

CHAPTER SIX

DAGUR

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Dagur (also Daghur, Dahur, Daur) is an aberrant North(east)ern Mongolic language spoken by the majority of the c. 120,000 (1990) ethnic Dagur (Chinese *Dawoer*) in China. The name reflects the self-appellation of the Dagur (*dagur* ~ *dawur* ~ *daur*). Historically, the Dagur once inhabited the Middle Amur region, including, in particular, the Zeya basin, from where they moved (or were forced to move) to the Chinese side of the border in the seventeenth century and later. Subsequent movements have further dispersed the Dagur population, resulting in their current distribution, which may be described in terms of four separate regional groups:

- (1) The Amur Dagur are a small (and rapidly diminishing) remnant group of perhaps only 400 individuals, who still remain in the original homeland. The Amur Dagur are today concentrated in the Heihe region on the Chinese side of the Middle Amur basin.
- (2) The Nonni Dagur are today the principal group of the Dagur, living in several localities of the Nonni (Chinese *Nenjiang*) basin. They can be further divided into (2a) the Morin Daba Dagur, in the Morin Daba (*Moli Dawa*) Dagur Autonomous Banner of Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia; (2b) the Butha (*Buteha*) Dagur, immediately south of Morin Daba Banner; (2c) the Tsitsikar Dagur, in Tsitsikar (*Qiqihaer*) City and surrounding areas; and (2d) the Mergen or Nenjiang Dagur, in Nenjiang (formerly Mergen) County of Heilongjiang Province.
- (3) The Hailar Dagur are another important group, living mainly in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner of Hulun Buir League, immediately south of Hailar City.
- (4) The Sinkiang Dagur comprise the descendants of those Dagur who in the eighteenth century were transferred by the Qing government to the Ili (*Yili*) region of Sinkiang (*Xinjiang*).

Although the regional differences of Dagur are small, making all local varieties of the language mutually intelligible, some dialectal differences are nevertheless present. The Nonni Dagur are normally divided into speakers of the Butha (northern) and Tsitsikar (southern) dialects, while the Hailar and Sinkiang Dagur (as well as the Amur Dagur) constitute dialectal groups of their own. According to an estimate made on the basis of an earlier census (1982), the Butha dialect is spoken by c.48 per cent, the Tsitsikar dialect by c.43 per cent, the Hailar dialect by c.5 per cent, and the Sinkiang dialect by c.4 per cent of all Dagur.

Dagur has no official literary language, though attempts have been made to write it in three different writing systems: in the Manchu script during the late Qing dynasty, in a Roman orthography in the early 1930s, and in the Cyrillic script in the 1950s. Since the 1980s, a new attempt of literary use has been going on using a Pinyin-based Roman standard. For their everyday literary use, as well as for wider written communication, the Dagur nevertheless rely upon Chinese (Mandarin) and Mongol (Written Mongol). Most Dagur are today either bi- or trilingual in Chinese and/or Mongol, while earlier, Manchu

was also widely known and used. On the other hand, Dagur has for several centuries been the second language of the majority of the Solon Ewenki, a major Manchurian branch of the Tungusic Ewenki people. The long-term contacts with two Tungusic languages (Manchu and Ewenki) have resulted in several peculiar innovations in Dagur. In the past, Dagur was even mistakenly classified as a Tungusic language, until competent field work, initiated in the late nineteenth century, revealed its Mongolic identity.

DATA AND SOURCES

Following the pioneering work by A. O. Ivanovskii (1894), Nicholas Poppe (1930, 1934–5, 1964) was the first modern linguist to publish grammatical and lexical material on Dagur and establish the genetic position of the language. Before Poppe, F. V. Muromski had also recorded a glossary of some 2,000 Dagur words, but it was published only much later by Stanisław Kałużyński (1969–70). Another important work, based on data from a single informant, but involving a new theoretical framework (American structuralism), was published by Samuel E. Martin (1961).

It was, however, not until the 1980s that sufficient data became available to allow the study of Dagur at a more advanced level. A concise Dagur grammatical sketch with a glossary was prepared by Zhong Suchun (1982) for the official Chinese series of minority language grammars. A more substantial grammar, based on field work carried out in the 1950s, was published in Russia by B. X. Todaeva (1986), later followed by a brief sketch by the same author (1997). Even greater contributions have been made by the native Dagur scholar Merden Enhebatu in collaboration with other members of Inner Mongolia University. The results include a Dagur vocabulary of *c.* 7,000 items (Enhebatu *et al.* 1984), a collection of texts (Enhebatu *et al.* 1985), as well as a detailed historical-comparative grammar (Enhebatu and Shinetge 1988). Another comparative grammar of Dagur was prepared by Namtsarai and Has-Erdeni (1983).

All these new materials, as summarized by Juha Janhunen (1988), have shed light on the previously enigmatic Dagur language. Moreover, after the long years of the closed-door policy of China, accessibility to the Dagur-inhabited areas has much improved, and it is today also possible to meet and interview Dagur speakers elsewhere in the world. The present sketch is, in addition to the extant published sources, based on personal field observations. Some results of this field work have also been made available in earlier publications by the author (Tsumagari 1985, 1986). Other recent treatments and databases include those by Hitoshi Kuribayashi (1989) and Shigeki Shiotani (1990).

While most works on Dagur are of a scholarly character, the experimentations with literary use have also resulted in some publications. The relatively large corpus of Cyrillic sources in Dagur has been republished under the editorship of György Kara (1995). A Pinyinized Dagur–Chinese dictionary for modern practical use has been published by Enhebatu (1983), while a reader with texts has been prepared by Erhimbayar and Enhebatu (1988). There is also an occasional scholarly newspaper titled *Daor Huu* ('Dagur People'), but it is published only in Chinese.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Dagur has five singly occurring vowel phonemes, which may be divided into the rounded back vowels *o u*, the unrounded back vowels *a e*, and the single unrounded front vowel *i* (Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1 DAGUR VOWELS

<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	
	<i>a</i>	

Diachronically, the rounded back vowels *u* [u] and *o* [o ~ ɔ] represent the rotated and merged reflexes of **ü* & **ö* as well as **u* & **o*, respectively, e.g. *xund* ‘heavy’ (< **kündü*), *duc* ‘forty’ (< **döci/n*); *mory* ‘horse’ (< **mori/n*), *goc* ‘thirty’ (< **guci/n*). Both *u* and (to a lesser extent) *o* have a labializing effect on a preceding consonant. The unrounded back vowels *a* [a ~ ɤ] and *e* [ɛ] represent original **a* and **e*, respectively, e.g. *xar* ‘black’ (< **kara*); *er* ‘man’ (< **ere*). The unrounded front vowel *i* represents original **i* and has a palatalizing effect on a preceding consonant, e.g. *nid* [ɲid] ‘eye’ (< **nidü/n*). All these vowel phonemes occur in the initial syllable, while in non-initial syllables only the three single vowels *i e u* can appear. In the present description, it is assumed that the single vowels never occur word-finally at the phonological level.

All vowel qualities can occur as phonetically long. Such long vowels can phonologically be analysed as sequences of two identical vowels: *aa ee ii oo uu*, and in most cases they imply diachronic contraction, e.g. *shiree* ‘table’ (< **sirexe*), *seruung* ‘cool’ (< **seri-xün*). In some cases, however, a secondary lengthening has taken place, e.g. *taaw* ‘five’ (< **tabu/n*), *mood* ‘tree’ (< **modu/n*). Lengthening may be considered regular in monosyllabic words of the type CV, e.g. *bii* ‘I’ (< **bi*).

There are also seven diphthongoid sequences, consisting of two non-identical vowels. These may be classified into three types: (1) *ai ei oi ui*; (2) *au eu*; and (3) *ie*. The first type, containing *i* as the second component, has parallels in most other Mongolic languages, e.g. *baidal* ‘situation’ (< **bayidal*), *uwei* [negative particle] (< **ügei*), *noitung* ‘wet’ (< **noyitan*), *kuitung* ‘cold’ (< **küyiten*). The second type, attested only in the initial syllable, involves an archaism peculiar to Dagur (with parallels in Moghol and the Gansu–Qinghai complex), e.g. Dagur *aul* ‘mountain’ vs. Mongol *uul* (< **axula/n*), Dagur *eud* ‘door’ vs. Mongol *üüd* (< **exüde/n*). The third type, as analysed here, comprises only the sequence *ie*, which has two monophthongoid realizations: [e] in the initial syllable, but never word-initially, and [e:] in non-initial syllables, with a palatalizing effect on the preceding consonant. In the initial syllable *ie* occurs as an irregular reflex of **i* (by palatal breaking) or **a* (by palatal umlaut), e.g. *bied* ‘we’ (< **bida*), *jieby* ‘boat’ (< **jabi*), while in non-initial syllables it has a sequential background, e.g. *tarie* ‘field’ (< **tariya/n*), *unie* ‘cow’ (< **üniye/n*). In a different interpretation, *ie* could be analysed as a sixth member of the basic vowel paradigm (unrounded mid-high front vowel).

The consonant paradigm comprises some nineteen basic segments, which, according to the manner of articulation, may be divided into the strong stops *p t c k*, the weak stops *b d j g*, the fricatives *f s sh x*, the nasals *m n ng*, the liquids *l r*, and the glides *w y* (Table 6.2). Of these, the segments *p f* are mainly attested in recent lexical innovations, loanwords, as well as irregular developments.

The opposition between the strong vs. weak stops is manifested in the presence vs. absence of aspiration, as in (strong aspirated) *pus-* ‘to breed’ (from Manchu), *xumpaa-* ‘to swim’ (< **xumba-*), *lup* ‘straight’; *taa* ‘you’ (< **ta*), *kateng* ‘hard’ (< **katan*), *alt* ‘gold’ (< **alta/n*); *cas* ‘snow’ (< **casu/n*), *wacir-* ‘to meet’ (< **ucira-*), *kurc* ‘bowstring’ (< **köbci/n*); *kuly* ‘foot, leg’ (< **köl.i*), *saikeng* ‘beautiful’ (< **sayikan*), *nek* ‘one’

TABLE 6.2 DAGUR CONSONANTS

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ng</i>
	<i>l</i>		
	<i>r</i>		
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

(< **nike/n*); (weak unaspirated) *bes* ‘belt’ (< **büse/n*), *ambeng* ‘minister’; *deer* ‘[on] top [of]’ (< **dexere*), *udur* ‘day’ (< **ödür*), *end* ‘here’ (< **ende*); *jau* ‘hundred’ (< **jaxu/n*), *xujuu* ‘neck’ (< **küjüxü*), *orj* ‘nursing bottle’ (< **ugji*); *galy* ‘fire’ < **gal.i*), *myangg* ‘thousand’ (< **mingga/n*). The weak segments *b g* are, however, voiced and spirantized intervocalically and syllable-finally, as in *debel-* ‘to advance’ (< **debül-* ‘to spout’), *gwareb* ‘three’ (< **gurba/n*), *cigaan* ‘white’ (< **cagaxan*), *eg* ‘mother’ (< **eke*).

In certain environments, it is difficult to distinguish the weak stops *b g* from the corresponding glides *w y*. The glides are fully distinctive in initial position, e.g. *warkel* ‘clothes’, *yas* ‘bone’ (< **yasu/n*). In intervocalic and final position, however, the phonetic distinction between *b* (pronounced as a voiced bilabial spirant) and *w* (a voiced bilabial approximant) is minimal, and both seem to represent the same diachronic source (**b*), e.g. *oboo* ‘heap’ (< **obuxa/n*) vs. *dawaa* ‘mountain pass’ (< **dabaxa/n*). Before the vowel *u*, there often seems to be free variation between *b* or *w* and *g*, as in *uwul* ~ *ugul* ‘winter’ (< **öbül*), though zero representation (Ø) is also encountered, as in *yau-* ‘to go’ (< **yabu-*). In the case of the palatal glide *y*, the contrast against zero is generally retained, as in *baying* ‘rich’ (< **bayan*) vs. *saing* ‘good’ (< **sayin*), but a merger between *g* and *y* is possible before the vowel *i*, as in *degii* (from Ewenki) > *deyii* ‘bird’.

The fricatives *f s sh x* are all phonetically voiceless. The segment *f* has a dentilabial pronunciation (as in Manchu and Chinese), e.g. *faid-* ~ *paid-* ‘to arrange’ (from Chinese through Manchu), *xafeng* ‘official’ (from Manchu). The segments *s sh* are realized as a dental and palatal sibilant, respectively, e.g. *sau-* ‘to sit’ (< **saxu-*), *taser-* ‘to cut off’ (< **tasura-*), *os* ‘water’ (< **usu/n*) vs. *shar* ‘yellow’ (< **sira*), *shii* ‘thou’ (< **ci*), *tashieng* ‘error’ (< **tasiya/n*), *udish* ‘yesterday’ (< **üdesi* ‘evening’). Diachronically, *sh* implies a position preceding an original **i*, but synchronically *s* can also occur before *i*, notably the suffixal long *ii* of the connective case ending, as in *os* ‘water’: conn. *os-ii*.

The segment *x*, realized as a velar to pharyngeal to laryngeal fricative, is particularly important taxonomically and diachronically, since it preserves a concrete trace of the Proto-Mongolic velar fricative **x* (< **p*) in initial position. The segment is, however, regularly lost in the Hailar dialect, as in *xukur* > Hailar *ukur* ‘cattle’ (< **xüker*). Another complication is caused by what appears to have been an unsystematic spirantization of initial **k* > *x* before a velar vowel, as in *xony* ‘sheep’ (< **koni/n*). Many words show a dialectal alternation between *k* and *x* (both initially and medially), as in Butha *kakraa* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *xaxraa* ‘hen/rooster’, Butha *xwaker* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *waxer* ‘short’ (< **okar*). Rarely, such alternation is also encountered before an original palatal vowel, as in Butha *xeing* vs. Tsitsikar and Hailar *keing* ‘wind’ < **keyi/n* ‘air, wind’.

The labial and dental nasals *m n* occur without complications in all positions, e.g. *magel* ‘hat’ (< **malaga*), *emeel* ‘saddle’ (< **emexel*), *am* ‘mouth’ (< **ama/n*); *nar* ‘sun’

(< *nara/n), *tanil* ‘acquaintance’ (< *tanil), *en* ‘this’ (< *ene). The velar nasal *ng* represents a merger of original **n* and **ng* in final position; a final *ng* is normally pronounced as a nasalized continuation of the preceding vowel. The synchronic contrast between *n* vs. *ng* is due to vowel loss after an original medial *n*, as in *xaan* ‘where’ (< *kaxana) vs. *xaang* ‘emperor’ (< *kaxan). A medial *ng* occurs in the homorganic clusters *ngg ngk*, e.g. *ninggeen* ‘thin’ (< *ningexen), *engkw-* ‘to bite’ (< *emkü-). In recent loanwords, *ng* has expanded its distribution to other positions, as in *gungren* ‘worker’ (from Chinese).

Of the liquids, only the lateral *l* occurs in all positions within the word, e.g. *lam* ‘lama’ (< *lama), *xulaang* ‘red’ (< *xulaxan), *ail* ‘village’ (< *ayil). In initial position *l* sometimes derives from **n*, as in *larc* ‘leaf’ (< *nabci), *lom* ‘sutra’ (< *nom). The vibrant *r* occurs medially and finally, but not initially, e.g. *xoroo* ‘finger’ (< *kuruxu), *xwar* ‘rain’ (< *kura). Diachronically, *r* is connected with the single most important taxonomic feature of Dagur, the phenomenon known as ‘Dagur rhotacism’, according to which *r* can stand for any original syllable-final obstruent (**b* **d* **s* **g*), as in *torc* ‘button’ (< *tobci), *aurky* ‘lung’ (< *axuski), *derd-* ‘to fly’ (< *degde-* ‘to float’). Original final **r* is basically also preserved as *r*, as in *xaur* ‘spring(time)’, but in some cases, secondary dissimilation has confused the relations between *r* and *l*, e.g. *shurkul* ‘demon’ (< *shurkur < *cidkür), *urkil* ‘story’ (< *ulgir < *üliger).

Another taxonomically important feature of Dagur is breaking, which in this language has affected both the original high palatal vowel **i* (palatal breaking) and the rounded vowels **u* **o* (labial breaking), e.g. *yor* ‘omen’ (< *iro), *wair* ‘near’ (< *oyira), *want-* ‘to sleep’ (< *umta-). Due to breaking, Dagur has, in addition to the basic consonants, a system of palatalized and labialized consonants, each of which can be analysed either as a single segment or as a sequence of two segments. In principle, with the exception of the glides, any non-palatal initial consonant can be secondarily palatalized, e.g. *kyand* ‘cheap’ (< *kimda), *nyombus* ‘tears’ (< *nilbusu/n). Similarly, any non-labial initial consonant can be secondarily labialized, e.g. *dwater* ‘inside’ (< *dotar), *xwadel* ‘lie’ (< *kudal). In practice, the paradigm of the palatalized and labialized consonants is restricted by a number of accidental distributional gaps.

Another source of palatalized and labialized consonants has been the elision of the final vowels **i* **u* (< **u* & **o*), which has left an asyllabic trace of secondary articulation on the final consonant, e.g. *xeky* ‘head’ (< *xeki/n ‘beginning’), *nogw* ‘dog’ (< *noko). Considering also this source, the number of the actually attested palatalized consonants in Dagur is eleven (*py ty ky by dy gy xy my ny ly ry*), while the number of the labialized consonants is thirteen (*tw cw kw bw dw jw gw sw shw xw mw nw lw*). The labialized consonants can also occur medially in inflected forms, as in *usugw* ‘word’ : instr. *usugw-eer*. The same is actually true of the palatalized consonants, but due to neutralizing vowel developments medial palatalization tends to be non-distinctive, as in *mory* ‘horse’ : instr. *mor(y)-ier*. Medial palatalization is, nevertheless, attested in a few marginal words, such as *monyoo* ‘monkey’ (from Manchu), *nyoo&nyoo* ~ *ninyoo* ‘baby’.

WORD STRUCTURE

In the framework followed here, the general structure of the Dagur syllable may be schematized as (C)(G)V(V)((C)C)(G), where G stands for the glides *w y* and C for any other consonant. Sequences of two vowel segments (VV) may, of course, also be analysed as single vowel phonemes (long vowels and diphthongs), while sequences of consonant + glide (CG) may be analysed as single consonant phonemes (palatalized resp.

labialized consonants). There are no words ending in a single vowel, and no medial syllables ending in a sequence of consonant + glide. Therefore, syllables of maximal complexity occur only among monosyllabic words, such as *xyaarkw* 'sidewalls of a room'. In clusters of two consonants (CC), the first segment is normally one of the set *b g m n ng l r*, while the second segment comes from the set *p t c k d j s sh*.

It has to be mentioned that there is another possible phonotactic framework that has also been proposed for Dagur. In this other framework (Martin), Dagur has only open syllables. The glides are interpreted as fully vocalic (*u i*), while any (apparent) syllable-final consonants are actually assumed to be followed by the (neutral) vowel *e*. A final *ng*, as well as a homorganic nasal before a consonant, are interpreted as an archiphonemic syllabic nasal (*n*). This line of analysis has certain advantages, especially in that it avoids postulating certain otherwise necessary phonemes (*y w ng*). However, there are also problems involved, for which reason it appears advisable not to adopt this framework here.

The most important phonotactic phenomenon affecting the vowels is vowel harmony, which in Dagur has been significantly restructured due to rotation and various neutralizing developments. The vowels of the initial syllable may be divided into three groups: the 'masculine' (original back) vowels *a aa ai au o oo oi ie*, the 'feminine' (original front) vowels *e ee ei eu uu ui*, and the neutral vowels *u i ii*. In non-initial syllables, the distribution of the vowels into the three groups is somewhat different, with the first group comprising the vowels *aa oo*, the second group the vowel *ee*, and the third group the vowels *u uu ui i ii ie e ei*. It may be noted that the category of neutral vowels has increased in Dagur, especially in non-initial syllables. Even so, the 'masculine' and 'feminine' vowels do not normally co-occur in a single word. A further restriction is that *oo* usually does not occur after an initial syllable containing *u ii*.

Vowel harmony is synchronically manifest in the behaviour of suffixal long vowels. Suffixes beginning with a consonant, or involving a connective consonant, have two alternants with the vowels *aa ee*, e.g. abl. *akaa/y-aas* 'elder brother', *ukaa/y-aas* 'wisdom', *coloo/y-aas* 'stone', *degii/y-ees* 'bird', *shiree/y-ees* 'table', *tulie/y-ees* 'firewood'. By contrast, suffixes beginning with a vowel have four alternants with the vowels *aa oo ee ie*. The alternant with *oo* is triggered both by a preceding *o* (labial harmony) and by a stem-final labial glide after 'masculine' vowels, while the alternant with *ie* is triggered by a stem-final palatal consonant or glide irrespective of the preceding vocalism, e.g. abl. (*am* :) *am-aas* 'mouth', (*mood* :) *mood-oos* 'tree', (*tatk* :) *tatk-oos* 'drawer', (*taaw* :) *taaw-oos* 'five', (*eg* :) *eg-ees* 'mother', (*usugw* :) *usugw-ees* 'word', (*mory* :) *mor-ies* 'horse', (*bey* :) *bey-ies* 'body', (*kaic* :) *kaic-ies* 'scissors'.

Two Common Mongolic phenomena affecting the suffix boundary are the alternation of **n* (> *ng*) with zero and the addition of the connective consonant *g* between two long vowel elements. Unlike many other Mongolic languages, Dagur has eliminated the unstable **n* from the declension of regular nouns. The nasal is, however, preserved in pronominal declension, e.g. *yoo* 'what' : dat. *yoo/n-de*, as well as in forms used as attributes before other nouns, e.g. *xori* 'twenty' : attr. *xori/ng*. Additionally, many nouns ending in an etymologically stable **n* lose this segment before certain derivational suffixes. The connective consonant *g*, on the other hand, has been replaced by *y* in the nominal declension, but it is retained as *g* in the verbal conjugation, cf. e.g. *akaa* 'elder brother' : abl. *akaa/y-aas* vs. *oo-* 'to drink' : part. ag. *oo/g-aacing* 'one who drinks'.

According to the rules of syllable structure, the vowels *e u* are regularly added after a stem-final consonant before a syllable-final consonant (not followed by a vowel), as in *id-* 'to eat' : caus. *id/e.lgee-*, *mood* 'tree' : dat. *mood/u-d*. As a reverse effect of the same phenomenon, the vowel *e* in the final syllable of a stem is lost before a suffix beginning

with a vowel, as in *biteg* ‘book’ : conn. *bitg-ii*. Stems ending in a glide (including a glide indicating palatalization or labialization) always add the vowels *i* resp. *u* before a suffixal consonant, e.g. *bey* ‘body’ : dat. *bey/i-d*, *taaw* ‘five’ : attr. *taaw/u.ng*, *mory* ‘horse’ : poss. *mor(y)/i-tii*, *nogw* ‘dog’ : poss. *nog(w)/u-tii*. Another type of resyllabification is involved in stem-final diphthongs, the latter component of which becomes consonantal before a suffixal vowel, e.g. *yau-* ‘to go’ : conv. cond. *yaw-oosaa*.

One of the advantages of the phonotactic framework adopted above is that it allows a simple and consistent description of word prosody (pitch pattern). Dagur, like Mongolic in general, tends to place the primary stress (expiratory accent) on the first syllable of the word. The pitch, on the other hand, may be said to lie on the last syllable of the word (more specifically, on the nucleus of the last syllable), e.g. *akqa* ‘elder brother’, *xareng-gui* ‘dark’, *xukur* ‘cattle’, dat. *nek-ənd* ‘along with’. Although pitch remains functionally non-distinctive in Dagur, it is significant to note that other interpretations of the phonotactic structure of the language would appear to necessitate a more complicated prosodic description.

WORD FORMATION

Both inflectionally and derivationally, Dagur retains the basic distinction between nouns (nominals) and verbs (verbals). The nominal words comprise also pronouns and numerals. Adjectives can be distinguished from other nouns by their syntactic behaviour as well as by a few special derivational patterns. The most important fully productive denominal derivative suffix with an adjectival function is the Common Mongolic possessive formative *.tii* (< **.tAi*), e.g. *kuc* ‘power’ : *kuc/i.tii* ‘powerful’, *ant* ‘taste’ : *ant/e.tii* ‘tasteful’. There are also a few non-productive deverbal suffixes with an adjectival function, notably *.mul*, e.g. *shad-* ‘to be able’ : *shad.mul* ‘pretentious’, and *.gAAr*, e.g. *ai-* ‘to fear’ : *aid.gaar* ‘coward(ly)’.

Various modifications of adjectival intensity are expressed by the suffix *.keng* or *.kung* [originally diminutive], e.g. *xig* ‘big’ : *xig.keng* ‘rather big’, *xaluu.ng* ‘hot’ : *xaluu.kung* ‘quite hot’ (lexicalized examples:) *sai.ng* ‘good’ : *sai.keng* ‘beautiful’, *sholuu.ng* ‘honest’ : *sholuu.kung* ‘brisk’. Other similar suffixes include: *.kAAlī* [augmentative], e.g. *xol* ‘far’ : *xol.kaalii*, *buduung* ‘thick’ : *buduung.keelī*; *.lbing* or *.rbing* [moderate, of colour and taste], e.g. *xulaa.ng* ‘red’ : *xulaa.lbing* or *xulaa.rbing*, *dasuu.ng* ‘sweet’ : *dasuu.lbing*; *.cir/ee* [moderate], e.g. *sert* ‘wise’ : *sert.cir/ee*, (after other suffixes:) *jeulee.ng* ‘soft’ : *jeulee.ken.cir*, *xol* ‘far’ : *xol.kaalii.cir*, *xar* ‘black’ : *xar/e.lbin.cir*. Intensity can also be expressed by the Common Mongolic reduplicative construction of the type *xa.b&xar* ‘coal-black’. In some cases, the reduplicated syllable ends in a consonant other than *.b*, e.g. *ci.m&cigaang* ‘snow-white’; other cases show emphatic lengthening, e.g. *xu.b&xulaang* ~ *xuu.b&xulaang* ‘deep-red’.

It may be noted that reduplication also plays a role in the formation of symbolic (onomatopoeic and descriptive) vocabulary. Dagur has a rich stock of words based on sound symbolism. Most of these words function as adverbs, and many occur with either full or partial reduplication, e.g. *eeng&eeng* [sound of crying, of babies], *wang&wang* [sound of barking, of dogs], *kuur&kaar* [sound of blowing, of wind; sound of growling, of stomach], *caur&nyaur* [sound of frying], *lertee&sartaa* ‘in tatters [of clothes]’. Items of symbolic vocabulary can also take a verbalizing suffix, e.g. *cak* [sound of breaking, as of wood] : *cak.er-* ‘to break [wood]’, *xyat* [sound of splitting, as of glass] : *xyat.er-* ‘to split [of glass]’, as in *moodii cak cerci-seng* ~ *cak.er-seng* ‘[he] broke the branch’; *congkui guu xyat ici-seng* ~ *xyat.er-seng* ‘the window glass split’.

Suffixes deriving verbs from nominal stems include: *.d-*, e.g. *dau* 'voice' : *dau.d-* 'to talk; to read aloud'; *.dAA-* [instrumentative], e.g. *aleg* 'net' : *aleg.daa-* 'to catch fish in a net'; *.j* [translative], e.g. *bayi.ng* 'rich' : *bayi.j-* 'to become rich'; *.l* [translative], e.g. *jusuu.ng* 'sour' : *jusuu.l-* 'to turn sour'; *.lAA-* [instrumentative], e.g. *myaucaa.ng* 'gun' : *myaucaa.laa-* 'to fire a gun'; *.lj-*, e.g. *usugw* 'word' : *usugu.lj-* 'to talk'; *.mAA-*, e.g. *nid* 'eye' : *nid.mee-* 'to watch'; *.r-*, e.g. *tashie.ng* 'error' : *tashie.r-* 'to make a mistake'; *.shie-* [evaluative], e.g. *sai.ng* 'good' : *sai.shie-* 'to praise'; *.t-*, e.g. *dolgieng* 'wave' : *dolgien.t-* 'to billow'. All of these suffixes may be regarded as synchronically non-productive, though some of them occur in a considerable number of parallel derivatives.

The single most productive and grammatically important derivational category is formed by deverbal verbs, which typically convey the meaning of voice and aspect. The voice suffixes are: for the causative, *.lgAA-* (after a double vowel element) ~ *.gAA-* (after an etymological sonorant consonant) ~ *.kAA-* (after an etymological obstruent consonant) ~ *.AA-* (replacing an etymological stem-final vowel), e.g. *yau-* 'to go' : *yau.lgaa-* 'to cause to go', *sor-* 'to learn' : *sor.gaa-* 'to teach', *bos-* 'to rise' : *bos.kaa-* 'to raise', *panc-* 'to get angry' : *panc.aa-* 'to make [someone] angry'; for the passive, *.rd-* (< **.gdA-*), e.g. *uj-* 'to see' : *uj/i.rd-* 'to be seen', *tark-* 'to hit' : *tark/e.rd-* 'to be hit', *shor-* 'to pull' : *shor/u.rd-* 'to be pulled'; for the reciprocal, *.lc-* (< **.lcA-*), e.g. *bary-* 'to seize' : *bar/i.lc-* 'to seize each other, to wrestle', *el-* 'to talk' : *el/e.lc-* 'to talk together'. The voice suffixes can also be combined, e.g. caus. + pass. *yau.lgaa.rd-* 'to be made to go, to be sent', pass. + caus. *jau.rd/e.lgaa-* 'to let someone be bitten'.

Aspectual suffixes include: *.jaa-* [progressive] (< conv. imperf. *-j* + *aa-* 'to be'), e.g. *yau.jaa-* 'to be going', *usugulji.jaa-* 'to be talking'; *.joo-* ~ *.coo-* [iterative], e.g. *yau.joo-* 'to go repeatedly', *shor.coo-* 'to pull many times'; Tsitsikar *.jik-* ~ Hailar *.cik-* [perfective], e.g. *yau.jik-* 'to have gone', *id.jik-* 'to eat up'; *.lAA-* [momentaneous], e.g. *uji.lee-* 'to see briefly, to glimpse', *bari.laa-* 'to scratch'. Some of these suffixes can also be combined, both with each other and with the voice suffixes, e.g. *gui.joo.jaa-* 'to be running repeatedly', *yau.joo.lc-* 'to go together repeatedly'. There are also two derivatives (originally compounds) which indicate movement to and from: */y.iir-* ~ */u.ir-* 'to come [to do something]' (< *+ir-* 'to come'), */y.iic-* ~ */u.ic-* ~ *.c-* 'to go [to do something]' (< *+ic-* 'to go'), e.g. *uj.iir-* 'to come to see', *beic.iic-* 'to go hunting'.

NUMBER AND CASE

Nominal plurality is expressed by several derivative suffixes. The most widely used plural suffix is *.sul*, which can occur without any semantic restriction on the preceding noun, e.g. *akaa* 'elder brother' : pl. *akaa.sul*, *mory* 'horse' : pl. *mor/i.sul*, *mood* 'tree' : pl. *mood.sul*. Interestingly, this suffix seems to have been borrowed from Tungusic (an identical suffix with a similar function is attested in Solon Ewenki). Two other plural suffixes are *.nur* (< **.nAr*) and *.r* (< **.d*), both of which are attached only to nouns denoting human beings, e.g. *guc* 'friend' : pl. *guc/i.nur*, *deu* 'younger brother' : pl. *deu.nur*; *kek* 'child' : pl. *kek/u.r*. The suffix *.r* replaces a final (*.ng*) of the nominal stem, e.g. *ugi.ng* 'girl' : pl. *ugi.r*, *uciike.ng* 'infant' : pl. *uciike.r*. In some cases, plurality is also expressed by the suffix *.cieng*, e.g. *gambul* 'executive' (from Chinese) : pl. *gambul.cieng*; originally, *.cieng* denotes place of origin or habitation, e.g. *batgen.cieng* 'Butha people', *degidee.cieng* 'upper-river-dwellers'.

The use of the plural suffixes is not obligatory, and unmarked forms are preferred after numerals and other quantitative expressions. The plural forms in *.r* and *.cieng* are

more or less fully lexicalized, allowing the productive plural suffix *.sul* to be added to them (double plural), e.g. *kekur.sul* ‘children’, *monggul.cien.sul* ‘Mongolians’. Plurality can also be expressed syntactically by repeating a noun or its attribute. The repetition of a head noun often conveys a distributive meaning, e.g. *gajir* ‘place’ : *gajir gajir* ‘many places, each place’. The repetition of an attribute to a noun may imply emphasis, but it may also simply indicate plurality, e.g. *xundur xundur aul* ‘high mountains’.

Like several other Mongolic languages, Dagur also has a method of expressing generic plurality by final reduplication. The reduplicate (rhyme word) normally begins with the sequence *ma*, which may induce further harmonic changes in the vowels, e.g. *kataa mataa* ‘salt and other things like that’, *aul mau* ‘mountain(s) etc.’ *em mam* ‘medicine etc.’, *shiree maraa* ‘desks etc.’, *biteg mateg* ‘books etc.’. If the noun itself begins with *m*, the reduplicate has another initial consonant, e.g. *myag shag* ‘meat etc.’. The reduplicative pattern, with various modifications, is also attested in other functions, as in *koodoo* ‘fool’ : *koodoo baadaa* ‘foolish’. Generic class, on the other hand, can also be expressed by the pronoun *yoo* ‘what’, e.g. *myag yoo* ‘meat and something like that’.

The nominal stem, either with or without plural marking, is followed by the case endings. Due to the merger of the original genitive and accusative, Dagur has synchronically a system of only five suffixally marked cases, which may be termed the connective, dative, ablative, instrumental, and possessive. The case endings are basically added to the unmarked stem, which also functions as a nominative. Depending on the stem-final segment, there are, nevertheless, some morphophonological alternations in both the stems and the case suffixes (Table 6.3). The principal stem types are those ending in a plain consonant (C), palatalized consonant (Cy), labialized consonant (Cw), and double vowel (VV).

Most of the morphophonology at the suffix boundary is due to the impact of the stem-final palatalized and labialized consonants and their vocalic correlates (*i u*), which appear before the case suffixes, as required by the rules of syllable structure. After a stem-final plain consonant (C), a vowel is added only in the dative, and only after the consonants *d t k s*, as in *xad* ‘cliff’ : dat. *xad/e-d*. Due to contextual factors, the added vowel can also be *u*, as in *os* ‘water’ : dat. *os/u-d*. In the ablative and instrumental, stems ending in a labialized consonant (Cw) behave differently depending on whether they have a ‘masculine’ or a ‘feminine’ vocalism. Stems with a ‘masculine’ vocalism show the development **w-aa > oo*, while stems with a ‘feminine’ vocalism retain the sequence *w-ee* at the suffix border, as in *usugw* ‘word’ : abl. *usugw-ees*.

It should be noted that, although the unstable **/n* has generally been eliminated from nominal declension, it can be retained as an etymological segment in attributive forms,

TABLE 6.3 DAGUR CASE MARKERS

	C	Cy	Cw	VV
conn.	-ii	[y]-ii	/u-i	-y
dat.	/e-d	/i-d	/u-d	-d
abl.	-AAs	[y]-ies	[w]-oos	/y-AAs
instr.	-AAr	[y]-ier	[w]-oor	/y-AAr
poss.	-tii	/i-tii	/u-tii	-tii

cf. e.g. *mory* 'horse' (< **mori/n*) : *mor/ing tereg* 'horse cart' vs. *xukur tereg* 'ox cart'. It remains disputable whether it is synchronically a question of a stem-final consonant, a derivative suffix, or a case ending (attributive case). On the other hand, stems ending in an original stable **n* > *ng* have synchronically a final alternation between *ng* and *n*, e.g. *ering* 'time' : dat. *erin-d* : abl. *erin-ees*. Exceptionally, the genitive of such stems can also have an abridged (fusional) shape with a final *ny*, e.g. *gurung* 'nation' : gen. *gurn-ii* ~ *gurun/y*.

Examples of full paradigms: *aul* 'mountain' : conn. *aul-ii* : dat. *aul-d* : abl. *aul-aas* : instr. *aul-aar* : poss. *aul-tii*; *mory* 'horse' : conn. *mor-ii* : dat. *mor/i-d* : abl. *mor-ies* : instr. *mor-ier* : poss. *mor/i-tii*; *nogw* 'dog' : conn. *nog/u-i* : dat. *nog/u-d* : abl. *nog-oos* : instr. *nog-oor* : poss. *nog/u-tii*; *akaa* 'elder brother' : conn. *akaa-y* : dat. *akaa-d* : abl. *akaa/y-aas* : instr. *akaa/y-aar* : poss. *akaa-tii*.

In the sentence, the unmarked nominative (nominative-absolutive) is used not only as the case of the subject, but also in many other functions, including those of predicate, adnominal attribute, vocative apposition, indefinite object, and various types of adverbial, e.g. (subject) *nek uncing kek w aaseng* '[there] was an orphan boy'; (predicate) *en miny biteg* 'this is my book'; (attribute) *xukur tereg* 'ox cart'; (apposition) *ewee* 'mother!'; (object) *os oobei* '[he] drinks water'; (adverbial) *dagie udur* 'on the following day'.

The connective (genitive-accusative) has all functions of the original genitive and accusative cases. Adnominally, the connective functions as an attribute, e.g. *mood-ii larc* 'leaf of a tree'. Adverbially, it serves to mark the definite object of a transitive verb, e.g. *ter xu-u-y shii tanibeish yee* 'do you know that man?', (in a causative construction:) *deuminy ter xu-u-y geridee warelgaaseng* 'my brother let the man enter his house'. It also marks the subject of an embedded participial construction, e.g. *ter xu-u-y yauseniiny medteng uwei* 'I didn't know that the man had gone'.

The dative (dative-locative) basically expresses a location or direction of an action or state in time and space, e.g. *uciiker ger/i-d bei* 'the children are at home'; *akaaminy beejin-d iciseng* 'my brother went to Peking'; *en baitii ter xu-u-d buu jaatw* 'you must not tell this matter to the man'. The dative also marks the agent in passive sentences and the causee of some causative verbs, e.g. (dat. px pl. 1p. excl. + passive) *ter kek w nogu-d maany jau.rd-seng* 'the child was bitten by our dog'; (dat. + causative) *shii sarind irseng olur-d cie oo.lgaa/g-aa-shiny bolseng* 'you had better have the people who attend the party drink [some] tea'. Participles in the dative form have various quasiconverbial and other functions depending on the context, e.g. (part. fut. dat.) *daar-gu-d warkel saing* 'when/if you feel cold, clothes are good [to have]'; (part. perf. dat. px sg. 2p.) *shiny irsen-d-shiny bii baisjaawei* 'I am glad that you came'.

The ablative (ablative-comparative) typically shows either a physical starting point ('from') or a standard of comparison ('than'), e.g. *bii kailaar-aas irsem-by* 'I came from Hailar'; *en udur udish-ies kuitung* 'it is colder today than yesterday'. In practice, an ablative form followed by an adjectival noun constitutes a comparative phrase, e.g. *kasoo/y-aas kateng* 'harder than iron'. A similar construction formed by repeating a single adjectival noun expresses an emphatic superlative, e.g. *ort* 'long' : *ort-oos ort* 'very long, longest'. Interestingly, in all of its functions, the ablative has in the Butha dialect been widely replaced by the instrumental (ablative-instrumental), though the original ablative is not entirely lost. This instance of syncretism, like that of the genitive and accusative, suggests a systematic trend to reduce the size of the case paradigm in Dagur.

The (original) instrumental has a wide range of functions, e.g. (tool) *bii terg-eer irsemby* 'I came by car'; (material) *mood-oor shiree xiibei* 'he makes a table of wood'; (route) *naurii kec-ier nek ciicee tergul bei* 'along the lakefront runs a road for cars';

(cause) *miny yeeyeminy xund eur-eer bey dubeeseng* ‘my grandfather died of serious disease’; (role) *taa dorjii meefan-aar sonjisentaa yee* ‘did you choose Dorj as a model?’; (measure) *ing namaas taaw-oor ag* ‘he is older than me by five [years]’. In causative constructions, the instrumental expresses the causee, e.g. (instr. + caus.) *en shireey saing majin-aar xii.lgee-seng* ‘he had this table made by a good craftsman’. The instrumental is also used in several converbial and quasiconverbial constructions.

The possessive case, when used adverbially, functions as a comitative (‘together with’), e.g. (poss. px sg. 1p.) *eshkee-tii-miny eus lashiiciseng* ‘he went to cut grass with my uncle’. However, the same form can also occur adnominally, e.g. *mor/i-tii xuu* ‘a man with a horse’, in which use it is difficult to distinguish from the derivational category of possessive adjectival nouns, e.g. *mor/i.tii* ‘with a horse’. The derivational interpretation is probably correct at least for predicative use, as in *ted uciiker.tii yee* ‘do they have [small] children?’ (literally: ‘are they with children’), and for inflected forms, as in (poss. instr. refl.) *ter kekw naim.tii/y-aar-aa weildseng* ‘the boy began to work from eight years old’. Phonologically, the possessive ending also has the variant *-tie*.

There are several other marginal cases that have been postulated for Dagur (Enhebatu), including the terminative in *-cAAr* (‘till’), the indefinite locative in */y-AA-ten* or */yAA-kul* (‘in the vicinity of’), the definite locative in *-kAAkel* or *-kAAky* (‘exactly in/on’), the elative in */y-AA-t-AAs* or */y-AA-t-AAr* (‘from the direction of’), the indefinite allative in *-d-AA* or *-d-AAy/-AA* (‘in the direction of’), and the definite allative in *-maay* (‘exactly in the direction of, aiming at’). The grammatical status of all of these forms remains to be investigated. It has also been proposed that Dagur has a special indefinite accusative in *-ii-yu* (or perhaps *-ii-yuu*), which seems to have been formed by combining the original accusative (connective) suffix with the interrogative pronoun *+yoo* ‘what’.

NUMERALS

The Dagur basic numerals, with the exception of the first two, retain two shapes, one of which is used independently and the other attributively. The attributive shapes incorporate the original final unstable $*/n > ng$ (: $n : m$), which often conditions additional changes in the segmental composition of the preceding stem. The numerals of the first decade are: 1 *nek*, 2 *xoyir* : *xoir*, 3 *gwareb* : *gwarbeng*, 4 *durub* : *durbung*, 5 *taaw* : *taawung*, 6 *jirgoo* : *jirgoong*, 7 *doloo* : *doloong*, 8 *naim* : *naimeng*, 9 *yis* : *yiseng* > *is* : *iseng*, 10 *xareb* : *xarbeng*. The other numerals are, for the decades: 20 *xory* : *xoring*, 30 *goc* : *gocing*, 40 *duc* : *ducing*, 50 *taby* : *tabing*, 60 *jar* : *jareng*, 70 *dal* : *daleng*, 80 *nay* : *naying*, 90 *yer* : *yereng*; and for the powers of ten: 100 *jau* : *jaung*, 1,000 *myangg* : *myanggeng*, 10,000 *tum* : *tumung*.

The attributive forms are used in compounding, e.g. 25 *xorin+taaw*, as well as adnominally, e.g. *gwarbeng xuu* ‘three persons’. Hundreds, thousands, and ten-thousands are counted by multiplicative compounds with digits, in which 1 *nek* is omissible, e.g. 200 *xoir+jau*, 1,000 (*nek+*) *myangg*, 40,000 *durbun+tum*. Complex numerals are expressed by additive constructions, e.g. 111 (*nek+*)*jau xarben+nek*, 1986 (*nek+*) *myangg isen+jau nayin+jirgoo*. Non-final zeros can facultatively be expressed by the postpositionally used form px sg. 3p. *xuluu/y-iny* of *xuluu* ‘remainder, excess’, preceded by the ablative form of the upper digit, e.g. 202 *xoir+jau/y-aas xuluu/y-iny xoir*. Plain constructions of the type 202 *xoir+jau xoir* are, however, more frequent.

Ordinal numerals are productively derived by the suffix *.dAAr* (< $*.dU.xAr$), attached to the non-attributive cardinal stems: *nek.deer* ‘first’, *xoir.daar* ‘second’, *gwareb.daar* ‘third’, *durub.deer* ‘fourth’, *taawu.daar* ‘fifth’, *jirgoo.daar* ‘sixth’, *doloo.daar* ‘seventh’,

naim.daar ‘eighth’, *is.deer* ‘ninth’, *xareb.daar* ‘tenth’, *xori.daar* ‘twentieth’, etc. Archaic shorter variants in *(*)dAAr : .tAAr* are attested in facultative use for the range 3 to 7: *gu.taar* ‘third’, *du.teer* ‘fourth’, *tab.taar* ‘fifth’, *jirgu.daar* ‘sixth’, *dol.loor* ‘seventh’. For the first two digits, suppletive stems also exist: *etee* ‘first’, *jie* ‘second’ (from Manchu).

Collective numerals are formed by the suffix *.(AA)l*, to which the reflexive ending *-Aang* can be added: *xoy.ool : xoy.ool-aang ~ xoy.ool-oong* ‘two together’, *gwarb.ool : gwarb.ool-aang ~ gwarb.ool-oong* ‘three together’, *durb.eel : durb.eel-eeng* ‘four together’, *taaw-ool : taaw.ool-aang ~ taaw.ool-oong* ‘five together’, *jirgoo.l : jirgoo.l-aang ~ jirgoo.l-oong* ‘six together’, *doloo.l : doloo.l-aang ~ doloo.l-oong* ‘seven together’, *naim.ool : naim-ool-aang ~ naim-ool-oong* ‘eight together’, *is.eel : is.eel-eeng* ‘nine together’, *xarb.ool : xarb.ool-aang ~ xarb.ool-oong* ‘ten together’, etc.

Other numeral derivatives include the approximatives, delimitatives, distributives, and multiplicatives. The approximatives are formed by *.AAd*, e.g. *xarb.aad* ‘about ten’, *xor.ied* ‘about twenty’; the delimitatives by *.kAAn*, e.g. *nek.keen* ‘only one’, *xoir.kaan* ‘only two’, *gwareb.kaan* ‘only three’; and the distributives by *.(AA)gAAr*, e.g. *nek.eegee* ‘one each’, *xoir.oogaar* ‘two each’, *gwarb.aagaar* ‘three each’, *durb.eegee* ‘four each’, *taaw.oogaar* ‘five each’, *jirgoo.gaar* ‘six each’, *doloo.gaar* ‘seven each’, *naim.aagaar* ‘eight each’, *is.eegee* ‘nine each’, *xarb.aagaar* ‘ten each’, *xor.iegaar* ‘twenty each’. Another distributive suffix is *.tel*, used for numerals from 3 upwards, e.g. *gwareb.tel* ‘three each’.

The multiplicative suffix is basically *.tAA*, which in the case of 1 *nek* can be added both to the plain and to the extended stem (with the unstable nasal): *nek.tee ~ nek/en.tee* ‘once; already’. For the other numerals, however, the suffix has the shape *.ntaa* (with no vowel harmony), which conditions the presence of a stem-final vowel: *xoir/e.ntaa* ‘twice’, *gwarb/e.ntaa* ‘three times’, *durb/u.ntaa* ‘four times’, *taaw/u.ntaa* ‘five times’, *jirgoo.ntaa* ‘six times’, *doloo.ntaa* ‘seven times’, *naim/e.ntaa* ‘eight times’, *is/e.ntaa* ‘nine times’, *xarb/e.ntaa* ‘ten times’.

There are also several analytic constructions involving the numerals. A distributive meaning can be expressed by simply repeating the numeral stem, e.g. *xoir xoir ukw* ‘give by the twos!’. A sequence of two consecutive numerals implies approximation, e.g. *xoir gwarbeng xuu* ‘two or three persons’. An indefinite number above a certain level is expressed by the interrogative *xed* ‘how many’ > ‘some’, placed after the attributive forms of the numerals for the tens, e.g. *xarbeng xed* ‘ten-some; ten and more; more than ten’. The same meaning is also conveyed by *xuluu* ‘remainder, excess’ > ‘over’ (< **xilexü*), e.g. *myangg xuluu* ‘a thousand and more’. An indefinite number below a certain level is expressed by *shakeng* ‘near’ or part. fut. *kur-gw* ‘to reach’, e.g. *xory shakeng* ‘nearly twenty’, *duc kurgw* ‘almost forty’. Analytic multiplicative constructions are based on the words *tang* ‘time/s’ (from Chinese) and *mudaang ~ madeng* id. (from Manchu), e.g. *gwarbe/n+tang ~ gwarbe/m+mudaang* ‘three times’.

PRONOUNS

The Dagur system of personal pronouns (Table 6.4) shows several archaic features absent in most other Mongolic languages. Thus, Dagur retains the original third person stems sg. **i* : pl. **a*, with the modification that the synchronic nominative forms *ing : aang* incorporate the final nasal of the genitive stem (**i.n : *a.n*). Also, Dagur preserves the original first person plural exclusive pronoun **ba > baa : *ma.n- > maan-* not only in the oblique cases, but also in the nominative. On the other hand, the second person singular pronoun shows the exceptional deaffrication **ci > shii* (possibly under Tungusic influence).

TABLE 6.4 DAGUR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.		2p.	3p.
sg.	nom.	<i>bii</i>		<i>shii</i>	<i>ing</i>
	gen.	<i>minii</i>		<i>shinii</i>	<i>inii</i>
	acc.	<i>namii</i>		<i>shamii</i>	<i>yamii</i>
	dat.	<i>namd ~ naad</i>		<i>shamd</i>	<i>yamd ~ ind</i>
	obl.	<i>nam-</i>		<i>sham-</i>	<i>yam-</i>
		excl.	incl.		
pl.	nom.	<i>baa</i>	<i>bied</i>	<i>taa</i>	<i>aang</i>
	conn.	<i>maanii</i>	<i>biednii</i>	<i>taanii</i>	<i>aanii</i>
	obl.	<i>maan-</i>	<i>bieden-</i>	<i>taan-</i>	<i>aan-</i>

An important morphological property of the personal pronouns is that they have separate genitive and accusative forms, though the distinction is retained only in the singular series. The genitive and/or genitively used connective forms can also be replaced by the shortened variants sg. 1p. *miny* : 2p. *shiny* : 3p. *iny* : pl. 1p. excl. *maany* : incl. *biedeny* : 2p. *taany* : 3p. *aany*. The other case forms of the singular are based on the accusative stem, with the exception of the aberrant dative variants sg. 1p. *naad* : 3p. *ind*. As in the regular nominal declension, the ablative forms can in the Butha dialect be replaced by shapes identical with the corresponding instrumental forms. In the Hailar dialect, the second person plural *taa* and its case forms may refer to a single person honorifically.

The singular genitive and plural connective forms in genitive function can take the nominativizing suffix *-g* (apparently < *-*ki*), yielding a set of predicatively used possessive pronouns: sg. 1p. *minii-g* ‘mine’ : 2p. *shinii-g* ‘thine’ : 3p. *inii-g* ‘his/hers’ : pl. 1p. excl. *maanii-g* ‘ours (without you)’ : incl. *biednii-g* ‘ours (with you)’ : 2p. *taanii-g* ‘yours’ : 3p. *aanii-g* ‘theirs’. The plural possessive pronouns can also be based on a stem variant in *-aa-* (without vowel harmony), pl. 1p. excl. *maan-aa-g* : incl. *biedn-aa-g* : 2p. *taan-aa-g* : 3p. *aan-aa-g*.

The demonstrative pronouns are *en* ‘this’ [proximal] : obl. *enen-* : pl. *ed* : obl. *eden-* vs. *ter* ‘that’ [distal] : obl. *teren-* : pl. *ted* : obl. *teden-*. The demonstratives can also replace the third person personal pronouns, though this usage is less relevant in Dagur than in most other Mongolic languages. As in the personal pronouns, the plural connective forms have longer and shorter variants: conn. *ednii ~ edeny* vs. *tednii ~ tedeny*. In the singular, the connective, ablative, and instrumental are based on the shorter stem variants *en-* vs. *ter-* : conn. *en-ii* vs. *ter-ii* : abl. *en-ees* vs. *ter-ees* : instr. *en-eer* vs. *ter-eer*. Correlative derivatives include: (adverbial) *end* ‘here’ vs. *tend* ‘there’ : *eneeweer* ‘from here’ : *tereeweer* ‘from there’ : *ei* ‘in this way’ vs. *tii* ‘in that way’ : *eikeeng* ‘this much’, *tiikeeng* ‘that much’ : (attributive) *eimer* ‘like this’ vs. *tiimer* ‘like that, such’.

The basic interrogative pronouns are *xeng* ‘who’, *yoo* : obl. *yoön-* ‘what’, *aly* ‘which’. These may be doubled and/or expanded by the suffix *.tgaang ~ .tnaang* to emphasize plurality, as in *xeng xen.tgaang irseng* ‘who and who came?’. The interrogative stems have a regular case declension with the exception of *aly*, which has the stem *alin-* in the dative *alin-d*. Another pronoun in the meaning ‘who’ is *aniing*, which has no inflected forms. Further interrogative words and forms with lexicalized meanings include *xed*

‘how many/much’: *xer* ‘how’: *xejee* ‘when’; dat. refl. *yoo/n-d-aa* ‘why, how’: *yoo.kie* ~ *yie.kie* ‘how many/much’: *yuguu* ‘why’: *yamer* ‘what kind of’; *xaan* ‘where’: *xaidaa* ‘where to’.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by the suffixes (or clitics) *-maa(yaa)* and *-c*, e.g. *xem-maa* ~ *xen-c* ‘anyone, whoever’, *yoo-maa* ~ *yoo-c* ‘anything, whatever’, *yamer-maa* ~ *yamer-c* ‘whatever (kind of)’. Indefiniteness can also be expressed by adding the numeral *nek* ‘one’, e.g. *xejee nek* ‘whenever, anytime’. In still another indefinite construction, the interrogative pronoun is followed by a reduplicate beginning with the interrogative root *ya-*, e.g. *xaan yaan* ‘wherever, anywhere’.

The reflexive pronoun has the shape *weer* ‘(one)self’ (by labial breaking from **öxer*). This stem also occurs in the nominal plural form *weer.sul* ‘selves’. The regular case forms of the reflexive pronoun normally refer to the subject of the sentence, but they may also simply emphasize the person involved irrespective of the grammatical subject, as in (pron. refl. pl. poss. px 3p.) *bii tednii weer.sul-tii/y-iny usuguljiyaa* ‘let me talk with them(selves)!’. More often, the case forms occur in combination with the reflexive ending. The basic reflexive forms sg. *weer-ie* (possibly from **öxer-i-xe/n*): pl. *weer.sul-ee* are used adverbially in the meaning ‘by/for oneself’, e.g. *weerie yau* ‘go by yourself!’.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Unlike all other Mongolic languages, Dagur has separate possessive suffixes for the singular and plural numbers in the third person, and for the exclusive and inclusive categories in the first person plural (Table 6.5). The first person plural inclusive suffix is obviously in a complex relationship with the corresponding pronominal genitive *bideny*, while the third person plural suffix */y-iin-aany* is transparently based on the short genitive *aany* of the corresponding personal pronoun, though it also incorporates the third person singular possessive suffix. It has to be noted that the third person singular suffix can also refer to a plural possessor, but this is not automatic, as is the case in the other Mongolic languages.

Owing to their relatively recent grammaticalization, the plural possessive suffixes show no harmonic alternation. The connective consonant *y* is used in the third person suffixes after stems ending in a double vowel, e.g. *adoo* ‘herd’: px sg. 3p. *adoo/y-iny*. After a labialized consonant, the singular third person suffix can also take the shorter shape *-ny*, e.g. *kekw* ‘child’: px sg. 3p. *keku-iny* ~ *keku-ny*, cf. pl. 3p. *keku-inaany*. The variant */m-naany* of the first person plural inclusive suffix is rare, and seems to imply a diachronic nasal stem, cf. e.g. px pl. 1p. incl. *geri-naany* ‘our house’ vs. *mori/m-naany* ‘our horse’, *tere/m-naany* ‘that one of ours’. Examples of oblique case forms: pl. dat. px sg. 2p. *biteg.sul-d-shiny* ‘in your books’, conn. px pl. 1p. incl. *acaa-yi-naany mor-iny* ‘our father’s horse’.

TABLE 6.5 DAGUR POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

	sg.		pl.	
		excl.		incl.
1p.	<i>-miny</i>	<i>-maany</i>		<i>/m-naany</i>
2p.	<i>-shiny</i>		<i>-taany</i>	
3p.	<i>/y-iny</i>		<i>/y-iinaany</i>	

A possessor coreferential with the subject is marked by the reflexive (reflexive-possessive) suffix /y-AA, to which the element -mulw ~ -mungw ~ refl. -mulw-ee ~ -mungw-ee (possibly from *mōn ‘the very same’) can be added to indicate special emphasis. A reflexive form is, by definition, not able to function as the subject of a sentence, and it is usually preceded by an oblique case ending, as in (dat. refl.) *guci-d-ee jieshgeng xiisemby* ‘I wrote a letter to my friend’. However, the plain reflexive form can syntactically function as an object without an accusative ending, as in *saing xuu ner-ee xailjibei* ‘a good person respects his own name’.

IMPERATIVES

The system of imperative forms in Dagur (Table 6.6) differs substantially from its counterparts in the other Mongolic languages. Apart from the basic unmarked imperative, the Common Mongolic imperative forms seem to be represented only by the voluntative as well as the concessive. The latter occurs, however, in two variants, one of which only contains the presumably original concessive formative *-tU, while the other is identical with the widespread expanded variant in *-tU.gA.i. Additionally, there are two special forms that may synchronically be identified as the indirect and indefinite imperative, respectively.

Functionally, the indirect and indefinite imperatives form two separate series, distinguished for all persons. Personal marking in the indirect series takes place by the possessive suffixes, while the indefinite series requires the predicative personal endings. A third series, which may be termed the direct imperatives, is formed suppletively by all the other imperative forms. Of these, the voluntative refers to the first person (both singular and plural), while the expanded concessive refers to the third person (with optional plural marking for plural reference). The plain concessive refers to the second person plural, while the corresponding singular is expressed by the basic imperative (unmarked verbal stem).

The direct series denotes intention or invitation (for the first person), direct command (for the second person), or wish or concession (for the third person), e.g. vol. *yau-yaa* ‘let me/us go!’ : imp. *yau-Ø* ‘[thou] go!’ : conc. *yau-tw* ‘[you] go!’ : *yau-tgai* ‘let him/them go!’. Phonologically, it has to be noted that the voluntative marker, when attached to consonant stems, gives rise to internal clusters with the palatal glide y as the second component. In such cases, the syllable boundary is normally retained (C’y), in distinction from the palatalized consonants (Cy), e.g. *shag-* ‘to wipe’ : vol. *shag’yaa* (if not restructured into **shag/i-yaa*).

The indirect series implies delayed action or politeness, e.g. sg. 1p. *yau-gaam-miny* ~ *yaw-oo-miny* ‘I will go later; let me go later!’, similarly sg. 2p. *yau-gaan-shiny* ~

TABLE 6.6 DAGUR IMPERATIVE MARKERS

	person	marker	
vol.	1p. sg. pl.	-yAA	
conc.	2p. pl.	-tw ~ -tuu	
conc. exp.	3p. sg. pl.	-tgai	(+vx)
indir.	1-3p. sg. pl.	-gAA/ng ~ -AA/ng	+px
indef.	1-3p. sg. pl.	-gui	+vx

yaw-oon-shiny : 3p. *yau-gaan-iiny* ~ *yaw-oon-iiny* : pl. 1p. excl. *yau-gaam-maany* ~ *yaw-oo-maany* : incl. *yau-gaan-naany* ~ *yaw-oo-naany* : 2p. *yau-gaan-taany* ~ *yaw-oon-taany* : 3p. *yau-gaan-iinaany* ~ *yaw-oon-iinaany*. For the second person, forms with the reflexive marker *-ie* can also be used, e.g. 2p. sg. *yau-gaan-ie* ~ *yaw-oon-ie* : pl. *yau-gaan-t-ie* ~ *yaw-oon-t-ie*. The simple reflexive form in *-gaan-ie* is identical with the final converb ‘in order to’, a situation conditioned by Tungusic influence. The origin of the indirect marker remains unclear, but a connection with either the imperfective participle or the Common Mongolic permissive marker **-gV* cannot be ruled out.

The indefinite series expresses indecisiveness, hesitation, anxiety, or doubt, e.g. *mart-gui-by* ‘I am afraid I might forget; I hope I will not forget; let me not forget!’. The meaning is more or less identical with that of the dubitative in many other Mongolic languages, though it remains unclear whether the suffix *-gui* itself has any material relationship with the Common Mongolic dubitative marker **-xU-ji(-)*.

PARTICIPLES

Dagur has four functionally distinct participial forms, which, in view of their Proto-Mongolic and/or Common Mongolic counterparts, may be identified as the futuritive, perfective, agentive, and qualificational participles (Table 6.7). The agentive participle occurs in two variants, corresponding to the two derivative structures that existed for this category already in Proto-Mongolic. The actual functions of the participles have undergone slight shifts. Conspicuously, the Common Mongolic imperfective and habitive participles are absent in Dagur. The futuritive participle may therefore be said to include an imperfective (as well as aorist) meaning, while the habitive function is filled by the agentive participle.

The two most basic forms of the participial sphere are the futuritive and perfective participles, e.g. (part. fut.) *xwar war-gw udur* ‘a rainy day’ (literally ‘rain falling day’); (part. fut. dat. px sg. 3p.) *geridee aajaa-g/u-d-iny iciyaa* ‘let us go when he is at home!'; (part. perf.) *shiny jaa-seng usugw* ‘the story you told’; (part. perf. dat. refl.) *en najir amer-sen-d-aa beyminy saing bolseng* ‘my health was restored by having rest during this summer’. The initial *s* of the perfective participle marker is often assimilated by a stem-final dental consonant, cf. e.g. part. perf. *yau-seng* ‘to go’, *wan-seng* > *wan-neng* ‘to fall’, *bol-seng* > *bol-leng* ‘to become, to ripen’, *id-seng* > *id-teng* ‘to eat’. (Incidentally, such assimilation supports the phonotactic framework followed here, since it confirms that the consonant stems really synchronically end in a consonant segment, and not in a strongly reduced allophone of the neutral vowel *e*.)

TABLE 6.7 DAGUR PARTICIPLE MARKERS

	marker	function
part. fut.	<i>-gw</i> : <i>-g/u-</i>	aorist/imperfective
perf.	<i>-seng</i> > <i>-Ceng</i>	perfective
ag. (1)	<i>-kic</i>	habitative
(2)	<i>/g-AAc/ing</i>	habitative
qual.	<i>-mAA/y-AAr</i>	qualificational/potential

The two variants of the agentive participle have developed a small functional difference, in that the marker *-kic* (an irregular correspondence with Proto-Mongolic **-g-ci*) occurs mainly in independent (substantial) use, though with clearly adverbial modifiers, e.g. (conv. imperf. + part. ag.) *nyurgaang nyur-j shad-kic* ‘one who can draw a picture’. The marker */g-AAc/ing* (< **-xA-ci/n*), on the other hand, is used in both independent and attributive (adjectival) functions, e.g. *jaus bat-aac* ‘fisherman’ (literally: ‘fish catcher’); *dangg oog/-aacing xuu* ‘a man who smokes’ (literally: ‘tobacco smoking man’); *suu gar-aacing unie* ‘a cow which produces milk’ (literally: ‘a cow from which milk comes out’).

The qualificational participle (with an approximate cognate in Buryat) denotes the suitability (qualification) or possibility of action with a passive notion (‘suitable/possible for being done’), e.g. *dwarle-maayaar jak* ‘a thing one can be delighted with’ (more literally: ‘a likeable thing’); *edee yau-maayaar* ‘it is possible to go now’. (The status of the suffix *-mAAyAAr* with regard to vowel harmony remains to be investigated.)

CONVERBS

Dagur has eighteen formally distinct converbs in active use, though not all of them are functionally independent. Roughly half the converbs have Common Mongolic connections, while the other half are specific Dagur formations, some of which remain diachronically obscure. The functions of many converbs differ from those attested in other Mongolic languages (Table 6.8). Also, many typical converbial functions are filled by forms other than the Common Mongolic ones.

As elsewhere in Mongolic, the borderline between participles and converbs is not sharp, for some synchronically transparent participial case forms behave like converbs and may be classified as quasiconverbs. Also, some of the forms listed as converbs are

TABLE 6.8 DAGUR CONVERB MARKERS

marker	form	function
<i>-ng</i>	conv. mod.	repetitious
<i>g/-AAr > g/-AA</i>	conv. perf.	anterior
<i>-j</i>	conv. imperf.	imperfective
<i>-j-ii</i>	conv. imperf. exp.	perfective
<i>-j-ie</i>	conv. imperf. exp.	simultaneous
<i>-gw-EEr</i>	conv. fin.	final/posterior
<i>-gAA-n-ie</i>	imp. indir. refl.	final/purposive
<i>g/-AAs</i>	conv. cond.	conditional
<i>-tgai-c/ig</i>	imp. conc. exp. + <i>ci-</i>	concessive
<i>(y)-ie-sh</i>		concessive
<i>-tel</i>	conv. term.	terminative
<i>-tl-AA/n-ie</i>	conv. term. exp.	alternative
<i>-rs-AAr > -s-AAr</i>	conv. abtemp.	continuous
<i>-gw-EE-t-EEr</i>	part. fut. exp.	successive
<i>g/-AA-j-AAr</i>		progressive
<i>-m/k-ii ~ -m(k)-lii</i>		contemporal
<i>-m-del ~ -m-del</i>		contemporal
<i>-m-AA-k/en ~ -m-AAr</i>		critical

actually petrified case forms of participles or other deverbal nouns. Apart from the regular suffixes of nominal declension, some converb markers contain also other elements of morphological expansion.

From the semantic and syntactic points of view, the converbs in Dagur may be divided into two groups: simple and clausal. The simple converbs usually constitute a verbal phrase by directly modifying the main verb, sharing the same subject with it. By contrast, the clausal converbs potentially constitute a separate adverbial clause whose subject may be different from that of the main clause. Thus, a clausal converb serves both as the predicate of the subordinate clause and as a conjunction which combines the clauses in a specific semantic relation. In different-subject constructions, the clausal converbs, like many quasiconverbs, can contain personal marking by the possessive suffixes.

The most typical simple converbs are the primary modal, perfective, and imperfective converbs. The modal converb expresses repetitious action, usually in a combination of two contrastive or related verbs, e.g. (conv. mod.) *bosu-ng sawu-ng xijjaabei* 'now he is standing and now sitting'; *gui-ng karie-ng irseng* 'he came running and jumping'. The perfective converb (with *g/-AAR* < **g/-AAD* by rhotacism) expresses anterior action, e.g. (conv. perf.) *usuguljij aaguiny sons-oor medsemby* 'after hearing what he was saying, I understood [it]'. The imperfective converb retains its original function, but it also has two expanded forms which express perfective and simultaneous action, respectively, e.g. (conv. imperf.) *biteg uji-j saujaabei* 'he is sitting reading a book'; *bunier xii-j eurkeebei* 'he will begin to do [it] tomorrow'; (exp.) [perfective] *naucooshiny ir-jii yauseng* 'your uncle came and [then] went [away]'; *id-jii yau* 'go after eating!'; (exp.) [simultaneous] *cie oo-jie usuguljij saujaabei* 'drinking tea, he is sitting to talk'; *med-jie daugerseng uwei* 'he knew [it], but did not tell'.

There are two other simple converbs, both of which basically express finality or intentionality. The form in *-gw-EER* (*-gw-eer* : *-g-oor*) is the Common Mongolic secondary final converb (part. fut. instr. **kU-xAR*), e.g. *buny yau-gweer ~ yau-goor tortseng* 'it has been decided to go tomorrow'; *buny yau-goor belkejaabei* 'he is preparing to go tomorrow'. The form in *-gAAn-ie* is identical with the indirect imperative (with the reflexive marker); functionally, it might also be identified as a supine, e.g. *os au-gaanie yauseng* 'he went to bring water'.

Among the clausal converbs, only two are unambiguously inherited from the Proto-Mongolic system of primary converbs. These are the conditional converb in *g/-AAs* and the terminative converb in *-tel*, e.g. (conv. cond.) *dangg oo/g-aas beyidshiny moo* 'if you smoke, it is bad for your health'; (conv. cond. refl.) *shii terii dagej yaw-oos-aa ul tweereng* 'if you follow him, you will not lose your way'; (conv. term. px sg. 2p.) *xajir-tel-shiny bii kulceeje aayaa* 'let me wait until you come back!'. The terminative converb also occurs with the expanded marker *-tl-AA* : *-tl-AA/n-ie*, which expresses an alternative action ('instead of', 'rather than'), e.g. *weerie xii-tleenie beleng warkel awoor taly* 'just buy a ready-made suit rather than making one yourself!'.

Another clausal converb with a Proto-Mongolic derivation is the form in *-rs-AAR*, which obviously corresponds to the originally quasiconverbial abtemporal converb (part. perf. instr. <**-g.sA-xAR*) in the other Mongolic languages. In Dagur this form may be described as expressing continuous action, e.g. (conv. abtemp.) *ing sane-rsaar nek areg boduj olseng* 'he thought and thought, and got an idea'. Most interestingly, the initial *r* of the suffix *-rs-AAR* (also simplified into *-s-AAR*) seems to preserve a segmental trace of the original segment **g* (by rhotacism > *r*) of the perfective participle marker, though this same segment has been lost in the regular participle marker *-seng* (< **-g.sA/n*).

The function of a concessive converb is expressed by two secondary forms, ending in *-tgai-c/ig* and *-(y)iesh* (without vowel harmony), e.g. *xwar war-tgaicig bii bas icibei*

‘even if it rains, I will still go’; *shiny el-iesh xiiwei, ul el-iesh xiiwei* ‘whether you say or not, I will do [it]’ (literally: ‘even if you say, I will do, even if you do not say, I will do’). Both suffixes seem to involve an enclitically used particle, *c/ig* resp. *yiesh* ‘even’, attached to an imperative form: the concessive imperative in the case of *-tgai=c/ig* and the basic unmarked imperative in *-Ø=(y)iesh*.

Most of the other clausal converbs are also recent formations. The forms in *-gw-EE-t-EEr* (*gw-ee-t-eer* : *-g-oo-t-oor*) and *g/-AA-j-AAr* express successive (‘after’) and progressive (‘while’) action, respectively, e.g. (+ px sg. 1p.) *geridee kucir-gweeteer-miny xwar warj eurkeeseng* ‘soon after I came home, it began to rain’; (+ rx) *saw-oojaar-aa wantaa taliseng* ‘while he was sitting, he fell asleep’; (+ px sg. 1p.) *want-aajaar-miny yauseng uweish yee* ‘didn’t you go while I was sleeping?’. The forms in *-m/k-ii ~ -m(k)-lii* or *-m-der ~ -m-del* may be described as contemporaneous (‘immediately when’), e.g. *uji-mder tanisemby* ‘the moment I saw [it], I recognized [it]’. Finally, the forms in *-m-AA-k/en ~ -m-AAr*, normally followed by the auxiliary *bol-* ‘to become’, express an action in a critical stage (‘just about to’), e.g. *eweeyiny eudjii ugu-meeken bolseng* ‘his mother became ill and was just about to die’. Only the marker *-m-AAr* seems to have converbial and/or participial uses elsewhere in Mongolic.

FINITE INDICATIVE FORMS

The Proto-Mongolic system of finite indicative forms has in Dagur been reduced to a single form in active use. The surviving form is the terminative in **-bAi* > *-bei* ~ *Hailar-wei*, which functions as a present-future tense, e.g. term. *yau-bei* ‘[he] goes/will go’, *med-bei* ‘[he] knows/will know’. The development of this specific function, as opposed to the function of a past tense in the other Mongolic languages, is apparently connected with the original aspectual content of the form. Obviously, the terminative primarily functioned in Dagur as a future tense, but it was later extended to the function of a present tense, as well.

Marginally, mostly in verse and other literary works (including oral literature, such as proverbs), Dagur also preserves two other primary finite forms. One of these is the confirmative in **-lUxA* > *-lAA*, e.g. conf. *yau-laa* ‘[he] went’. The confirmative marker normally no longer follows vowel harmony, but it often appears as *-lii* (< **-lUxAi*) before predicative personal endings, e.g. conf. vx sg. 1p. *tejee-laa-by ~ tejee-lii-by* ‘I brought [someone] up’. The other marginal form ends in *-ng* (: *-n* : *-m*), suggesting a connection with the simple durative marker **-n* (also used non-finitely as the modal converb marker), e.g. *yau-ng* ‘[he] goes/will go’ (? < **yabu-n*); *mede-ng* ‘[he] knows/will know’ (? < **mede-n*). This form is important from the comparative point of view, since other Mongolic languages show only the expanded durative marker **-n+A-m*. It cannot be ruled out, however, that it is actually a question of the narrative marker **-m*, which would apparently also have yielded *-ng* (: *-n* : *-m*) in Dagur.

The disappearance of the durative (or narrative) from active finite use is clearly due to its functional overlapping with the terminative. There was no similar overlapping in the case of the confirmative, but the latter has been replaced by the predicatively used perfective participle in *-seng*, which now functions as the only productive past tense finite form in Dagur, e.g. part. perf. pred. *yau-seng* ‘[he] went’, *id-seng* > *id-teng* ‘[he] ate’. Most other participles can also be used predicatively either with or without an auxiliary word, e.g. (part. ag.) *aang erd bos-ooc* ‘they are early risers’. An auxiliary word, such as the emphatic particle *yum*, is always required by the predicatively used futurity participle, e.g. *ted bas xer tii tend aajaa-gw yum* ‘why do they still stay there in that way?’.

TABLE 6.9 DAGUR PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

	sg.	excl.	pl.	incl.
1p.	-by ~ -bii ~ -bie	-baa		-daa
2p.	-sh ~ -shii ~ -shie		-taa	
3p.	-Ø		-sul	

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Both the original finite forms and the predicatively used participles are conjugated in persons by adding the predicative personal endings (Table 6.9). The same endings can also be added to regular nouns in predicative use (nominal predicates).

Like the possessive suffixes, the predicative personal endings in Dagur incorporate a distinction between an exclusive and an inclusive form in the first person plural; the endings derive directly from the corresponding pronominal nominatives excl. **ba* > *-baa* resp. incl. **bida* > *-daa*. There is also a difference between the third person singular and plural, in that the nominal plural suffix *.sul* has been generalized as a personal ending for the third person plural. The plural first and second person endings have invariably a long vowel, while in the singular short variants are also used. None of the personal endings has any harmonic variants.

Examples of personally conjugated nominal predicates: (substantival) (vx sg. 1p.) *bii tuyaa-bii* 'I am Tuyaa'; (pl. 1p. excl.) *baa geridee doloo angel-baa* 'we are seven persons in our family'; (adjectival) (sg. 2p.) *shii nyakendaa sain-shii* 'you are good at Chinese'. The personal endings may also follow a predicatively used possessive form, e.g. (px pl. 2p. + vx pl. 1p. excl.) *baa taanii tursen-taani-baa* 'we are your relatives'.

Example of a fully conjugated verbal form: *mart-* 'to forget': imp. indef. vx sg. 1p. *mart-gui-by*; 2p. *mart-gui-sh*; 3p. *mart-gui*; pl. 1p. excl. *mart-gui-baa*; incl. *mart-gui-daa*; 2p. *mart-gui-taa*; 3p. *mart-gui-sul*. After the perfective participle marker, the initial stops *b d* of the relevant personal endings are facultatively nasalized, e.g. *yau-* 'to go': part. perf. pred. vx sg. 1p. *yau-sem-by* ~ *yau-sem-my*; 2p. *yau-sen-sh*; 3p. *yau-seng*; pl. 1p. excl. *yau-sem-baa* ~ *yau-sem-maa*; incl. *yau-sen-daa* ~ *yau-sen-naa*; 2p. *yau-sen-taa*; 3p. *yau-sen-sul*. There are also special developments in the personal paradigm of the terminative, e.g. term. vx sg. 1p. *yau-bei-by* ~ *yau-b-by* ~ *yau-wei* ~ *yau-w*; 2p. *yau-bei-sh* ~ *yau-b-sh*; 3p. *yau-bei*; pl. 1p. excl. *yau-bei-baa* ~ *yau-b-baa* ~ *yau-waa*; incl. *yau-b-daa*; 2p. *yau-bei-taa* ~ *yau-b-taa*; 3p. *yau-bei-sul* ~ *yau-b-sul*.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Dagur shares the Common Mongolic feature of using certain basic verbs as auxiliaries in combination with a preceding converbial form of the semantic main verb. Such constructions express a modal or aspectual content, and the two converbs normally used in them are the imperfective converb in *-j* and the perfective converb in *g/-AAr* (> *g/-AA*).

The most simple auxiliary is *aa-* 'to be', a lexical archaism preserved in active use only in Dagur. In combination with the imperfective converb this auxiliary yields the sequence *-j+aa-* > *-jaa-*, which may synchronically be regarded as a derivative suffix for the progressive aspect. In combination with the perfective converb, the meaning is that

of the perfective aspect, e.g. *xoo sons-oor aa-jaabtaa yee* ‘have you already heard everything?’; alternatively, habituality can be implied, e.g. *xuuyi geridiny ic-ier aa-bei* (also as a suffix > *ic-ier-aa-bei*) ‘he always visits others’.

The function of the perfective aspect can also be filled by the verbs *taly-* ‘to put; to set free’ (< **talbi-*) and, less frequently, *au-* ‘to take’ (< **ab-*), both in combination with the perfective converb, e.g. *bii id-ee tali-yaa* ‘let me eat [it] up!’; *bitgee dar-aa au-seng* ‘he closed his book’. (The examples suggest that these constructions may involve a grammaticalized use of the shorter variant *g/-AA* of the perfective converb.)

The verbs *bol-* ‘to become’ and *ol-* ‘to find’ (probably also originally ‘to become’) are used in combination with the imperfective converb to express the potential mood (‘to be able to’), e.g. *dase-j bol-ooshiny dasjii baitelgaantie* ‘if you can repair it, make use of it after the repair!’; *bodu-j ol-gw uweiby* ‘I cannot remember it’.

Verbs of motion, such as *ir-* ‘to come’, *ic-* ‘to go’, *yau-* ‘to go’, are most often combined with the perfective converb, yielding expressions of gradual transformation, e.g. (conv. perf. + *ir-*), e.g. *tariseng nuwaamaany xoo gar-aar ir-seng* ‘all the vegetables we planted sprouted one after another’; (conv. perf. + *ic-*) *orie bolgootoor kuitur-eer ici-seng* ‘it became colder and colder in the evening’; (conv. perf. + *yau-*) *xuu uceek bol-oor yau-seng* ‘people became fewer and fewer’.

The verb *ukw-* ‘to give’ expresses in combination with the imperfective converb the benefactive mood, e.g. *eudee nee-j uk/u-tw* ‘please open the door for me!’. This construction also has the synthetic (suffixalized) variant *-j-ukw-*, e.g. *naad myanggeng xolungkw xii-j-ukw* ‘please make me a thousand bags!’.

Finally, the verb *uj-* ‘to see’ has the meaning of ‘to try’, when used after a main verb in the form of the imperfective converb, e.g. *shii acaayaasaa xasoo-j uj kenee* ‘just try to ask your father!’.

SYNTAX

The presentation of Dagur syntax below is mainly focused on the use of particles, especially in such major communicative structures as negative and interrogative sentences.

The *negation* of finite predicates takes place by a number of preverbal and postverbal particles, all of which are Common Mongolic. Imperative predicates are negated by the preverbal prohibitive particle *buu*, e.g. (vol., imp.) *buu ici-yaa eleesee buu ic* ‘if you don’t want to go, don’t go!’; (conc. pl.) *uciikerd buu medelgee-tgai-sul dee* ‘let them not tell [it] to the children!’; (imp. indir. sg. 3p.) *buu sanaa jogu-gaaniiny dee* ‘I wish he might not trouble his mind’. The last two examples contain also the sentence-final emphatic particle *dee*.

Non-imperative predicates are negated by the particles *es* (< **ese*) and *ul* (< **ülü*), both of which are used preverbally. The particle *es* is mainly used with participles and converbs, but also with indicative forms. It often has emotional connotations, as in (term. vx sg. 2p.) *terkeenee es medjaa-b-sh yee* ‘don’t you [really] know such a thing?’ (with the interrogative particle *yee*); (conf. vx pl. 1p. incl.) *es sons-lii-daa* ‘we have never heard [of it]’; (conv. cond. refl.) *terkeenii es shad-aas-aa bas yamer ergunshie* ‘what kind of man are you if you cannot [even do] such a thing!’.

The particle *ul* is more neutral and can be used with various verbal forms, e.g. (dur./narr. vx sg. 1p.) *bii ul med/e-m-by* ~ (progr. term. vx sg. 1p.) *bii ul med-jaa-wei* ‘I don’t know’; (progr. part. perf. pred. vx pl. 2p.) *ordoong enii taa ul med-jaa-sen-taa kaw* ‘maybe you did not know this before’ (with the putative particle *kaw*); (part. fut.)

ter ul med-gw arbuntii saujaabei ‘he seems not to know [it]’ (literally: ‘he is sitting with a not-knowing appearance’); (conv. imperf.) *ul uj/i-j xer medbeishii* ‘how do you know [it] without seeing?’. The particle *ul* can also be used alone in the function of a general negative answer (‘no’).

Nominal words are negated by the postpositionally used particle *uwei* (< **ügei*), e.g. (negation of existence:) *naad xar sateng uwei* ‘I have no brown sugar’; (negation of quality:) *en ilгаа saikeng uwei* ‘this flower is not beautiful’. After participle markers, *uwei* can facultatively have the bound shape *-wei*, before which the futuritive marker appears as *-w-*, e.g. (progr. part. fut. neg. pl. 3p.) *naadjaa-gw uwei-sul* > *naadjaa-w-wei-sul* ‘they are not playing’; (part. perf. neg. vx sg. 1p.) *bii badaa id-seng uwei-by* > *id-seng-wei-by* ‘I have not eaten (food)’. Constructions with *uwei* can also be used as adnominal attributes, e.g. *jisaa uwei xuу* ‘a reasonless person’, *ujiseng-wei jakaa ujisendaa* ‘we saw a thing which we had never seen’ (literally: ‘we saw an unseen thing of ours’).

Two other postpositionally used negative particles are *udieng* ‘not yet’ (irregularly from **edüi* ‘this much’) and *bishing* ‘not the one; other than’ (< **bisi/n*). The former can replace *uwei* in combination with the futuritive participle, e.g. *wantegw ering bol-gw udieng* ‘it has not yet become the time to sleep’; *badaayaa id/e-gw udien-taa yee* ‘have you not eaten (your food) yet?’. The latter is used postnominally to deny identity, e.g. *enshiny xig bait bishing* ‘this is not a major matter’.

The expression of *interrogation* in yes/no questions takes place by the sentence-final particle *yee*, e.g. *en biteg yee* ‘is this a book?’; *shii nyakeng usugw shadbeish yee* ‘can you speak Chinese?’; *acaashiny geridee bei yee* ‘is your father at home?’. In pronominal questions (wh-questions), no correlative particle is required, e.g. *shii aniinsh* ‘who are you?’; *taa ordoong xaan aasentaa* ‘where did you live before?’. In emphatic questions, however, the final particles *yum/oo* or *yum dee* can be used, e.g. *en yoo yum* ‘what(ever) is this?’; *en yamer gery yum dee* ‘what kind of house is this?’; *tershiny yoo yumoo* ‘what on earth is that?’.

A rhetorical or confirmative question is often expressed by combining the negative particle *bishing* with the interrogative particle *yee*. The negative particle can then be shortened into *shing* (*shin-* : *shim-*), e.g. *shii lwaacidaa saing (bi)shin-sh yee* ‘you are good at Russian, aren’t you?’. It is mostly either in such a question or in double negation that a participle form can be negated by *bishing*, e.g. (part. perf.) *en bitgii shii uji-seng bishin-sh yee* ‘you read this book, didn’t you?’; (part. fut. px sg. 2p.) *shii erij ul ol-gu-shiny bishing* ‘you will certainly find [it]’ (literally: ‘it is not that you will not find’). A decisive tone can also be indicated by *shindee* (< **bisin+dee*) e.g. *akaashiny iciseng shindee* ‘your brother certainly went!’.

Apart from the negative and interrogative particles, there are several other sentence-final elements, many of which may be classified as modal or emphatic particles. The particle *jak* (< ‘thing’, from Manchu), for instance, like its equivalent *yum* (< ‘something’), expresses emphasis, e.g. *edee xoo barseng jak* ‘now everything is over!’. The particles *kee* and *mookie* add the meaning of unexpected surprise, e.g. *en xuу tend aajaagw mookie* ‘this man lives there! [I found it out just now]’; *xoo yawoo talisensul kee* ‘they all have gone! [I am surprised to know it]’. Uncertainty is expressed by the particle *woo*, e.g. *ing yauseng woo* ‘maybe he went’. The moderative particle *kenee* ~ *kene* occurs after imperative forms, e.g. *naad nek ukw kene* ‘[please] give me one!’.

There are also particles that are not confined to the sentence-final position, but occur postpositionally or enclitically with a varying degree of connection with the preceding word. Some of these particles are originally converbs, while others are nominal case

forms governing the nominative or connective form of the preceding noun. The following three functional groups may be distinguished:

(1) the particles of emphatic specification ('only, the very, at least') = *l*, *kunu*, *mak*, *maty*, as well as *kee* (also used sentence-finally), e.g. *bii=l medbei yee* 'do only I know it?'; *ter gajir kunu madeng saikeng* 'that region, among others, is very beautiful'; *nideeree ujiesee mak medbei* 'you can know it if only you look by your own eyes'; *mogugudaa garie maty uwaa dee* 'just wash your hands at least'; *bitgee mart aar piyee kee martseng uwei awoor irseng* 'although he forgot his book, he brought at least his pen without forgetting';

(2) the concessive particles *cii*, *cig*, *yiesh* (possibly from Chinese) 'even', e.g. *tereg cig bolbei* 'It is possible [to go] even by car'; *mory yiesh bolbei xukur yiesh bolbei* 'horses and cattle will do equally well' (literally: 'even horses will do, even cattle will do');

(3) the topic particles (conv. cond. refl.) *boloos/oo*, *aagaas/aa* > *aasaa* > *asaa* 'as for, talking of' (literally: 'if it is'), especially after pronouns, e.g. *en boloos/oo miny guciminy* 'this is my friend'; *ted asaa aruukung xuu bishinsul* 'they are quite inhuman'. Sometimes, the second person singular possessive suffix *-shiny* also has the role of a topic marker, e.g. *enshiny miniig aalwoo* 'this (what you see here) seems to be mine'.

Functionally close to particles are many postpositions, such as (causal) *twalaang*, *twald*, *turgund* 'for the sake of, because of', e.g. *gurung gerie twald kucilbiyyaa* 'let us make efforts for our nation!'; (directional) *juur* 'in the direction of' (< **jüg* 'direction'), e.g. *garkui juur uj* 'look eastward!'; (terminative) *jak* (< **jaka* 'border'), conv. term. *bolitel*, *kurtel* 'till, as far as, even', e.g. *en jak geridee xarigw udieng* 'up to now he has not yet come home'; *eimer nomuukung morii kurtel onuj ul shadeng* 'he cannot ride even such an obedient horse'; (comparative) *nuwaang*, *jirgie*, *mush*, *xee* 'like, as', e.g. *xarebseng som nuwaang kuiceej kurseng* 'he chased like a shooting arrow'; *en(-ii) jirgie xig* 'as large as this'; *xorgw mush waa* 'a worm-like taste'; *xukrii xee xig coloo* 'a stone as big as a cow'.

Another group of minor words with a syntactic function are the conjunctions, such as *kesh* 'but' (from Chinese), *xerwul* ~ *xergul* 'if' (+ conv. cond.), *ecwei* 'or else' (< *eic+uwe* 'not like this'), all of which are relatively recent. A copulative relationship is expressed by (conv. perf.) *boloor* 'and', e.g. *ecig boloor eg* 'father and mother'.

LEXICON

It has been estimated that, roughly speaking, more than half of the entire vocabulary of Dagur is Mongolic in origin, including both inherited items and reintroduced borrowings. Borrowings from Manchu amount to c. 10 per cent, while borrowings from Chinese cover another 10 per cent of the lexicon. A smaller number of items has been borrowed from Ewenki. This means that a significant proportion, over 20 per cent, of all vocabulary items are specific only to Dagur.

Due to its peripheral position, Dagur retains a considerable number of archaic Mongolic words, which are not commonly found in the modern Mongolic languages, but which are attested in Middle Mongol sources, such as the *Hua-Yi yiyu* and the 'Secret History'. Such words include: *tergul* ~ *terwul* 'road' (Mongol **jam*), *najir* 'summer' (Mo. **jun*), *xeky* 'head' (Mongol **tologai*), *sorby* 'staff' (Mongol **tayag*). Other more or less idiosyncratic words include several basic items, such as: *kasoo* 'iron', *saur* 'spade', *ogw*

'brain', *basert* 'kidney', *twalcig* 'knee', *kataa* 'salt', *warkel* 'clothes', *el-* 'to say' (cf. Mongol **kele-*).

From Manchu, including its written form, Dagur has adopted not only political, military, and other cultural terms, but also words for daily use, cf. e.g. *gurung* '(political) state', *ambeng* 'minister', *xafeng* 'official', *cwag* 'soldier', *weeshgung* 'noble', *tackw* ~ *tashkw* 'school', *endur* 'god', *bait* 'matter', *ilga* 'flower'. A case of systematic borrowing is observed in the names for the months, based on the Manchu numerals (plus Manchu 'month'): *aniebie* 'January', *jweebie* 'February', *yalembie* 'March', *duyimbie* 'April', *sunjaabie* 'May', *ninggumbie* 'June', *nadembie* 'July', *jakumbie* 'August', *uyimbie* 'September', *jwambie* 'October', *onshumbie* 'November', *jorgumbie* 'December'. Apart from nouns, the borrowings include also other parts of speech and even some functional items, e.g. *func-* 'to be left', *gaitii* 'suddenly', *utkai* 'that is; the very', *gojim* 'even though', *jak* 'thing' (also used as an emphatic particle).

The Ewenki borrowings derive mainly from Solon, e.g. *aminaang* 'cock, male bird', *yeekee* ~ *iikee* 'pan', *nannaakeng* 'beautiful', though some items pertaining to hunting suggest an Orochen source, e.g. *eterkeeng* 'bear', *nikcaa* 'musk deer', *pentuu* 'young antlers [for medical use]'. There also seem to be some relatively old Ewenki borrowings, e.g. *degii* 'bird' (replacing Mongolic **sibaxu/n* id.), which may have entered Dagur before the differentiation of the modern Ewenki dialects. It goes without saying that there are considerably more Dagur borrowings in the Ewenki dialects spoken in the Dagur sphere, especially Solon.

There is a layer of premodern Russian loanwords, e.g. *topoor* 'ax', *bajinky* 'leather shoes', *xelieb* ~ *lieb* 'bread', *weidree* 'bucket'. Most cultural vocabulary has, however, been adopted from Chinese, e.g. *dyaang* 'shop' (Chinese **dian**), *waas* 'socks' (Chinese **wazi**), *jeetw* ~ *jeetuu* 'hoe' (Chinese **juetou**), *liibai* 'week' (Chinese **libai**), *shincii* id. (Chinese **xingqi**), *maashieng* 'at once' (Chinese **mashang**), *puntu.rshie-* ~ *funtu.rshie-* 'to make efforts' (based on Chinese **fendou**). Some Chinese words may have been transmitted by Mongol proper, e.g. *congkw* 'window' (cf. Mongol **congko/n*, from Chinese **chuanghu**), while other (older) items entered Dagur through Manchu, e.g. *saisaa* 'sage' (from Chinese **caizi** through Manchu **saisa** id.), *paid-* ~ *faid-* 'to arrange' (from Chinese **pai** through Manchu **fai.da-** id.), *gyaa* 'downtown' (from the equivalent of modern Mandarin **jie** through Manchu **giya** or **giyai**).

Many of the Chinese elements are reasonably well adapted to Dagur. Contemporary borrowings are, however, often adopted without adequate phonological adjustment. This results in the marginal occurrence in Dagur speech of such exotic sounds as retroflex consonants (Pinyin **ch zh sh r**), retroflex vowels (Pinyin **chi zhi shi ri**), sibilant vowels (Pinyin **ci zi si**), and a high rounded vowel (Pinyin **qu ju xu nü lü**). In many cases it is obviously a question of direct citations, conditioned by widespread bilingualism. Words in general use apparently still tend to undergo adaptation, at least as far as the most exotic features (such as tones) are concerned. There may be individual differences, however, and both partially and fully adapted shapes can cooccur in speech, e.g. *cheezhan* > *ceejang* 'station' (Chinese **chezhan**), *cüüdung* > *cuidung* 'match' (Chinese **qudeng**).

Chinese lexical influence is also manifest in the presence of compounds and phrases based on loan translation, e.g. *gurung gery* 'nation' (literally: 'state house', cf. Chinese **guojia**), *kasoo tergul* 'railway' ('iron road', cf. Chinese **tielu**), *galy tereg* 'train' ('fire car', Chinese **huoche**), *dangg tat-* 'to smoke' ('to pull tobacco', Chinese **chouyan**). Many of these have counterparts in the other Mongolic languages, and some may actually have entered Dagur via Mongol proper.

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