

# Written Oirat

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## Table of Contents

Preface.....	3
Abbreviations.....	4
0. Introduction.....	6
0.1. Origin of Written Oirat.....	6
0.2. Prevalence and usage of Written Oirat .....	6
0.3. Sources .....	7
0.4. Previous studies .....	7
1. Phonology.....	8
1.1. Vowels.....	8
1.2. Consonants .....	9
1.3. Diphthongs .....	11
1.4. Phonological rules.....	12
1.4.1. Vowel harmony .....	12
1.4.2. Consonants .....	12
1.4.3. Labial attraction.....	12
1.5. Influence of the spoken language .....	13
1.5.1. Diphthongs vs long vowels .....	13
1.5.2. Palatalization .....	13
2. Morphology .....	14
2.1. Nominal morphology .....	14
2.1.1. Noun.....	14
2.1.1.1. Number .....	14
2.1.1.2. Gender .....	16
2.1.1.3. Noun cases .....	16
2.1.1.4. Subject possessive marker .....	23
2.1.1.5. Possession .....	23
2.1.2. Pronouns.....	24
2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns .....	24
2.1.2.2. Demonstratives.....	25
2.1.2.3. Reflexives .....	26
2.1.2.4. Interrogative pronouns.....	26
2.1.2.5. Indefinite pronouns .....	27
2.1.2.6. Quantitive pronouns .....	27
2.1.3. Numerals .....	27
2.1.3.1. Cardinal numerals .....	27
2.1.3.2. Ordinal numerals .....	28
2.1.3.3. Collective numerals.....	28
2.1.3.4. Frequentative numerals .....	29
2.1.3.5. Distributive numerals .....	29
2.1.4. Adjectives.....	29
2.1.5. Adverbs .....	29
2.1.5.1. Spatial adverbs .....	29
2.1.5.2. Temporal adverbs.....	29
2.1.5.3. Degree adverbs.....	30
2.1.6. Postpositions.....	30
2.1.7. Nominal negative particles.....	30
2.2. Verbal morphology .....	31
2.2.1. Verb .....	32
2.2.1.1. Personal suffixes .....	32

2.2.1.2. Tense-aspect-mood system.....	32
2.2.1.3. Imperatives.....	32
2.2.1.4. Finite tense-aspect forms .....	33
2.2.2. Verbal modifiers.....	34
2.2.2.1. Verbal nouns .....	34
2.2.2.2. Verbal adverbs .....	36
2.2.3. Negation.....	38
2.2.4. Verbal categorizers .....	40
2.2.4.1. Passive .....	40
2.2.4.2. Causative.....	40
2.2.4.3. Co-operative and reflexive .....	41
3. Syntax.....	42
4. Sample texts .....	43
4.1. The history of the Kalmyk khans.....	43
4.2. Radnabhadra's Moonlight sutra.....	45
Bibliography.....	47

## Preface

Present work is a brief grammar of Written Oirat, which is the traditional literary language of the Western Mongols. The monuments of Written Oirat include several Buddhist, historical and folklore texts, which may be useful for manifold studies on the history, religion and ethnography of the Mongols. This grammar was made in order to help everyone, who is interested in Mongolian culture to become acquainted with Written Oirat texts.

The author is mongolist and writes his Ph.D. thesis on the comparative description of the spoken Oirat dialects. Beside the modern dialects he studies the Oirat literary language and its monuments, with special regard to the influence of the spoken language.

Hereby the author would like to express his thanks to the head of the Department of Inner Asian Studies at Eötvös Loránd University, Ágnes Birtalan, who initiated him to Mongolian studies and made her best for several years to impart her knowledge to him as far as possible. She encouraged him to improve his previous studies on Written Oirat and write the present grammatical summary, which had not been finished without her indispensable help and assistance during my work.

## Abbreviations

AA	Adverbium abtemporale
Abl.	Ablative
Acc.	Accusative
ACc.	Adverbium concessivi
ACd.	Adverbium conditionale
ACt.	Adverbium contemporale
AF	Adverbium finale
AI	Adverbium imperfecti
AM	Adverbium modale
AP	Adverbium perfecti
Arch.	Archaic
AS	Adverbium successivi
AT	Adverbium terminale
Ben.	Benedictive
Caus.	Causative
CC	Connecting consonant
Co.	Co-operative
Coll.	Colloquial
Comm.	Commitative
CV	Connecting vowel
D.-L.	Dative-locative
Distr.	Distributive
DNN	Denominal nominalizer
DNV	Denominal verbalizer
Dub.	Dubitative
DVN	Deverbal nominalizer
DVV	Deverbal verbalizer
Emph.	Emphasizer
Gen.	Genitive
Imp.	Imperative
Inst.	Instrumental
Kalm.	Kalmyk
LS	Locative suffix
NA	Nomen Actoris
Neg.	Negative
NF	Nomen futuri
NI	Nomen imperfecti
Nom.	Nominative
NP	Nomen perfecti
NU	Nomen usus
Opt.	Optative
Part.	Particle
PDS	Possessive derivation suffix
Pl.	Plural
Post.	Postposition
PP	Personal pronoun
PPM	Personal possessive marker
Pr.	Person
Prn.	Pronoun

PrsF.	Praesens futuri
PrsI.	Praesens imperfecti
PrsP.	Praesens perfecti
PrtI.	Praeteritum imperfecti
PrtP.	Praeteritum perfecti
Ref.	Reflexive
SD	Subject determinative
Sg.	Singular
SO	Spoken Oirat
Soc.	Sociative
SPM	Subject possessive marker
Term.	Terminative
Vol.	Voluntative
WM	Written Mongolian
WO	Written Oirat

## 0. Introduction

### 0.1. Origin of Written Oirat

Written Oirat is the traditional literary language of the Western Mongols, who are called Oirats in general. Written Oirat is based on the Oirat script (WO *todorxoi üzüq* 'clear script'), which was created in 1648 by the famous Oirat Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita, Oqtoruyin Dalai. Zaya Pandita created his script in order to eliminate the deficiencies of the Uigur-Mongolian script. The Uigur-Mongolian script has not enough letters to indicate unambiguously the sounds of Mongolian language, and due to its conservative and archaic orthography does not reflect the development of the spoken language. The new script of Zaya Pandita was based on the Uigur-Mongolian script, but had separate letters for each sound, even for the long vowels, which do not exist in the Uigur-Mongolian script at all. The new letters were formed by diacritical marks and by minor changes in the shape of the already existed letters.

Beside the new script, Zaya Pandita created also a new literary language with new orthography. This literary language, which is called Written Oirat was closer to the contemporary spoken language in many aspects than Written Mongolian, but the latter exercised strong influence on it. As far we know Zaya Pandita intended the new literary language for the Mongols in general, but it has spread among the Oirats only.

It is subject of the debate that to what extent does the original form of Written Oirat correspond to the contemporary spoken language. For my part I think that Written Oirat is equal with the contemporary clerical reading of Written Mongolian texts. Such reading is not the same as colloquial language, but is based on the vocalic system of that. The written text naturally exercises influence on the reading, especially in the case of holy Buddhist texts, so the archaic features can appear in that.

I will not go into further details here concerning this question, since it can be the subject of an independent study, but I find this theory suitable to explain the peculiar features of Written Oirat.

### 0.2. Prevalence and usage of Written Oirat

Originally, Written Oirat was used on the territory of the Dzungar Khanate (Western Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) by the monks of Buddhist monasteries to make translations of Tibetan religious texts. Later on Written Oirat started to spread in the common usage and it became the official language of the Dzungar chancellery.

The Oirat script and Written Oirat language also reached the Kalmyks, who moved westward from Dzungaria at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and settled down at the mouth of the Volga river in Russia. The other Oirat groups living outside of Dzungaria have taken over the new script and literary language, too.

Written Oirat language was used by almost every Oirat group living scattered from the Volga to China up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the new Soviet regime in Russia has introduced new alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin) for the Kalmyks and therefor detached them from their literary traditions. The Oirat script fell out from usage also in Western Mongolia, and at the middle of the century Written Oirat was used only by the Oirats of Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan, China), where its modernized variant was the official written language. Unfortunately few years ago the Oirat script was replaced by the Uigur-Mongolian in the official usage.

### 0.3. Sources

The monuments of Written Oirat cover wide area of topics:

- Buddhist texts (mostly canonical translations, e.g. *Altan gerel*, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, etc.)
- Folk-religious texts (mostly incense offering texts from Western Mongolia)
- Historical works (*Sarayin gerel*, *Dörbön oyirodiyın töüke*, *Xalimaq xādiyın tuufiyigi xurāji bičiqsen tobči orošibai*, *Xošuuud noyon batur ubaši tümeni tuurbiqsan dörbön oyiradiyın tüüke*, *Dörbön oyiradiyın tuufi tüüke kemē orošiba*, etc.)
- Official documents, letters (letters of Galdan khan to the Russian Tsar, etc.)
- Private document, letters (especially from Kalmykia)
- Codes (*Yeke Cāji*)
- Folklore texts (heroic epic tale *Xan xarangiui*, etc.)

The various types of monuments differ in their language. Buddhist texts have many archaic features inherited from Written Mongolian, while the others (especially letters and folklore texts) are close to the spoken language, the influence of which sometimes is quite strong. The present grammar discusses the traditional form of Written Oirat, but includes some influences of the spoken language, which are wide-spread in the Oirat literature. However does not deal with the rare and inconsistent spoken language forms, as well as with the modernized literary language of the Oirats of Xinjiang.

### 0.4. Previous studies

The earliest academic studies on Written Oirat were made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Russia. The first published grammars are A. Popov's (1847) and A. Bobrovnikov's (1849) works, and the latter is the most detailed description up to the present. Zwick's work (1853) is less known and rarely used by the scholars, probably due to the distinctness of its text (the book is handwritten). Later on only few grammars have been published, these are the brief summary of P. Aalto, the book of Luwsanbaldan and Jahontova. G. Kara and G. D. Sanžeev are also discussed Written Oirat in their books dealing with Mongolian literary languages. Besides these general works, there are several articles concerning the different aspects of Written Oirat. We should mention also the Oirat citation dictionary of J. R. Krueger, which is the only dictionary of Written Oirat at the present.

# 1. Phonology

## 1.1. Vowels

The vowel system of Written Oirat consists of 7 short and 7 long vowels, which are divided into back and front vowel groups. The only exceptions are short *i* and long *ī*, which are neutral (however the equivalents are front-articulated in the spoken language). The front-back and short-long vowel pairs are in phonematic correlation.

Vowels								
		Front			Neutral	Back		
Short	Rounded		ö	ü			o	u
	Not rounded	e			i	a		
Long	Rounded		ō	ū			ō	ū
	Not rounded	ē			ī	ā		

Short vowels are always indicated unambiguously with one letter, but the situation at long vowels is more complex. According to the traditional view, the long *ū* and *ū̄* are indicated with the reduplication of the short vowels<sup>1</sup>, or – especially in early texts – by the *ou* (= *ū*) and *öü* (= *ū̄*) letters. In the case of *ā*, *ē*, *ō* and *ō̄* the Oirat script uses a length-indicating diacritical mark (WO *udān*). *Udān* sometimes occurs after *u*, *ü* and *i*, too, if the word stem has one of these vowels at the end, and a suffix beginning with long vowel follows that, however it does not indicate *ū*, *ū̄* or *ī*, but *ā* or *ē* according to the vowel harmony. E.g.:

- *yabūd* ‘to go’ + AP
- *xarūd* ‘to return’ + AP
- *tabūd* ‘by fives’ (‘five’ + Distr.)

This peculiar orthography is caused by the effort of the Oirat script to preserve the etymological root of the words, even if due to the disappearing of the final short vowels in the spoken language, the suffixes do not take into consideration these roots.

In general, Written Oirat tries to preserve the etymological short vowels (*i*, *u* or *ü*) where they disappeared in the spoken language. If such short vowel and a long vowel follow each other then Written Oirat writes only the second part of the long vowel as shown in the following table:

Etymological short vowel	Long vowel	Orthography	Example
<i>i</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ī</i> ( <i>i</i> + <i>udān</i> )	WM <i>qaniyadun</i> ⇒ WO <i>xanidun</i> ⇒ SO <i>xan'ādn</i> ‘cough’
<i>i</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ī</i> ( <i>i</i> + <i>udān</i> )	WM <i>iniye-</i> ⇒ WO <i>inī-/inē-</i> ⇒ SO <i>inī-</i> ‘to laugh’
<i>u</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ū</i> ( <i>u</i> + <i>udān</i> )	WM <i>yabuqad</i> ⇒ WO <i>yabūd</i> ⇒ SO <i>yowād</i> ‘to go’ + AP
<i>ü</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ū̄</i> ( <i>ü</i> + <i>udān</i> )	WM <i>mörgügged</i> ⇒ WO <i>mörgüüd</i> ⇒ SO <i>mörgüüd</i> ‘to do worshipfully, to do humbly’ + AP
<i>i</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>iu</i>	WM <i>ariqun</i> ⇒ WO <i>ariun</i> ⇒ SO <i>ārūn</i> ‘clean, sacred’
<i>i</i>	<i>ū̄</i>	<i>iü</i>	WM <i>terigün</i> ⇒ WO <i>teriün</i> ⇒ SO <i>türün</i> ‘fej, elsö’

<sup>1</sup> Long *ū* is marked with double *u*, where the second letter does not have the diacritic, which distincts it from *ü*. However it does not mean that long *ū* should be transcribed as *uü*, since the first *u* with diacritic unambiguously shows that the next vowel is a back vowel. Therefore, such transcription (*uü*) of some scholars can be considered as transliteration and not necessary in the common usage.

The role of *udān* was extended in later texts and sporadically indicates real long (or stressed) *ū*, *ū̄* or *ī* (e.g. *Bak'ūnin* ‘Russian personal name’).

Long *ī* is indicated with *iyi*, which looks like a diphthong (see below), but not related to that. Long *ī* mostly occurs in suffixes and rarely in word stems. E.g.:

- *tiyimi* ‘such’
- *bu šiyidke* ‘do not decide’
- *orosiyin dumda* ‘among Russians’
- *xalimaq ulusiyigi önrjülbei* ‘he increased the Kalmyk people’

The *yi* at the beginning of some suffixes following a final short vowel means *ī*, too, although this formation is similar to the diphthongs at first look. Since the final short vowels disappear in the spoken language, they are preserved by Written Oirat orthography only, and do not affect on the pronunciation. E.g.:

- *aprii sarayin xorin yurban ödörtü* ‘on the twenty-third day of April’
- *albatuyin jiryal* ‘the happiness of the vassals’

Actually, the situation is the same as in the case of long vowels and etymological *i*, *u* or *ü*, so the etymological short vowel and the long vowel (*ī* = *iyi*) is united in the orthography and Written Oirat writes only the second part of the long vowel (*yi*).

In contradiction to the traditional view about the long vowel indication of Written Oirat, there is an other theory, which was founded by G. Ĵamiyan and developed further by G. D. Sanžeev. According to their theory the above mentioned long vowels do not exist in Written Oirat, but a diphthong or two separate short vowels stay instead of them. They state that *udān* is a separate letter, which occurs only after vowels and indicates *a* or *e* (*ā* or *ē* at Ĵamiyan) according to the vowel harmony. However Sanžeev admits that later Oirat texts use *udān* to mark length, but he considers it as secondary phenomena, which is caused by the phonological developments of the spoken language. Generally, Sanžeev determines Written Oirat as Middle Mongolian, supposing that the written language reflects the earlier state of the spoken one.

Ĵamiyan’s idea principally tries to eliminate the difficulties caused by *udān* staying after *u*, *ü* and *i*, however our explanation seems to be satisfactory, so we do not need to re-evaluate the letters and the vowel system of Written Oirat. Nevertheless this newer theory has its pitfalls and deficiencies such as the question of labial attraction.

On the basis of Ĵamiyan’s and Sanžeev’s theory the Latin transcription of the Oirat script should be changed by the following way:

- *ōdō* ⇒ *ōedō* ‘upward’
- *dolōn* ⇒ *doloan* ‘seven’
- *bō* ⇒ *böe* ‘shaman’
- *bōl* ⇒ *boal* ‘slave’
- *xōson* ⇒ *xoason* ‘empty’
- *xarīd* ⇒ *xariad* ‘to come’ + AP
- *yabūd* ⇒ *yabuad* ‘to go’ + AP, etc.

## 1.2. Consonants

Written Oirat has 16 consonant phonemes and some of them have one or more allophones. The Oirat script has several special letters for sounds occurring in Tibetan and Sanskrit borrowings and loanwords, but these are not the integral part of the language.

	Position in syllables			Before			Examples	Notes
	Initial	Medial	Final	Vowels except <i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	Consonants		
<i>b</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>baruun</i> 'right, west'</li> <li>• <i>dörbön</i> 'four'</li> <li>• <i>lab</i> 'sure'</li> </ul>	
<i>c</i>	*	*		*			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>caq</i> 'time'</li> <li>• <i>üciüken</i> 'small'.</li> </ul>	
<i>č</i>	*	*			*		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>döčün</i> 'forty'</li> <li>• <i>čidal</i> 'ability, skill'</li> </ul>	The Oirat letter for <i>č</i> is the same as for <i>c</i> , and only the succeeding <i>i</i> indicates the difference.
<i>d</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>dalai</i> 'ocean'</li> <li>• <i>ödögē</i> 'now'</li> <li>• <i>noyod</i> 'lord' + Plur.</li> </ul>	
<i>g</i>	*	*		*	*		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>gederge</i> 'backward'</li> <li>• <i>nigen</i> 'one'</li> <li>• <i>xāgi</i> 'khan' + Acc.</li> <li>• <i>šuuğilda-</i> 'to make noise together'</li> </ul>	Mostly in front-vowel words, rare in back-vowel ones (only before <i>i</i> ). Does not occur before consonants. The <i>g</i> is in allophonic correlation with <i>ɣ</i> and <i>q</i> .
<i>ɣ</i>	*	*		*			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>ɣal</i> 'fire'</li> <li>• <i>mingyan</i> 'thousand'</li> <li>• <i>cayān</i> 'white'</li> </ul>	Only in back-vowel words. The <i>ɣ</i> is in allophonic relation with <i>g</i> and <i>q</i> .
<i>q</i>		*	*			*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>axalaqči</i> 'leader'</li> <li>• <i>bičiq</i> 'writing'</li> </ul>	Both in front and back-vowel words. The <i>q</i> is in allophonic correlation with <i>g</i> and <i>ɣ</i> . If a suffix beginning with vowel follows after a final <i>q</i> , then <i>q</i> becomes <i>g</i> (in front-vowel words and before <i>i</i> ) or <i>ɣ</i> (in back-vowel words). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>bičiq</i> 'writing' ⇒ <i>bičigi</i> 'writing' + Acc.</li> <li>• <i>xalimaq</i> 'Kalmyk' ⇒ <i>xalimaɣuud</i> 'Kalmyk' + Pl.</li> </ul>
<i>x</i>	*	*		*		*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>xatun</i> 'empress'</li> <li>• <i>axa</i> 'brother'</li> </ul>	In back-vowel words only.
<i>k</i>	*	*		*	*		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>köbüün</i> 'son, boy'</li> <li>• <i>nököcö-</i> 'to be friendly'</li> </ul>	Mostly in front-vowel words, but it is used before <i>i</i> even in back-vowel words. The <i>k</i> is in allophonic relation with <i>k'</i> .
<i>k'</i>	*	*		*			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>zak'arāči</i> 'commander'</li> <li>• <i>k'ā</i> 'page, retainer'</li> </ul>	In back-vowel words only. The <i>k'</i> is in allophonic relation with <i>k</i> .
<i>y</i>	*	*		*			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>yasu</i> 'bone, clan'</li> <li>• <i>yabu-</i> 'to go'</li> <li>• <i>bayar</i> 'holiday'</li> </ul>	If <i>y</i> is followed by <i>i</i> , then it is just part of a diphthong or long <i>ī</i> ( <i>iyi</i> ) and does not indicate consonant.
<i>l</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>lab</i> 'sure'</li> <li>• <i>kerүүл</i> 'discord'</li> <li>• <i>ɣal</i> 'fire'</li> </ul>	Very rare in word initial position (mostly in loanwords).
<i>m</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>moyoi</i> 'snake'</li> <li>• <i>tömör</i> 'iron'</li> <li>• <i>zam</i> 'road'</li> </ul>	

<i>n</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>noyon</i> 'lord'</li> <li>• <i>sanā</i> 'intention'</li> <li>• <i>ünen</i> 'true'</li> </ul>	
<i>ng</i>		*	*			*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>möngkö</i> 'eternal'</li> <li>• <i>ölösköleng</i> 'hunger'.</li> </ul>	
<i>r</i>	(*)	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>erdeni</i> 'precious stone'</li> <li>• <i>xabdar</i> 'epidemic'</li> </ul>	Does not occur in word initial position in Mongolian words, only in borrowings and loanwords. The spoken dialects place a short vowel prefix before the initial <i>r</i> , and sometimes it is reflected in the written language, too. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Rabjuur</i> ~ <i>Arabjuur</i> 'personal name'</li> </ul>
<i>s</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>sayin</i> 'good'</li> <li>• <i>usun</i> 'water'</li> <li>• <i>bars</i> ~ <i>baras</i> 'tiger'</li> <li>• <i>sibēr</i> 'Siberia'</li> </ul>	Before <i>i</i> occurs only in loanwords and before suffixes beginning with <i>i</i> (the original <i>s</i> preceding <i>i</i> in Mongolian words became <i>š</i> ). <sup>2</sup>
<i>š</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>šine</i> 'new'</li> <li>• <i>išegei</i> 'felt'</li> <li>• <i>xaš</i> 'jade'</li> </ul>	
<i>t</i>	*	*		*	*		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>tümen</i> 'ten thousand'</li> <li>• <i>yulumta</i> 'hearth'</li> </ul>	
<i>z</i>	*	*		*			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>zuun</i> 'hundred'</li> <li>• <i>ɣazar</i> 'land, earth'</li> </ul>	
<i>ʃ</i>	*	*			*		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>firɣal</i> 'happiness'</li> <li>• <i>uujim</i> 'wide, spacious'</li> </ul>	The Oirat letter for <i>ʃ</i> is the same as for <i>z</i> , and only the succeeding <i>i</i> indicates the difference.

### 1.3. Diphthongs

Written Oirat has 6 diphthongs (3 front and 3 back), which can be directly originated from the diphthongs of Written Mongolian.

Diphthongs						
	Front			Back		
<b>Initial and medial</b>	eyi	öyi	üyi	ayi	oyi	uyi
<b>Final</b>	ei	öi	üi	ai	oi	ui

Spelling of diphthongs differs in initial, medial and final positions. The second element of the diphthongs is represented by *yi* in initial or medial position, and by *i* in final. If a suffix is attached to a word ending on diphthong, the writing of the diphthong changes as in medial position. E.g.:

- *kereqtei* 'required, necessary' ⇒ *šine xuuli kereqteyin tula* 'since new law is necessary ...'

<sup>2</sup> The traditional Written Oirat orthography always writes *ši* instead *si* even if *s* belongs to the word stem and *i* to a suffix. Probably this is just an orthographic peculiarity, which does not correspond to the pronunciation, and in later texts the word final *s* remains before suffixes beginning with *i*.

## 1.4. Phonological rules

### 1.4.1. Vowel harmony

Similarly to the other Mongolian languages Written Oirat is subject to the rule of vowel harmony. Vowel harmony means that a word can contain either front (*e, ē, ö, õ, ü, ū*) or back (*a, ā, o, ō, u, ū*) vowels. The only exceptions are *i* and *ī*, which are neutral and occur in any word. Mongolian words always meet the conditions of vowel harmony, but the loanwords and borrowings – especially the newer ones – can break them.

Rule of vowel harmony apply to the suffixes, too. Generally each suffix, which contain vowels has two forms (front and back) according to vowel harmony. However there are three exceptions in Written Oirat, which do not meet this rule:

- ablative case (-*ēce*)
- instrumental case (-*yēr, -bēr*)
- personal possessive marker (-*yēn, -bēn*)

These suffixes do not have back-vowel forms, and act similarly to postpositions. In fact they are directly originated from Written Mongolian, where they have -*ača/eče* (ablative), -*iyar/iyer, -bar/ber* (instrumental) and -*iyar/iyen, -ban/ben* (subject possessive marker) forms. Since the Uigur-Mongolian script does not distinguish *a* and *e*, the front and back-vowel variants of these suffixes look similarly, and this led to the actually wrong forms in Written Oirat.

### 1.4.2. Consonants

Written Oirat has only few rules concerning the consonants. There is no collision at the beginning of the words (except some borrowings and loanwords) and it is relatively rare at the end, too. Some consonants occur either in back-vowel (*x, γ* and *k'*) or front-vowel (*g* and partly *k*) words only, others cannot stay in any position. These are described in details above in chapter 1.2.

### 1.4.3. Labial attraction

Although spoken Oirat dialects are not subject to labial attraction, it is very typical of Written Oirat. Especially in earlier texts the labial attraction appears in more convenient form than in any other Mongolian language, and it is in contrast with Written Mongolian, which forms the base of Written Oirat in many respects.<sup>3</sup>

Labial attraction in Written Oirat exceeds today's Khalkha and Buriat in some aspects, since Written Oirat uses the *öyi/öi* diphthong, which does not exist in other Mongolian languages. Several suffixes having different forms in Written Mongolian (and Spoken Oirat, too) according to the vowel harmony, have variations in Written Oirat according to the labial attraction, too. E.g.:

- Nomen perfecti WM -*γsan/gsen* ~ Oir. -*qsan/qsen/qson/qšön*
- Praeteritum perfecti WM -*bai/bei* ~ Oir. -*bai/bei/boi/böi*

<sup>3</sup> Labial attraction appears rarely in Western monuments of pre-classical Written Mongolian, but it is more frequent in the Eastern monuments. May be this is a peculiar orthography only, and does not reflect the pronunciation of the spoken language, but Written Mongolian is obviously closer to the former practice.

Labial attraction appears also in the word stems. E.g.:

- WM *morda-* ~ WO *mordo-* 'to depart'
- WM *dörben* ~ WO *dörbön* 'four'

However in several cases the forms with full or partly labial attraction, and without labial attraction exist parallelly. This occurs also at suffixes, and possible that a suffix does not meet the rules of labial attraction even if the vowels of the word stem do. E.g.:

- *dobtolo-* ~ *dobtola-* 'to attack'
- *mordoqson* ~ *mordoqsan* 'to departure' + NP
- *odboi* ~ *odbai* 'to go' + PrtP.

## 1.5. Influence of the spoken language

### 1.5.1. Diphthongs vs long vowels

Diphthongs of Written Oirat developed to long vowels in spoken dialects, and although the traditional orthography usually does not indicate this development, some diphthongs are represented by long vowels in later texts.

- *peter xān-ēce γuyiji* 'asking Emperor Peter ...' and *šikür dayičing-ēce omoq cereq γuuqsan-yēr* 'since they asked *šikür dayičing* for a squad of soldiers ...'.

### 1.5.2. Palatalization

In spoken Oirat dialects the vowels of the back-vowel words are palatalized by the non-first syllabic *i*, and sometimes Written Oirat reflects this development, too.

- *köbüün emētei mörin-yēr ireküi-dü* (↔ Kalm., SO *mörin* ↔ WO *morin* 'horse') 'when the boy riding a horse with saddle ...'.

Diphthongs are also subject to the palatalizing effect of *i*, and therefore *ayi* of the first syllable becomes *ä* in Spoken Oirat. The Spoken Oirat suffixes containing long vowels have two forms (*ā/ä*) and the form with *ä* is connected to front-vowel words (the words containing *ä* /↔ *ayil* are considered as front-vowel words). These changes sometimes have traces in Written Oirat.

- *tere balyasuni oros arad xalimayyudi dayilēd köqsen-yēr* (↔ Kalm., SO *däläd*) 'the Russian population of the city was fighting with the Kalmyks and chased them away'
- *xō örlöq tere bayildēn-dü xoriqdabai* (↔ Kalm., SO *bäldän*) 'Xō örlöq was captured in that battle'

It is apparent that the word stems remain as traditional and contain diphthong, but the non-first syllabic vowels break the rule of vowel harmony. In the comparison with the spoken language forms it becomes obvious that Written Oirat *ē* corresponds to *ä* of Spoken Oirat.



## 2. Morphology

Similarly to other Mongolian languages, Written Oirat is an agglutinative language and the morphology is based on suffixes. The suffixes can have several variants according to the rules of vowel harmony and labial attraction. Usually the word stems are not changed when suffixes are attached to them, the only exceptions are the personal and some demonstrative pronouns. The suffixes can follow each other in certain order only. If the phonological rules demand it, then connecting vowels or consonants can appear between the morphemes.

### 2.1. Nominal morphology

#### 2.1.1. Noun

Similarly to other Mongolian languages the nouns and adjectives are not separated in Written Oirat, and there is no formal difference between them on the basis of their role in the sentence. Every noun can be any part of the sentence, with the suffixes of the 9 noun cases if necessary. There is a special group of words, which have a non-stable final *n*. This *n* stem appears during the usage of certain noun cases, plural or derivation suffixes, and disappears at others, however this is not always convenient.

The order of extension of the nouns is shown below:

stem + (non-stable *n*) + nominal categorizer + plural + noun case suffix + SPM/PPM

#### 2.1.1.1. Number

Written Oirat has no special suffix to express singular, but has several suffixes for indicating plurality. However a noun without plural suffix can express both singularity and plurality, depending on the context. There is no plurality in Written Oirat – and other Mongolian languages – in the Indo-European sense, because a word can refer to a single thing, and in general, to the entirety of things, too. The so-called plural suffixes are usually used if the point is not the entirety, but a subset of that.

In attributive structures plurality is not marked on the attribute. If the word is preceded by attribute denoting quantity, then plural suffix is not needed to be attached. These rules are sometimes overridden in Buddhist translations from Tibetan, where the original language exercises significant influence.

The words having plural suffix can be used similarly to simple word stems (e.g. attaching case suffixes), but there is no precedence that a new word can be derived from a plural form.

Plural suffixes	
Traditional form	Colloquial form
- <i>noyoud</i>	- <i>nügüüd</i> , - <i>nuyuud/nügüüd</i>
- <i>nar/ner</i>	
- <i>d</i>	
- <i>s</i>	
- <i>moud/möüd</i>	- <i>muud/miüüd</i>
	- <i>uud/üüd</i> , - <i>yuud/güüd</i>

The most widespread plural suffix in Written Oirat is **-noyoud**, which originally does not have front-vowel variant and acts similarly to postpositions. Later on, the front-vowel variant **-nügüüd** has appeared, as well as the **-nuyuud/nügüüd** forms reflecting newer orthography. In Buddhist translations from Tibetan, usually this suffix corresponds to Tibetan *rnams*. If

Tibetan uses another way to express plurality, then Written Oirat translation uses other plural suffixes, too. E.g.:

- *tōloši ügei kilincetü kümün-noyoud öüden dotoro oroxui-du* ‘when countless sinful people went in through the gate’
- *tamuyin öüden öbörön aldaran tülküür-noyoud yazar-tu unabai* ‘the gate of the Hell opened of itself and the locks fell down to the ground’
- *tende mangyus-noyoud eyin kemën ögöülebei* ‘and then the demons spoke, in this way’
- *xamuq xād kigēd sultān-nögüüd inu cereq beledči xalimagiyin irekiyigi küleji bayibai* ‘all khans and sultans prepared troops and were waiting for the arrival of the Kalmyks’

Sometimes **-noyoud** is attached to the last element of an enumeration, but in this case it often does not express plurality, just refers to the relation of the elements. E.g.:

- *ceceq kigēd utuxai küji kigēd erkin-noyoud-yēr takin üyiledüqçi* ‘he, who makes offering with flowers, incense and rosary’
- *nada emēltei morin sādaq cayān malaxai cayān zangči tömör ginjitei noxoi : nigen ünegen-noyoud kereqtei* ‘I need a horse with saddle, a bow, a white hat, a white coat, a dog with iron chain and a fox’

Concerning such usage of **-noyoud**, Jahontova writes that it expresses the plurality of each member of the list (see the first example above), and rarely refers to the relation of single things only (see the second example).<sup>4</sup> However this distinction is unnecessary, since in Mongolian – and therefore in Written Oirat – a word without plural suffix can refer to both plurality and singularity, depending on the context. So the enumerated elements in the first example may be translated both as plurals (*ceceq* ‘flower/s in general’, etc.) and singulars, but in the case of the second example, all of the elements are singular. Actually, the translation of the examples is independent of **-noyoud**, remains the same with and without it, and the plural suffix just refers to the relation of the elements.

Plural suffix **-nar/ner** is used at nouns or personalized objects, but this role of that is not exclusive. This suffix is attached almost without exception to words having final vowel, but in very rare cases it can be attached to final *n*, too (*n* drops out). E.g.:

- *döüner* ‘younger brothers/sisters’
- *albatu-nar* ‘vassals’
- *tenggeri-ner* ‘gods’
- *sultānartu* ‘sultans’ + D.-L.

Mostly, but not exclusively **-d** is used at words denoting persons. Suffix **-d** can be attached to words having final *n*, *r*, *l*, *s* or final syllable *sun/sün*, while the final consonant (or the *sun/sün* syllable) disappears. E.g.:

- *balyad* (↔ *balyasun*) ‘cities’
- *xād* (↔ *xān*) ‘khans’
- *noyod* (↔ *noyon*) ‘lords, noblemen’
- *nököd* (↔ *nökör*) ‘fellows’
- *tüšimed* (↔ *tüšimel*) ‘officials’

Plural suffix **-s** is relatively rare and attached to final vowels. E.g.:

- *neres* ‘names’
- *emes* ‘women, wives’

<sup>4</sup> Jahontova, N. S.: *Ojratskij literaturnyj jazyk XVII veka*. Moskva 1996, p. 43.

Suffix *-moud/möüü* (*-muud/miüü* in later texts) is a typical Oirat form, which cannot be found in other Mongolian languages, and it is a borrowing from colloquial speech even in Written Oirat. This suffix usually follows after final *r*, but frequently occurs after other consonants, too.

- *tatārmuud* ‘Tatars’
- *germüüü* ‘houses (felt tents)’
- *yalmuud* ‘fires’
- *xazārmuud* ‘bridles’

The most common plural suffixes after *-noyoud* are *-uud/üüü* (after consonants) and *-yuud/güüü* (after *ng*). This suffix is not found in early Buddhist text, only in the secular literature, which reflects colloquial influence. E.g.:

- *xalimayuuud* ‘Kalmyks’
- *xasayuuud* ‘Kazaks’
- *ceregüüü* ‘soldiers’
- *dayisyuuud* ‘enemies’
- *belegüüü* ‘gifts’
- *zayisangyuud* ‘leaders, commanders’

Mostly in Buddhist translations, Tibetan language of the original exercises influence on the usage of prularity. As we mentioned before, the nouns having attribute of quantity do not take plural suffix, however in translations from Tibetan, one of the plural suffixes (mostly *-noyoud*, sometimes others) can be attached to these nouns. E.g.:

- *xamuq öböösün-noyoud* ‘all grass’
- *yurban nökiüü* ‘three friends’
- *xamuq albatas-yēn xurāji* ‘he assembled all of his vassals’

### 2.1.1.2. Gender

There is no grammatical gender in Written Oirat and only the natural genders are distinguished sometimes in the vocabulary. E.g.: *ajirya* ‘stallion’ ~ *güün* ‘mare’, etc.

The only two exceptions are found in the case of the gender of animals.

The *-qč̄in* suffix expresses feminine and can be attached to color names of animals. This suffix is used in the traditional calendar only, where distinguished the male and female members of the 12-fold cycle. E.g.: *šara bars* ‘yellow male tiger’ ~ *šaraqč̄in bars* ‘yellow female tiger’, etc.

The other phenomena is the forming of words denoting the age of some animals (e.g. cattle). These are derived from numerals *yurban* ‘three’ and *dörbön* ‘four’ by the following way:

- *yunan* ‘three-year old male animal’ ~ *yunji* ‘three-year old female animal’
- *dönen* ‘four-year old male animal’ ~ *dönji* ‘four-year old female animal’

### 2.1.1.3. Noun cases

Written Oirat has 9 noun cases, the suffixes of which can be connected to nouns and verbal nouns. If a sentence contains several words or list of words as the same part of the sentence, then the case suffixes are attached to the last word only. E.g.:

- *blama xuvaraq ba noyod zayisangyuudi cuulji* ‘assembling the lamas, monks, noblemen and leaders’

The traditional case suffixes are written inconsistently, sometimes separately and sometimes as one word, but the colloquial forms are always written as one word.

If the word stem has final long vowel and the suffix begins with long vowel, too, then a connecting consonant (*g* or *γ* according to vowel harmony) appears between them. This is mostly typical of colloquial forms and can be found after final *ng*, too. E.g.:

- *zayisangyuud* ‘leaders’
- *buuyār* ‘rifle’ + Instr.
- *buruyār* ‘mistake, fault’ + Instr.

Double declension (two case suffixes are attached to the same stem) is typical of Spoken Oirat, however almost not known in Written Oirat (Jahontova’s opinion concerning the sociative case is debatable).

Noun cases		
Case	Traditional form	Colloquial form
Nominative	∅	
Accusative	∅, -i, -yi, -yigi, -iyigi, -giyigi, -gyi, -gi	-āgi/ēgi/üügi/uugi/īgi
Genitive	-i, -yin, -iyin, -giyin, -n	-ār/ēr, -nai/nei/noi/nöi, -ai/ei/oi/öi
Dative-locative	-du/dü, -tu/tü	-da/de, -ta/te
Instrumental	-yēr, -bēr	-ār/ēr/ör/ör
Comitative	-luyā/lügē	-lai/lei, -lā/lē
Sociative	-tai/tei/toi/töi	-iē
Ablative	-ēce	-āsa/ēse/ōso/ösö, -āsu/ēsü
Terminative	-cayā/cegē	-cai/cei, -cā/cē

The **nominative** case has no suffix. The noun in nominative can be the subject, predicate, attribute and sometimes other part of the sentence.

Written Oirat – as other Mongolian languages – distinguishes definite and indefinite objects. The indefinite object has no suffix, while the definite is indicated with one of the suffixes of the **accusative** case. The definite object is one certain, well-defined thing or person that has some emphasizes in the context. The object could be definite if it is a person, preceded by demonstrative pronoun, or stays in attributive or possessive structure, but sometimes it can be also definite for lack of these conditions. E.g.:

- *tere keröülü daruxuyin tula* ‘in order to stop that conflict ...’
- *ezen tere muu yabudali sonosöd* ‘the Tsar heard the bad situation and ...’
- *xariugi külel ügei* ‘without waiting for the answer’

The *-i* suffix (which has the same form as *-i* of genitive case) is attached to stems with final consonant. E.g.:

- *xō örlöq inu ayidarxani dobtoluqsan-du* ‘when *Xō örlöq* attacked Astrakhan’
- *belegüüdi xān ene metü abubai* ‘the khan took the gifts like this’

Suffix *-yi* is used after final vowels or final *n*, and *n* drops out in the latter case. E.g.:

- *oros inu xalimagiyin dobtolxu-yi zoqsöji* ‘the Russians stopped the attack of the Kalmyks’
- *yambar ba kümüyi bu talaya* ‘we will not rob anybody’

Suffix *-yigi* is attached to final short vowels and *n* (*n* drops out). E.g.:

- *ubaši xān ede bügüdeyigi bodöd* ‘khan *Ubaši* have considered all this’
- *kümüyigi* ‘man’ + Acc.

The relatively rare *-giyigi* form is attached to final *ng*. E.g.:

- *amuryulanggiyigini* 'tranquillity, peacefulness' + Acc. + 3<sup>rd</sup> Pr. PPM

The another rare form *-giyi* is attached to final long vowels. E.g.:

- *irmalyin muu sanāgiyini medel ügei* 'without knowing about the evil plan of *Irnali*'

Final *ng* usually takes *-gi*, which is used also after long vowels (including long vowels before the *n* stem – *n* drops out) and diphthongs. E.g.:

- *maši olon küügi olzoloji* 'capturing a great many people ...'
- *xasayuud zayigi yatulun xariya gefi yabutala* 'when the Kazaks crossed the Ural river and were going to return'
- *malxāgi polk'obniq yüngker ömöskebei* 'colonel *Yüngker* has put the hat [on khan's head]'

Those suffixes, where the final vowel of the word lengthens in accusative case and suffix *-gi* is attached to it, reflect a colloquial form. Taking into consideration that the accusative suffix of Spoken Oirat is *-ig/g*, it is doubtful that this long vowel in Written Oirat texts sounds similarly to the written form. It is probable that the final vowel of the word stem, which disappeared in the spoken language remains because of the respect of the traditional orthography, and the diacritic (*udān*) does not indicate the length of this vowel, just the existence of a long vowel, which cannot be anything else than *ī* of the accusative's spoken form. E.g.:

- *öbörön tergēgi nige tüšimelēr xān-du ilegēbei* 'he sent his own carriage to the khan by an official'
- *beyēgi inu oros oron-du kōgōd* 'he drove away him to Russian land'
- *cevang rabtani okīgi uqtulād* 'he received the daughter of *Cevang rabtan*'

Sometimes occurs in Written Oirat that a word has double accusative suffix (*-i* + *-yi*), probably in order to clearly distinguish the accusative and genitive case endings. The first accusative suffix (*-i*) is always written as one word, but the second (*-yi*) is separate.

- *tatārmuudi-yi erkedēn oruulji* 'getting control over the Tatars ...'
- *olon bičixan balyadi-yi tüyimerdēd* 'scorching many small towns ...'

The suffixes of **genitive** case in Written Oirat are *-i*, *-ni*, *-yin*, *-iyin* and *-giyin*, but several other forms (*-nai/nei*, *-ai/ei* and *-ān/ēn*) occur, which reflect colloquial speech. Genitive case mostly expresses possession, but often used in attributive structures and also many postpositions govern this case. In Written Oirat the possessor precedes the possession in the possessive structure, and genitive case ending is connected to the possessor, while the possession has no suffix.

Written Oirat uses the *-i* suffix after final *n*. E.g.:

- *tere balyasunij oros arad* 'the Russian population of that city'
- *xānij albatu* 'vassal of the khan'
- *mangji ezeni bičigi sögödön bayiji abād* 'he took the letter of the Manchu Emperor being on his knees'

Suffix *-n* is used after diphthongs and sometimes long vowels. E.g.:

- *zayin tere edegēdtü oči buubai* 'they went to that side of the Ural river and settled down there'
- *širēn baruun talada* 'at the right side of the desk'

Suffix *-iyin* is attached to final consonants (except *n* and *ng*), and final *q* becomes *g* (due to *i*). E.g.:

- *toryuudiyin tayiši* 'the prince of the Torguts'
- *bičigiyin tüšimed* 'copyists, greffiers'
- *zayisangyuudiyin emes* 'the wives of the commanders/leaders'

Final *ng* governs suffix *-giyin*, and according to Jahontova, the same suffix is used after long vowels. E.g.:

- *dasanggiyin nöqčiqseni xoyino* 'after the death of *Dasang*'
- *dayičinggiyin ödö boluqsan xoyino* 'after *Dayičing*'s death'

The *-giyin* form is sometimes attached to diphthongs (e.g. *zayigiyin činadu* 'beyond the Ural'), however the regular form should be *-n*. The most possible explanation is that diphthongs already became long vowels in the spoken language, and this *-n* is attached to this secondary long vowel (which is regular in Written Oirat). It is worthy of note that Spoken Oirat uses *-n* after long vowels developed from diphthongs, and not *-gīn*, which could be concluded from *-giyin*.

After final short vowels suffix *-yin* is used. E.g.:

- *xariyin xād-luyā* 'with foreign khans'
- *xaranguyi söniyin caqtu* 'at the time of dark night'
- *dondaq ombuyin xatun bolji* 'she became the wife of *Dondaq ombu*'
- *nigedüger sarayin 5 ödör-tü* 'on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of the first month'
- *öbörön beyeyin zuruq xayiralaba* 'he gave [him] his own picture'

According to Jahontova and Aalto suffix *-yin* is attached to final diphthongs, while the second part of the diphthong and *y* of the suffix are merged. This opinion however seems to be not correct, since diphthongs take the *-n* suffix while the written form of the diphthong changes from final to medial. This is supported also by modern Oirat dialects (*Kalm. moyān keln* 'tongue of the snake').

- *šine xuuli kereqteyin tula* 'because of the necessity of new law'
- *k'aspiski dalayin umra xaxadu* 'at the north coast of the Caspian sea'

The colloquial *-nai/nei/noi/nöi* suffixes are attached to final short vowels, while *-ai/ei* to consonants. E.g.:

- *döünei* '... of the younger brother/sister'
- *γazarai* '... of the land'

Similarly, *-ān/ēn* forms are attached to consonants. E.g.:

- *albatunarān dotoro* 'among his vassals'
- *töünēn bitüši ügei boluqsan-du* 'when that did not happen'
- *üdēn xoyino* 'afternoon'
- *köbüügiyini ecegēn dergede suulyabai* 'he sat down the son [of the khan] next to his father'
- *dondaq ombuyin ači ürēn xaryātu toryuud-ēce nige zayisang* 'a leader from the Torguts, who are the vassals of *Dondaq ombu*'s grandson'

The suffixes of **dative-locative** case are usually *-du/dü* and *-tu/tü*, rarely *-da/de* and *-ta/te*. The *-tu/tü* and *-ta/te* endings are attached to final *r*, *d*, *q* or *s* consonants, otherwise *-du/dü* or *-da/de* are used. Sporadically, but sometimes occur the *-dur/dür/tur/tür* forms, which are typical of Written Mongolian.

The role of dative-locative case can be manifold in Written Oirat. It can act as general adverb of place, and show the location of a non-moving object, but does not express exact location (on, in or beside something). More precise (relative) location can be determined from the context or by using postpositions. E.g.:

- *širēn baruun talada* 'at the right side of the desk'
- *zöün yar-tu tasuralta ügei dayin bolji* 'there was ceaseless war in Dzungaria'
- *don müren-dü xulyai dērem kiqsen xazayuu* 'the Cossacks, who were robbing at the Don river'

Dative-locative case indicates the direction or target of the action. E.g.:

- *šikür dayičing-du xān colo tamya örgöqsen-dü* 'when he donated title of khan and seal to Šikür dayičing'
- *ayuuki xān inu xari yasutu mangṭiyin makedü oroji* 'Ayuuki khan fell into the trap of the foreign Manchus'
- *nige mangyasi kiveyin xān-du ilgēji* 'he sent a Tatar man to the prince of Kiev'
- *dutāji k'arasnoyarski xoton-du odboi* 'he escaped and went to the city of Krasnoyarsk'

The most common suffix for indicating the time of an action is that of dative-locative case. It can perform this role when attached to verbal nouns and nouns expressing an exact time or period. E.g.:

- *yal luu jil-dü* 'in the year of the fire dragon'
- *aprili sarayin xorin ṽurban öddörtü* 'on twenty-third of April'
- *zayin xasayuu tedeni üzeji bayilduxuyidu* 'when the Uralian Kazaks noticed and attacked them'
- *olon kümüni cuuluqsan-du* 'when [he] assembled many people'

Traditionally Written Oirat uses *-yēr* (after consonants) and *-bēr* (after vowels) suffixes of **instrumental** case, which do not have back-vowel variants. However the forms reflecting colloquial speech are found even in relatively earlier texts: *-ār/ēr/ōr/ōr* after short vowels or consonants, and *-yār/gēr/yōr/gōr* after long vowels. These colloquial forms sometimes drop out the final *n* of the word.

The phenomena concerning the orthography of suffixes beginning with long vowel and attached to final short vowel is exist also at instrumental case. So the final short vowel remains and the long vowel of the suffix is marked by *udān* only (independently of the real pronunciation). The pronunciation of the long vowels of instrumental suffixes in the following examples is not *ī*, but another long vowel according to phonemic rules. E.g.:

- *tere metü cājīr albatunarān dotoro bičiq suryal ba erdem delgeröülüye kemēn sedkeqsen* 'he thought that will spread the writing and education among his vassals by such law'
- *emēltei mörīr oyironi yabulcan* 'he rode closer on a horse with saddle'

The most important one from the several functions of the instrumental case is to indicate the instrument of acting, the role of which is not equal with the subject. This instrument includes transport vehicles, mounting animals, speaking in a language and the person, who is forced to do something in causative sentences.

- *öbörōn čidal-yēr teyimi öndör colo-yi abubai* 'he gained such high rank due to [= using] his own skills'
- *buuyār šaqdar jabiyigi buudād šarxatuulbai* 'he shot and wounded Šaqdarjab with a rifle'
- *kitad xān inu arya-bēr rabjuuri oron-dān barīd* 'the Chinese Emperor detained Rabjuur in his country with ruse'

- *xalimayuu-d-bēr zam zālyaji* 'showing the way by the Kalmyks'
- *emēltei mörin-yēr ireküi-dü* 'when arrived on a horse with saddle'
- *xalimaq kelen-yēr tayilji ügüüleqsen-dü* 'when translated and told [it] in Kalmyk language'

The same instrumental case is used when the action takes place according to somebody/something. E.g.:

- *öbörōn yosōr kebes delgiülfi suubai* 'according to their own customs, they sat down laying down a carpet'
- *ezeni zarliq-yēr ireji* 'he came by the lord's command'

Instrumental case can indicate also the location of a moving object. E.g.:

- *xoyitu jil-dü dakin tere zamārān ireqsen-dü* 'when he came by the same way in the next year'
- *teyimi olon kümün mal yaqca kü zam-yēr yabubāsu* 'if so many people and cattle go by one way'
- *rabjuuri mongyol oron-yēr irebēsü* 'if Rabjuur comes across Mongol territory'

It is used also to express approximately time. E.g.:

- *ödögē-bēr cōkōrkü caq inu bolba* 'recently it became the period of decay'

Very frequent and important role of instrumental case is its causative function, namely indicating that something happens due to another action. E.g.:

- *ičil-dü xariulfi ireqsen-yēr nere inu baruun edegedkidü aldaršibai* 'because he repelled [the Tatars], his name became famous on the right bank'
- *zam-du sād boluqsan-yēr zoriqsan oron-du ese kürči* 'since he met with difficulties by the way, did not reach the country, which he headed for'
- *töüni xān boljosu kemēqsēr dakin ülemfi yeke ebderel bolba<sup>5</sup>* 'he said that wants to make him khan, and because of that heavy discord has arised again'

Instrumental is also used in Written Oirat to indicate the material of an object, which was made from. E.g.:

- *altan mönggün-yēr xayircaq öüdcī* 'making chest from gold and silver'

The traditional suffix of **ablative** case is *-ēce*, which does not have back-vowel variant. Besides that, the colloquial forms (*-āsa/ēse/ōso/ōsö*, *-āsu/ēsü*) are also spread, especially in later texts.

Ablative case can express both spatial and temporal beginning of the action. Written Oirat uses this suffix to indicate that who should answer or react up on the action, and to express that something/somebody is among from a group. Several postpositions also govern ablative case. E.g.:

- *zai-ēce ičil kürtele* 'from Ural to Volga'
- *orosiyin ayidarxan-ēce morduuluqsan ceriq* 'the Russian troops, which came out from Astrakhan'

<sup>5</sup> Generally *-qsēr* is the suffix of adverbium abtemporale, but in this case it is probably the instrumental suffix attached to nomen perfecti's ending (*-qsen*). This is supported by that similarly to the nouns having non-stable final *n*, nomen perfecti's *n* can drop out in certain cases. Although adverbium abtemporale is originated from the connection of nomen perfecti and instrumental, this is the result of a quite earlier process, and its meaning differs from the meaning of NP + Instr. structure of the later language.

- *dejid gedeq xoyid noyon nige otoq ulustai zöün yarāsu yarči ireji* ‘Dejid, a Khoyid nobleman came out from Dzunggharia with a group of people’
- *xaracu albatāsa surxu kereq ügei bui* ‘it is not necessary to ask the people’
- *xasaq geqči kezēnēsüi nāru xalimagiyin xortu dayisun mön* ‘the Kazaks are mortal enemies of the Kalmyks for a long time’
- *tatar-ēce yadna ulus ügei* ‘beside the Tatars there is no other people’

Ablative case can express also causative meaning. E.g.:

- *töün-ēce ulum ebderel bolōd* ‘due to that a big conflict arised’
- *zokis ügei usun-ēce bolji xabdar öböčün-yēr zoboji* ‘because of the bad water, they were suffering from diseases’

Written Oirat uses this suffix for comparison. E.g.:

- *ene okin tenggeriyin okin-ēce maši yekē yayixamšiqtai bainam* ‘this girl was much more beautiful than the girl from the heaven’

**Comitative** (-*luyā/lügē*) and **sociative** (-*tai/tei/toi/töi*) cases have the same functions in Written Oirat, however they are not always interchangeable (especially at postpositions). According to some scholars comitative is used when the two parties act equally, while sociative has wider range of usage. However this distinction seems to be not adequately supported by the examination of Written Oirat texts, so I consider these cases as performing the same role. E.g.:

- *γurban mingyan örkö albatunar-luyā zöün yar-ēce ireji* ‘he came out from Dzunggharia with three thousand families’
- *ayuuiki tere baškuruud-luyā nigedēd* ‘Ayuuki has united with that Bashkirs’
- *zarim döüner-lügē-bēn xamtu zai yoli yatulād* ‘he crossed the Ural river together with some of his younger brothers’
- *nige otoq ulustai zöün yarāsu yarči ireji* ‘coming out from Dzunggharia with a group of people’
- *don-du jirā[=a]n küüte yabuji odōd* ‘he went to Don with sixty men’
- *mini eke doudan nadalā zolyoulun üyiled* ‘call my mother in order to meet me’

**Terminative** is a very rare case, its suffixes are -*caŷā/cegē*, -*caŷcei*, -*cā/cē*. This case expresses vertical extent, height or depth, and its suffix can be attached to words referring to objects, which are suitable for such comparison. E.g.:

- *öbödqē* ‘(up) to the knee, knee-deep’
- *gedesecei* ‘(up) to the belly, belly-deep’

#### 2.1.1.3.1 Case-bound suffixes

Written Oirat has a special suffix -*ki*, which indicates location. This is not a case suffix or a derivational suffix, because cannot be attached to noun stems. It can follow the suffix of the dative-locative case only, including the pronouns and some spatial postpositions, which contain an archaic dative-locative ending (e.g. WO *zuura* ‘between’ ⇔ WM *jayur-a* ⇔ WM *jayur* ‘the space between two things’ + -*a* D.-L.). Although -*ki* forms a word, which can be used and declined as simple noun, this is not a derivation suffix and differs from any other suffixes in Written Oirat. E.g.:

- *zöün yartuki* ‘sy/sg being in Dzunggharia’
- *zuuraki* ‘sy/sg being between sg’
- *tendeki* ‘sy/sg being there’
- *šinggeküi züqtiki ulus* ‘a country being in the direction of the sunset’

#### 2.1.1.4. Subject possessive marker

Existence of the subject possessive marker is a characteristic feature of Mongolian languages. This suffix is attached to nouns, verbal nouns and some verbal adverbs having nominal or verbal noun origin. The suffix indicates that the word belongs to the subject of the sentence. The subject possessive marker follows after the plural and case suffixes, and never occurs together with the personal possessive markers, so it is the very last morpheme of the word.

Noun case ending with subject possessive marker		
Cases	Traditional form	Colloquial form
Accusative	- <i>yēn/bēn</i>	- <i>ān/ēn/ōn/ōn</i>
Genitive	- <i>yēn/bēn</i> - <i>i-bēn</i> , - <i>yin-yēn</i> , - <i>iyin-yēn</i> , - <i>giyin-yēn</i> , - <i>n-yēn</i>	- <i>ān/ēn/ōn/ōn</i> , - <i>nayinā(n)/neyinē(n)/-noyinō(n)/nöyinō(n)</i> , - <i>ayinā(n)/eyinē(n)/-oyinō(n)/öyinō(n)</i>
Dative-locative	- <i>dān/dēn/dōn/dōn</i> , - <i>tān/tēn/tōn/tōn</i>	- <i>dā(n)/dē(n)/dō(n)/dō(n)</i> , - <i>tā(n)/tē(n)/tō(n)/tō(n)</i>
Instrumental	- <i>yēr-yēn</i> , - <i>bēr-yēn</i>	- <i>ārā(n)/ērē(n)/ōrō(n)/ōrō(n)</i>
Comitative	- <i>luyā-bēn/lügē-bēn</i>	- <i>lāyā(n)/lēgē(n)/-lōyō(n)/lōgō(n)</i> , - <i>lārā(n)/lērē(n)/-lōrō(n)/lōrō(n)</i>
Sociative	- <i>tai-bēn/tei-bēn</i>	- <i>tayiyā(n)/teyigē(n)/-toyiyō(n)/töyigō(n)</i>
Ablative	- <i>ēce-bēn</i>	- <i>āsā(n)/ēsē(n)/ōsō(n)/ōsō(n)</i>

- *xoyuulan motor-yēn talbiži tamyan darubai* ‘both of them put their hands on and pressed their seals’
- *yazari inu ezeleqsen-yēn cü töündü üli medöüleqsen bölügē* ‘he did not let him know the taking of his land’
- *kitad xān inu arya-bēr rabjuuri oron-dān barid* ‘the Chinese emperor arrested *Rabjuur* in his country by ruse’
- *xoyitu jil-dü dakin tere zamārān ireqsen-dü* ‘when he went by that way again in the next year’
- *zarim döüner-lügē-bēn xamtu zai yoli yatulād* ‘he crossed the Ural river together with some of his younger brothers’
- *γartān γal metü badaraxui nige ildü bariqsan* ‘he held a sword in his hand, which was flaming like the fire’

#### 2.1.1.5. Possession

Possession can be expressed by four ways in Written Oirat:

- by genitive case
- by subject possessive marker
- by personal possessive marker
- by possessive derivation suffix

The first two were discussed above, here we go into the last ones only.

The personal possessive markers are equal with the genitive forms of personal pronouns or with their shortened variants (3 Pr. Pl. has no short variant). They can be attached to nouns and verbal nouns as the last element in the order of extension. The personal possessive marker is the same for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural.

The shortened variants are always written as one word, while the full personal pronouns are written separately. The shortened forms are the following ones:

Personal pronoun	Shortened form	Notes
<i>mini</i> (1 Pr. Sg.)	<i>-m</i>	After short vowels and consonants (usually preceded by <i>i</i> in the latter case). E.g. <i>gertem</i> 'in my house'
	<i>-min, -mi</i>	After long vowels and diphthongs. E.g. <i>cayimin/cayimi</i> 'my tea'
<i>čini</i> (2 Pr. Sg.)	<i>-čin</i>	E.g. <i>axačin</i> 'your brother'
<i>tani</i> (2 Pr. Pl.)	<i>-tan</i>	E.g. <i>cayitan</i> 'your tea'
<i>inu</i> (3 Pr. Sg./Pl.)	<i>-ni</i>	E.g. <i>sanāgiyini</i> 'his/her/their intention' + Gen.

The possessive derivation suffix is used to form nouns referring to somebody, who has something. The suffix variants are *-tai/tei/toi/töi* and *-tu/tü*. The similarity with sociative is not accidental, since the two suffixes have the same origin, but they are separate ones in their present forms. Possessive derivation suffix also has a plural form (*-tan/ten*), which indicates the plurality of the possessors and not that of the possession. This plural form is very rare and *-tai/tei/toi/töi* and *-tu/tü* forms can refer to plurality, too.

Several derived nouns have a secondary meaning, which is result from the original word, but cannot be easily concluded. E.g.:

- *albaṭu* 'vassal' ⇐ 'who has service' (*alba* 'service')
- *üciüken töṭü* 'small in number'
- *xaryāṭu* 'dependent' ⇐ 'who has subordination' (*xaryā* 'subordination')
- *tayiši kemekü colotu* 'who has the title of *tayiši*'
- *xara sanāṭu* 'who has evil (black) intention'
- *nige keletü* 'who have one language'
- *gemtū kümün* 'guilty man' ⇐ 'a man having crime'
- *čidal bayatāi* 'who has limited skills'
- *zokistāi* 'suitable' ⇐ 'having suitability'
- *teyimü sedkilteṭi* 'who has such intention'
- *moritoṭi kümün* 'horseman' ⇐ 'who has a horse'

## 2.1.2. Pronouns

The pronouns of Written Oirat act almost similarly to nouns, so they can take the noun case suffixes and can be any part of the sentence.

### 2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

Written Oirat distinguish singular and plural personal pronouns in 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Singular 2<sup>nd</sup> person has two forms: polite and impolite, and the polite form is equal with plural 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

The original personal pronouns of Mongolian for 3<sup>rd</sup> person fell out from usage even before the creation of Written Oirat, and the Mongolian languages – including Written Oirat – use the demonstrative pronouns instead of them. The only form that remained is *inu*, which is the genitive of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and used in Written Oirat as personal possessive marker and subject emphasize.

Two stems exist for plural 2<sup>nd</sup> person, which originally had different meanings. These are the inclusive *bidan-* ('we all') and the exclusive *man-* ('we without you'). The meanings in Written Oirat, however cannot be clearly separated, and they exactly correspond to each other.

Personal pronouns					
Cases	Singular				
	1 <sup>st</sup> person	2 <sup>nd</sup> person		3 <sup>rd</sup> person	
		Impolite	Polite	Near	Far
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>bi</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>tere</i>
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>namai</i>	<i>čimai</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>öüni</i>	<i>töüni</i>
<b>Genitive</b>	<i>mini</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>öüni</i>	<i>töüni</i>
<b>Dative-locative</b>	<i>nada</i>	<i>čimadu</i>	<i>tandu</i>	<i>öündü</i>	<i>töündü</i>
<b>Instrumental</b>	<i>nada-bēr</i>	<i>čima-bēr</i>	<i>tan-bēr</i>	<i>öün-yēr</i>	<i>töün-yēr</i>
<b>Sociative</b>	<i>nadatai</i> <i>nada-luyā</i>	<i>čimatai</i> <i>čima-luyā</i>	<i>tantai</i> <i>tan-luyā</i>	<i>öüntei</i> <i>öün-lügē</i>	<i>töüntei</i> <i>töün-lügē</i>
<b>Ablative</b>	<i>nada-ēce</i>	<i>čima-ēce</i>	<i>tan-ēce</i>	<i>öün-ēce</i>	<i>töün-ēce</i>
Cases	Plural				
	1 <sup>st</sup> person	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	3 <sup>rd</sup> person		
			Near	Far	
<b>Nominative</b>	<i>bida(n)</i>	–	<i>ta</i>	<i>ede</i>	<i>tede</i>
<b>Accusative</b>	<i>bidani</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>edeni</i>	<i>tedeni</i>
<b>Genitive</b>	<i>bidani</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>edeni</i>	<i>tedeni</i>
<b>Dative-locative</b>	<i>bidandu</i>	<i>mandu</i>	<i>tandu</i>	<i>edendü</i>	<i>tedendü</i>
<b>Instrumental</b>	<i>bidan-yēr</i>	<i>man-yēr</i>	<i>tan-bēr</i>	<i>eden-yēr</i>	<i>teden-yēr</i>
<b>Sociative</b>	<i>bidantai</i> <i>bidan-luyā</i>	<i>mantai</i> <i>man-luyā</i>	<i>tantai</i> <i>tan-luyā</i>	<i>edentei</i> <i>eden-lügē</i>	<i>tedentei</i> <i>teden-lügē</i>
<b>Ablative</b>	<i>bidan-ēce</i>	<i>man-ēce</i>	<i>tan-ēce</i>	<i>eden-ēce</i>	<i>teden-ēce</i>

Beside the traditional forms mentioned above, several variants exist, which reflect the influence of colloquial speech. E.g.:

- *namai* ~ *namai-yi* or *namayigi*
- *nada-luyā* ~ *nadalā*
- *čima-bēr* ~ *čimār*
- *töüni* (Gen.) ~ *töünēn*
- *töün-ēce* ~ *töünēse*
- *tedendü* ~ *tedende*

Especially in earlier religious texts, some personal pronouns occur, which are similar to Written Mongolian forms. E.g.: *čimayi*, *nadur*, etc.

The shortened forms of the personal pronouns in genitive case are used as personal possessive markers (see 2.1.1.5).

### 2.1.2.2. Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns of Written Oirat for quantity, quality, location, etc. are the following ones:

- *ene* 'this'
- *tere* 'that'
- *ende* 'here'
- *tende* 'there'
- *eyimi* 'this way, such, so, thus'
- *teyimi* 'that way, such, so, thus'
- *ödüi* 'this much, this many'
- *tödüi* 'that much, that many'

There are two verbal demonstrative pronouns:

- *eyi-* 'to do this way'
- *teyi-* 'to do that way'

The demonstrative pronouns can take suffixes similarly to simple nouns and verbs, and their stems do not change except *ene* and *tere*. The inflection of *ene* and *tere* is shown in the following table:

Demonstrative pronouns ( <i>ene</i> and <i>tere</i> )				
Case	Singular		Plural	
	Near	Far	Near	Far
Nominative	<i>ene</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>ede</i>	<i>tede</i>
Accusative	<i>öüni</i>	<i>töüni</i>	<i>edeni</i>	<i>tedeni</i>
Genitive	<i>öüni</i>	<i>töüni</i>	<i>edeni</i>	<i>tedeni</i>
Dative-locative	<i>öündü</i>	<i>töündü</i>	<i>edendü</i>	<i>tedendü</i>
Instrumental	<i>öün-yēr</i>	<i>töün-yēr</i>	<i>eden-yēr</i>	<i>teden-yēr</i>
Comitative	<i>öün-lügē</i>	<i>töün-lügē</i>	<i>eden-lügē</i>	<i>teden-lügē</i>
Sociative	<i>öüntei</i>	<i>töüntei</i>	<i>edentei</i>	<i>tedentei</i>
Ablative	<i>öün-ēce</i>	<i>töün-ēce</i>	<i>eden-ēce</i>	<i>teden-ēce</i>

### 2.1.2.3. Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun in Written Oirat is *öbör/öbörö/öbörön*, but its colloquial form *eber* occurs, too. The reflexive pronoun acts similarly to the nouns. E.g.:

- *öbörön beyeyin zuruq xayiralaba* 'he gave his own picture'
- *öbörön čidal-yēr teyimi öndör colo-yi abubai* 'he gained such high rank due to his own skills'
- *xalımağiyin öbör zuuraki keröül ese nomxorobai* 'the conflict between the Kalmyks themselves did not calm down'
- *daruiyida öbörö zöün yartu ödö bolji* 'soon he himself went to Dzunggharia'
- *eberēn nücügün xocorfi* 'he himself remained naked'

The doubled reflexive pronoun with genitive suffix means 'all, each', with accusative means 'each one another'. E.g.:

- *öbör öbörivün balyasun dēreki* 'above all cities'

### 2.1.2.4. Interrogative pronouns

In Written Oirat the following interrogative pronouns exist:

- *you(n)* 'what'
- *ken* 'who'
- *yambar/yamāru* 'what kind of'
- *ali* 'which'
- *kedüi* 'how many, how much'
- *kezē* 'when'
- *xamiyā(n)* 'where'
- *yaya-* 'how to do'
- *youn-du* 'why (*youn* + D.-L.)'

The interrogative pronouns can act as indefinite pronouns, too (see 2.1.2.5).

### 2.1.2.5. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are the same as the interrogative pronouns. E.g.:

- *ken zambudib öüni amurlıulan* 'somebody calms this world'
- *yeke yamāri jıryalang edleküi caqtu* 'when some kind of happiness becomes'

When an interrogative pronoun is followed by one of the particles *cü*, *čigi* or *ba*, then its meaning changes to 'anybody, anything, anywhere, etc.' in indicative sentences, and to 'nobody, nothing, nowhere, etc.' in negative ones. E.g.:

- *kezē cü ülü törün* '[he] never borns'
- *mese eriqsen-dü xamiyā-ēce cü mese ese olun* 'when [he] was looking for the sabre, did not find it anywhere'

### 2.1.2.6. Quantitive pronouns

The most common quantitive pronouns are the following ones:

- *büğüde* 'all, every'
- *büğüdēr* 'everything, everyone' (colloquial)
- *bükü(n)* 'whole, all'
- *yaqca* 'only, sole'
- *olon* 'many, much'
- *xamuq* 'all, every'
- *zarim* 'some'

### 2.1.3. Numerals

#### 2.1.3.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are formally not distinguished from nouns, and act similarly to them. Up to 10 000 the numbers are expressed by Mongolian words, and above that by Tibetan borrowings (these are very rare and occur in religious texts and some heroic epics only).

Compound numerals are formed on the basis of decimal places, ascending from left to right (... 1000, 100, 10, 1).

Cardinal numerals			
<i>nige(n)</i>	1	<i>xori(n)</i>	20
<i>xoyor</i>	2	<i>yuči(n)</i>	30
<i>yurba(n)/yurbu(n)</i>	3	<i>döči(n)</i>	40
<i>dörbö(n)</i>	4	<i>tabi(n)</i>	50
<i>tabu(n)</i>	5	<i>jira(n)</i>	60
<i>zuryā(n)</i>	6	<i>dala(n)</i>	70
<i>dolō(n)</i>	7	<i>naya(n)</i>	80
<i>nayima(n)</i>	8	<i>yere(n)</i>	90
<i>yesü(n)</i>	9	<i>zuu(n)</i>	100
<i>arba(n)</i>	10	<i>mingyan</i>	1 000
<i>arban nige(n)</i>	11	<i>tümen</i>	10 000
<i>arban xoyor</i>	12	<i>gbum/bum</i>	100 000
<i>arban yurba(n)</i>	13	<i>saya</i>	1 000 000
<i>arban dörbö(n)</i>	14	<i>jeva</i>	10 000 000
<i>arban tabu(n)</i>	15	<i>dungšuur</i>	100 000 000
<i>arban zuryā(n)</i>	16	<i>ter gbum</i>	1 000 000 000

<i>arban dolō(n)</i>	17	<i>yeke ter gbum</i>	10 000 000 000
<i>arban nayima(n)</i>	18	<i>kraq kraq</i>	100 000 000 000
<i>arban yesü(n)</i>	19	<i>yeke kraq kraq</i>	1 000 000 000 000

Cardinal numerals in attributive position show the quantity of the attributed word, and this word does not take plural suffix. E.g.:

- *yurban dörbön buu ügei ceregiyin ulus* ‘three-four soldiers without rifle’
- *yurban tümen yurban mingyan örkö* ‘thirty-three thousand families’
- *nige saya nige bum xoyor tümen tabun mingyan aduun üküir xonin* ‘one million and one hundred and twenty-five thousand horses, cattle and sheeps’

It is very rare and occurs mostly in Buddhist translations that due to the Tibetan influence the words preceded by attribute of quantity sometimes take plural suffix.

- *xō örlögiyin xoyor köbüüd bër tatärmuudi oruuluqsan aji* ‘two sons of Xō örlög made a conquest of the Tatars’
- *zuun šaxuu tatarmuud kigöd xazayuid čigi yabulcabai* ‘almost one hundred Tatars and Cossacks also went together [with him]’

Cardinal numerals of Mongolian origin have the non-stable final *n* (except *xoyor* ‘two’), which acts similarly to the *n* stem of nouns. This final *n* appears in compound numerals as well as in attributive position (sporadic exceptions, e.g. *tabi čidküir* ‘fifty devils’), but disappears in derivatives. The final *r* of *xoyor* ‘two’ disappears in many cases, too.

Cardinal numerals can follow an enumeration of words having the same role in the sentence, and the numeral corresponds to the number of the elements. This numeral does not change the meaning of the sentence, simply shows the relation between the words and can be translated as ‘and’. Almost exclusively only *xoyor* ‘two’ and *yurban* ‘three’ occur in this function and no higher numerals are used. If the part of the sentence takes a case suffix, then it is attached to the final numeral. E.g.:

- *lubzang yeldeng xoyor xamuq albatu-bën aldaji* ‘Lubzang and Yeldeng have lost all of their vassals’
- *döčin dörbön xoyor* ‘the forty [Khalkhas] and the four [Oirats]’

### 2.1.3.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed using the traditional *-duyār/dügēr* suffixes or the colloquial *-duqči/düqči*. Beside the standard forms there are three peculiar ordinal numerals: *yutayār* ‘third’, *dötögör* ‘fourth’ and *tabtayār* ‘fifth’. E.g.:

- *nigedügēr širēdü suubai* ‘sat down to the first table’
- *dörbödügēr sarayin 12 ödör-tü* ‘on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the fourth [= April] month’
- *yutayār inu čidaqči šakjamuni burxan mün* ‘and the third is the capable Sakyamuni Buddha’

### 2.1.3.3. Collective numerals

Collective numerals are formed by *-oula(n)/öüle(n)/uula(n)/üüle(n)* suffixes and the final *n* of the stems drops out. E.g.:

- *xoyuulan motor-yën talbijı tamyän darubai* ‘both of them put their hand on and pressed their seal’
- *dörböülen yabuji* ‘they were going four’
- *bidan axa düü dolouladu gergei ügei bölügē* ‘we, the four brothers did not have wives’
- *ta yurbuuliyin üyiledügsen sayin busu bölügē bolbacu* ‘although what you did is not good ...’

### 2.1.3.4. Frequentative numerals

The suffix of frequentative numerals is *-ta/te*, and it expresses that how many times an action does take place. This suffix is sometimes written separately and sometimes as one word. E.g.:

- *nigente* ‘one time’
- *nere yurban-ta ögöülen* ‘saying the name three times ...’

### 2.1.3.5. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed using *-äd/äd/öd/öd* suffixes (*-äd/üd* after numerals with final *u/ü*). The final long vowel of *dolō(n)* ‘seven’ merges with the vowel of the suffix. E.g.:

- *yurbād* ‘by threes’
- *tabūd* ‘by fives’
- *dolöd* ‘by sevens’

The formation from *nigen* ‘one’ and *xoyor* ‘two’ is irregular:

- *nizäd* ‘by one’
- *xošöd* ‘by twos’ ⇐ *xos* ‘pair’

### 2.1.4. Adjectives

The adjectives are not distinguished formally from nouns in Written Oirat. Each noun can be qualifying attribute if its meaning makes it possible. If a noun does not refer to some kind of quality, then it takes genitive in qualifying position. The comparison is described at the ablative case (chapter 2.1.1.3). E.g.:

- *xōsun yazar* ‘empty land’
- *šine toqtöl xuuli* ‘new statute and law’

### 2.1.5. Adverbs

Every noun, which can be qualifying attribute also can be an adverb without any changes. E.g.:

- *sayin kümün* ‘a good man’ ~ *sayin mede-* ‘to know well’
- *urtu zam* ‘long way’ ~ *urtu nasla-* ‘to live long’

### 2.1.5.1. Spatial adverbs

- *cāru* ‘in that direction’
- *dēqši* ‘up’
- *doroqši* ‘down’
- *dotoqši* ‘inwards’
- *ende* ‘here’
- *esergü* ‘against’
- *nāru* ‘in this direction’
- *tende* ‘there’
- *yadaqši* ‘outwards’

### 2.1.5.2. Temporal adverbs

- *asxan* ‘evening’
- *dakin* ‘again’
- *erte* ‘early’



- *genedte* ‘suddenly’
- *imaqta* ‘eternally’
- *oroi* ‘late’
- *ödögē* ‘now’
- *önidö* ‘long’
- *urida* ‘before’
- *üde* ‘noon, mid-day’
- *üdeši* ‘evening’

### 2.1.5.3. Degree adverbs

- *maši* ‘very’
- *yeke* ‘very’

### 2.1.6. Postpositions

Most of the postpositions of Written Oirat have nominal origin and can be used as simple nouns, or in other words some nouns can be used as postpositions. The postpositions govern different cases as shown in the following list, which contains the most frequent postpositions.

- *adil* + Comm./Gen. ‘similar’
- *büri* + Nom. ‘each, every’
- *dēre* + Nom./Gen. ‘on, above’
- *doro* + Nom./Gen. ‘under, below’
- *dotoro* + Gen. ‘inside’
- *dumda* + Gen. ‘between’
- *γadana* ‘outside’
- *γazā* + Gen. ‘outside’
- *kürtele* + Nom. ‘to, up to’
- *metü* ‘like, similar(ly)’
- *oyiro* ‘near(by)’
- *ömönö/emüne* + Nom./Gen./Abl. ‘before, in front of, prior’
- *šaxuu* + Nom. ‘almost’
- *tölö* + Gen. ‘for, because of’
- *tula* + Nom./Gen. ‘for, because (of)’
- *tulada* + Nom./Gen. ‘for, because (of)’
- *tutum* + Nom. ‘each, every’
- *xamtu* + Soc. ‘together’
- *xoyino* + Nom./Gen./Abl. ‘behind, after’
- *zuura* + Nom./Gen. ‘between, during’
- *zūq* + Gen. ‘towards’

### 2.1.7. Nominal negative particles

There are three nominal negative particles in Written Oirat: *ügei*, *busu* and *biši*. This three is actually two, since *biši* is just the colloquial variant of *busu*. These particles are used postpositionally with nouns, pronouns and verbal nouns.

Particle *ügei* acts like a privative and negates the existence of something. Besides, it can be considered as the opposite of the possessive derivation suffix. E.g.:

- *tende yazar ezen ügei* ‘the land there has no lord (= uninhabited)’
- *zöün γar-tu tasuralta ügei dayin bolji* ‘there was a war in Dzungaria without interruption’

- *zarliq ügei buudalaji ülü čidamui* ‘[I] cannot shot them without order’
- *usun ügei cül* ‘desert without water’
- *γurban dörbön buu ügei ceregiyin ulus* ‘three or four soldiers without rifle’

Written Oirat uses *busu* and *biši* to negate quality or to express that not this, but that one. E.g.:

- *öün-ēce urida zaryučinar kemēbēsü xān-luyā adali üyile medelcekü ulus busu* : *töün-dü tusalaxu ba zarligi büitökü zaruca albatu nar bölügē* ‘before that, the judges were not people, who control the affairs similarly to the khans, but they were subjects only, who helped him and executed his orders’
- *ene sudur bičiqsen biši* ‘this book is not a written one’

These negative particles have nominal origin and still have similarities with nouns. Namely, they have lexical meaning and can take case suffixes. The lexical meaning of *ügei* is ‘non-existing’, and that of *biši/busu* is ‘other’. E.g.:

- *xaram buyu busu dayisun dobtolbāsu* ‘if the Crimean Tatars or other enemies attack [the Kalmyks]’
- *tere caq-tu xalimayuud busu oron-du nerēn aldaršiułji yabuqsan bölügē* ‘at that time the Kalmyks became famous in other countries’
- *axalāči ba busu sayid zöün taladu suubai* ‘the leaders and other chiefs sat on the left side’
- *ügei boluqsan* ‘became non-existing ⇒ died’

## 2.2. Verbal morphology

The verbal forms of Written Oirat can be divided on the basis of two aspects:

	Final	Non-final	Declinable	Non-declinable
Imperatives	*			*
Finite tense-aspect forms				
Verbal nouns	*		*	
Verbal adverbs		*		*

In other words it means that imperatives, finite tense-aspect forms and verbal nouns can be the predicate (last part) of the sentence, while verbal adverbs cannot. From the other aspect, verbal nouns can take noun case suffixes and sometimes even plural suffixes, but imperatives, finite tense-aspect forms and verbal adverbs cannot take any further suffix.

The order of extension of the verbal forms is the following:

*imperatives/finite tense-aspect forms/verbal adverbs*

stem + verbalizer + imperative/finite tense-aspect/verbal adverb suffix

*verbal nouns:*

stem + verbalizer + verbal noun suffix + (plural) + noun case suffix + SPM/PPM

## 2.2.1. Verb

### 2.2.1.1. Personal suffixes

Originally there are no personal suffixes in Written Oirat, however under the strong influence of colloquial language they sometimes appear in relatively later texts (especially in Kalmykia). However they occur sporadically and do not belong to the integral part of Written Oirat, so we do not go into the details here.

### 2.2.1.2. Tense-aspect-mood system

The basic tense-aspect-mood categories are expressed in Written Oirat by imperatives, finite tense-aspect forms, verbal nouns, verbal adverbs and auxiliary verbs in compound verbal structures.

### 2.2.1.3. Imperatives

Imperatives	
Imperativus	∅
Optativus	- <i>tuyai/tügei</i>
Benedictivus	- <i>qtun/qtün</i>
Voluntativus	- <i>ya/ye/yo/yö, -yā/yē/yō/yö</i> - <i>su/(sü)</i>
Dubitativus	- <i>ouzai/öüzei, -uuzai/üüzei</i>

**Imperativus** is equal with the verb stem, and expresses categorical demand, order or command for 2<sup>nd</sup> person (both plural and singular). E.g.:

- *xalimagi aru-ēce dobtolo* ‘attack the Kalmyks from the back!’
- *donduq dašāsu bulāji nada ög* ‘tear [the Kalmyks] away from *Donduq daši* and give me [them]!’

The *-tuyai/tügei* suffix of **Optativus** can express command, request, wish or desire for any person (mostly 3<sup>rd</sup> person) in plural and singular depending on the context. The *-tuyai/tügei* suffix is frequently attached to auxiliary verb *bol-* ‘to become’. E.g.:

- *arabjuuri oros yazar-yēr nutuq-tān xariutuyai* ‘let *Rabjuur* come back to his land across Russian territory’
- *tere balyasuni zakarāči cu nada tusa kürgetügei* ‘let the commander of that city provide help for me’
- *xān oro bulāldaxu-yi yazar-tu kürkü boltuyai* ‘let us arrive to a land, where is a fighting for the khan’s seat’
- *tere metü bögösü mini okin čini xatun boltuyai* ‘if this is true, let my daughter be your wife’

**Benedictivus** (*-qtun/qtün*) expresses polite demand for plural and singular 2<sup>nd</sup> person. E.g.:

- *ta teröülün oči axalāči-du zolyoqtun* ‘Please go there first and meet the commander!’
- *xalimayudi gederge ögüqtün* ‘Please give back the Kalmyks!’

The *-ya/ye* and *-su/sü* suffixes of **voluntativus** express intention, promise and future action of singular and plural 1<sup>st</sup> person. Traditionally the grammars make minor distinctions between the two forms and actually *-ya/ye* is more frequent for expressing promise, but both of them perform the same function, their meanings are similar, so it is not necessary to separate them. E.g.:

- *xāni itegeltü albatu boluyā* ‘we will be faithful vassals of the Tsar’
- *xān ayuuki xān-bēr tedeni daruuluyā kemēn sedkeji* ‘the Tsar thought that he will defeat them by *Ayuuki* khan’
- *xalimagi darād olon küügi kituqsan-yēr tödüi dayičing oros-luyā ebceye kemēji* [...] *elčineri oros xān-du* [...] *zaribai* ‘since they defeated the Kalmyks and killed many people, *Dayičing* was going to make peace with the Russians and sent ambassadors to the Russian Tsar’
- *ayuuki ači-bēn xariulji absu kemēn sedkeji* ‘*Ayuuki* wanted to take back his grandson’
- *töüni xān suulyasu kemēqsen bölügē* ‘he wanted to make him khan’

The *-ouzai/öüzei, -uuzai/üüzei* suffixes of **dubitativus** are express a kind of warning, an intention to avoid something or fear of a happening/action. E.g.:

- *zam-du xasagiyn nutuq-tu xor boluuzai* ‘it is to be feared that some trouble happens by the way across the land of the Kazaks’
- *ende bidani arātan alaxu bolouzai* ‘it is to be feared that here a wild animal may kill us’

### 2.2.1.3.1 Prohibition

Prohibition is expressed with the prohibitive particles *bü, bu* or *buu*, which stay immediately before the verb. E.g.:

- *oros inu xalimaq xasaq xoyori zai yatulji bu yabu kemēn zakā tarxāji* ‘the Russians ordered to the Kalmyks and Kazaks to do not cross the Ural [river]’
- *xaracuyigi gem ügēger bu zasa* ‘do not condemn commoners without crime!’
- *ayidarxani bu dobtoloya yambar ba kümüyi bu talaya* ‘we will not attack Astrakhan or rob any people’

### 2.2.1.4. Finite tense-aspect forms

There are only two tenses in Written Oirat: past and present-future. The time of the present-future forms depends on the context.

Finite tense-aspect forms		
	Traditional form	Colloquial form
<b>Praesens imperfecti</b>	- <i>mui/müi/mu/mü, -nam/nem</i>	- <i>nai/nei</i>
<b>Praesens perfecti</b>	- <i>lügē/luyā</i>	- <i>lai/lei/loi/löi, -lā/lē/lō/lō</i>
<b>Praesens futuri</b>	- <i>yu/yü</i>	
<b>Praeteritum imperfecti</b>	- <i>ji/či, -jiu, -jiyu</i>	
<b>Praeteritum perfecti</b>	- <i>bai/bei/boi(bui)/böi, -ba/be/bo/bö</i>	- <i>bē</i>

The *-mui/müi/mu/mü, -nam/nem* and *-nai/nei* suffixes of **praesens imperfecti** express an action in present or future, or sometimes in general present. E.g.:

- *zarliq ügei buudalaji ülü čidamui* ‘I cannot shot [them] without order’
- *bi ülü bolomui* ‘I will not be [the khan]’
- *tere kürtele odxu zam ba tendeki sayin nutugi sayitur medemüi* ‘I know well the way going there and the beautiful land of that place’
- *mangzu xāni albatu bolonam* ‘I will be the vassal of the Manchu Emperor’

**Praesens perfecti** expresses an action, which started in the past and finished in the recent past or present. Its suffixes are *-luyā/lügē* or *-lai/lei* or rarely *-lā/lē*. This is a very rare suffix

in Written Oirat and mostly found in the archaic *böülüḡē* form (*bö-/bü-* 'to be' in Written Mongolian), which gives narrative character to the text. E.g.:

- *idē zōqlōqson inu ene metü böülüḡē* 'the consuming of the meal took place in this way'
- *irelei* 'just arrived'
- *ololā* 'just found it'

**Praesens futuri** (*-yu/ḡü*) is very rare in Written Oirat, it occurs only attached to *bol-* 'to become'.

**Praeteritum imperfecti** expresses narrative past (mostly long past), which was not seen by the speaker. The suffixes are *-ji* (after vowels and *l*) and *-či* (after other consonants). The archaic *-jiu/ḡiyu* variant, which reflects Written Mongolian influence (WM *-juyui/ḡügüi*) occurs only with *a-* 'to be'. E.g.:

- *mörin ni cu yeke eceji turuqsan aji* 'the horses got exhausted and lost their weight, too'
- *dayičing nada-luyā adali olon bi yambar xān bolomu kemēkü gederge örgöqsan aji* 'there are many similar [men] to me, what kind of khan can I be? – said *Dayičing* and gave back [the khan's title]'
- *turxai kemēkü yol-du kürüqsan ajiu* 'they reached the *Turxai* river'

**Praeteritum perfecti** expresses general past, which mostly – but not exclusively – means longer past. The *-bai/bei/boi/böi*, *-ba/be* suffixes are the most common ones to express past in Written Oirat. E.g.:

- *ezeni xayiralaqsan tugi ömönön abči yabubai* 'he was going [there] taking the flag given by the Tsar in front of himself'
- *tömör morin jildü ijl-dü kürbei* 'they reached the Volga in the year of the iron horse'
- *ubaši yambarba bulaldān ügei xān bolboi* 'Ubaši became khan without any fighting'
- *ödögē-bēr cōkōrkü caq inu bolba* 'recently it became the period of decay'
- *yosutu xān colo töündü örgöbe* 'gave him the title of real khan'

## 2.2.2. Verbal modifiers

### 2.2.2.1. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns form the basic and integral part of Mongolian languages and Written Oirat. A verbal noun can be predicate (nominal predicate in fact), subject, object or attribute in the sentence, or any other part with attached case suffixes. Besides it can have its own subject, object, etc., which are independent from the predicate of the main sentence and belong to the verbal noun only. A verbal noun can refer to the acting person and to the action itself. In Mongolian languages the verbal nouns are used instead of relative pronouns.

The subject of a verbal noun formed from transitive verb and staying in attributive position precedes the verbal noun and takes genitive suffix. The attributed word is the object of the verbal noun.

In other cases when the verbal noun is not the predicate of the sentence, its subject usually takes accusative suffix (rarely genitive), unless it is the same as the subject of the whole sentence.

Verbal nouns	
<b>Nomen perfecti</b>	<i>-qsan/qsen/qson/qšön</i>
<b>Nomen imperfecti</b>	<i>-ā/ē/ō/ḡ</i>
<b>Nomen futuri</b>	<i>-xu/kü/xui/küi</i>
<b>Nomen usus</b>	<i>-daq/deq/doq/döq</i>
<b>Nomen actoris</b>	<i>-qči</i>

**Nomen perfecti** expresses an action that either started and finished in past, but the interval from the present is undefined and depends on the context. E.g.:

- *xō örlögiyin xoyor köbüüd bēr tatārmuudi oruuluqsan aji* 'the two sons of *Xō örlöq* conquered the Tatars'
- *zöün yariyin dörbön oyirad-tu ebderel boluqsan caq-tu* 'when a conflict arised between the Four Oirats of Dzungaria'
- *šara cekē kemēkü yol dēre učiraldači kelelceqsan* 'they meet each other at the *Šara cekē* river and had discussions'
- *irmali zöbšöröqsön metü bolöd bayibai* 'Irmali apparently agreed'

The final *n* of **nomen perfecti** is sometimes dropped when a noun case suffix is attached to it. E.g.:

- *xāni yuyiqsagi ülü bütebei* 'he did not fulfil what the khan asked'
- *xuucin cājīdu bičiqseyigi bügüder döürgeji sayixan todorxai bolyabai* 'he acomplished and made clear everything what was written in the old code'

The suffix of **nomen imperfecti** (*-ā/ē/ō/ḡ*) is very rare in Written Oirat and expresses an action, which started in the past and is still going on in the present.

**Nomen futuri** (*-xui/küi/xui/küi*) expresses an action in present, future or general present, but if the verbal noun is not the predicate of the whole sentence, then its time is relative to the time of the containing structure or sentence. E.g.:

- *peter ezen ayidarxan-du ḡdö bolji bayixu caqtān* 'when Tsar Peter came into Astrakhan and was staying there'
- *xān bolbāsu dayisun olon bolxu kemēji* 'he thought that if he becomes khan, he will have many enemies'
- *nazariyin dorji lübči kemēkü köbüün-lügē xamtu* 'together with the son of *Nazar*, called *Dorji lübči*'
- *duurixal bičüülkü sanātai bi* 'I want to write a monument'
- *dayisun-luyā alaldaxu bolboi* 'a fighting began with the enemy'

**Nomen usus** (*-daq/deq/doq/döq*) expresses a habitual or usual action, the time of which is undefined, depends on the context. If there is no such information, then it refers to general present. E.g.:

- *tende-ēce činaqši xasaq suudaq* 'beyond that live the Kazaks'
- *torjuud-ēce songyodaq bölüḡē* 'usually [the khan] is elected among from the Torguts'
- *šara cegē gedeq yol dēre učiraya* 'let's meet each other at the *Šara cegē* river!'

**Nomen actoris** (*-qči*) forms a verbal noun referring to the performer of an action. It differs from the denominal nominalizer *-čin* in that **nomen actoris** can have its own object and adverbial extension (but cannot have subject!). E.g.:

- *unuqsan mörin kigēd unuqči ezen xoyuula amur bayiqsani tula* 'since the mounted horse and the mounting owner were both healthy'
- *xamuq orosi bariqči yeke abayai ezen yelisaveta petrovna* 'the ruler of all the Russians, the great empress *Yelisaveta Petrovna*'

### 2.2.2.2. Verbal adverbs

Verbal adverbs cannot take further suffixes and can act only as adverbs in the sentence. They cannot stay at the end of the sentence and cannot be the predicate alone, but can be the member of a compound verbal predicate. Verbal adverbs do not refer to any particular time, their time layer is relative to the predicate. Practically, verbal adverbs are used to connect phrases to a whole sentence and indicate the kind of relations between the actions.

Verbal adverbs	
Adverbium imperfecti	-jī/čī
Adverbium perfecti	-ād/ēd/ōd/ōd
Adverbium modale	-n
Adverbium abtemporale	-qsār/qsēr
Adverbium contemporale	-maqca/meqce
Adverbium terminale	-tala/tele/tolo/tölö
Adverbium conditionale	-bāsu/bēsü/bōsu/bōsü, -gōsü -bacu/becü/bocu/böcü -bācu/bēcü/böcu/böcü -bači/beči
Adverbium successivi	-xulā/külē, -xunā/künē
Adverbium finale	-xai/kei, -xā/kē

**Adverbium imperfecti** expresses a parallel action or an action, which closely precedes the following action. It has -jī suffix after vowels and l, while -čī after other consonants. Adverbium imperfecti is very frequent in compound verbal structures. E.g.:

- *tedeni kürči irekü-dü zoqsojı bayıqsan cereq inu buu-bēn öürčī kündülebei* ‘when they arrived, the soldiers staying there saluted putting their rifles on their back’
- *blama xuvaraqa ba noyod zayısangyuudi cuulji ünēn zöbiyini suruqsan-du bügüäd zöbsöbeı* ‘when he assembled the lamas, noblemen and leaders and asked them that is it right, all of them agreed with him’
- *toqtöqson cäji-yi nutuqtān abči irejı albatunar-yēn töügēr barıbai* ‘he took with himself the established law to his land and governed his people according that’
- *lubzang ücüiken tötu arad-luyā töbödtü dutāji odboı* ‘Lubzang fled and went to Tibet with small number of his people’

**Adverbium perfecti** (-ād/ēd/ōd/ōd) expresses an action, which was finished before the beginning of the next action. The interval between the two actions is undefined and depends on the context, but usually it is a relatively short period. Adverbium perfecti rarely occurs in compound verbal structures. E.g.:

- *zöün yartuki nutuq-yēn ork’ād naran űnggeküü züq-tü mordobai* ‘leaving their land in Dzungaria they set out towards the sunset’
- *xalimayud medēd zayıjı xolo oči buubai* ‘the Kalmyks got to know it, went far away and settled down there’
- *xān köbüün-lügē bosōd malaxai-bēn abči unğısbai* ‘the khan stood up together with his sons and read [it] taking off his hat’

The role of **adverbium modale** is almost equal with that of adverbium imperfecti, but the latter one is more frequent. Mostly expresses simultaneity or an action, which specifies the meaning of the main verb in a compound verbal structure. It is very common that adverbium modale is attached to *kemē-* ‘to say’, which is used for citations. E.g.:

- *tende yazar ezen ügei kemēn lab medēd* ‘getting to know surely that the land there is unpossessed’
- *zurıyan köbüün-yēn daxuulun zöün yartuki nutuq-yēn ork’ād* ‘he left his land in Dzungaria leading his six sons’
- *güüši nomiyin xān erdeni batur xong taiji terigüülen xād noyod cuulji* ‘the khans and noblemen have assembled under the leadership of *Güüši nomiyin xān* and *Batur xong taiji*’

**Adverbium abtemporale** (-qsār/qsēr) expresses an action, which started in the past and has took long time. Whether the action has finished or not before the beginning of the next one, depends on the context. E.g.:

- *dulān uryād mösön xayılıqsār xasayud zayıgi yatulun xariya geji yabutala* ‘when it became warmer and the ice was thawing, the Kazaks were going to cross the Ural [river] and return’
- *cereq inu yabuxuyigi zabduji beledeqsēr caq önggöröd* ‘the army was preparing long for the setting-out, and the time was going on’

**Adverbium contemporale** (-maqca/meqce) expresses an action, which is immediately succeeded by an other action after its finishing. Adverbium contemporale is rare in Written Oirat. E.g.:

- *belegüüdi abči duusmaqca axalāči ba busu tüšimed xān-du iröl talbixui-du* ‘as soon as he took the gifts, the leader and the other officials said a blessing for the khan’

The *-tala/tele/tolo/tölö* suffixes of **adverbium terminale** express that the next action in the sentence goes on while the indicated action (the verb with adverbium terminale’s suffix) is not finished (the two actions are simultaneous), or finishes before its beginning (the two actions follow each other). Besides, this verbal adverb often can be simply translated as simultaneity or ‘when’. E.g.:

- *peter xān tuurki-luyā dayilduxu kemēn zabdaji bayıtala başkiruud dakin orosi dobtoluqsan-du* ‘while Tsar Peter was preparing for the fighting with the Turkishes, the Bashkirs attacked Russia again’
- *10 jil önggörötölö ese talbiqsan tula* ‘since he did not set free him up to the passing of 10 years’

Adverbium terminale’s suffix attached to *kür-* ‘to reach’ forms an independent postposition, which governs nominative and means ‘to, up to’ (spatial and temporal). E.g.:

- *xān köbüün-lügē tergendini kürtele üdeşibeı* ‘the khan with his son accompanied him to his carriage’
- *erte-ēce ödögē kürtele* ‘from long time ago up to the present’

The traditional suffixes of **adverbium conditionale** are *-bāsu/bēsü/bōsu/bōsü*, and the archaic *-gōsü* (WM *-yasu/gesü*) variant occurs only in *bögösü* (WM *bü-* ‘to be’). Adverbium conditionale mostly expresses conditionality, so an action takes place if an other action (verb with adverbium conditionale’s suffix) already happens. Although the conditional sense is obviously indicated with adverbium conditionale, sometimes particle *kerbe* ‘if’ is used, too.

Besides, adverbium conditionale also can express temporal meaning and simultaneity (‘when’). Attached to *bol-* ‘to become’ or *kemē-* ‘to say’, it can act as subject determinative (‘as concerns ...’). E.g.:

- *yambar ba dayin bolbāsu oyiroki oros sayiduud-tu xalimaq tusalaya* ‘be there any kind of war, the Kalmyks will help the neighbouring Russian leaders’

- *ayuukiyin sanān bolbāsu yeke köbüün-yēn ceren donduḡi bolyoxu kemēqsēn* ‘as concerns the intention of Ayuuki, he wanted [to make khan] his great son, *Ceren donduḡ*’
- *xariḡi irebēsü uriduki buruuḡar yabuqsani čini martaya* ‘if you come back I will forget your earlier faulty acts’
- *tere axalaḡči nutuḡ-tu kürči irebēsü tere caḡtu xān xoyor yeke zayisangḡi ileḡēḡi* ‘when the commander came back to his land the khan sent two greater leaders’
- *kerbe bololtai böḡōsü ayuuki xān cevang rabtan xoyori keröldöülkü kemēqsēn teyimü sedkiltei ireqsēn bölügē* ‘he intended to cause a conflict between Ayuuki khan and *Cevang Rabtan*, if it is possible’

**Adverbium concessivi**’s suffixes are *-bacu/becü/bocu/böcü*, *-bācu/bēcü/böcu/böcü* and the colloquial *-bači/beči*. The suffixes with short vowels have forms written separately (*-ba cu*, *-be cü*, etc.) and instead of particle *cu/cü* often the typical Oirat *čigi* occurs.

Adverbium concessivi expresses opposition and it is attached to a verb that denotes an action, which precludes or can preclude the performing of the next action, but the latter takes place yet.

- *randuli-ēce xān töröyigi abxu čidaltai bolbacu töün-ēce ayuqsan mön* ‘although he was able to take the kanship off from *Randuli*, got frightened of him’
- *xalimaḡ nutuḡ-tu bayiqsan orosuud sayitur ese medebe cü zarim inu bodoḡi medēd* ‘although the Russians living in Kalmyk land did not know it at all, some of them found it out’
- *ayuuki oros xāni albatu bolba cu töüni-dü medöülel ügei öbörön čidal-yēr teyimi öndör colo-yi abubai* ‘although Ayuuki was the vassal of the Russian Tsar, he gained such high rank due to his own skills and did not notified him of that’

**Adverbium Successivi** (*-xulā/külē*, *-xunā/kiünē*) can express that two actions follow each other immediately, but frequently has also conditional meaning. E.g.:

- *arban tabuni sara yarxulā axa düü xoyor xarši-ēce yarun* ‘when the moon of the fifteenth [day of the month] arose, the two brothers came out from the palace’
- *biriügi yarxaxulā* : *ed tavar-noḡoudi aldamai* ‘if we draw the calf out, we will lose our properties’
- *xubcasutai bolxunā xāni dergede irekü bölögē* ‘if he had had clothes he would come to the khan’

**Adverbium Finale** (*-xai/kei* és *-xā/kē*) expresses the aim of an action, which is also an action. E.g.:

- *ečiḡe eke xoyori eriḡei irebei* ‘he came in order to find his parents (father and mother)’
- *buyu alxai odlai* ‘they went to kill a deer’

### 2.2.3. Negation

Pure verbal forms, verbal nouns and verbal adverbs are negated in Written Oirat using the *ülü* and *ese* negative particles, which precede the negated word. Although Jahontova writes that *ülü* and *ese* have limited and different usage<sup>6</sup>, both of them can be used with any verbal form.

<sup>6</sup> According to her, *ülü* can be used with praesens imperfecti, praesens perfecti, praesens futuri, verbal nouns (except nomen perfecti) and some verbal adverbs (e.g. adverbium modale, adverbium conditionale), while *ese* with praeteritum imperfecti, praeteritum perfecti,

Examples for pure verbal forms:

- *bi xāni albatu ülü bolumui* ‘I will not be the vassal of the khan’
- *xāni ḡuyiqsagi ülü bütebei* ‘[he] did not fulfilled the khan’s request’
- *ayuuki xān oros-tu ökü kemēqsēn cereḡ-yēn ese öḡbui* ‘Ayuuki did not give the troops which he promised’
- *rabjuuri ese talbibai* ‘[he] did not set *Rabjur* free’
- *xalimayiyin öbör zuuraki keröül ese nomxorobai* ‘the conflict between the Kalmyks did not become calm’

Examples for verbal nouns:

- *teyimi olon kümün mal ḡaḡca kü zam-yēr yabubāsu ülü zokixuyin tula* ‘if so many people and cattle go by one way, that is not good, therefor ...’
- *ḡazari inu ezeleqsēn-yēn cü töündü ülü medöüleqsēn bölügē* ‘he did not let him know the taking of his land’
- *xāni zarliḡāsu ülü dabadaḡ bui* ‘[people] do not break the orders of the khan’
- *tedeni sanāḡi bi ese medeqsēn* ‘I did not know their intention’

Examples for verbal adverbs:

- *ayuuki xān axa döü zöün ḡariyin oyiradi ülü umartan teden-lügē uruḡ eligen bololcaḡi okin-yēn cevang rabtan xān-du öḡōd* ‘Ayuuki khan did not forget the Oirat brothers in Dzunggharia, became relatives with them and gave his daughter to *Cevang rabtan* khan’
- *kelelceqsēn yosör albatunari mini ülü xarasād* ‘they did not defend my people as we agreed’
- *ese suryubāsu eceḡēseni yala abād baḡšidu öḡči suryuuł* ‘if [the father] does not send [his son] to school, take punishment from the father and give [the son] to a teacher’
- *töün-lügē ese odōd üldeqsēn xalimayuuł* ‘the Kalmyks, who did not go with him and remained [there]’
- *zoriqsan oron-du ese kürči* ‘did not reach the country, which he headed for’

The *ügei* and *busu/biši* negative particles are also used to negate verbal nouns. E.g.:

- *ene sudur bičiqsēn biši* ‘this book is not written’
- *abai mini üküqsēn ügei bainai* ‘my father is not dead’

There is an other form (*-l ügei*), which can be considered as the negation of some verbal adverbs (adverbium imperfecti, adverbium perfecti, adverbium modale). Suffix *-l* is deverbal nominalizer, which has common usage in Written Oirat. If the negative particle *ügei* follows this suffix, then it can express that something does not happen. It is worthy of note that *-l ügei* not always refers to actions. E.g.:

- *xalimayuuł irmalyin muu sanāḡiyini medel ügei cāran baya yabād buuḡi* ‘the Kalmyks went a little bit further and camped there without knowing the evil intention of *Irmali*’
- *xariugi külel ügei köbüügēn xān bolyosu kemēḡi* ‘he wanted to make his son khan without waiting for the answer [of the Tsar concerning this question]’

nomen perfecti and some verbal adverbs (e.g. adverbium imperfecti, adverbium modale, adverbium conditionale). Jahontova, N. S.: *Ojratskij literaturnyj jazyk...* p. 130.

## 2.2.4. Verbal categorizers

### 2.2.4.1. Passive

Passive verbs are formed from the verb stem using the *-qda/qde/qdo/qdö* (after vowels), *-da/de/do/dö* (after *l*) or *-tate/tohö* (after the other consonants) derivation suffixes. The passive verb form expresses that the subject endures the effect of the action and does not perform it. The real active subject of the action is marked with dative-locative suffix in the sentence or determined by the context. E.g.:

- *xortu dayisun-du kerçiqdeqsen oyiradiyin yulumta dëre buuji* 'they stayed at the camp of the Oirats, who were killed by the wild enemy'
- *xö örlöq tere bayildën-dü xoriqdabai* 'Xö örlöq fell into captivity in that battle'
- *zarim ni alaqdaji* 'some of them were killed'

### 2.2.4.2. Causative

Causative verbs can be formed using several suffixes depending on the final vowel or consonant of the stem. Suffix *-oul/öül* (*-uul/üül* in later orthography) is attached to stems having final short vowel. The final short vowel drops out or if it is *i*, then unites with the causative suffix (*-iul/iül*). E.g.:

- *bari-* 'to take, to hold' ⇒ *bariul-* 'to have sy take sg'
- *üze-* 'to see' ⇒ *üzüül-* 'to show'
- *yabu-* 'to go' ⇒ *yabuul-* 'to send, to make go'

Suffix *-lya/lge/yo/gö* is used after long vowels and diphthongs. E.g.:

- *sou-* 'to sit' ⇒ *soulya* 'to seat'
- *güyi-* 'to run' ⇒ *güyilge-* 'to make sy run'

Suffix *-xa/ke/xo/kö* follows after *s*, *d* and *b*, while *-ya/ge/yo/gö* after other consonants. E.g.:

- *yar-* 'to go out' ⇒ *yarya-* 'to cause to go out of or from'
- *kür-* 'to reach' ⇒ *kürge-* 'to send, to deliver, to accompany'
- *bos-* 'to get up, to stand up' ⇒ *bosxo-* 'to raise, to make stand up'

The causative of some verbs having final short vowel is formed by the lengthening of this vowel. E.g.:

- *xata-* 'to dry' ⇒ *xatā-* 'to make dry'
- *xura-* 'to gather, to assemble, to come together' ⇒ *xurā-* 'to collect, to gather'
- *zobo-* 'to suffer, to worry' ⇒ *zobō-* 'to torment'
- *zoqso-* 'to stand' ⇒ *zoqso-* 'to stop, to halt'

The causative of Written Oirat can express that somebody makes somebody/something to do something, or somebody lets to happen something. In rare cases it can express also passive meaning, too. E.g.:

- *tere metü cäjir albatunarān dotoro biçiq suryal ba erdem delgeröülüye kemēn sedkeqsen* 'he thought that will spread the writing and education among his vassals by such law'
- *kerbe bololtai bögösü ayuuki xān cevang rabtan xoyori keröüldöülkü kemēqsen teyimü sedkiltei ireqsen bölügē* 'he intended to cause a conflict between Ayuuki khan and Cevang Rabtan, if it is possible'
- *yazari inu ezeleqsen-yēn cü töündü ülü medöüleqsen bölügē* 'he did not let him know that took his land'

- *zuryān köbüün-yēn daxuulun zöün yartuki nutuq-yēn orkād* 'he left his land in Dzunggharia leading his six sons'
- *köbüügiyini ecegēn dergede suulyabai* 'he sat down the son [of the khan] next to his father'
- *xalimayuud-bēr zam zālyaji* 'showing the way by the Kalmyks'
- *xuucin cājidu biçiqseyigi bügdēr döürgeji sayixan todorxai boluyabai* 'he accomplished and made clear everything what was written in the old code'

### 2.2.4.3. Co-operative and reflexive

There are two derivation suffixes, which form verbs expressing collective action. The *-lca/lce/lco/lcö* suffix (co-operative) expresses that the action is performed by more persons, while *-lda/lde/ldo/ldö* (reflexive) expresses that the action is performed by more persons and the action affects on its performers, so the subjects of the action are also its objects.

Examples for co-operative:

- *zuun šaxuu tatarmuud kiğēd xazayuud čigi yabulcabai* 'almost one hundred Tatars and Cossacks went together [with him]'
- *šağdar jabiyin-luyā odolcaqsan tümen tabun mingyan örkö albatunari abād* 'taking the fifteen thousand families, who went together with Šağdarjab ...'
- *ayuuki xān axa döü zöün yariyin oyiradi ülü umartan teden-lügē uruq eligen bololcaji okin-yēn cevang rabtan xān-du ögöd* 'Ayuuki khan did not forget the Oirat brothers in Dzunggharia, became relatives with them and gave his daughter to Cevang rabtan khan'

Examples for reflexive:

- *šara cekē kemēkü yol dëre uçiraldači kelelceqsen* 'they meet each other at the Šara cekē river and had discussions'
- *zayin xasayuud tedeni üzeji bayilduxuyidu* 'when the Uralian Kazaks noticed and attacked them'
- *xasaq mangyadlai dayilduxār ayidarxan-ēce mordobai* '[they] came of from Astrakhan to fight with the Kazaks and Tatars'
- *dayisun-luyā alaldaxu bolboi* 'fighting [lit. killing each other] started with the enemy'
- *xoyino ayuuki baqta girei-lügē ebceldēd* 'later Ayuuki made peace with Baqta Girei'
- *nigen nigen-yēn tebirildēd* 'embracing each other'

Frequently occurs that the function of the two suffixes coincides and they are interchangeable, even in the same word. E.g.:

- *oros cereq-lügē neyide xaramiyin tatari dayilelcēd* 'they were fighting with the Crimean Tatars together with the Russian troops'
- *tende-ēce oros xān xaram-luyā dayilduxu bolji* 'from that time the Russian Tsar started to fight with the Tatars'

### 3. Syntax

The basic word order in Written Oirat is subject-object-verb. The predicate, which is the last element in the sentence can be either verbal or nominal. The position of the other parts of the sentence is less fixed, they can precede or succeed the object, depending on their emphasis. Sometimes, in case of emphasis, the predicate can be followed by other parts of the sentence.

Since clauses are linked with each other with the help of verbal nouns and verbal adverbs, there are only few copulative conjunctions. E.g.:

- *ba* 'and'
- *kigēd* 'and' (↔ *ki-* 'to do' + AP)
- *buyu* "or"

If a complex sentence contains more than one subjects, then the subordinated subjects are often indicated with accusative, while the main subject is always in nominative case.

The negative particles are the prepositional *bü/bu/buu*, *ülü* and *ese*, as well as the postpositional *ügei*, *busu* and *biši*. Particle *bü/bu/buu* is used only with imperatives (see 2.2.1.3.1), *ülü* and *ese* with finite tense-aspect forms, verbal nouns and verbal adverbs (see 2.2.3), while *ügei*, *busu* and *biši* with nouns, pronouns and verbal nouns (see 2.1.7).

Other syntactic particles are *ele* (logical emphasis), *ba*, *cü* and *čigi* (nominal emphasis).

The order of words in attributive structures: attribute and attributed word.

The order of words in possessive structures: possessor + Gen. and possession.

### 4. Sample texts

#### 4.1. The history of the Kalmyk khans

The following text is from a historical work known as *The history of the Kalmyk khans*. This work was written at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Kalmykia, the author is unknown. The original manuscript is not available at the present, the text is known as it was published by A. Pozdnev in his textbook (see Bibliography).

*xalimaq xād-iyin tuuji-yigi xurā-ji biči-qsen tobči oroši-bai*  
[Kalmyk] [khan + Gen.] [story + Acc.] [to collect + AI] [to write + NP] [summary] [to be somewhere + PrtP.]

*ödögē caq-tu ijil müren-i šidar sou-qči mongyol izuur-tu*  
[now] [time, period + D.-L.] [Volga] [river + Gen.] [near] [to sit, to live + NA] [Mongol] [root + PDS]

*basa teden-lügē nigen šajin-d[=t]u nige kele-tü xalimaq ulus inu :*  
[also] [PP 3 Pr. Pl. + Comm.] [one] [religion + PDS] [one] [language + PDS] [Kalmyk] [people] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD]

*erten-i eke nutuq-yēn orki-ji oros-iyin dumda ire-ji sou-qsan kemē-bēsü*  
[early + Gen.] [mother] [land + SPM] [to throw, to leave + AI] [Russian + Gen.] [among] [to come + AI] [to sit, to live + NP] [to say + ACd.]

*zöün yar-iyin dörbön oyirad-tu ebderel bol-u-qsan caq-tu*  
[left, east] [arm + Gen.] [four] [Oirat + D.-L.] [conflict] [to become + CC + NP] [time + D.-L.]

*torγuud-iyin tayiši inu xō örlöq kemē-qči bēr tere metü nigen nigen-yēn ala-ji*  
[Torgut + Gen.] [prince] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [Emph., SD] [that] [similarly] [one] [one + SPM] [to kill + AI]

*alba-tu-nar-yēn bara-qsan-ēce xolo yazar o-či*  
[service + PDS + Pl. + SPM] [to finish + NP + Abl.] [far] [land] [to go (Coll. ↔ *od-*) + AI]

*xari yasu-tu ulus-iyin oyiro sou-ji teden-lügē dayildu-n olzo ab-či yabu-bāsu*  
[foreign] [bone, clan + PDS] [people + Gen.] [near] [to sit + AI] [PP 3 Pr. Pl. + Comm.] [to fight + AM] [booty] [to take + AI] [to go + ACd.]

*dēre bolo-ya kemē-n sedk-ēd šoroi morin jil-dü (1618)*  
[up(per)] [to become + Vol.] [to say + AM] [to think + AP] [earth] [horse] [year + D.-L.] [1618]

*k'āspu-yin dalayi-n züq sayin kümün-i ilgē-ji tende yazar ezen ügei kemē-n lab med-ēd*  
[Caspian + Gen.] [sea + Gen.] [towards] [good] [man + Acc.] [to send + AI] [there] [land] [owner] [Neg. Post. without] [to say + AM] [sure] [to know + AP]

*šoroi luu (1628) jil-dü öbör-ōn alba-tu torγuud ba xoşuud ki-g-ēd dörböd*  
[earth] [dragon] [1628] [year + D.-L.] [Ref. Prn. + Gen.] [service + PDS] [Torgut] [and] [Khoshut] [to do + CC + AP = and] [Dörbödt]

*tabun tümen örkö ulus ab-či zuryān köbüün-yēn dax-uul-u-n*  
[five] [ten thousand] [family] [people] [to take + AI] [six] [son + SPM] [to follow + Caus. + CV + AM]

*zöün yar-tu-ki nutuq-yēn ork'-ād naran šingge-küi züq-tü mordo-bai*  
[left, east] [arm + D.-L. + LS] [land + SPM] [to leave + AP] [sun] [to be absorbed into sg + NF] [direction + D.-L.] [to depart + PrtP.]

*zai müren-i kür-ü-l ügegüyē [= ügei] embe yol-iyin dergede nutuq-tai a-qǎi*  
[Ural] [river + Gen.] [to reach + CV + DVN] [Neg. Part.] [Embe] [river + Gen.] [beside] [land + PDS] [to be + NA]

*nigen bölöq tatār-muud-i or-uul-ād zai-yi getül-ji*  
[one] [group] [Tatar + Pl. + Acc.] [to go into + Caus. + AP] [Ural + Acc.] [to cross + AI]

*nayai xatai xabčiq jitešen kemē-kü tatār-muud-i-yi erke-d-ēn or-uul-ji*  
[Nogai] [Khatai] [Khabčiq] [Jiteshen] [to say + NF] [Tatar + Pl. + Acc.] [power + D.-L. + SPM] [to go into + Caus. + AI]

*tömör morin jil-dü (1630) ijil-dü kür-bei*  
[iron] [horse] [year + D.-L.] [1630] [Volga + D.-L.] [to reach + PrtP.]

*tere caq-tu ene müren-i adaq zöün baruun xoyor tala-du*  
[that] [time + D.-L.] [this] [river + Gen.] [end] [left, east] [right, west] [two] [side + D.-L.]

*xor kür-ge-kü čida-l ügei ücüüken tatar-ēce yađna ulus ügei*  
[poison] [to reach + Caus. + NF] [to be able + DVN] [Neg. Part.] [small] [Tatar + Abl.] [Post. beside, outside] [people] [Neg. Part.]

*oros balyasun ücüüken tende-ki uujim tala-da ebesün xaqda elbeq*  
[Russian] [city] [small] [there + LS] [plain + D.-L.] [grass] [meadow] [abundant]

*yerü oyirad-tu maši zoki-s-tai a-qsan-yēr*  
[general(ly)] [Oirat + D.-L.] [very] [to suit + DVN + PDS] [to be + NP + Instr.]

*xō örlöq inu zai-ēce ijil kür-tele ayidarxan-ēce samur kür-tele*  
[Xō örlöq] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen.= SD] [Ural + Abl.] [Volga] [to reach + AT = Post. to] [Astrakhan + Abl.] [Samara] [to reach + AT = Post. to]

*bükü yazar öbör-ön alba-tu-nar-iyin möngke nutuq bol-yo-ji tende buu-bai*  
[whole] [land] [Ref. Prn. + Gen.] [service + PDS + Pl. + Gen.] [eternal] [land] [to become + Caus. + AI] [there] [to descend, to settle down + PrtP.]

*ene yazar kemē-bēsü cayān xān-i yazar a-qsan bol-bacu*  
[this] [land] [to say + ACd.] [white] [emperor + Gen.] [land] [to be + NP] [to become + Acc.]

*xō örlöq tani-lca-xu mede-lce-kü cü sedki-l yazar-i inu ezele-qsen-yēn cü*  
[Xō örlöq] [to get to know sg/sy + Coll. + NF] [to know + Coll. + NF] [Part. Emph.] [to think + DVN] [land + Acc.] [PPM 3 Pr. Sg.] [to occupy + NP + SPM] [Part. Emph.]

*töün-dü ülü med-öül-e-qsen bö-lügē*  
[PP 3 Pr. Sg. + D.-L.] [Neg. Part.] [to know + Caus. + CV + NP] [Arch. to be + PrtI.]

‘[Herein] is the summary, which was written collecting the history of the Kalmyk khans. The Kalmyk people, who are living at the present time in the vicinity of the Volga river, have Mongolian origin, as well as one religion and one language with them. They left their ancient motherland, came among the Russians and settled down there. When a conflict arose among the Four Oirats of Dzungaria, Kho Örlöq, the prince of the Torguts thought, that it would be better if instead of killing each other in such way and losing his people, he settles down in the neighborhood of foreign people, wars with them and takes plunder. In the earth horse year (1618) he sent good men in the direction of the Caspian Sea and got to know surely [through them] that the land is uninhabited there. In the earth dragon year (1628) he brought fifty thousand households of his own Torgut, Khoshut and Dörböt subjects, and leading his six

sons left his land in Dzungaria and set off towards the sunset. Prior to their reaching the Ural river, they conquered one group of Tatars, who were living beside the Embe river. After crossing the Ural [river] they subdued the Nogai, Khatai, Khabchiq and Jiteshen Tatars, and in the iron horse year reached the Volga. At that time there were no people at the mouth of this river on both the east and west banks beside some Tatars, who could not do any harm. Russian towns were small. Since the wide plain there was abundant in new grass and last year’s grass, and generally it was very suitable for the Oirats, Kho Örlöq made all territories from the Ural to the Volga and from Astrakhan to Samara the eternal land of his own subjects, and settled down there. Although this land was the territory of the White Khan [= Russian Tsar], Kho Örlöq neither informed him that he had occupied the territory, nor had he intention to get to know [this land].’

## 4.2. Radnabhadra’s Moonlight sutra

*Sarayin gerel* ‘Moonlight’ is the biography of Zaya Pandita, which was compiled after his death by one of his pupils, Radnabhadra. Several manuscripts of *Sarayin gerel* are known and the following extract is from the version, which was published by A. G. Sazykin (see Bibliography).

*yasun inu xošuid otoq inu güröčün güröčün dotor-ön šangyas a-mui*  
[bone, clan] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [Khoshut] [clan] [Güröchin] [Güröchin] [inside + SPM] [Shanghas] [to be + PrsI.]

*öböku inu dörbön oyirod-tu yeke cecen-dü aldar-ši-qsan köngküi zayāči kemē-kü bui*  
[grandfather] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [four] [Oirat + D.-L.] [great, big] [wisdom + D.-L.] [fame + DNV + NP] [Köngküi] [Zayachi] [to say + NF] [Arch. is, being]

*köngküi-yin olon köböün bui-ēce yeke köböün inu bābaxan kemē-kü bui*  
[Köngküi + Gen.] [many] [son] [Arch. is, being + Abl.] [great, big] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [Babakhan] [to say + NF] [Arch. is, being]

*bābaxan-du nayiman köböün bui-ēce d[=t]ab-t[a]γār köböün inu boqdo za-ya pandida bui*  
[Babakhan + D.-L.] [eighth] [son] [Arch. is, being + Abl.] [five + Ord.] [son] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [saint, holy] [Zaya] [Pandida] [Arch. is, being]

[...]

*gegēn nasun-i xubila-qsan jil inu šoroi yaxayi-tei a-mui*  
[splendour] [age, life + Gen.] [to transform, to change into + NP] [year] [PP 3 Pr. Sg. + Gen. = SD] [earth] [pig + PDS] [to be + PrsI.]

*cecen xān-i ečiğe noyon bayibayas bātur terigiü-le-n*  
[wisdom] [khan + Gen.] [father] [lord, nobleman] [Bayibaghas] [Batur] [head + DNV + AM]

*dörbön oyirod-iyin noyo-d bügüd-ēr niğed köböü-g-ēn bandi bol-yo-yo*  
[four] [Oirat + Gen.] [lord, nobleman + Pl.] [all + Instr.] [one + Distr.] [son + CC + SPM] [novice] [to become + Caus. + Vol.]

*ge-ji ama abu-lca-qsan-du busu noyo-d-oud niğed köböün-yēn bandi bol-yo-boi*  
[to say + AI] [mouth] [to take + Co. + NP + D.-L.] [other] [lord, nobleman + Pl. + Pl.] [one + Distr.] [son + SPM] [novice] [to become + Caus. + PrtP.]

*bayibayas bātur noyon mini üren-i tölō bandi bol kemē-qsen-dü*  
[Bayibaghas] [Batur] [lord, nobleman] [PP 1 Pr. Sg. + Gen.] [descendant + Gen.] [Post. for] [novice] [to become + Imp.] [to say + NP + D.-L.]



arban dolō-toyi-d-ōn mānzuširi xutuq-tu-ēce bandi bol-u-qsan a-jiyu  
[seventeen (ten + seven) + PDS + D.-L. + SPM] [Manjushri] [holiness + PDS + Abl.]  
[novice] [to become + CV + NP] [to be + PrtI.]

‘His tribe is Khoshut, his clan is Güröchin, inside Güröchin is Shanghas. His grandfather is Köngküi Zayachi, who became famous among the Four Oirats because of his wisdom. Among from the many sons of Köngküi his greatest son was Babakhan. Among from the eighth sons of Babakhan the fifth son is the holy Zaya Pandita.

[...]

The year of the birth of the splendour is that of the earth pig. When all noblemen of the Four Oirats under the leadership of Cecen khan’s father, Bayibaghas have promised each other that they give one of their sons to become novice, the other noblemen [apart from Bayibaghas] gave one of their sons to become novice. And when Bayibaghas Batur said:

– Be novice instead of my son (descendant)!

[Zaya Pandita] was made novice by Manjushri Khutuqtu, when he was seventeen.’

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### Short vowels

Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final	Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final
a	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ	᠋	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ
e	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ	᠋	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ
i	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ	᠋	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ
o	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ				

### Long vowels

Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final	Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final
ā	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ	᠋	ᠠ	ᠠ	ᠠ
ē	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ	᠋	ᠡ	ᠡ	ᠡ
īyī	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ	᠋	ᠢ	ᠢ	ᠢ
ō	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ				

### Other compound letters

Transcription		Transcription		Transcription	
ī	ᠢ	ū	ᠠ	u	ᠠ

Consonants

Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final	Transcription	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>n</i>	ㄋ	ㄋ	ㄋ	<i>m</i>	ㅁ	ㅁ	ㅁ
<i>ng</i>	-	ㄱ	ㄱ	<i>c, ċ</i>	ㄷ	ㄷ	-
<i>x</i>	ㄷ	ㄷ	-	<i>z, ĵ</i>	ㅈ	ㅈ	-
<i>γ</i>	ㅇ	ㅇ	-	<i>y</i>	ㅅ	ㅅ	-
<i>b</i>	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅍ	<i>k'</i>	ㅊ	ㅊ	-
<i>s</i>	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅍ	<i>k'</i>	ㅊ	ㅊ	-
<i>ʃ</i>	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅍ	<i>q</i>	ㅊ	ㅊ	-
<i>t</i>	ㅍ	ㅍ	-	<i>g</i>	-	ㄱ	ㄱ
<i>d</i>	ㅍ	ㅍ	ㅍ	<i>r</i>	ㄹ	ㄹ	ㄹ
<i>l</i>	ㄹ	ㄹ	ㄹ				

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