (1935, Kalmuck–German), indexed by John R. Krueger (1961). Modern normative dictionaries of literary Kalmuck include those published under the editorship of B. D. Muniev (1977, Kalmuck–Russian) and I. K. Ilishkin (1964, Russian–Kalmuck). Another practical work is A. Bormanshinov and G. Zagadinov (1963, Kalmuck–English).

The diachrony of Kalmuck is likewise discussed in a considerable number of general and specialized publications. Gerhard Doerfer (1965) provides a presentation of relevant Western philological material, while the overall history of the Kalmuck language is summarized by Pavel Poucha (1967) and C.-D. Nominxanov (1975). Johannes Benzing (1985) gives an encyclopaedic treatment of Kalmuck synchrony and diachrony, including also dialectology. The foreign lexical elements in Kalmuck are analysed by Krueger (1966, 1968, Sanskrit and Tibetan), V. I. Rassadin (1983, Turkic), and K. H. Menges (1966, Russian). The evolution of the modern literary language under the impact of increasing bilingualism in Russian is discussed by I. K. Ilishkin (1972).

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Kalmuck has eight short vowel phonemes: the two low vowels *a* *ä*, the three mid-high vowels *o* *ö* *e*, and the three high vowels *u* *ü* *i* (Table 11.1). There are virtually no symptoms of vowel rotation, except that the high rounded back vowel *u* can be pronounced with a slightly lower tongue position than the high front vowels *ü* *i*. The front vowels *ä* *ö* *ü* are frequently of a metaphonic origin (palatal umlaut), as in *mörn* ‘horse’ < **mori/n*,

TABLE 11.1 KALMUCK VOWELS

<i>u</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>ä</i>

TABLE 11.2 KALMUCK CONSONANTS

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>k</i>
	<i>ts</i>		<i>c</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>g</i>
			<i>j</i>
	<i>s</i>		<i>sh</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>x</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>gh</i>
	<i>l</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>ng</i>
	<i>r</i>	<i>ry</i>	
		<i>y</i>	

but the segments *ö ü* can also represent the corresponding original front vowels **ö *ü*, as in *mör* ‘trace’ < **mör*.

All vowel qualities have long (or doubled) counterparts: *aa ää oo öö ee uu üü ii*. The opposition between short and long vowels is, however, valid only for the initial syllable. In non-initial syllables, original short vowels disappear, or are strongly reduced (retaining no phonemically relevant qualitative oppositions), e.g. pl. *ek.nr* ‘mothers’ < **eke.ner*. Correspondingly, original long (contracted) vowels are shortened in non-initial syllables, e.g. com. *böö-lä* ‘shaman’ < **böö-lää* < **böxe-lüxei*. This situation is correctly reflected by the present-day orthography, in which original short vowels are represented by single letters in the initial syllable and by zero in non-initial syllables, while original long vowels are represented by doubled letters in the initial syllable and by single letters in non-initial syllables, e.g. **eknr**, **böölä**.

The Kalmuck consonant system has some 26 regular members (Table 11.2). Additionally, there are a number of marginal consonant phonemes and orthographical segments, notably **f** (*f*), **zh** (*zh*), and **shh** (*shch*), used only in Russian loanwords.

An important feature of the consonant system, which links Kalmuck with the rest of the Oirat complex, is the presence of the palatal consonants *ty dy ny ly ry*, which represent the original dentals **t *d *n *l *r*, palatalized under the influence of **i* in cases where no umlaut has taken place, as in *uutyxn* ‘rather small’ < **uyitakan*. As in the current orthographies of Khalkha and Buryat, palatalization is orthographically indicated by using the Cyrillic sign of palatalization, or also, especially in the position before *i* or *ii*, by using separate vowel letters (*ī* after the dentals vs. *i* after the palatals). Like Khalkha, Kalmuck also has an opposition between the dental and palatal (alveopalatal) reflexes of the original sibilant obstruents **c *j *s*. In these cases, the palatals *c j sh* are orthographically distinguished from the dentals *ts z s* by using separate basic letters.

Another important development is the uvularization and spirantization of the original velar stops **k *g* before velar vowels into *x gh* (orthographically **x h**), as in

xörn ‘20’ < **kori/n*, *ghurwn* ‘3’ < **gurba/n*. Due to umlaut and vowel reduction, the segments *x gh* can contrast with the corresponding synchronic stops *k g*. A phonetic spirantization is also characteristic of the weak dental sibilant obstruent (orthographically *z*), though both the corresponding palatal segment *j* and the strong segments *ts c* continue to be pronounced as affricates.

The official Cyrillic orthography of Kalmuck is not in all respects phonemic. An important deviation is, for instance, involved in the orthography of certain monosyllabic words. A long vowel in monosyllabic words with no final consonant, or in words ending in one of the consonants *l r n*, is orthographically shortened, cf. e.g. **jun** for both *zuun* (< **jaxu/n*) ‘hundred’ and *zun* (< **jun*) ‘summer’. The length is, however, restored when a suffix is attached to the word, e.g. **bu** : **buug** for *buu* ‘rifle’ : acc. *buu-g*, **sän** : **sääxn** for *sään* ‘good’ : *sää.xn* ‘pretty’. Also, as in Khalkha and Buryat, recent Russian loanwords retain the original Russian orthography irrespective of what their phonemic shape in the oral language is. All such items will below be cited in boldface.

WORD STRUCTURE

In so far as the loss of all short vowels in non-initial syllables is accepted as a phonological reality, Kalmuck (like Mongol proper) is a language with exceptionally complicated medial and final consonant clusters. Phonetically, these clusters can have a syllabified structure, manifested in the presence of syllabic consonants and/or non-distinctive vocalic elements, e.g. *kö.dl.msh* ‘labour’. The accent (expiratory stress) tends to fall on the last segmentally distinctive vowel of the word. In non-initial syllables, such a vowel normally represents a diachronic long vowel (originally a contracted double vowel), e.g. *shulun* ‘fast’ < **shuluun* < **siluxun*.

The vowels of non-initial syllables are also affected by the palato-velar vowel harmony, according to which a Kalmuck word can normally only contain either back vowels or front vowels. Since the original short vowels of non-initial syllables are lost, vowel harmony is synchronically valid only for the diachronic long vowels. The harmonically alternating pairs are *u a* (back) vs. *ü ä* (front), e.g. *ükr* ‘cow’ : abl. *ükr-äs* : dir. *ükr-ür* vs. *uul* ‘mountain’ : abl. *uul-as* : dir. *uul-ur*. The vowel **i* is originally neutral, and its synchronic reflexes can occur with both back and front vowels, cf. e.g. *onyg.ta* ‘attentive’ < **onig.tai*. A long **ii* is, however, treated as a front vowel, and it can condition the appearance of a palatal variant after a velar stem, e.g. *awgh* ‘uncle’ : gen. + gen. *awgh-in-ä* ‘of the uncle’s’, *aaw* ‘father’ : gen. + instr. *aaw-in-är* ‘like one of the father’s’.

Another morphophonological phenomenon conditioned by vowels is the adding of the connective consonant *gh* < **g* between two diachronic long vowels (synchronically a stem-final long vowel and a suffix-initial short vowel), e.g. *düü* (orthographically **dü**) ‘younger brother’ : abl. *düü/gh-äs*. Kalmuck also preserves the alternation of the stem-final unstable **n* with zero in nominal stems, e.g. *yama/n* ‘goat’ : *yama.c* ‘goatherd’. In the nominal declension, the nasal is preserved in the nominative case, but it is lost in the indefinite, accusative, instrumental, and possessive cases, e.g. nom. *yaman* : indef. *yama* : acc. *yama-g* : instr. *yama/gh-ar* : poss. *yama-ta*. Stems ending in a stable **n*, e.g. *xaan* ‘emperor’ < **kaxan*, have no similar alternation. Owing to the loss of the final short vowels, there are also stems with a secondary final *n*, e.g. *xun* ‘swan’ < **kuna*. Since Kalmuck, unlike many other Mongolic languages, preserves the distinction between final **n* and **ng*, the primary (stable or unstable) and secondary occurrences of stem-final *n* are phonemically identical. The three stem types are, however, morphophonologically

distinct. Stems ending in the velar nasal **ng* show the alternation of *ng* (prepausally and before a suffix-initial consonant) with *ngg* (before a suffix-initial vowel).

WORD FORMATION

Kalmuck has the following formally (morphologically and/or syntactically) distinguishable parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, numerals, postpositions, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, particles, and interjections. A formal difference between substantives and adjectives does not exist. Word formation takes place mainly by Common Mongolic derivative suffixes, many of which are not synchronically productive. The most important derivative suffixes are listed below.

Denominal nouns: *.c* (< **.ci*) [occupations], e.g. *ghosn* ‘boots’: *ghos.c* ‘bootmaker’, *xön* ‘sheep’: *xöö.c* ‘shepherd’, **politik** ‘politics’: **politik.c** ‘politician’; *.gcn* (< **.gcin*) [colour of female animals], e.g. *ulan* ‘red’: *ula.gcn* id. (e.g. cow), *xar* ‘black’: *xar.gcn* id. (e.g. horse); *.lg* or (after back vowels) *.lyg* (< **.lig*) [having, containing], e.g. *tsetsg* ‘flower’: *tsetsg.lg* ‘park’, *max/n* ‘meat’: *max.lyg* ‘fleshy, fat’; *.s/n* (< **.sU/n*) [substantival nouns, non-productive], e.g. *dään* ‘war’: *dää.s/n* ‘enemy’, *el.s/n* ‘sand’; *.wc* (< **.bcī*) [cover of], e.g. *nüd/n* ‘eye/s’: *nüd.wc* ‘cover for eyes’, *salyk/n* ‘wind’: *salyk.wc* ‘ventilation flap’; *.wr* (< **.bir* ~ **.bUr*) [moderative adjectival nouns, non-productive], e.g. *sään* ‘good’: *sää.wr* (< **sayi.bur*) ‘rather good’, *tsaghan* ‘white’: *tsagha.wr* (< **cagaxa.bir*) ‘whitish’; *.xn* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.kn* (< **.kAn*) [moderatives, diminutives, and feminines], e.g. *muu* ‘bad’: *muu.xn* ‘rather bad’, *jööl/n* ‘soft’: *jöö.l.xn* ‘rather soft’, *noy/n* ‘king’: *noy.xn* ‘queen’.

Deverbal nouns: *.dl* (< **.dAl*), e.g. *bää-* ‘to be’: *bää.dl* ‘life, existence, nature’, *yow-* ‘to go, to act’: *yow.dl* ‘walk, deed’; *.dn* (< **.dUn*), e.g. *inä-* ‘to laugh’: *inä.dn* ‘laughter’, *xanya-* ‘to cough’: *xanya.dn* ‘cough’; *.g* (< **.g*), e.g. *bic-* ‘to write’: *bic.g* ‘letter’, *id-* ‘to eat’: *id.g* ‘cattle fodder’; *.l* (< **.l*), e.g. *tör-* ‘to be born’: *tör.l* ‘family relationship’, *üz.gd-* ‘to be seen’: *üz.gd.l* ‘phenomenon’; *.lng* (< **.lAng*), e.g. *zow-* ‘to suffer’: *zow.lng* ‘pain, suffering’, *orc-* ‘to turn’: *orc.lng* ‘world, universe’; *.lt* (< **.lTA*), e.g. *damsh-* ‘to get used to’: *damsh.lt* ‘practice’, *dar-* ‘to press’: *dar.lt* ‘press, pressure’; *.m* (< **.m*), e.g. *ishk-* ‘to walk’: *ishk.m* ‘step’, *tox-* ‘to saddle’: *tox.m* ‘saddle cloth’; *.mg* (< **.mAg*), e.g. *üür-* ‘to grind’: *üür.mg* ‘fine-grained’, *xuur-* ‘to deceive’: *xuur.mg* ‘forgery’; *.ml* (< **.mAl*), e.g. *bic-* ‘to write’: *bic.ml* ‘manuscript’; *.ts* (< **.cA*), e.g. *bär-* ‘to give’: *bär.ts* ‘gift to a clergyman’, *zar-* ‘to use as a agricultural labourer’: *zar.ts* ‘servant, agricultural labourer’; *.U* (< **.xU*), e.g. *xär-* ‘to return’: *xä.rü* ‘return, answer’, *or-* ‘to enter’: *or.u* ‘profit’; *.Ul* (< **.xUl*), e.g. *nek-* ‘to persecute’: *nek.ül* ‘persecution’, *xar-* ‘to look at’: *xar.ul* ‘watch’; *.Un* (< **.xUn*), e.g. *xal-* ‘to become hot’: *xal.un* ‘hot’, *ser-* ‘to be awake’: *ser.ün* ‘awake’; *.Ur* (< **.xUr*), e.g. *tülk-* ‘to bump into’: *tülk.ür* ‘key’, *xad-* ‘to mow’: *xad.ur* ‘sickle’; *.wr* (< **.bUr*), e.g. *kötl-* ‘to lead’: *kötl.wr* ‘instruction, introduction’, *küünd-* ‘to talk’: *küünd.wr* ‘conversation’. Two of the Common Mongolic participle formatives also follow fully nominalized derivatives: (part. imperf.) *.An* (< **-.xA/n*), e.g. *id-* ‘to eat’: *id.än* ‘food, meal’, *san-* ‘think’: *san.an* ‘idea’; (part. ag.) *.Ac* or (after an original long vowel) *.ghAc* (< **-.xAci*), e.g. *umsh-* ‘read’: *umsh.ac* ‘reader’, *kötl-* ‘to lead’: *kötl.äc* ‘leader’, *üüdä-* ‘to create’: *üüdä.ghäc* ‘creator’. The basic action noun, which can be formed from every verbal stem, has the ending *.lghn* (< **.l.gA/n*), e.g. *saa-* ‘to milk’: *saa.lghn* ‘milking’, *songs-* ‘to hear’: *songs.lghn* ‘hearing’.

Denominal verbs: *.d-* (< **.dA-* or **.d-*), e.g. *duun* ‘voice’: *duu.d-* (< **daxu.da-*) ‘to call’, *örgn* ‘large, wide’: *örg.d-* (< **örge.d-*) ‘to become large’; *j-* (< **.ji-*), e.g. *bayn*

'rich' : *bay.j-* 'to become rich'; *.-l-* or (with assimilation after a nasal consonant) *.n-* (< **.lA-*), e.g. *duun* 'song, voice' : *duu.l-* 'to sing', *sam* 'comb' : *sam.l-* ~ *sam.n-* 'to comb', *em* 'medicine' : *em.n-* 'to cure'; *.r-* or (with dissimilation after stems containing *r*) *.l-* (for transitive verbs), e.g. *kök* 'green' : *kök.r-* 'to become green', *shar* 'yellow' : *shar.l-* 'to become yellow'; *.rx-* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.rk-* (< **.rkA-*), e.g. *dääsn* 'enemy' : *dääs.rx-* 'to show one's military power', *ezn* 'lord, master' : *ez.rk-* 'to behave like a lord'; *.s-* (< **.sA-*), e.g. *tsää* 'tea' : *tsää.s-* 'to want to drink tea'; *.sh-* (< **.si-*), e.g. *aldr* 'fame' : *aldr.sh-* 'to become famous'; *.t-* (< **.tA-*), e.g. *kir* 'dirt' : *kir.t-* 'to become dirty'; *.tr-* (< **.tUrA-*), e.g. *solnggh* 'rainbow' : *solnggh.tr-* 'to shine like a rainbow'; *.ts-* (< **.cA-*), e.g. *shatr* 'chess' : *shatr.ts-* 'to be a chessplayer'.

Deverbal verbs: *.lgh-* (< **.l.gA-*) [causatives from stems ending in a diachronic long vowel], e.g. *suu-* 'to sit down' : *suu.lgh-* 'to set'; *.Ul-* (< **.xUl-*) [causatives from stems ending in a diachronic short vowel], e.g. *xal-* 'to become hot' : *xal.ul-* 'to heat'; *.A-* (< **.xA-*) [id.], e.g. *üld-* 'to remain' : *üld.ä-* (< **ülde.xe-*) 'to leave'; *.gha-* or (after front-vocalic stems) *.gä-* (< **.gA-*) [causatives from stems with an original final liquid], e.g. *sur-* 'to learn; to ask' : *sur.gh-* 'to teach'; *.xA-* (< **.kA-*) [causatives from stems with an original final obstruent], e.g. *bos-* 'to stand up, to rise' : *bos.x-* 'to erect'; *.gd-* (< **.gdA-*) [passives from both primary and secondary vowel stems], e.g. *aw-* 'to take' : *aw.gd-* 'to be taken' (replacing the original **ab.ta-*); *.d-* (< **.dA-*) [passives from both primary and secondary liquid stems], e.g. *al-* 'to kill' : *al.d-* 'to be killed' (replacing the original **ala.gda-*), *ol-* 'to find' : *ol.d-* ~ *ol.gd-* 'to be found'; *.t-* (< **.tA-*) [passives from original obstruent stems], e.g. *ög-* 'to give' : *ög.t-* ~ *ög.gd-* 'to be given'; *.ld-* (< **.ldU-*) [reciprocals], e.g. *al-* 'to kill' : *al.ld-* 'to kill each other'; *.lts-* (< **.lCA-*) [cooperatives], e.g. *umsh-* 'to read' : *umsh.lts-* 'to read together, to help with reading'; *.tsxA-* (< **.cAgA-*) [pluritatives or verbal plurals], e.g. *ke-* 'to do' : *ke.tsxä-* : imp. pl. *ke.tsxä-tm* 'do!' (of many people). All the above-mentioned types of deverbal verb are fully productive and may be classified as manifestations of the category of verbal voice (*genera verbi*). In some cases, several alternative suffixes are used in a single function, but with different meanings, e.g. *songs-* 'to hear' : caus. *songs.ul-* 'to make one hear' ~ *songs.x-* 'to inform of' ~ *songs.x.a-* 'to announce'.

Apart from the suffixally formed verbal derivatives, Kalmuck has a large number of verbal compounds. These complexes, typically consisting of the imperfective converb of a semantic main verb + a conjugated form of an auxiliary or modal verb, are used to express different *Aktionsarten*. Some of the most important types of verbal compound include: *-j+bää-* (conv. imperf. + *bää-* 'to be') > *.jA-* [the progressive construction], e.g. *uu-j bää-* ~ *uu.jä-* 'to be drinking'; *-j+bol-* (conv. imperf. + *bol-* 'to become') [possibilitatives], e.g. *tanas yum sur.j bol.xiy* 'may I ask you something?'; *-j+üz-* (conv. imperf. + *üz-* 'to see') [trying to do something], e.g. *en ügmüdig nüilwrärny salgh.j üztn* 'try to split up these words into their syllables!'; *-j+ir-* (conv. imperf. + *ir-* 'to come') [movement towards the speaker], e.g. **pöctalyon** *bicig aw.c ir.w* 'the post-boy brought a letter'; *-j+ork-* > *.ck-* (conv. imperf. + *ork-* 'to throw') [perfectives from transitive verbs], e.g. *shiin küighän täw.j ork.w* 'the car tyre has completely lost its air'; *-j+od-* (conv. imperf. + *od-* 'to go') [perfectives from intransitive verbs], e.g. *tsasn xääl.j od.w* 'the snow has completely melted'; *-j+ög-* (conv. imperf. + *ög-* 'to give') [doing something for the benefit of somebody else], e.g. (dur.) *bic.j ög.nä* '[he] writes down (for someone else)'.

NUMBER AND CASE

Kalmuck preserves most of the Common Mongolic plural and collective suffixes. Their use depends not only on the stem-final sound, but also on the semantics of the nominal stem to which they are attached. The plural markers are: *.s* (< **.s*), on original vowel

stems, e.g. *ghaxa* ‘pig’ : pl. *ghaxa.s*; *.d* (< **.d*), on original consonant stems ending in *n* *l r* (which are lost before the plural suffix), e.g. *colu/n* ‘stone’ : pl. *colu.d, nökr* ‘friend’ : pl. *nök.d*; *.Ud* (< **.VxUd*), on original consonant-stems, especially those ending in *g*, e.g. *xalyng* ‘Kalmuck’ : pl. *xalyng.ud*; *.mUd* (< **.nUxUd*), on both original and secondary consonant stems, e.g. *ger* ‘house’ : pl. *ger.müd, con* (< **cino*) ‘wolf’ : pl. *con.mud*; *.nr* (< **.nAr*), on stems ending in a diachronic single vowel and denoting human beings, e.g. *ek* (< **eke*) ‘mother’ : pl. *ek.nr, bagsh* (< **bagsi*) ‘teacher’ : pl. *bagsh.nr*. The various plural suffixes can also be combined, as in *orn* ‘country’ : pl. *or.d.ud, bickn* ‘small, young’ : pl. *bick.d.üd, düü* ‘younger brother’ : pl. *düü.nr.müd*. Examples of alternating plural suffixes are: *ghalu* ‘goose’ : pl. *ghalu.d* (normative) ~ *ghalu.s*; *terz* ‘window’ : pl. *terz.s* ~ *terz.müd*.

Suffixal complexes that may be classified more specifically as collective markers include: *.cUd* (< **.cixUd*), denoting groups of human beings, e.g. *bagh* ‘small’ : coll. *bagh.cud* ‘young people’, *ik* ‘big’ : pl. *ik.cüd* ‘adults’; and *.tn* (< **.tAn*, originally the plural of the possessive adjectives in **.tU, *.tAi*), e.g. *äm/n* ‘life’ : *äm.tn* ‘living beings; animal/s’, *туру/n* ‘hoof’ : *туру.tn* ‘ungulate animal/s’.

The regular nominal paradigm of Kalmuck comprises the following suffixally marked cases: genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, possessive, and directive. There is no neutralization between the genitive and the accusative. An additional case-like form is the terminative, which is, however, rare. The allomorphy of the case endings follows the normal Common Mongolic patterns (Table 11.3), with partly different suffix variants used for original single-vowel and consonant stems (V/C), obstruent stems (O), nasal stems (N), and double-vowel stems (VV). A minor idiosyncrasy is also shown by those double-vowel stems which are synchronically monosyllabic (#CVV).

The unmarked nominal stem functions as a nominative, which is used as the citation form in dictionaries, e.g. *ger* ‘house’, *mörn* ‘horse’. In the sentence, the nominative is the form of the subject and the indefinite object. For stems ending in an unstable /*n* it is possible to speak of a separate *indefinite* case (form of the indefinite object), which, unlike the nominative (form of the subject) has no final nasal, e.g. nom. *maxn* ‘meat’ : indef. *max*, as in *max shar-* ‘to roast meat’.

The genitive ending has the basic shape *-n* (used after original double-vowel stems), which most often appears with a preceding connective vowel *i* (after original single-vowel and consonant stems), e.g. *taka* ‘hen’ : gen. *taka-n*, *shkol* ‘school’ : gen. *shkol-in*,

TABLE 11.3 KALMUCK CASE MARKERS

	V/C	O	N	VV	#CVV
gen.	<i>-in</i>		[<i>n</i>]- <i>ä</i>	<i>-n</i>	/ <i>gh-in</i>
acc.	<i>-ig</i>			<i>-g</i>	
dat.	<i>-d</i>	<i>-t</i>			
abl.	<i>-As</i>			/ <i>gh-As</i>	
instr.	<i>-Ar</i>			/ <i>gh-Ar</i>	
com.	<i>-lA</i>				
poss.	<i>-tA</i>				
dir.	<i>-Ur</i>			/ <i>gh-Ur</i>	
term.	<i>-tsA</i>				

teeg ‘steppe’ : gen. *teeg-in*. After monosyllabic double-vowel stems, the connective consonant *gh* is present, e.g. *düü* ‘younger brother’ : gen. *düü/gh-in*. After original nasal stems the suffix variant *-A* (< **-Ai*) is used, e.g. *mod/n* ‘tree’ : gen. *modn-a*, *xön* (< **koni/n*) ‘sheep’ : gen. *xöön-ä* (< **konin-ai*), cf. *xun* ‘swan’ (< **kuna*) : gen. *xun-i-n* (< **kuna/y-in*). The variant *-A* is also sometimes used instead of *-in* to indicate a semantic difference, as in *ükr-ä maxn* ‘beef’ vs. *ükr-in maxn* ‘the meat of the cow’. Another variant, attested sporadically after nasal stems, is *-i* (< **-ii*), e.g. *asxn-i bushmud* ‘evening dress’; *shkolin zun-i amrlt* ‘summer vacation of school’.

The accusative ending is *-g* (after original double-vowel stems) or, with a connective vowel, *-ig* (after original single-vowel and consonant stems), e.g. *taka* ‘hen’ : acc. *taka-g*, *yama/n* ‘goat’ : acc. *yama-g*, *mal* ‘cattle’ : acc. *mal-ig*.

The dative (dative-locative) ending is *-d* (after both vowel and consonant stems) or *-t* (after obstruent stems), e.g. *mör/n* ‘horse’ : dat. *mörn-d*, *nökr* ‘friend’ : dat. *nökr-t*.

The ablative and the instrumental have the endings *-As* and *-Ar* or (after double-vowel stems) */gh-As* and */gh-Ar*, respectively, e.g. *us/n* ‘water’ : abl. *usn-as*, *noxa* ‘dog’ : abl. *noxa/gh-as*, *ghar* ‘hand’ : instr. *ghar-ar*, *ghos/n* ‘boots’ : instr. *ghos-ar*, *tögä* ‘wheel’ : instr. *tögä/gh-är*. The former case forms modal adverbs, e.g. *sään* ‘good’ : instr. *sään-är* ‘well’, while the latter (ablative-comparative) is used in the comparative construction, e.g. (pronominal example) *ter man-as öndr* ‘he is higher than me’.

In the comitative sphere, Kalmuck has both the primary comitative case in *-la* (< **-IUXA.i*) and the secondary possessive (sociative) case in *-ta* (< **-tAi*), e.g. *ek* ‘mother’ : com. *ek-lä*, *küükn* ‘girl’ : com. *küükn-lä*, *ger* ‘house’ : poss. *ger-tä*, *kerm* ‘squirrel’ : poss. *kerm-tä*. The element *.ta* is also used in its original function as a derivative suffix, deriving possessive adjectival nouns, e.g. *mör.tä küün* ‘a man with a horse’, *xoyr niilwr.tä ügmüd* ‘bisyllabic words’, cf. also the construction of the type *suulgh.ta üsn* ‘a bucket of milk’ (literally: ‘milk with a bucket’), *shil.tä ärk* ‘a bottle of vodka’ (literally: ‘vodka with a bottle’). The opposite meaning (the privative construction) is expressed by the negative noun *uga* ‘without’, which can also occur as a suffix in the shape *.go*, e.g. *ger uga küün* > *ger.go küün* ‘unmarried man’ (literally: ‘man without a house’) vs. *ger.tä küün* ‘married man’ (literally: ‘man with a house’).

The directive ending is *-Ur* (after single-vowel or consonant stems) or */gh-Ur* (after double-vowel stems). Its basic function is the indication of direction towards, e.g. *balghs/n* ‘city’ : dir. *balghsn-ur* ‘towards the city, in the direction of the city’. In the modern language, the directive is increasingly less common, being replaced by constructions with the postposition *tal* ‘(to the) side (of)’, as in *bagsh shkol tal yowj yowna* ‘the teacher is going in the direction of the school’. The Common Mongolic prosecutive with the ending *-A/gh-Ur* appears in a number of petrified spatial adverbs, e.g. *tendäghür* ‘along there’.

The terminative (or limitative) has the ending *-tsA* (< **-cAi*), e.g. *belküs/n* ‘belt’ : term. *belküs-tsä* ‘up to the level with the belt’. This case form is normally used with nouns denoting body parts, as in *badm küzü-tsä usnd orj öömw* ‘Badma bathed in the water up to the chin’.

Examples of complete paradigms (without the terminative): *baghn* (< **bagana*) ‘pillar’ : gen. *baghn-in* : acc. *baghn-ig* : dat. *baghn-d* : abl. *baghn-as* : instr. *baghn-ar* : com. *baghn-la* : poss. *baghn-ta* : dir. *baghn-ur*; *ger* (< **ger*) ‘house’ : gen. *ger-in* : acc. *ger-ig* : dat. *ger-t* : abl. *ger-äs* : instr. *ger-är* : com. *ger-lä* : poss. *ger-tä* : dir. *ger-ür*; *ang* (< **ang*) ‘game’ : gen. *ang/g-in* : acc. *ang/g-ig* : dat. *ang-d* : abl. *ang/g-as* : instr. *ang/g-ar* : com. *ang-la* : poss. *ang-ta* : dir. *ang/g-ur*; *mös/n* ‘ice’ (< **mösü/n*) : indef. *mös* : gen. *mösn-ä* : acc. *mös-ig* : dat. *mösn-d* : abl. *mös-äs* : instr. *mös-är* : com. *mösn-lä* : poss. *mös-tä* : dir. *mösn-ür*;

xaranda ‘pencil’ (from Russian) : gen. *xaranda-n* : acc. *xaranda-g* : dat. *xaranda-d* : abl. *xaranda/gh-as* : instr. *xaranda/gh-ar* : com. *xaranda-la* : poss. *xaranda-ta* : dir. *xaranda/gh-ur*; *temä/n* (< **temexe/n*) ‘camel’ : indef. *temä* : gen. *temän-ä* : acc. *temä-g* : dat. *temän-d* : abl. *temän-äs* : instr. *temä/gh-är* : com. *temän-lä* : poss. *temä-tä* : dir. *temän-ür*.

Examples of double declension in Kalmuck are most commonly based on the genitive and the possessive, both of which can be extended by the markers of any other case (especially the dative, ablative, instrumental, or directive), e.g. *köwü/n* ‘son’ : gen. abl. *köwün-ä/gh-äs* ‘from the son’s’ : poss. dat. *köwü-tä-d* ‘to the one with a son’. The complex marker of the double genitive of nasal stems has the shape *-A/gh-in*, e.g. gen. gen. *köwün-ä/gh-in* ‘of the son’s’. The combination of dative with the ablative is also found, though mainly in fixed expressions, e.g. dat. abl. *ger-t-äs* ‘from home’, *ghar-t-äs* (with possessive suffixes) ‘out of the hand of’.

NUMERALS

The original native cardinal numerals for the basic digits are: 1 *neg/n*, 2 *xoyr*, 3 *ghurw/n*, 4 *dörw/n*, 5 *taw/n*, 6 *zurgha/n*, 7 *dola/n*, 8 *nääm/n*, 9 *yis/n*; for the tens: 10 *arw/n*, 20 *xör/n*, 30 *ghuc/n*, 40 *döc/n*, 50 *täw/n*, 60 *jir/n*, 70 *dal/n*, 80 *nay/n*, 90 *yir/n*; and for the powers of ten: 100 *zuu/n*, 1,000 *minggh/n*, 10,000 *tüm/n*. For the higher powers of ten, the older language used the Tibetan borrowings 100,000 *bum*, 1,000,000 *say*, 10,000,000 *juwa*, and 100,000,000 *dungshur*. Owing to the influence of Russian, the modern system of counting includes the new borrowing 1,000,000 (*neg*) **million**, as well as loan translations of the type 10,000 *arwn mingghn* (10 x 1,000), 100,000 *zuun mingghn* (100 x 1,000).

The behaviour of the unstable /n in numeral stems follows the Common Mongolic pattern. In complex numerals, the former component preserves the final nasal, e.g. 11 *arwn negn*, 300 *ghurwn zuun*. In the stem 1 *neg/n*, however, the final nasal is dropped in attributive position, e.g. 1,267 *neg mingghn xoyr zuun jirn dolan*, similarly: *neg kilogramm ödmg* ‘one kilo bread’. Sometimes *neg* is used like an indefinite article, e.g. *neg küün* ‘a man’. In the nominal declension of the numerals, the behaviour of the final nasal shows occasional differences as compared with regular nouns, cf. 1 *negn* : gen. *negn-ä* : acc. *neg-ig* : dat. *negn-d* : abl. *negn-äs* ~ *neg-äs* : instr. *neg-är* : com. *negn-lä* : poss. *neg-tä* ~ *negn-tä* : dir. *negn-ür* ~ *neg-ür*. Numeral genitives are used to express fractions, e.g. *dörwn-ä ghurwn* ‘three fourths’; *arwn-a dolan* ‘seven tenths’, etc. Numerals can also be combined with the possessive suffixes, e.g. px sg. 2p. *neg-cn* ‘one of you’, *olna neg-ny* ‘one of the many’.

The ordinals are derived from the cardinals by the suffix *.dgc* (perhaps incorporating the agentive participle marker *-gc*), before which the stem-final nasal is dropped: *neg.dgc* ‘first’, *xoyr.dgc* ‘second’, *ghurw.dgc* ‘third’, *dörw.dgc* ‘fourth’, *taw.dgc* ‘fifth’, *zurgha.dgc* ‘sixth’, *dola.dgc* ‘seventh’, *nääm.dgc* ‘eighth’, *yis.dgc* ‘ninth’, *arw.dgc* ‘tenth’, etc. The suffix *.dgc* is also found with some pronominal stems like *kedü.dgc* ‘which in order’ (‘how-manieth’), *edü.dgc* ‘this in order’ (‘so-manieth’). The Common Mongolic ordinal marker *.dwAr* (< **.duxar*) is used in the more specialized expressions *neg.dwär* ‘firstly’, *xoyr.dwär* ‘secondly’, *ghurw.dwär* ‘thirdly’, *dörw.dwär* ‘fourthly’, etc.

Other numeral categories include the multiplicatives, distributives, collectives, and delimitatives. The multiplicatives are formed by the suffix *.t* (< **.tA*), before which the stem-final nasal is dropped in the numeral for 1 but preserved otherwise: *neg.t* ‘once’, *xoyr.t* ‘twice’, *ghurwn.t* ‘three times’, etc. An alternative construction, especially common with higher numerals, involves the use of the multiplicative particles (converbial forms

of *däk-* ‘to repeat’) conv. imperf. *däk-j* or conv. mod. *däk-n*, e.g. *neg däkj* ‘once’, *xoyr däkj* or *xoyr däkñ* ‘twice’, *ghurw däkj* ‘three times’, cf. also *ol däkj*, *kesg däkj*, *kesg däkñ* ‘many times’.

The distributives are formed by the suffixes *.Ad* (< **.xAd*), *.AghAd*, e.g. *ghurw.ad* ~ *ghurw.aghad* ‘by threes’, *dörw.äd* ~ *dörw.äghäd* ‘by fours’, etc. The distributives for 1 and 2 have exceptional roots: *nej.äd* ~ *nej.äghäd* ‘one and one’, *xosgh.ad* ~ *xosgh.aghad* ‘by twos’.

The collectives are formed by the suffixes *.Uln* (< **.xUln*), *.IUln*, *.Urn*, before which the stem-final nasal is dropped: *xoyr.uln* ~ *xoy.urn* ‘two together, both’, *ghurw.uln* ~ *ghurw.luln* ‘three together’, *dörw.ülñ* ‘four together’, *taw.uln* ‘five together’, *zurgh.uln* ~ *zurgha.lulñ* ‘six together’, *dola.lulñ* ‘seven together’, *nääm.ülñ* ‘eight together’, *yis.ülñ* ‘nine together’, *arw.uln* ‘ten together’. Most of the collective numerals are relatively infrequent in the modern literary language.

Both the basic numeral stems (without the stem-final nasal) and the collective derivatives can be extended by the element *.xn* (< **.kAn*), yielding delimitatives: *neg.xn* ‘only one’, *xoyr.xn* ‘only two’, *ghurw.xn* ‘only three’, *dörw.xn* ‘only four’, etc.; *ghurw.ul.xn* ‘only three together’, *dörw.ül.xn* ‘only four together’, *taw.ul.xn* ‘only five together’, etc.; cf. also *ghants.xn* ‘only, the only one’, *kedü.xn* ‘only how many, only some’.

General quantifiers include: *olñ* (< **olan*) ‘many’, as in *olñ jil* ‘many years’; *tsöön* (< **cöxen*) ‘few’, as in *tsöön küün* ‘few people’; *dala* (< **dalai* ‘ocean’) ‘very many, innumerable’, as in *dala yumñ* ‘very many things’; *kesg* (< **keseg* ‘piece’) ‘some, several’, as in *kesg zuun traktor* ‘several hundred tractors’; *zärm* (< **jarim*) ‘a number of’, as in *zärm.s-ny* ‘a number of them’; *öräl* (< **örüxel*) ‘half’, as in *öräl tsää* ‘half a teabrick’; *öräsñ* (< **örüxesüñ*) ‘one of a pair’, as in *öräsñ ghosñ* ‘one boot’; *duñdur* (< **dumda-xur*) ‘one half’, as in *küs duñdur* ‘one and a half’, *xoyr duñdur* ‘two and a half’. Approximate numbers are expressed by the postpositional particles *shaxu* (< **sikaxu*) ‘about’, *ghar* (< **gar-*) ‘over’, e.g. *arw shaxu* ‘approximately ten’, *zuu ghar* ‘more than a hundred’.

PRONOUNS

Kalmuck preserves the stems and stem variants of the Common Mongolic personal pronouns with relatively minor changes (Table 11.4). The most important innovations are the new plural stems 1p. *madñ* : 2p. *tadñ*, formed after the pattern of 1p. pl. incl. *bidñ*. The functional opposition between the original exclusive and inclusive categories is

TABLE 11.4 KALMUCK PERSONAL PRONOUNS

			1p.		2p.	
sg.	nom.		<i>bi</i>		<i>ci</i>	
	gen.		<i>mini</i>		<i>cini</i>	
	acc.		<i>namag</i>		<i>camag</i>	
	obl.		<i>nan-</i>		<i>cam-</i>	
		(excl.)		(incl.)		
pl.	nom.		<i>madñ</i>	<i>bidñ</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tadñ</i>
	gen.	<i>mana</i>	<i>madna</i>	<i>bidnä</i>	<i>tana</i>	<i>tadna</i>
	obl	<i>mana-</i>	<i>madn-</i>	<i>bidñ-</i>	<i>tan-</i>	<i>tadñ-</i>

synchronously lost, and in the standard language the use of the stem *bidn* seems to be restricted to the nominative. In the second person, the suffixally formed plural *taa.nr* is also attested, serving to make a distinction with regard to the basic stem *ta* : *tan-*, which in honorific use can refer to a single person.

The demonstrative pronouns, which are also used in the function of third person personal pronouns, are *en* ‘this’ : obl. *enü/n-* or *üü/n-* : pl. *edn* vs. *ter* ‘that’ : obl. *terü/n-* or *tüü/n-* : pl. *tedn*. Correlative pronominal words include *end* ‘here’ vs. *tend* ‘there’ and (with double declension) abl. *end-äs* ‘from here’ vs. *tend-äs* ‘from there’; *iim* ‘like this’ (< **eyimü*) vs. *tiim* ‘like that’ (< **teyimü*). The corresponding verbal derivatives are: *iig-* ‘to do in this way’ vs. *tiig-* ‘to do in that way’, e.g. *en ködlmshig iig-j kex kergtä* ‘this work has to be done in this way’, *iig-wcn yumn bolxgo* ‘even if [you] do so, it will not bring [you] anything’, *tiig-xlä* ‘if it is so, in that case’; cf. also caus. *iig.ül-* vs. *tiig.ül-* ‘to let someone do in this/that way’.

The interrogative pronouns and their basic derivatives are: *ken* : pl. *ked* ‘who’ : *kedü* (< **kedüi*) ‘how much’ : obl. *kedü/n-* : *kezä* (< **kejexe*) ‘when’; *yuun* (< **yaxun*) ‘what’ : obl. *yuun/n-*; *yamr* (< **yamar*) ~ *yamaran* ‘what kind of’; *aly* (< **ali*) or *alyk* ‘which, what kind of’ : dat. *alyd* ‘where’; *xama* (< **kamaxa*) ‘where’ : *xamaran* ‘where to’. The interrogative verb is: *yagh-* (< **yaxa+ki-*) ‘to do what’ : conv. perf. *yagh-ad* ‘why’. Examples: *en kenä dewtrw* ‘whose book is this?’; *en yamr* ~ *yamaran küün* ‘what kind of person is he?’; *kedü tsag bolj* ~ *yamaran tsag bolj* ‘what’s the time?’; *yamr shin zängg bäänä* ‘is their any news?’; *degtr alyd bäänä* ‘where is the book?’; *alydas irwc* ‘from where did you come?’; *etsken kezä irxmb* ‘when will your father arrive?’; *yuun kexär bäänäc* ‘what are you going to do?’; *yaghad es irwc* ‘why didn’t you come?’.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from the corresponding interrogative pronouns by adding *bolw cign* ~ *bolwcn* ~ *cign* ~ =*cn*, e.g. *kedü bolw cign* ‘however much, any number’, *kezä bolw cign* ~ *kezä bolwcn* ‘whatever time’. When such complexes are inflected, the case endings are attached to *cign* ~ =*cn*, e.g. *ken bolw cign* ‘whoever’ : gen. *ken bolw cign-ä* ‘whosoever’ : dat. *ken bolw cign-d* ‘to whomever’, etc.

The Common Mongolic reflexive pronoun appears in Kalmuck as *ewr-* (< **öber-*) : refl. *ewr-än* ‘oneself’ : gen. *ewr-ä* ‘one’s own’ : obl. *ewr-ä*. The same function can be expressed by the ordinary noun *biy* (< **beye*) ‘body’ : pl. *biy.s*, always combined with a reflexive or possessive suffix, e.g. refl. *biy-än* ‘oneself’ : px. sg. 1p. *biy-m* ‘myself’ : 2p. *biy-cn* ‘yourself’ : 3p. *biy-ny* ‘him/herself’ : pl. px. pl. 2p. *biy.s-tm* ‘yourselves’ : dat. px. sg. 2p. *biy-d-cn* ‘to yourself’, etc. Examples: (refl.) *ewr-än mednaw* ‘I know it myself’; (gen.) *tadn ewr-ä degträn awtn* ‘take your own books!’; (instr. refl.) *ewr-ägħ/-är-n bääx* ‘to live in one’s own way’. The reflexive pronouns are not used very frequently, since the reflexive relationship is generally expressed by the reflexive forms of nominal declension.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The regular genitive forms of the personal pronouns inherently function as possessive pronouns: sg. 1p. *mini* ‘my’ : 2p. *cini* ‘thy’ : pl. 1p. *mana* ~ *madna* ~ *bidna* ‘our’ : 2p. *tana* ~ *tadna* ‘your’. The same is true of the genitive forms of the demonstrative pronouns, as used in reference to the third person: sg. *üünä*, *tüünä* ‘his/her’ : pl. *ednä*, *tednä* ‘their’. The possessive pronouns can take case endings (double declension), e.g. sg. 2p. gen. acc. *cini-g*, as well as the substantivizing derivative suffix *.xn*, e.g. *tana.xn* ‘all the yours’.

As in several other Mongolic languages, the pronominal genitives can also be used enclitically after nouns, yielding a set of possessive suffixes. In Kalmuck the possessive

TABLE 11.5 KALMUCK POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.	pl.
1p.	-m	-mdn
2p.	-cn	-tn
3p.		-ny

suffixes are based on the set sg. 1p. *+mini : 2p. *+cini : pl. 1p. *+madna : 2p. *+tana. In the third person, the Common Mongolic suffix *-ni (< *+ini) is used (Table 11.5).

In the normal case, the possessive suffixes are added to the nominal stem without any morphophonological complications, e.g. *ger* ‘house’ : px. sg. 1p. *ger-m* : 2p. *ger-cn* : 3p. *ger-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-mdn* : 2p. *ger-tn*. Nouns ending in an unstable /n lose, however, this segment before those possessive suffixes (sg. pl. 1/3p.) which begin with a nasal, e.g. *köwü/n* ‘son’ : px. sg. 1p. *köwü-m* : 2p. *köwün-cn* : 3p. *köwü-ny* : pl. 1p. *köwü-mdn* : 2p. *köwün-tn*. The genitive -n as well as the accusative -g are also lost before the possessive suffixes, but the loss is facultative in the genitive, meaning that it is possible to construct a fully distinctive possessive set for the genitive, while the accusative set is inherently ambiguous (syncretic) and can also represent the genitive, e.g. gen. px. sg. 1p. *ger-in-m* : 2p. *ger-in-cn* : 3p. *ger-in-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-in-mdn* : 2p. *ger-in-tn*; acc. and gen. px. sg. 1p. *ger-i-m* : 2p. *ger-i-cn* : 3p. *ger-i-ny* : pl. 1p. *ger-i-mdn* : 2p. *ger-i-tn*. The genitive -n can also appear in the possessive declension of nasal stems, e.g. *ghos/n* ‘boot/s’ : gen. *ghosn-a* : px. sg. 1p. *ghosn-a(-n)m* : 2p. *ghosn-a(-n)-cn* : 3p. *ghosn-a(-n)-ny* : pl. 1p. *ghosn-a(-n)-mdn* : 2p. *ghosn-a(-n)-tn*. The accusative -g, on the other hand, is exceptionally preserved in the shape /gh-i- (with a connective vowel) after double vowel stems, e.g. *taka* ‘hen’ : acc. *taka-g* : px. sg. 1p. *taka/gh-i-m* : 2p. *taka/gh-i-cn* : 3p. *taka/gh-i-ny*; similarly *yama/n* ‘goat’ : acc. *yama-g* : px. sg. 1p. *yama/gh-i-m* : 2p. *yama/gh-i-cn* : 3p. *yama/gh-i-ny*, etc. There are no complications in the possessive declension of the other case forms.

The possessive suffixes may also be attached to pronominal words, including the personal pronouns, e.g. *bi-cn* ‘me (of yours)’, *ter-tn* ‘that person (of yours)’, *end-cn* ‘here (with you)’. With regular nouns, the use of the possessive suffixes is not obligatory, for the possessive relationship can also be expressed syntactically (by using the possessive pronouns), e.g. *ner* ‘name’ : *mini ner* ~ *mini ner-m* ~ *ner-m* ‘my name’.

The Common Mongolic reflexive (reflexive-possessive) suffix (*-xA/n) has in Kalmuck the shape -An (after original single-vowel and consonant stems) or /gh-An (after double-vowel stems), before which a stem-final /n is regularly lost, e.g. *mör/n* ‘horse’ : refl. *mör-än*, *köwü/n* ‘son’ : refl. *köwü/gh-än*. The reflexive case paradigm is irregular and includes three different variants of the reflexive marker: the normal variant (-gh)-An in the basic form (used as an accusative) as well as in the genitive, dative, and possessive cases; the abbreviated variant -n in the ablative, instrumental, and directive; and the extended variant -r-n (generalized from the instrumental) in the comitative (formally comitative + instrumental), e.g. *ax* ‘elder brother’ : refl. *ax-an* : gen. *ax-in-an* : dat. *ax-d-an* : abl. *ax-as-n* : instr. *ax-ar-n* : com. *ax-la-r-n* : poss. *ax-ta/gh-an* : dir. *ax-ur-n*. The pattern varies dialectally, however.

IMPERATIVES

The basic imperative for the second person has no suffix and coincides with the stem of the verb, e.g. *ir* ‘come!’, *uu* ‘drink!’. Additionally, Kalmuck has several other

TABLE 11.6 KALMUCK IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	V/C	VV	vx
prec.	-i-	/gh-i-	sg. pl. 2p.
vol.	-iy	-y	
opt.	-s		sg. pl. 1p.
opt. exp.	-s-A		
ben.	-tn		
conc.	-txA		
perm.	-g		
dub.	-wzA	-(w)UzA	
pot.	-mzA		

Common Mongolic forms of the imperative sphere, some of which take personal endings (Table 11.6).

The unmarked imperative refers mainly to the singular, e.g. *öndgn bääxlä, arwn öndg aw* ‘if there are any eggs, buy ten eggs!’. The function of the corresponding plural is filled by the benedictive in *-tn* (irregularly from **-gtUn*), e.g. ben. *ir-tn* ‘(you many) come!’, also with the pluritative suffix, e.g. plurit. ben. *ir:tsxä-tn* id. A more polite command is expressed by the precative in *(/gh)-i-*, which is always used with the personal endings of the second person: sg. *(/gh)-i-c* : pl. *(/gh)-i-t*, e.g. (sg.) *bi örün örlä bosad, nür gharan ughanaw; ci bas tigäd bos-i-c* ‘early in the morning I stand up and I wash my face and my hands; would you please stand up in this way too!’; (pl.) *nanta xalymgaghar küünd-i-t* ‘please speak to me [literally: ‘with me’] in Kalmuck’; *suu/gh-i-t* ‘please sit down’.

A spontaneous desire of the first person is expressed by the volutive in *(-i)y* (< **-yA*), e.g. *tsää uu-y* ‘let us drink tea!’; *yow-iy* ‘let us go!’. Another form referring to the first person is the simple optative in *-s* (< **-sU*), which can also take personal endings: sg. *-s-w* : pl. *-s-wdn* ~ *-s-widn* ~ *-sU-widn*, e.g. *bi gazetd zurgud zurj beld-s-w* ‘I would like to draw (and prepare) pictures for the newspaper’; *surghulyan säänär sur-s-widn* ‘we like to learn our lessons well’. The related suffix of the expanded optative in *-s-A* (< **-sU-xAi*) is used for all persons (both singular and plural, without personal endings) and expresses an unachievable (resigned) wish, e.g. *ir-sä* ‘if only he would come!’.

The imperative of the third person (singular and plural) is expressed by the concessive in *-txA* (< **-tUgAi*), e.g. *umsh-txa* ‘he/they should read; he/they must read’; *keln uls xoorndk ingyllt mend bol-txa* ‘long live friendship among peoples!’; *arshan bol-txa* ‘bon appetit!’. The permissive (also called jussive) in *-g* (< **-g*) may be described as an optative of the third person, e.g. *yowx durta bolxla, yow-g* ‘if he likes to go, he may/should go’; *mal xälä-g* ‘let him look for the cattle!’.

Finally, there are the dubitative and potential forms, attested also elsewhere in Oirat, but rather rarely used in modern Kalmuck, e.g. dub. *ir-wzä* ‘I am afraid [he] will come [but I wish that he would not]’ vs. pot. *ir-mzä* ‘I wish [he] would come [and perhaps he will]’. The dubitative can also be combined with negation (fear of the possibility of non-action), as in *ter irl-go bää-wüzä gighäd ääjänaw* ‘I am afraid that he will not come [but I wish that he would]’.

PARTICIPLES

Kalmuck has in active use the Common Mongolic futuritive, perfective, and habitive participles, all of which can occur (a) adnominally (as attributes), e.g. (part. perf.) *ir-sn küün* ‘the

man who has come'; (b) substantivally (as action nouns or actor nouns), i.e. (acc.) *ir-s-ig kүүndl-tñ* 'honour him who has come'; (c) adverbally (before an auxiliary verb), e.g. *ir-sn bol-*, *ir-sn bää-* 'to have come'; and (d) finitely (as nominal predicates), e.g. *kүүin ir-sn* 'the man has come'. In addition, there are occasional examples of the imperfective participle, which, however, differs from the others in that it is not used substantivally (except in lexicalized cases, which synchronically function as ordinary nouns).

The futuritive participle in *-x* (< **-kU*) acts as the citation form in dictionaries. It has a dimension of modality and expresses an action which will, can, or should take place in the future, e.g. [adnominal] *ir-x kүүin* 'a/the man who will/should come'; [adnominal] *xalyngar umsh-x degtrmūd* 'books that can be read in Kalmuck'; [adverbial] *gertān ir-x boluw* 'I shall have to come home'. The complex *-j-A-x* < *-j+bää-x*, which is formally the futuritive participle of the progressive construction, is used in the function of a present (durative) participle, e.g. *ednā ke-jā-x ködlmsh sään* 'the work they are doing is good'; *üz-jā-x kүүikdt ner ögtñ* 'give names to the girls who can be seen [on the picture]!'.

The perfective participle in *-sn* (< **-gsAn*) expresses the static effect of an action which took place in the past, e.g. *ük-sn* '[someone] who has died', i.e. 'dead'; [finite] *mana noxa ük-sn* 'our dog has died', i.e. 'is dead'; [adnominal] *siwrt namrar or-sn tsasn xawr kürtl kewtnā* 'in Siberia, the snow that has fallen in autumn lies till spring'; [substantival acc.] *bagshin kel-s-ig surghulycñr onygan täwj songstxaw* 'the students listened with attention to what the teacher said'; [substantival dat. px 3p.] *kel-sn-d-ny xanww* 'I am grateful for what he has said'; [adverbial] *dörwn jilā bolzgar sungghagd-sn bäänā* 'he is [one] elected for four years'; **kolxoz ködlmshān duus-sn, kolxozniküd toot-saghan ke-sn** 'the kolkhoz has finished its work, (and) the kolkhoz-workers have settled their accounts'.

The perfective participle suffix occurs also in combination with the copular particle *mön* ('is) that (very same)', yielding *-sn mön* > *-s-mñ*. This construction expresses an objective statement, e.g. **XVII zuun jilin öräl kürtl xalyng uls deerās dorakshan bicdg mongghl bicg edljā-s-mñ** 'till the middle of the seventeenth century the Kalmuck used the Mongol script, which was written from top to bottom'.

The habitive participle in *-dg* (< **-dAg*) refers to the present tense and is used for general assertions, e.g. [adnominal] *mal al-dg ger* 'the house where cattle is slaughtered', i.e. 'slaughterhouse'; [adnominal] *mini suu-dg part* 'the schoolbench in which I sit'; [substantival refl.] *ter tämk tat-dg-an xayj* 'he stopped smoking'. Like the perfective participle, the habitive participle is often used to express an objective statement in combination with the copular particle *mön*, yielding *-dg mön* > *-d-mñ*, e.g. *xalyng keln mongghl örk bülin kelnā tood or-d-mñ* 'the Kalmuck language belongs to the Mongolic language family'.

The imperfective participle in *-A* or (after diachronic double-vowel stems) /*gh-A* (< **-xA*) denotes an action which started in the past and is still going on in the present, e.g. [adnominal] *mini umsh-a degtr* 'the book that I have been reading'; [finite] *badm traktorist ködl-ä* 'Badma works (and has already been working) as a tractor driver'. In the predicative function this participle mostly appears in the third person.

In finite predicative usage, all participles can be combined with the copulas *bilä* (< **bü-lexe.i*) 'was' and *san-j* (< **a-gsan+a-jī*) 'was (long ago)', expressing the past tense with various additional modal connotations, e.g. part. fut. [conditional] *ir-x bilä* 'he would have come'; part. perf. [pluperfect] *ir-sn bilä* 'he had come'; part. perf. *ir-sn san-j* '(it is said that) he had come long ago'; part. hab. *ir-dg bilä* 'he used to come'; part. imperf. *ir-ä bilä* 'he has still been coming'.

The periphrastic combinations of the participles with the copular verbs *bää-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to be; to become' (adverbial use) express various modifications of the nature of

an action (*Aktionsart*), e.g. [inchoative] *anja asxn bolghn xojghra tal ir-dg bol-w* ‘Anja started to come to Khojghar every evening’; *kiitn bol-a bäänä bol-w xawr öörxn* ‘it is still (becoming) cold, but spring is drawing near’; [necessive] *gertän ir-x bol-uw* ‘it was time for me to go home’.

CONVERBS

The converbial structures in Kalmuck, as in many other Mongolic languages, may be divided into three types: (a) units with a synchronically opaque morphological structure (actual converbs); (b) units involving synchronically transparent case forms of substantively used participles (quasiconverbs); and (c) combinations of finite verb forms with modal particles. Of the relevant Common Mongolic structures, Kalmuck preserves the modal, imperfective, perfective, conditional, concessive, terminative, abtemporal, final, and successive converbs (Table 11.7).

The modal converb in *-n* (< **-n*) is relatively unusual in Kalmuck. It connects two verbs into a close unit, with the former verb modifying the latter, e.g. *suu-n untw* ‘he fell asleep (in a) sitting (position)’. Two equal predicates are connected by the imperfective and perfective converbs. The imperfective (or copulative) converb in *-j* (< **-jU*) or (after stem-final **b *g *r*) *-c* (< **-cU*) puts the predicates in a more concrete or special relation towards each other, e.g. *küükd inäld-j xääkrlwd* ‘the girls shouted laughing’, while the perfective (or disjunctive) converb in *(-gh)-Ad* involves no such relationship, e.g. *salykn ködläd toosn gharad bääw* ‘the wind was blowing, and dust rose’. The perfective converb often implies a chronological sequence, e.g. *saglr magazighän xaaghad ger talan gharw* ‘Saglar closed the store, and (then) went home’.

The conditional converb (‘if’) has normally the marker *-wl* (< **-bA+*ele*), but the more archaic variant *-wAs* (< **-bA+a-xasu*) is also attested, though very rarely, e.g. *surghuly sur-was güündny kürc surxmn* ‘if one has to learn, one has to learn till perfection’. The concessive converb (‘although’) occurs both with the synthetic marker *-wcn* and with the original analytic complex *-w+cign* (< **-bA+cigi-ni*), e.g. *xalymg xön muu noosta bol-wcn ik max ik öök ögnä* ‘although the Kalmuck sheep has bad wool, it gives a lot of meat and fat’; *xurta bol-w cign zug dulan ödr* ‘although it is rainy, it is still a warm day’.

The terminative converb in *-tl* (< **-tAlA*) expresses temporal subordination (‘until; while’) and can take the possessive and reflexive suffixes, e.g. (px 3p.) *showug nisj*

TABLE 11.7 KALMUCK CONVERB MARKERS

	VV	V/C	O
conv. mod.		<i>-n</i>	
imperf.		<i>-j</i>	<i>-c</i>
perf.	<i>/gh</i>	<i>-Ad</i>	
cond.		<i>-wl</i>	
conc.		<i>-w+cign > -wcn</i>	
term.		<i>-tl</i>	
abtemp.		<i>-s-Ar</i>	
fin.		<i>-x-Ar</i>	
succ.		<i>-x-lA</i>	

yow-tl-ny xaa- ‘to hit the bird while it is flying’. Its subject can also be indicated by the accusative case, e.g. *nam-ag ir-tl enünd suuja* ‘stay here until I come!’. A temporal or causal subordination (‘since; because’) is involved in the abtemporal converb in *-s-Ar* (< part. perf. instr. **-gsA-xAr*), e.g. *tör-sär* ‘since he was born’; *söö xarnghu bol-sar bi töörüw* ‘because the night was dark, I got lost’.

The final converb in *-x-Ar* and the successive converb in *-x-LA* are synchronically transparent case forms of the futuritive participle (< instr. **-kU-xAr* : com. **-kU-IUxA.i*). Both can have a subject in the accusative. The final converb expresses purpose (‘in order to’), e.g. *us uu-xar irww* ‘I came in order to drink water’, or also, in combination with *bää-* ‘to be’, intention (‘to be going to’), e.g. *cama-g ger aw-xar bäänä gij songslaw* ‘I heard you are going to get married’. The successive converb expresses progression of actions (‘as soon as’), *cama-g ir-xlä bi kinod odnaw* ‘as soon as you come, I will go to the cinema’; also with the possessive and reflexive suffixes, e.g. px sg. 1p. *-x-LA-m* : refl. *x-LA-r-n*. The same function (‘as soon as’) can be expressed by the construction *-m+ tsat-su*, which functions as a complex converbial marker and can take the possessive suffixes, e.g. *ör tsää-m tsatsu bidn gharad yowuwdn* ‘as soon as it dawned, we went away’; (px sg. 2p.) *ir-m tsatsu-cn* ‘as soon as you come’.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

Modern Kalmuck has four simple finite indicative temporal-aspectual forms and one commonly used complex form (Table 11.8). Apart from these, all participles as well as a number of copular particles (*mön, bilä, sanj*) can occupy the finite predicative position.

The only simple finite form of the present tense range is the durative in *-nA* (< **-nA-i*), which also functions as a future. Because of the temporal ambiguity of this form, the actual present tense can also be expressed by the durative of the progressive construction in *-j-A-nA* ~ *-c-A-nA* (< *-C+ bää-nä*). Additionally, a general present tense is expressed by the predicatively used habitive participle, e.g. *cikn xudlc, nüdn ünc, gij xalymgud keldg* ‘the Kalmuck say: the ear is a liar, the eye is a truth-teller’. Correspondingly, the predicatively used futuritive participle can be used to indicate the future tense, e.g. *bi ger talan bicg bic-x-w* ‘I shall write a letter home’.

In the past tense range, Kalmuck has three forms: the terminative in *-w* (< **-bA*), the confirmative in *-lA* (< **-IUxA.i*), and the resultative in *-j* ~ *-c* (< **-CU*). The terminative expresses a narrative past, while the confirmative often has the function of a pluperfect. The resultative has a dimension of evidentiality and is particularly common in fairytales. Various aspects of the past tense can also be expressed by the predicatively used perfective and imperfective participles.

TABLE 11.8 KALMUCK FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

	function	V/C	O
dur.	present-future	<i>-nA</i>	
progr. dur.	actual present	<i>-j-A-nA</i>	<i>-c-A-nA</i>
term.	narrative past	<i>-w</i>	
conf.	pluperfect	<i>-lA</i>	
res.	evidential past	<i>-j</i>	<i>-c</i>

TABLE 11.9 KALMUCK PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.	pl.
1p.	-w/-b	-wdn/-dn
2p.	-c	-t
3p.		-Ø

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

All finite predicates, including regular nouns used as predicates, can take personal endings, which derive from the enclitically used basic (nominative) forms of the personal pronouns (Table 11.9). There are no special endings for the third person. The endings of the first person participate in a morphophonological alternation, according to which the suffix-initial -w(-) is merged with a preceding nasal into -m-b or -m-Ø.

In a phrase without a copula, the personal endings are attached to the predicative noun, e.g. (sg. 1p.) (*bi*) *xalyng-w* ‘I am a Kalmuck’; (pl. 1p.) *bagshnr-wdn* ‘we are teachers’; cf. (sg. 3p.) *ter xalyng-Ø* ‘he is a Kalmuck’. In the past tense, the past copular particle *bilä* ‘was’ can be used, e.g. *saglrin amrlghna ödr bilä* ‘it was Saglar’s resting day’.

In combination with the finite tense-aspect markers, the personal endings yield: dur. sg. 1p. -nA-w : 2p. -nA-c : pl. 1p. -nA-wdn : 2p. -nA-t; term. sg. 1p. -w-w ~ -u-w : 2p. -w-c ~ -u-c : pl. 1p. -w-wdn ~ -u-wdn : 2p. -w-t ~ -u-t; conf. sg. 1p. -lA-w : 2p. -lA-c : pl. 1p. -lA-wdn : 2p. -lA-t; res. sg. 1p. -j-w ~ -c-w : 2p. -j-c ~ -c-c : pl. 1p. -j-wdn ~ -c-wdn : 2p. -j-t ~ -c-t. All plural forms can incorporate the pluritative suffix .tsxA- (verbal plural), which immediately precedes the tense-aspect markers, e.g. plurit. dur. pl. 1p. .tsxA-nA-wdn : 2p. .tsxA-nA-t. In the synthetic durative of the progressive construction, the plural derivative is synchronically ‘infix’d after the progressive marker: progr. dur. pl. 1p. -C-A.tsxA-nA-wdn : 2p. -C-A.tsxA-nA-t (< -C+ bää.tsxA-nA-).

The corresponding personal forms of the predicatively used participles have the complex endings: part. fut. sg. 1p. -x-w : 2p. -x-c : pl. 1p. -x-wdn : 2p. -x-t; part. perf. sg. 1p. -sm-b : 2p. -sn-c : pl. 1p. -sm-dn : 2p. -sn-t; part. imperf. sg. 1p. -A-w : 2p. -A-c : pl. 1p. -A-wdn : 2p. -A-t; part. hab. sg. 1p. -dg-w ~ -d-w ~ -d-uw : 2p. -dg-c : pl. 1p. -dg-wdn : 2p. -dg-t. Again, the plural forms can be accompanied by the derivative suffix .tsxA-, e.g. part. perf. pl. 1p. .tsxA-sm-dn : 2p. .tsxA-sn-t.

A special modal form is created by combining the futuritive participle with the copular particle *mön* > -mn, followed by the personal endings. The resulting paradigm functions as a necessive (or debitative), expressing a moral or ethical obligation (‘should’). The complex synthetic endings are: sg. 1p. -x-m-b : 2p. -x-m-c : 3p. -x-mn : pl. 1. -x-m-dn : 2p. -x-m-t : 3p. -x-mn. Examples: *örm üs aw-x-m-b* ‘I should buy cream and milk’; *ir-x-mn bilä* ‘he should have come’.

SYNTAX

There are no major syntactic differences between Kalmuck and the other mainstream Mongolic languages, including Mongol proper. The discussion below will only focus on two random issues: postpositional phrases and negation.

The *postpositions* in Kalmuck may be divided into four groups: (a) etymologically obscure (primary) postpositions, e.g. *met* ‘like’; (b) postpositions of nominal origin,

e.g. *tal* ‘in the direction of’ < ‘side, direction’; (c) postpositions of adverbial origin, e.g. *deer* ‘above’; and (d) postpositions of converbial origin, e.g. (conv. term.) *kür-tl* ‘until’. Depending on their structure as well as their semantic function (spatial, temporal, causal, final, or comparative), postpositions can be combined with several nominal case forms. The genitive is typically required by many spatial-temporal and causal postpositions, e.g. *ard* ‘behind’, *dund* ‘in the middle of’, *ömn* ‘in front of; before’, *öör* ‘near by, at’, *ghaza* ‘outside of’, *tölä* ‘for the benefit of; because of; instead of’, *tursh* ~ (instr.) *tursh-ar* ‘during, throughout’, *tusk* ~ (instr.) *tusk-ar* ‘about; regarding’. There are, however, many postpositions of this type that can equally well be combined with the nominative, e.g. *deer* ‘on; above’, *dor* ‘under’, *dotr* ‘in; inside of’, *ghatts* ‘on the other side of’, *ööd* ‘upwards along’, *shidr* ‘near to’, (instr.) *ucr-ar* ‘because of’, *xöön* ‘after’, (dat.) *zaagt* ‘between’. Only a few postpositions are combined with the ablative, e.g. (conv. mod.) *aw-n* ‘beginning with’, or the comitative, e.g. *ädl* ‘similar to’.

As in other Mongolic languages, certain postpositions resemble case markers, in that they can take possessive or reflexive suffixes, e.g. [inessive] refl. *ger+dotr-an* ‘in one’s own house’, [superessive] px sg. 1p. *ger+deer-m* ‘on my house’, [subessive] px sg. 1p. *ger+dor-m* ‘under my house’. Some postpositions are ambivalent in this respect, cf. e.g. [directive] px sg. 1p. *ger+tal-m* ~ *ger-i-m tal* ‘in the direction of my house’.

For *negation*, Kalmuck employs several Common Mongolic negative particles. All imperative forms with the exception of the dubitative are negated by the prepositional prohibitive particle *bicä* (irregularly from **bi-tügei*), e.g. *ir-* ‘to come’: neg. imp. *bicä ir*: prec. sg. 2p. *bicä ir-i-c*: ben. *bicä ir-tñ*: vol. *bicä ir-iy*: conc. *bicä ir-txä*: perm. *bicä ir-g*. Most converbs and adnominally used participles are negated by the prepositional particle *es* (< **ese*), e.g. conv. imperf. *es ir-j*: perf. *es ir-äd*: cond. *es ir-wäs*: conc. *es ir-wcn*: succ. *es ir-xlä*: part. fut. *es ir-x*: perf. *es ir-sn*: hab. *es ir-dg*. Predicative participles are, however, negated by the postpositional particle (privative noun) *+uga* > *-go* (or =*go*), e.g. pred. part. fut. neg. *ir-x-go*: perf. *ir-sn+uga*: imperf. *ir-ä-go*: hab. *ir-dg+uga* > *ir-d-go*. The particle *-go* is also used to negate the dubitative, e.g. dub. *ir-wzA*: neg. *ir-wz-go*. A fourth negative particle is *bish* (< **bisi*), which basically negates identity, e.g. *en degtr mini bish* ‘this book is not mine’.

Exceptional constructions are used to negate the finite temporal-aspectual forms. Only the resultative is regularly negated by the particle *-go*, e.g. res. neg. *ir-j-go*. The durative and terminative can be combined with the particle *es*, but the resulting constructions have an interrogative function: neg. interr. dur. *es ir-nä*: term. *es ir-w*. The normal negative counterpart of the durative is expressed by the futuritive participle in combination with the particle *bish*, e.g. dur. *ir-nä*: neg. *ir-x+bish* > *ir-x-sh*. The terminative, on the other hand, is negated by the negated predicative form of the perfective participle, e.g. term. *ir-w*: neg. *ir-sn+uga*. There is also a construction consisting of the perfective converb in combination with the particle *+uga*, which serves as the negation of the confirmative, e.g. conf. *ir-lä*: neg. *ir-äd+uga*. Finally, the modal converb has an exceptional negation, based on the deverbal nominal derivative in *.l* in combination with the particle *+uga*: conv. mod. *ir-n*: neg. *ir.l+uga*.

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