CHAPTER TWELVE

MOGHOL

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The Mongolic language known to Mongolists as Moghol, is called by the Mongols of Afghanistan *mogholii* (*mogholî*) 'Mongolian', from Persian-Arabic *moghol* 'Mongol'. The speakers of Moghol also refer to themselves as the Moghol people. Moghol is therefore the term for both the language and the people of the Mongols of Afghanistan. Moghol developed from the language spoken by the Mongols who during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were garrisoned in the west, i.e. at first in the territories of the Khwarizm-Shah state, conquered in 1220 by Chinggis Khan. The Khwarizm-Shah state became a part of the Ilkhanid state in the middle of the thirteenth century. This Mongol-ruled state included the territory of modern Afghanistan. As far as we know, the garrison Mongols who remained in the west never again had any contact with their kinsmen in Mongolia.

Historically, the Moghol have also been known by the ethnonym Nigudari (*Nigûdârî*), a name connected with an actual historical person, Nigudari (originally perhaps Tegüder) Oghlan, who served in the Mongol army in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Although the Nigudari seem to have incorporated a variety of ethnic elements of predominantly non-Mongol origin, their common language came to be Mongol, and they may therefore be regarded as the linguistic ancestors of the Moghol. There is, incidentally, another ethnic group in Afghanistan, the Iranian-speaking Hazara (*Hazâra*), who are often also claimed to descend from the Mongols. There is little evidence of this, and, in any case, they seem to have no connection with the historical Mongols of Chinggis Khan.

The actual history of the Moghol is nearly unknown. Until the end of the nineteenth century local groups of the Moghol are known to have lived in different parts of Afghanistan, including the provinces of Kandahar in the south, Ghor in the centre, and Herat in the northwest. In the middle of the twentieth century, their last remnants were confined to parts of Herat Province. Ethnic correlations existed with the Iranian (Tajik) and Pashtunian neighbours. The physiognomy of the modern Moghol therefore reflects strong local (Iranian) influences. Owing to their linguistic environment, the modern Moghol language is also strongly influenced by the neighbouring languages, especially Tajik-Persian (Dari).

Of the roughly 3,000 ethnic Moghol who still lived in Herat in the 1960s and early 1970s, very few were able to speak or understand Moghol. While the Moghol in the 1930s were still able to remember their tribal affiliations, such knowledge has subsequently been lost. Most of the Moghol in the 1970s had already become monolingual speakers of Iranian (Tajik, Dari), and the Moghol language was rapidly becoming extinct. The situation at the present time is unknown.

DATA AND SOURCES

The history of Moghol studies until the 1970s has been summarized by Michael Weiers (1972: 11–13). Altogether the linguistic field material on Moghol covers a period of

*c.*140 years, which reveals very little about the evolution of the language and its genuine cultural background. The first lexical notes on the Moghol language were published in 1838 by the British officer R. Leech, whose material was some decades later analysed and corrected by H. C. von der Gabelentz and H. Fleischer. Leech was followed by another British traveller, W. R. H. Merk, whose notes on Moghol from the 1880s were, however, published only in 1910.

The first professional Mongolist to study Moghol was G. J. Ramstedt, whose work with two informants on the Russian side of the border resulted in a publication (Ramstedt 1905) that was to remain the main source on Moghol for more than half a century. It is true, Louis [Lajos] Ligeti visited the Moghol in 1936–7, but he published his first report on the journey only much later (Ligeti 1955a). Most of his materials remain unpublished until the present day. Ligeti (1955b) prepared, however, a study of the Moghol materials of Leech. A similar analysis of Merk's notes has been published by Weiers (1971).

The next wave of fieldwork took place in the 1950s, when, most importantly, Shinobu Iwamura and H. F. Schurmann visited the Moghol and noted down information concerning their ethnic position and language. Their materials (Iwamura and Schurmann 1954) later served as the basis for a secondary analysis by L. D. Shagdarov and A. M. Kazanceva (1968). Schurmann's work resulted in a general ethnological monograph on the Mongols of Afghanistan (Schurmann 1962), a topic also touched upon by A. A. Motamedi (1956). Finally, following a visit to the Moghol by Shirô Hattori in 1961, the last attempt to record the Moghol language was made by the German Afghanistan expedition in 1969–72. The field materials collected and published by Weiers (1972, 1974) include texts, a vocabulary, and a descriptive grammar.

A major result of the German expedition was that fresh written documents of Moghol in Arabic script became available, as published by Walther Heissig (1974) and discussed in detail by Weiers (1973; 1975a, 1992). Before this, written material on Moghol had only been published by Iwamura (1961), as also reviewed by S. S. S. Homam (1972). Unfortunately, the history and circumstances of the transmission of the Moghol written material are not known in detail. Most of the manuscripts published in facsimile by Iwamura and Heissig are likely to be copies of older texts. This material contains Moghol–Persian vocabularies, treatises of Moghol grammar, Islamic texts and commentaries written in Arabic, Persian, and Moghol, as well as poetry written mainly in Moghol, sometimes also in Persian and Arabic.

The Moghol written treatises and the extant samples of poetry are connected with names like Abd al-Qåder (Weiers 1975a: 11, 17, 19, 21, 1977a: 30–6), Abd al-Ghani, Abd Hay, Abd al-Hamid, and Nazir (Weiers 1977a: 30–6, 1992–3: 62 note 3). Valuable biographical information is available only for Abd al-Qåder (probably *c.*1905–33/34), as discussed by Heissig (1969), Homam (1970), and Weiers (1975a: 105). A variety of issues pertaining to the history and analysis of Moghol poetry have been discussed by Weiers (1977a, 1982, 1992–3).

The first overall survey of the Moghol language was prepared by Omeljan Pritsak (1964), followed only recently by another brief survey by Ye. A. Kuz'menkov (1997) as well as by a monographic treatment by Buhe (1996). Moghol has, however, offered material for specialized discussions on certain details with considerable relevance to general Mongolic studies. In particular, the question concerning the long vowels in Moghol has been discussed by Ligeti (1964) and Weiers (1970). Perhaps even more importantly, the influences of the Iranian linguistic environment make Moghol an interesting object for contact linguistics (Poucha 1961, Weiers 1973, 1975b, 1976ab, 1977b, 1978).

DIALECTS

Information on dialectal and subdialectal differences in Moghol was reported, but not substantially corroborated, by Ligeti. In the 1960s and 1970s such information was already unavailable. Regarding the tribal distribution and organization of the Moghol we find a short piece of written information on fol. 41v: 1–10 of the Buryabaf-Manuscript, published in facsimile by Heissig (1974: 401):

> Among the assemblage of the tribes of the Moghol there is a hundred of the Toquz. That is to say: the thirty three Moghol tribes are distributed into four hundreds. As the first, the hundred of the Keldar comprises the Nekudari, Cengizi, Barulås, Arghuni, Ilå'i, Lål'i, Jamilåni, An'i, and others. As the second, the hundred of the Toquz comprises the Xurdak-zåi, Kalån-zåi, Dah Mardah, Borghut, Orghuti, and others. As the third, the hundred of the Xalil consists of the Guzlek, Toghåi, Arulåt, and Oiråt. As the fourth, the hundred of the Ucah consists of the Jaghatåi, Jalå'ir, Durmåni Juj'i known as Juk, Jå'otu, Manquti, and Bayån-quli known as Baiquli.

Even though this passage contains the most comprehensive native information about Moghol tribes, it unfortunately does not make any statements about their territorial distribution. It is therefore not possible to give any geographical data concerning the dialectal or subdialectal division of Moghol in relation to the tribes. As the Moghol very often moved from one village to another, it is also difficult to reconstruct the dialectal or subdialectal system on the basis of the tribal affiliations and geographical origins of the Moghol informants recorded by researchers. One can only state that there are inconsistencies in all Moghol data, which may point to diachronic or dialectal differentiation. Some of these inconsistencies concern phonology, as is the case in, for instance, *inodar ~ enaudur* 'today'; *uckodar ~ ockådur ~ ushkurka ~ cikaudur* 'yesterday'; *ukpang ~ uftang ~ okmang ~ otpang* 'bread'; *weda ~ oidan ~ uidan* 'door'; *gesal ~ gesån ~ guzhan* 'belly'; *kaita ~ kei* 'wind'. In other cases, a semantic difference is present, as in *shup-turaghai* 'fish' ~ 'millet'.

It has to be emphasized that the spoken language, or Spoken Moghol, is not the only source of information on Moghol. Much more, and probably even more genuine, information can be obtained from the extant written materials. A presentation of the Moghol language based only on data transmitted orally would conceal many interesting features. For this reason, and in view of the circumstance that Buhe (1996) has already summarized, the data on Spoken Moghol, the present chapter will combine information from both spoken and written sources. The written material, or Written Moghol, will be presented in a transcription which corresponds to the elicited pronunciation of such material.

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The phonology of Moghol reveals a strong and unambiguous influence of Tajik. In particular, the phonotax of Moghol is, due to extensive borrowing from Persian and Arabic (Persian-Arabic vocabulary), extremely complex and heterogeneous. With the reservation that this complexity makes it difficult to distinguish between native and non-native segments in the paradigm, the systems of Moghol vowels and consonants can be presented as follows (Tables 12.1 and 12.2).

Moghol also has the diphthongs *ai au oi ui*, which synchronically may perhaps be analysed as monophonemic units, and which may occur in every position in a word.

TABLE 12.1 MOGHOL VOWELS

u		*i*
o		*e*
å		*a*

TABLE 12.2 MOGHOL CONSONANTS

p	*t*	*c*	*k*	*q*	
b	*d*	*j*	*g*		
f	*s*	*sh*	*x*		*h*
w	*z*	*zh*	*gh*		
m	*n*				
	l				
	r				
		y			

As far as the correspondences between the Moghol phonemes and the Arabic-Persian letters used for Written Moghol are concerned, information can be drawn from the pronunciation of written texts, as elicited from the last recorded Moghol speakers (1969–72). A comparison of their articulation with the earlier data on Spoken Moghol indicates that slight phonetic changes had taken place. These changes do not seem to have affected the phonemic system, however.

The actual phonemic and phonetic (IPA) values of the Written Moghol graphemes (here rendered in a conventional Romanization, as used for the Arabic alphabet) are, for the vowels: *fatḥa* = a [ʌ], *kasra* = e i [ɛ ə e ɪ], *ḍamma* = o [o]; in initial position: *alif* + *fatḥa* = a [a ɐ], *alif* + *kasra* = e [e ɛ], *alif* + *ya* = i [i], *alif* + *waw* = u [u ʉ wu], *alif* + *madda* = å [ɔ]; in medial and final position: *alif* after consonants = å [ɔ], *waw* after consonants = u [u ʊ], *ya* after consonants = i [i]. The values of the consonant letters are: **p** = p b f [p β f], **b** = b [b β], **m** = m [m], **f** = f [f], **w** = w [w]; **t ṭ** = t [t], **d** = d t [d t], **n** = n [n], **l** = l [l], **r** = r [r], **s ṯ (th)** **ṣ** = s [s θ], **z ḏ (dh)** **ḍ ẓ** = z [z], **č (ch)** = c [tʃ], **ǧ (j)** = j [dʒ], **š (sh)** = sh [ʃ], **ž (zh)** = j zh [dʒ ʒ], **y** = y [j], **k** = k [k], **g** = g [g], **ḫ (kh)** = x h [x ɦ], **ġ (gh)** = gh g q [ʀ g q], **q** = q k [q k ɢ], **h ḥ** = h [ɦ h].

WORD STRUCTURE

Owing to the very high percentage of the borrowed Persian or Persian-Arabic vocabulary, the word structure and prosodic features of Moghol exhibit a mixed and heterogeneous picture. The suprasegmental intonation of Spoken Moghol is very close to that of Persian Tajik. Moghol speakers using their language may therefore give someone who does not know Moghol the impression that they are communicating in Tajik.

Moghol has relatively few morphophonological alternations. As far as the juncture between stems and suffixes is concerned, verbal stems ending in a consonant add one of the connective vowels *u* or *o* before certain suffixes depending on phonotactic and/or morphological circumstances. Nouns ending in *h* drop this *h* before suffixes (before plural suffixes, for instance). In Written Moghol, all suffixes are written contiguously with the

preceding stem (or with a preceding connective vowel, if any). There are also a few elements written as prefixes.

Both Spoken Moghol and Written Moghol, as read from texts, reveal the existence of a strong high pitch. In single words this pitch is located mainly on the last syllable, seldom on the penult. In the narrative form of the finite conjugation the pitch is located on the final vowel of the stem, if the stem ends in a vowel or a diphthong, or on the connective vowel *u* or *o*, if the stem ends in a consonant, e.g. *ina-* 'to laugh', *inanambi* 'I am laughing'; *acar-* 'to bring', *acaronamda* 'we are bringing'. The other finite forms have the pitch on their respective temporal-aspectual suffixes, e.g. *inabobi* 'I laughed'; *acarlanud* 'they were bringing'. Within a clause the pitch height can extend its influence over the next three syllables, making them clitics, e.g. *ger mini be* or *ger=mini=be* '[it] is my house'.

PARTS OF SPEECH

Unlike other Mongolic languages, Moghol has, due to the impact of the Iranian influence, most of the 'classical' parts of speech known from Indo-European languages: substantives, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions. Substantives are morphologically marked for the categories of number and case. Verbs are characterized by the categories of person, number, tense-aspect, and mode. Adjectives are distinguished by the category of degree (comparison), borrowed from Iranian and marked by the Persian suffixes *.tar* for the comparative and *.tariin* for the superlative. Adjectives function syntactically as attributes or nominal predicates, and they are never marked for the categories of number and case. Many adjectives are borrowed from Iranian.

Pronouns, especially the personal pronouns, preserve their original suppletive declension. They have, nevertheless, borrowed one of the expressions of the possessor from Iranian and can therefore occur in the nominative case after a substantive followed by the *ezafe*, e.g. *ti tezuk-i ci be* 'this is your book'. Unlike most other Mongolic languages, Moghol also has relative clauses, introduced either by native pronouns or by a combination of native pronouns and Persian *kih*.

Etymologically, there are three kinds of prepositions in Moghol. The first type involves direct Iranian borrowings, while the second type comprises native words, like *tålah* 'for', *ul* 'until', or, in some cases, words of uncertain origin, like *sabar* 'for, to'. The third type is based on original case suffixes, such as the dative suffix *-du* and the ablative suffix */a-sah*, which have developed into prepositions under Iranian influence, as in abl. (suffixal) *cina-sah* or (prepositional) *sah ci* 'from you', dat. (suffixal) *cinan-du* or (prepositional) *du ci* 'for you'. Such use of suffixes as prepositions is facultative.

As in Iranian, Moghol substantives and adjectives can be used as adverbs. Certain words are synchronically always used in an adverbial function, e.g. *inaudur* 'today', *nidoni* 'last year', *endah* 'here', *maudu* 'so much', *qunah* 'then', *mitu* 'like'. Finally, Moghol has developed a large variety of conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating. Some of these are Iranian borrowings, while others are of native origin, like the coordinating conjunctions *å* 'and', *tah* 'and', or the subordinating conjunction *sah* 'if'. The subordinating conjunctions are used to introduce temporal and other dependent clauses, not present in most other Mongolic languages (see the section on Syntax).

WORD FORMATION

Derivation in Moghol takes place by adding suffixes to stable primary stems. The suffixes of derivation are added mechanically; they do not produce changes in the

segmental structure of the stem. Unlike other Mongolic languages, Moghol does not have vowel harmony. Therefore, derivative suffixes, like most other suffixes, appear generally only in a single invariable shape. The most important factor lying behind the absence of vowel harmony is the diachronic change (neutralization) of the vowel *e* into *a* in all non-initial syllables. Also, the Moghol vowels *å o u i* can synchronically occur without any regular sequence.

In the following, the derivative suffixes are divided into four groups, depending on whether they form denominal nouns, deverbal nouns, denominal verbs, or deverbal verbs.

Denominal nouns: *.ci*, *.ji* and *.i* denote the actor, e.g. *qurugh* 'shadow' : *qurugh.ci* '[someone] who casts a shadow', *kelan* 'tongue, language' : *kelan.ji* 'parrot', *kul* 'foot' : *kul.i* 'walker'; *.cih* denotes persons who are in possession of, or in connection with, something, e.g. *anqas* 'thirst' : *anqas.cih* '[someone who is] thirsty'; *.i* forms abstract substantives from adjectives. e.g. *wuj* 'kind, friendly' : *wuj.i* 'kindness, friendliness'; *.kan* forms diminutives, e.g. *urah* 'heart' : *ura.kan* 'sweetheart' (with the stem-final *h* dropped); *.lik* forms abstract nouns, e.g. *bardah* 'slave' : *bardah.lik* 'slavery'; *.mi* forms abstract substantives from adjectives, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.mi* 'malignity'; *.nghi* denotes places, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.nghi* 'hell'; *.nghu* forms abstract ideas from adjectives of colour, e.g. *qara* 'black' : *qara.nghu* 'obscure, dark'; *.sh* forms nouns possessing the colour of the primary stem, e.g. *qarå* (*qara*) 'black' : *qarå.sh* 'charcoal'; *.sh* also indicates places containing what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *kuri* 'stone' : *kuri.sh* 'stony place'; *.tu* [possessor noun] denotes possession or containment, e.g. *osor* 'feather' : *osor.tu* 'feathered'; *.tur* expresses a comparison with what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *caqel* 'moon' : *caqel.tur* 'moonlike'; */o.xsh* (with the connective vowel *o* after stems ending in a consonant) forms nouns denoting direction (directive), e.g. *or* 'front, anterior' : *or/o.xsh* 'forward'.

Deverbal nouns: *.gh* forms substantives of what is denoted by the primary verbal stem, e.g. *eri-* 'to wish' : *eri.gh* 'wish'; *.gha* and *.h* have a similar function, e.g. *ål-* 'to find' : *ål.gha* 'finding', *sukka-* 'to insult' : *sukka.h* 'insult'; *.ji* forms substantives indicating tools, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.ji* 'cutlery'; *.kulang* forms adjectives, e.g. *ulas-* 'to become hungry' : *ulas.kulang* 'hungry'; */o.n* or */u.n* (with the connective vowel *u* or *o* after stems ending in a consonant) forms general deverbal substantives, e.g. *dilat-* 'to rain' : *dilat/u.n* 'rain'; *.q* forms substantives indicating receptacles or vessels, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.q* 'eating bowl'; *.zhi* indicates the place of action, e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : *ida.zhi* 'place of eating'.

Denominal verbs: *.l-* for expressing the action of what is denoted by the primary nominal stem, with the final *n* of the nominal stem being dropped, e.g. *ceqin* 'ear' : *ceqi.l-* 'to hear'; *ebasun* 'grass, fodder' : *ebasu.l-* 'to feed, to drive to pasture'; *.ah-* with a similar function, e.g. *qaul* 'nude, naked' : *qaul.ah-* 'to undress, to take off clothes'; *.ih-* for expressing the reception of what is denoted by the primary stem, e.g. *murtaj* 'healthy; welfare' : *murtaj.ih-* 'to recover'. Many stems are used both as primary verbal stems and as primary nominal stems (nomina-verba or zero derivation), e.g. *anghas* 'smell' : *anghas-* 'to smell'; *nåt* 'play, dance' : *nåt-* 'to play, to dance'.

Deverbal verbs: *.cagha-* or *.cigha-* for actions performed by many actors (pluritative or verbal plural), e.g. *ki.cagha-ba-h* 'many did [it]', *unshi.cigha-ba-h* 'many recited'; *.da-* for passive verbs, e.g. *ål.da-ba-h* 'he has been found'; *.ga-* for factitive verbs, e.g. *dur.ga-ba-h* 'she made [it] burn'; *.gh-* for passive verbs, e.g. *ugha.gh-gha* '[it] has to be washed', *.gha-* for causative verbs, e.g. *dagil.gha-ba-h* 'he let [them] cook'; *.ghda-* for passive verbs, e.g. *kuli.ghda-ba-h* 'it has been fastened'; *.l* for causative verbs, e.g. *kur/u.l-gha* 'he has to let [him] arrive'; *.lår-* or *.lårå-* for inchoative verbs, e.g. *uilah.lår-ba-h* 'he began to weep', *ki.lårå-ba-h* 'he began to make'; *.lat-* for reflexive verbs, e.g. *ida.lat-tå* 'you two eat for yourself!'; *.qa-* for causative-factitive verbs, e.g. *bos.qa-xsah* 'erected'; *.ra-* for medial

verbs, e.g. *ida.ra-su* 'I have to gorge myself'. Sometimes more than one suffix can be attached to a primary stem, e.g. *ål.da.ghda-ba-h* 'he has been found', *bari.ghda.l-pa-h* 'he made [it] to be taken', *cai.l.gha-bå-bi* 'I was made enlightened'.

The Common Mongolic suffix **.b* of the intensifying adjectival construction also survives in Moghol. If the first syllable of the adjective begins with a consonant, the suffix has the shape *.b*, as in *ca.b caghå* 'completely white'; *qa.b qarå* 'completely black'. If the first syllable of the adjective begins with a vowel, the suffix appears as *.f*, as in *u.f ulån* 'completely red'. In view of this morphophonological alternation (*b : f*) the intensifying construction may perhaps also be viewed as a case of nominal compounding (or prefixation).

Apart from the system of derivation, Moghol has adopted one of the most characteristic features of the Persian-Tajik verbal system, viz. the compound verbs. In the Moghol version of this system the common Persian verbs with a general sense are replaced by their Moghol translations, e.g. *ki-* 'to do, to make' for Persian *kardan* id., *bål-* 'to become' for Persian *shodan* id., *bari-* 'to take' for Persian *gereftan* id. These verbs are preceded by a qualifying or distinguishing substantive, which is often a borrowing from Persian, as in *tåsir ki-* 'to effect' (Persian *tåʾsir* 'impression'), *elhåq bål-* 'to reach' (Persian *elhåq* 'arriving'). There are also examples of loan translations, as in *cåsun bari-* 'to snow' from Persian *barf gereftan* id.

NUMBER AND CASE

The primary or secondary stem of words acting as substantives functions as the unmarked singular, while the category of the plural is indicated by special markers, which are probably best analysed as derivative suffixes. There are two main series of plural suffixes for substantives. The first series is of Mongolic origin: *.nud* (after consonants), *.d*, *.t*, *.s*, *.z* (after vowels; the stem-final consonants *h* and *n* are dropped before these suffixes), e.g. *buzagh.nud* 'frogs', *nudu.d* 'eyes'; *eki.t* 'heads', *aulå.s* 'mountains'; *qarantaghci.z* 'tyrants'. The second series is of Persian-Arabic origin and is mostly (but not only) used in connection with Persian-Arabic words: *.ån*, *.åt*, *.hå*, *.yåt* (after vowels), e.g. *cashm.ån* 'eyes', *jar.åt* 'ghazals', *urul.åt* 'lips', *qutuf.hå* 'slow steps', *gazhi.yåt* 'signs'. Additionally, there is a combined Persian and Moghol plural suffix: *.håt*, as in *cuqu.håt* 'realities'. The Arabic broken plural can also be found occasionally, e.g. *amåghel* 'Mongols' (sg. *moghol*), *malå'ek* 'angels' (sg. *malak*). To the Arabic plural, a Moghol plural suffix can be added: *malå'ek.at.*

Moghol has the following cases, most of which have a Common Mongolic background: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, and vocative. The case suffixes are added to the primary or secondary stem of substantives. The nominative is unmarked for stems ending in a consonant, a diphthong, or any of the vowels *å o i*, but stems ending in *a* and (sometimes) *u* show a final *h*, which may be analysed as a nominative suffix (*-h*). The other seven cases are all marked suffixally, though the dative and ablative suffixes can also occur as prepositions (Table 12.3). The case suffixes are generally the same for vowel stems and consonant stems, but in the ablative, consonant stems normally require the presence of an extra vowel segment (*/a-sa*, */a-sah*), which synchronically seems to function as a connective vowel.

As elsewhere in Mongolic, the dative also functions as a locative (dative-locative). More idiosyncratically, the Moghol comitative functions mainly as an instrumental, while the instrumental functions as a comitative (comitative-instrumental). The ablative has the variant ending *-dasa/h*, which diachronically involves double declension (dative-ablative).

TABLE 12.3 MOGHOL CASE MARKERS

	suffixal	prepositional
gen.	*-i, -ai*	
acc.	*-i, -'i*	
dat.	*-du, -do, -tu*	*du*
abl.	*-sa, -sah, -asa, -asah*	*sah*
instr.	*-ar*	
com.	*-la, -lah*	
voc.	*-å*	

The prepositional use of the dative and ablative suffixes reflects Iranian influence. The two structures are functionally equivalent, cf. e.g. dat. (suffixal) *ghal-du* or (prepositional) *du ghal* 'in the fire'. On the other hand, the Persian preposition *az* 'from' is sometimes used as an ablative suffix *-az*. The Persian *ezafe* construction often replaces the genitive, and the Moghol accusative (direct object) can be substituted by the Persian postposition *rå*. The case suffixes follow the plural markers and are connected with the latter in writing. Both the plural markers and the case suffixes can be followed by the reflexive suffix, which has the shapes *-ah* (after consonants), *-yah* (after diphthongs), *-tah* (after plural *-d*), or *-nah* (after vowels).

NUMERALS

The cardinal numerals, used as adjectives and substantives, are, for the first decade: 1 *nikah ~ nika/n*, 2 *qeyår ~ qiar*, 3 *ghorbån ~ qurban*, 4 *dorbån ~ durba/n*, 5 *tåbun ~ tabun*, 6 *åsun ~ essun ~ jurghan*, 7 *dålån*, 8 *sålån ~ arban-i qiar ushkan* 'of ten, two less', 9 *tåsån ~ arban-i nikan ushkan* 'of ten, one less', 10 *arbån ~ arban*. The numerals of the second decade are either 11 *arba+nika*, 12 *arban qiar*, etc. (10 + digit), or 11 *nik+arbån*, 12 *qey+arbån*, 13 *ghor+arbån*, 14 *dor+arbån*, 15 *tåb+arbån*, 16 *ås+arbån*, 17 *dål+arbån*, 18 *sål+arbån*, 19 *tås+arbån* (digit + 10), or also 18 *qorn-asa qiar ushkan* 'from twenty, two less' ~ *arban qiar durba* 'ten and twice four', 19 *qorin-asa nika ushkan* 'from twenty, one less'.

The other decades as well as hundreds and thousands are expressed as follows: 20 *n.å'emah ~ qori/n ~ qorn*, 30 *gh.å'emah* (first consonant of the digit + *å'emah*) ~ *qurban arban* (3x10), 40 *d.å'emah ~ qiar qori* (2x20), 50 *t.å'emah ~ tabun arban* (5x10) ~ *katai.kin-i nispa-ini* 'half of a hundred', 60 *ås.emah* (first syllable of the digit + *emah*) ~ *qurban qori* (3x20), 70 *dål.emah ~ qurban qori arban* (3x20 + 10), 80 *sål.emah ~ durban qori* (4x20), 90 *tås.emah ~ durban qori arban* (4x20 + 10) ~ *katai.kin-i arban kam* 'of a hundred, ten less', 100 *årin ~ katai ~ qatei*, 200 *qeyår årin ~ qiar katai*, etc., 1,000 *aryun ~ eryå ~ nik+aryun ~ nik+arbun* (with an orthographically conditioned variation *+aryun ~ +arbun*), 2,000 *qey+aryun ~ qey+arbun*, etc. Examples of other numerals are: 21 *nikah tah nå'emah ~ nika+ta+nå'emah* 'one and twenty', 101 *årin tah nikah* 'a hundred and one', 121 *årin tah nikah tah nå'emah* 'a hundred and one and twenty', 201 *qiar katai.ki nikan-i oda* 'to two hundred, one more'.

From the diachronic point of view, the most conspicuous feature of the Moghol numeral system is that it contains several Post-Proto-Mongolic innovations. The secondary items are: 6 *åsun ~ essun*, 8 *sålån*, 9 *tåsån*, 100 *årin ~ katai ~ qatei*, and 1,000

aryun ~ eryå, as well as *.å'emah ~ .emah* in the tens for 20–90. With the exception of the etymologically transparent *katai* or *qatei* < 'big' (from Persian-Arabic), these do not seem to have been recorded from oral Moghol. They might therefore involve literary creations and orthographical confusions, but even so they remain unexplained. The analytic expressions of the type 8 *arban-i qiar ushkan* and 9 *arban-i nikan ushkan* are probably loan translations, though they also suggest that the original numerals for 8 and 9 were falling into oblivion.

Ordinal numerals are formed by attaching the suffixes *.ah* and *.i* to the cardinal numerals. The former suffix forms ordinal adverbs, while the latter suffix forms ordinal nouns (adjectives or substantives): *ung* 'firstly' (exceptionally without the suffix *.ah*) : *ung.i* 'first', *qeyår.ah* 'secondly' : *qeyår.i* 'second'. Collective numerals are formed by the suffix *.lah*, before which the final consonant of the numeral stem is dropped: *qeyå.lah* 'both, two together', *nå'ema.lah* 'all twenty, twenty together'. Multiplicative numerals are formed by adding the suffix *tah* to the cardinal numerals, or by combining the numerals with *maud* 'so much' > 'times' : *nikah.tah* 'once', *qeyår maud* 'two times'. Examples of fractional numerals are: *doreb.ni* 'quarter', *orbo.ni* '[one] tenth'.

PRONOUNS

There are personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The personal pronouns are: sg. 1p. *bi*, 2p. *ci*, 3p. *i ~ ih* or *ti*, pl. 1p. incl. *bidah ~ bidat*, 1p. excl. *mån*, 2p. *tå ~ tåd* 'you', 3p. *tid ~ tit*. The oblique case forms involve suppletion (Table 12.4), but the suppletive forms can be replaced by simple declension (nominative of the pronoun + the case endings). In the dative and ablative cases, the case endings may also be used as prepositions placed before the nominative of the pronoun.

The basic demonstrative pronouns are: *inah ~ enah* 'this' : pl. *inat ~ enad* 'these'; *mun ~ munah* 'that' : pl. *munat ~ mutah ~ mutat* 'those', which have full declensional paradigms (Table 12.5). Additionally, there is *em ~ emmah* : pl. *emmas* 'such', for which no examples of oblique case forms are attested. Special forms, derivatives, and compounds based on the demonstrative pronouns include *enda ~ inda* 'here', *enakah* 'now', *enaudur ~ inaudur* 'today' ('this'+'day').

The genitive of the personal and demonstrative pronouns indicates the possessor. The possessive relationship can also be expressed by the Persian *ezafe* construction, e.g. *na't-i ti* 'his description', *uku-ku-sah-i ti* 'from his dying'. Alternatively, the nominative forms of the personal pronouns can be used as possessive suffixes, e.g. *yåbåsh-bi* 'my repose'. The possessive suffix for the third person has the shapes *-i ~ -e ~ -ini ~ -ne ~ -neh ~ -ni*, e.g. *kelan-ni* 'his language', *joznud-neh* 'its parts'. The fact that it is a question of suffixes is confirmed by the orthography of Written Moghol, in which the pronominal elements are written contiguously with the preceding nominal stem (or case form).

The interrogative pronouns are: *emah ~ imah ~ imas* 'what', *ken ~ kiyan* 'who' : gen. (poss.) *kenaiki* 'whose'. Related forms and other interrogative words include *emadu ~ imadu ~ emaji ~ imaji ~ emagalah* 'why', *emaula-* 'to do what', *ked ~ keddu* 'how much', *keja* 'when', *oshtin* 'how'. The reflexive pronouns are: *orin* 'self' : dat. refl. *orin-du-nah* 'for oneself', or also refl. *usa-nah* 'self'.

VERBAL FORMS

Moghol preserves a formal and functional distinction between the basic spheres of imperative, participial, converbial, and finite indicative forms. Many of these categories

TABLE 12.4 MOGHOL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		1p.	2p.	3p.	
sg.	nom.	*bi*	*ci*	*i, ih, eh*	*ti*
	gen.	*mini, men*	*cini*	*ini, eni*	*teni*
		mennai	*cenai*	*ennai*	*tennai*
		nami			
	acc.	*nami*	*cemai*		
		meni	*ceni*	*enni*	*tenni*
			ce'i		*ti'i, te'i*
	dat.	*nandu*			*tindu, tendu*
		minandu	*cenandu*		*tinandu*
				enidu	
		bidu	*cidu*		*tidu*
		du bi	*du ci*		*du ti*
	abl.	*namasah*			
		minasah	*cinasah*	*ennasah*	*tinnasah*
			cinsah		
		bisah	*cisah*		*tisah*
		sah bi	*sah ci*		*sah ti*
	instr.	*namangar*	*cenangar*		*tinangar*
					tengar
					tenar
	com.	*bilah*			

		excl.	incl.		
pl.	nom.	*mån*	*bidah, bidat*	*tå, tåd*	*tid, tit*
	acc.		*bidani*	*tåni*	
			bidati	*tåti*	*titi*
			bida'i		
	gen.	*måni*	*bidani*	*tåni*	
			bidatai	*tådai, tåtai*	*tidai, titai*
	dat.		*bidandu*	*tåndu*	*tiddu*
			bidatu	*tåtu*	
			bidattu		*tittu*
					du tit
	abl.		*bidanasah*	*tånasah*	*tidasah*
					tidsah
			sah bidah		*sah tid*
	instr.		*bidar*	*tånar*	*tidar, titar*
			bidatar		

are, however, represented by a relatively small number of actual forms. As a special development, Moghol also has a kind of subjunctive modal paradigm.

The basic unmarked verbal stem functions as the simple imperative for the second person (both singular and plural), e.g. *bari* (*bari*-Ø) 'take!'. Other imperative forms have been restructured into what may be synchronically analysed as a separate imperative (or

TABLE 12.5 MOGHOL DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

		'this'		'that'
sg.	nom.	*inah*	*enah*	*mun, munah*
	gen.		*enai, enani*	*munnai*
	acc.		*eni*	*munni*
	dat.		*enandu, enatu*	*munandu, munadu* *du munah*
	abl.		*ennasah* *enadasa*	*munnasah*
	instr.		*enangar*	*munangar*
pl.	nom.	*inat*	*enad*	*munat, mutah, mutat*
	gen.		*enati*	*munatai*
	acc.		*enati*	*munati, mutati*
	dat.		*enatu*	
				du munat
	abl.		*enadasah*	*munatsah*
	instr.		*enatar*	*munatar*

TABLE 12.6 MOGHOL NON-FINITE VERBAL MARKERS

			pl.
part.	fut.	*-ku*	
	perf.	*-xsan, -xsah*	*-xsad, -xsat, -xsaz, -xsanåt*
	ag.	*-xci*	*-xcid, -xcit, -xcis, -xciz, -xciyåt*
conv.	imperf.	*-zhi, -ci*	

necessive) personal conjugation, with each person marked by a distinct suffix (see the section on Predicative Personal Conjugation below).

The non-finite forms are represented by three participles and a single converb (Table 12.6). The participles are the futuritive participle in *-ku*, the perfective participle in *-xsan*, *-xsah*, and the agentive participle in *-xci*, while the only surviving converb is the imperfective converb in *-zhi* (after vowels) or *-ci* (after consonants). The suffixes of the perfective and agentive participles (beginning with a consonant cluster) require the presence of the connective vowel *u* or *o* after consonant stems. These two participles also have separate sets of plural forms.

The futuritive participle functions (1) as the canonical basic form (entry form) of verbs in dictionaries and word lists, (2) as an independent substantive (pl. *kuz*) 'some, somebody; person; being; existence', (3) as a verbal substantive, e.g. *ugha-ku* '(the) washing', and (4) as a verbal adjective corresponding to a relative clause. The perfective participle functions as *nomen patientis*, e.g. *etka-xsah* '(one that has been) cut' from *etka-* 'to cut', *åsrå-xsan* '(one that has been) saved' from *åsrå-* 'to save, to protect', pl. *jåru-xsa-t* 'envoys' from *jåru-* 'to send', *audål/o-xsan-åt* 'creatures' from *audål-* 'to create'. The agentive participle functions as *nomen agentis*, e.g. *orinzha-xci* 'selfish person' from *orinzha-* 'to be selfish', pl. *tålå-xci-z* 'those who are counting' from *tålå-* 'to count', *ida-xci-yåt* 'those who are eating, eaters' from *ida-* 'to eat'.

TABLE 12.7 MOGHOL FINITE TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

		vx
narr.	[-*m* : -*n*]	I
dur.	-*na*, -*n*	II
term.	-*ba*, -*bå*, -*pa*, -*på*	III
conf.	-*la*, -*lå*	III
res.	-*zha*, -*zhå*, -*ca*, -*cå*	IV

The imperfective converb expresses either (1) an action performed simultaneously with the main action, e.g. *boz-ci ira-ba-h* 'he stood up and came', or (2) the manner in which the main action is performed, e.g. *uila-zhi ga-ba-h* 'he said weeping'. The converb is, however, not very commonly attested in the Moghol data.

In the finite indicative conjugation, Moghol has five suffixally marked temporal-aspectual forms (Table 12.7). The suffixes represent the Common Mongolic narrative, durative, terminative, confirmative, and resultative markers, though their synchronic functions in Moghol show idiosyncratic developments. All temporal-aspectual forms are conjugated in persons in fixed combinations with four sets of personal markers (I to IV). The terminative and resultative markers show an initial consonant alternation, with positionally conditioned variants for vowel stems (-*ba*, -*bå*, -*zha*, -*zhå*) and consonant stems (-*pa*, -*på*, -*ca*, -*cå*). The narrative and durative markers, on the other hand, require the presence of the connective vowel *u* or *o* after consonant stems.

The narrative marker -*m* : -*n* occupies morphologically a special position, in that it can also be analysed as being part of the personal endings. If this interpretation is adopted, the narrative turns out to have synchronically a zero marker (-Ø).

Functionally, the narrative forms a present tense (or aorist), e.g. *ida-* 'to eat' : narr. sg. 1p. *ida-m-bi* (or *ida-mbi*) 'I eat'. The durative, on the other hand, functions as a future (or present-future) tense, e.g. dur. sg. 1p. *ida-na-mbi* (or *ida-nam-bi*) 'I am going to eat, I will eat'. The remaining three forms also have mainly temporal functions, with the terminative functioning as an imperfect, the confirmative as a perfect, and the resultative as a pluperfect. The suffixes of these three forms show a systematic alternation between the two vowels *a* and *å*. Of these, *å* is used before the personal endings of the first person (all numbers), while *a* is used before endings of the other persons, e.g. term. sg. 1p. *ida-bå-bi* 'I ate' : sg. 2p. *ida-ba-ci* 'you ate' : conf. sg. 1p. *ida-lå-bi* 'I have eaten' : sg. 2p. *ida-la-ci* 'you have eaten' : pl. 1p. *ida-lå-bdah* 'we have eaten' : pl. 3p. *ida-la-nud* 'they have eaten' : res. sg. 1p. *ida-zhå-bi* 'I had eaten' : sg. 3p. *ida-zha-h* 'he had eaten'. Examples of a consonant stem: *acar-* 'to bring' : term. pl. 1p. *acar-på-bdah* 'we brought' : pl. 3p. *acar-pa-nud* 'they brought' : res. pl. 1p. *acar-cå-bdah* 'we had brought' : pl. 3p. *acar-ca-nud* 'they had brought'.

Sometimes more than one temporal-aspectual marker is attested in a single word. In such cases, the personal ending is attached to each suffix separately, suggesting that it may be a question of cliticization (or periphrastic conjugation), e.g. pass. caus. term. sg. 3p. + res. sg. 3p. *bari.ghda.l-pa-h=zha-h* 'he had caused [it] to be taken'.

The subjunctive conjugation is based on participles, to which the special subjunctive marker -*sa* (originally the marker of the conditional converb) is added, further followed by personal endings (III). Three different forms are attested, which may be described as the present, perfect, and passive perfect subjunctive. The present subjunctive incorporates the futuritive participle marker and has the complex ending -*ku-sa*, e.g. *ida-ku-sa-h*

'he would eat', though the simple ending *-qu* is also attested, e.g. *ida-qu-bi* 'I would eat'. The perfect subjunctive incorporates the perfective participle marker and has the ending *-xså-sa*, e.g. *ida-xså-sa-bi* 'I would have eaten'. The perfect passive subjunctive, finally, incorporates additionally the passive derivative suffix *.gh-* and has the ending *.gh-så-sa*, e.g. *ida.gh-så-sa-bi* 'I would have been eaten'.

PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Like several other Modern Mongolic languages, Moghol has a system of predicative personal endings, which are attached to the finite forms after the temporal-aspectual (or modal) markers. A specific feature of Moghol is, however, that the personal endings are differentiated for three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. It is true, the system is not complete, in that the distinction between the dual and the plural is only made in the second and third persons (vowel alternation *å : u*).

Diachronically, the personal endings are a heterogeneous collection of pronominal elements, nominal number markers, and obscured verbal suffixes. Altogether there are five different sets (Table 12.8), the first of which (I) is combined with the narrative marker *-m : -n*, the second (II) with the durative marker *-na*, the third (III) with the terminative and confirmative markers *-ba* resp. *-la* (with variants), and the fourth (IV) with the resultative marker *-zha* (with variants). The third set is also used with the subjunctive marker *-sa*, while the imperative conjugation, with no modal suffix, uses a fifth set of personal endings (V).

It is obvious from the data that the five sets of personal endings are multiply interdependent both synchronically and diachronically. There is a particularly close connection between the first and second sets, and also between the third and fourth sets. The fifth set, consisting mainly of restructured rudiments of the original system of imperative markers, is most different from the others. In this set, the Common Mongolic optative (1p. sg. *-su* < *-sU*), permissive (3p. *-gha/h* < *-gV*), voluntative (1p. du. *-ya/h* : pl. *-yan* < *-yA/n*), and benedictive (2p. du. *-tå* : pl. *-tu* ~ *-tuna* < *-gtUn*) can be immediately identified.

SYNTAX

Like the intonation patterns, the sentence structure of the Moghol language, both spoken and written, has been intensively influenced by the Tajik-Persian linguistic environment.

TABLE 12.8 MOGHOL PREDICATIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS

		I	II	III	IV	V
sg.	1p.	*-m-bi*	*[-na]-m-bi*	*-bi*	*-bi*	*-su*
	2p.	*-n-ci*	*[-na]-n-ci*	*-ci*	*-n-ci*	*-h*
	3p.	*-m -Ø*	*[-na]-h*	*-h*	*-h*	*-gha/h*
du.	1p.	*-m-da/h*	*[-na]-m-da/h*	*-bda/h*	*-bda/h*	*-ya/h*
	2p.	*-n-tå*	*[-na]-n-tå*	*-tå*	*-n-tå*	*-tå*
	3p.	*-m-nåd*	*[-na]-nåd*	*-nåd*	*-nåd*	*-gha/h*
pl.	1p.	*-m-da/h*	*[-na]-m-da/h*	*-bda/h*	*-bda/h*	*-yan*
	2p.	*-n-tu*	*[-na]-n-tu*	*-tu*	*-n-tu*	*-tu(na)*
	3p.	*-m-nud*	*[-na]-nud*	*-nåd*	*-nud*	*-gha/h*

The normal word order is subject–object–predicate (SOV), with the predicate slot being filled by either a finite verb or a predicatively used noun. There is regular agreement between the subject and the predicate with regard to number and person. The normal sentence may, however, be altered in poetic language in accordance with the rules of Persian metres, rhymes, and rhythms, which also had to be observed by a Moghol poet. For instance, to achieve the correct emphasis, the finite verb can be placed at the beginning of the sentence (VSO), as in *å mida-m daidån deksh ti ku-ᵓi kåfer bål/u-m* 'And God the Exalted knows this one who becomes an infidel.'

Another element of alien syntactic influence originates in the religious language derived from Arabic. Arabic elements, introduced by Moghol mullahs into their native language, have always been *farz* 'obligatory' for every Muslim in his religious life, and they have thus become effective also in the everyday life and language of the Moghol. The Persian-Arabic influence is responsible for the expression of hypotactic structures by using subordinate dependent clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions and relative pronouns, non-existent in most other Mongolic languages. The subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause. The following *subordinating conjunctions* are attested:

(*1*) *oghlah* 'that' (functionally corresponding to Arabic *anna*), introduces a consecutive nominal dependent clause, e.g. *å ulah gah-gh/u-m oghlah yad-ni cidån-i be-h* 'and it should not be said that his hand is his strength';

(*2*) *ul* 'so that' (also 'until', cf. Mongolic **ulam* 'further, still more'), introduces a final dependent clause, e.g. *du maktab såu.l-gha-h ul sah ᶜaqåᵓed tah awåmer wåcugh bol-ga-h* 'he should be placed in a school, so that he can be made aware of the articles of faith and the orders of communication';

(*3*) *munkeh* 'that' (from Moghol *mun* 'this' and Persian *keh* 'that'), introduces a consecutive dependent clause, e.g. '. . .*qunah munkeh ghar/u-m sah munah gaiti qoluc/o-xci* '. . .after he goes out of this world as a believer';

(*4*) *ul munkeh* 'until' (from *ul* and *munkeh*), introduces a terminal dependent clause, e.g. *wa esah jiji-zha-h sah ti ul munkeh oku-ba-h qoluc/o-xci ghar/u-xci bar oghlati tu eri-yi daidån dekh be-h* 'and he did not turn away from this until he died as a believer committing transgressions, so really he is under the volition of God the Exalted';

(*5*) *kull ghåt* 'when' (from Arabic *kull* 'all, every' and Moghol *ghåt* 'time'), introduces a temporal dependent clause, e.g. *kull ghåt kela-ba-h daidån deksh muså-i kela-ba-h te-ᵓi du kelanni* 'when God the Exalted spoke to Moses, he spoke to him in his language';

(*6*) *ticur* 'as soon as' (from Moghol *ti* 'this' + *ucur* 'time'), introduces a successive dependent clause, e.g. *å mida-m oghla ti oshtin å-m ticur å-lgha-h ti-ᵓi* 'and he knows how it is, as soon as he creates it';

(*7*) *sah* 'if' (identical with the subjunctive marker *-sa*, cf. similar forms in both Mongolic and Turkic), introduces a conditional dependent clause, e.g. *farz azhar sah ti nika-yah å-la-h å sah oroxshi lah be-la-h* 'Farz Azhar [must be recited] if he has been there himself alone, and if there has not been a precentor';

(*8*) *sin* 'even if, though', introduces a concessive dependent clause, e.g. *å lah ga-mdah oghlah ti mughatti-xsan be-h ti-du sin a-gha-h ghar/u-xci* 'and we do not say that he is one who is forever retained in it even if he becomes a transgressor';

(*9*) *mun agar sah* 'because' (from Moghol *mun* 'this' and Persian *agar* 'if', to which Moghol abl. *sah* 'from' is added), introduces a causal dependent clause, e.g. *å gaiti du kolkah joz-nud-neh moxdas be-h mun agar sah ti ᶜain-nud be-h* 'and the world is in all its parts created, because it consists of substances'.

Subordinate causal clauses can also be paraphrased in various ways. Two such para-phrases are *imah ga-zhi . . . ga-h . . .* 'saying what . . . one must say . . .' and *. . . ga-h eh be-h imah ga-la-h oghlah . . .* '. . . one must say it is what one had said that . . .', e.g. *imah ga-zhi du ti ga-h gaimahku-yi åyatur be-h* 'because in this [there] is the suspension of the attribute' (literally: '. . . saying what – in this – one must say – is the suspension of the attribute'), *å mun ga-h eh be-h imah ga-la-h oghlah daidån deksh mida-m lah ådål mida.gh mån* 'and this is, because God the Exalted knows not according to our knowl-edge' (literally: 'and this is – one must say it is what one had said – that God the Exalted knows not according to our knowledge').

Relative words introducing subordinate *relative clauses* include: *ti* 'which', e.g. *du kelan ti sifat bar ti-ˀi be-h* 'by means of the speaking which is an attribute with him'; *imah ~ timah* (*ti+imah*) 'what, [the one] that, [he] who', e.g. *ti imah-du mida-na-h daidån* 'this, by what means God will know', *å timah såyar be-h* 'and that which is worthy of belief', *ådål timah dekr ki-ba-h* 'like he who mentioned it', *å timah ådåli-ne be-h* 'and that which is similar to it'; *ku* 'who', e.g. *har ku enni ura-sa-yah ga-ba-h mumen sådiq be-na-h* 'everybody who recited this from his heart will be a sincere believer'.

For the expression of *negation* Moghol uses the following negative particles of Common Mongolic origin, all of which are placed before, and in some cases prefixed to, the word to be negated: *ulah ~ ula- ~ ul- ~ lah ~ la-* 'not'; *ugai*(-) *~ gai*(-) 'not, without'; *essah ~ essa ~ esah ~ sa-* 'not'. Additionally, the Persian preposition *bi* 'without' is used. The negation of nominal words, including nominal forms of verbs (participles), takes place with *bi*, *lah*, *ugai ~ gai*, e.g. *bi ci* 'without you', *bi jonun* 'without madness', *lah or/o.xsh-i lah quina.xsh-i* 'not the forward, not the backward', *lah nudun-du ugai cekin-du* 'to the one without eyes and without ears', *gai ådål* 'unlike'. In the finite conjugation, the particle *ulah ~ ula- ~ ul- ~ lah ~ la-* is used to negate the narrative and durative forms, e.g. *ulah bai-m ulah lula-na-h* 'he does not stay and he will not rotate', *ceni ula-uzha-na-mbi* 'I will not see you', *ul-årå-m* 'he does not enter', *lah anqas/u-m lah ulas/u-m* 'he is not hungry, nor thirsty', *la-mida-mbi* 'I do not know'. The negation of existence is expressed as *ugai+be-h ~ gai+be-h* 'it is not, there is not; does not exist' (with the cop-ula *+be-h*). The other finite forms are negated by *bi*, *lah*, or *essah ~ essa ~ esah ~ sa-*, e.g. *bi dur-pa-ci* 'you did not burn', *lah be-la-h* 'has not been', *essah ida-ba-nud* 'they did not eat'; *sa-ira-zha-nci* 'you were not coming'. The prohibitive (negative imperative) is expressed by the (Mongolic) particle *bi*(-) or *be*(-), e.g. *bi tus-gha* 'he must not touch'; *be-dur.ga-l.gha-tu* 'you must not allow him to get burned'.

LEXICON

The intensive language contact with the Iranian environment has particularly profound-ly influenced the Moghol lexicon. More than 70 per cent of the words used in Moghol are of Persian-Arabic origin. The Moghol lexicon comprises, therefore, (1) native Mongolic words, (2) loanwords from Persian-Arabic, (3) 'Mogholizations' (Moghol adaptations) of foreign words, and (4) loan translations. A study of the early Moghol word lists beginning with Leech (1838) reveals relatively little of the development of the lexicon, though the variation observable in the material may reflect some diachronic or dialectal patterns (see the section on Dialects above).

Owing to the impact of the Islamic society, many ordinary words borrowed from Persian are used as technical terms even in everyday life, e.g. *namâz* 'devotional exer-cise of the prescribed prayer'. Some such terms have, however, been replaced by loan translations, e.g. *usunghar* for Persian *âbdast* 'ablution'. Similar loan translations have

been made for some special terms of Islamic theology, e.g. *unang coqu-håt* for Arabic *khaqâ'iq* 'truth, sincerity (as the essence of a thing)'. On the other hand, items of non-religious idiomatic usage have also been adopted by way of loan translation, e.g. *nur-sah-i* for Persian *az rû-yi* 'on account of' (literally: 'from the face of'), as in *nur-sah-i mart* 'on account of forgetting'.

Even verbal morphological patterns have occasionally been translated from Persian. An interesting example is offered by the documented use of the Moghol plain verbal stem *tom* 'to cut' as a past tense form in the sense 'he has cut', replacing the normal conjugated form term. sg. 3p. *tom/u-ba-h* 'he has cut'. The reason is that the Persian counterpart of Moghol *tom-* 'to cut' is *ciid*, which happens to function both as the general preterite stem of the verb and as the specific personal form sg. 3p. 'he has cut'.

Against this massive alien influence, there are examples which suggest that the Moghol in some cases may have tried to avoid Persian loanwords by using native paraphrases, e.g. *usun-i dotana.ki-ni* 'the one being inside the water' for Persian *morghâbi* 'duck', *usun-i nure.ki* 'the one being on the face of the water' for Persian *kashti* 'boat', *bughur-i sundun-i* 'tooth of the mouse' for Persian *berenj* 'rice'. The reasons underlying such paraphrases may be connected with some unknown social or cultural factors. Similar factors may underlie the 'Mogholized' shapes of certain loanwords, e.g. *mahtoi* 'moon' for Persian *mâh* id. (the native Moghol word is *caqel* or *ceqeldaur*).

Altogether, the remarkable impact of the non-Mongolic linguistic environment on Moghol lexicon and grammar (syntax, morphosyntax, and even morphological structures like the *ezafe* construction) make Moghol look like a true Inner Asian creole language, worthy of careful study in its areal setting.

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