

REVIEW ARTICLE

ÖNÖRBAYAN, C.: *Orčin cagiin mongol xelnii üil üg bütex yos. Dagavariin argaar bütex yos.* Ulaanbaatar, 2000. 174 pages.

Önörbayan has been researching the Mongolian word formation for a long time. From his earlier works his *Orčin cagiin üg bütex yos* (Ulaanbaatar, 1978), *Mongol xelnii üil ügiin tölöv jaxirax xüsex tölöviin tuxai* (Ulaanbaatar, 1981), *Ügsiin aimag, tüüniig jaax* (Ulaanbaatar, 1982), and *Orčin cagiin mongol xelnii üg jüi* (Ulaanbaatar, 1998) must be mentioned. In the year 2000 in Ulaanbaatar a new book of Önörbayan was published on modern Mongolian word-formation, in which he examines a morphological field, namely the formation of Modern Mongolian (Khalkha) verbs. In fact, this is his dissertation for the degree of candidate of science, defended in 1987 in Budapest, not published up to now – just a short summary had appeared in English in the 42nd volume of the *AOH* (307–320) with the title *Verb Formation in Modern Mongolian (Khalkha) Language*.

The book consists of an introduction (pp. 3–19); the first part which deals with the verb formation from free stems (pp. 20–62); the second part which deals with the verb formation from bound stems (pp. 63–129); the summary (pp. 130–140); the bibliography (pp. 140–147) and an appendix (pp. 148–171).

In the introduction Önörbayan drafts his aim of research, namely the characterisation

of verb formation by the way of suffixation, and researching the relation between the stem and the suffix. Then he presents the ways of Mongolian verb formation, and the short history of earlier researches made on this topic. Because he sets out from the definition that the morpheme after the stem is the suffix (p. 13), he discusses at great length the difference between the inflectional suffixes (Mong. *nöxcöl*) and word-forming suffixes (Mong. *dagavar*).

According to the former Mongolian grammars, the author divides the words into two groups. To the first group belong the so-called free stems (Khalkha *čölööt yajguur*), to the other belong the so-called bound stems (Khalkha *čölööt biš yajguur*). In Önörbayans' definition, the free stems can take on inflectional suffixes, while the bound stems cannot, they take on only word-forming suffixes (p. 18).

The first part of the work describes the verb formation from the so-called free stems. Here Önörbayan distinguishes some groups and sub-groups within which the suffixes are discussed. The first group is the verb formation from nominal stems (pp. 21–47) with the sub-groups of transitive verbs (p. 22) including the suffixes *+l-* (pp. 22–27) e.g. *savla-* ‘to put in a container, bag sack’, *jaxal-* ‘to hem’, *argal-* ‘to find a way out’, *tool-* ‘to count’; *+d-* (pp. 27–29) e.g. *jolood-* ‘to lead, to drive’, *xaruuld-* ‘to plane’, *biliüüd-* ‘to grind’; *+čil-* (pp. 29–31) e.g.

jagascil- ‘to fish’, *gajarčil-* ‘to show the way, guide’; +šAA- (pp. 31–32) e.g. *tövögšöö-* ‘to consider difficult’, *berxšee-* ‘to consider difficult’, *muušaa-* ‘to blame, to slander’, while the second sub-group deals with the intransitive verbs (p. 32) including the suffixes +r- (pp. 33–35) e.g. *tomor-* ‘to become large’, *xaluur-* ‘to burn, to have fever’; +d-/+s- (pp. 35–38) e.g. *bagad-* ‘to be small’ / *bagas-* ‘to become smaller’, *öndörd-* ‘to be too high’ / *öndörs-* ‘to become higher’; +j- (pp. 38–39) e.g. *bayaj-* ‘to become rich’, *xatuuj-* ‘to endure, to strengthen oneself’; +š- (pp. 39–41) e.g. *borooš-* ‘to become rainy’, *ünemš-* ‘to believe or accept as true, trust’; +rx- (pp. 41–43) e.g. *sairx-* ‘to boast, brag’, *küčürke-* ‘to use force, show violence’; +t- (pp. 43–44) e.g. *gemt-* ‘to be injured or damaged’, *örömt-* ‘to become covered with scum or fat on the surface’; +s- (pp. 44–45) e.g. *undaas-* ‘to be thirsty’, *xams-* ‘to be united’; +c- (pp. 45–46) e.g. *jugaac-* ‘to amuse, divert, to refresh oneself, take the air’; +jir- (pp. 46–47) e.g. *sajir-* ‘to become better, progress’, *angijir-* ‘to detach oneself, to separate from’; +šir- (p. 47) e.g. *taivšir-* ‘to become peaceful’ *sanaašir-* ‘to think constantly’.

To the second group of verb formation from free stems belong to the deverbal verbs. This group is divided into the sub-groups of transitive and intransitive verb-forming suffixes. The first sub-group deals with the transitive verb-forming -UUl- and its variants (pp. 53–57) e.g. *üjüüll-* ‘to show’, *uulga-* ‘to cause or give to drink’, *salga-* ‘to separate, divide’, *xataa-* ‘causative of to dry’; -lc- (pp. 57–58) e.g. *yarile-* ‘to speak, talk’, *suralc-* ‘to study, learn together’; -l- (pp. 58–59) e.g. *tatal-* ‘to pull repeatedly or all the time’, *devsel-* ‘frequentative of trample’ suffixes, while in the other sub-group we find the intransitive -gd- (pp. 59–60) e.g. *xöögd-* ‘to be chased away’, *bodogd-* ‘to be considered’; -ld- (pp. 60–62) e.g. *margald-* ‘to argue’, *temceld-* ‘to fight, struggle for’; and -r- (p. 62) e.g. *evder-* ‘to break down, fall to pieces’, *böglör-* ‘to be stopped up’ suffixes.

The second part of the book deals with verb formation from the so-called bound stems. On

a semantical base the bound stems were divided into two groups by Önörbayan, to the first pertain the onomatopoeic stems, to the second belong those stems of which the phonetic form depicts a phenomenon, e.g. the external features of things or human beings. He deals firstly with the transitive suffixes of onomatopoeic stems according to whether the action described by the verb takes place once: suffix +l- (pp. 71–75) e.g. *xugal-* ‘to break in two (long objects)’, *tasal-* ‘to break apart’, *sugal-* ‘to pull out, pluck out’; or is a repeated action: suffix +č- (pp. 75–77) e.g. *sugač-* ‘to pull out one by one’, *xugač-* ‘to break into pieces’. Önörbayan found one intransitive suffix, the +r- (pp. 77–80) e.g. *tongor-* ‘to turn or tumble over’, *cuur-* ‘to split, crack’ as a verb-forming suffix added to onomatopoeic stems.

Dealing with the verbs describing external features of things or human beings, the author discusses their structure (pp. 83–90). One of the main results of this work is that the degree of closing of vowels, inserted into a consonant chain sequence, carries a well-determined semantical role. E.g. in the case of the xV_1lxV_2i -chain sequence: *xalxai-* ‘wide cloth hangs loosely’, *xelxii-* ‘to be baggy’, *xolxoi-* ‘to be inflated’, *xülxii-* ‘potbelly is hanging’.

In this group it is also possible to classify suffixes according to the duration of actions described by the formed verbs: a) the action occurs once during a long period – suffix +Ai- (p. 102) e.g. *gedii-* ‘to bend backwards’; b) the action occurs once, but during a very short period – suffix +sxii- (pp. 104–107) e.g. *gedesxii-* ‘to make a sudden movement backward’; c) the action happens during a long period and is repeated – suffix +lj- (pp. 107–110) e.g. *gyalalj-* ‘to shine, blink’; d) the action happens during a short period and is repeated – suffix +gAnA- (pp. 111–113) e.g. *arjgana-* ‘frequentative of to be awkward or clumsy’.

The last group of verb-forming suffixes within the suffixes added to bound stems are those attached to sound imitating stems. These suffixes being rarely mentioned in Mongolian grammars, I think it is useful to list them here and show their function:

1. *+xii-* (pp. 123–124) F: to form verbs which describe sounding once a certain sound or noise. e.g. *lügxii-* ‘throb, plump’, *časxii-* ‘scream’. Önörbayan derives this suffix from the verb *keme-* > *ke'e-* > Khalkha *ge-* ‘to say’. In my opinion it is more likely to derive from the verb *ki-* ‘to do something’. Önörbayan also thought about the verb *ki-* ‘to do’, but he rejects this idea because in his opinion if the verb *ki-* is transitive, then the derivatives of the suffix *-xii-* must be transitive too. Önörbayans’ reasoning is not convincing, because the verb *keme-* is also transitive, and deriving the suffix from the verb *ki-* is supported also by Written Mongolian examples (*čuqus ki-* ‘to appear and vanish’ (Lessing 209); *uqus ki-* ‘to dash forward, jump up from one’s place’ (Lessing 893), and by the fact that Modern Mongolian form of the verb *ki-* is *xii-*. If we accept deriving it from the verb *keme-*, the difference between the vowels of the original verb and the suffix formed from it also remains as a problem.
 2. *+gi-* (pp. 124–125): This suffix is added to sound-imitating stems describing rumbling. e.g. *šuugi-* ‘to whistle, howl’, *jirge-* ‘to chirp’. Önörbayan derives it from the verb *keme-* ‘to say’, in spite of the fact, that a part of the former literature derived it from the verb *ki-* ‘to do’.
 3. *+ginA-* (p. 125–127): If this suffix is added to a sound-imitating stem, then the meaning of the verb will be ‘a certain sound is repeated like an echo’, e.g. *sengene-* ‘to sing (of wind)’, *xangina-* ‘to sound, ring’. Önörbayan mentions that earlier this suffix was confused with the suffix *+gAnA-*, but this is wrong on a semantical basis, because the latter forms verbs describing external features of things or human beings.
 4. *+xir-* (p. 126): This suffix can be added only to sound-imitating stems denoting strong sounds of animals and human beings, e.g. *xorxir-* ‘to snore’, *arxir-* ‘to growl’.
 5. *+jignA-/čignA* (pp. 126–128): This suffix forms verbs which denote a long, repeating action of a sound effect, e.g. *xarjigna-* ‘to jangle, clang’, *šarjigna-* ‘to sizzle’. This suffix is interesting for its compositeness, because its *-č-* element denotes that this is a repetitive action, and its *-gnA-* < *-ginA* element denotes that the action goes on for a long period.
 6. The suffix *+š-* forms verbs of repeating sound effects (p. 128). This suffix was earlier confused with the homonym *+š-* denominal verb suffix, e.g. *gunš-* ‘to talk with a twang’, *tagš-* ‘to beat, hit, click’.
 7. *+l-* (p. 129): Forms verbs of melodious sounds, e.g. *čarl-* ‘to keep screaming’, *mail-* ‘to bleat’.
 8. *+r-* (p. 129): is added to sound-imitating stems denoting sounds of human beings, e.g. *möör-* ‘to low, trot’, *eer-* ‘to stammer’.
 9. The last suffix discussed by Önörbayan is the *+tnA-* suffix (pp. 129–130), which also forms verbs of human sound-imitating stems. e.g. *xyaxtna-* ‘to creak’.
- The discussion of the suffixes follows a uniform pattern, in this way making the book easier to use. Firstly Önörbayan lists the earlier literature on the suffix, then the function of the suffix, and its examples. Unfortunately, the functions of suffixes suggested by Önörbayan do not always fit with the examples given by him. Such is the function of the suffix *+r-*, which in Önörbayans’ definition is added to sound-imitating stems denoting sounds of human beings, but in his example, *möör-* ‘to low, trot’, the suffix is added to a sound-imitating stem denoting sounds of animals.
- The appendix is built up of three parts. The first (pp. 148–155) contains the examples of denominal verb formation, listed in the order of suffixes. The second (pp. 155–160) lists verbal stems according to their phonemic structure [*V-* (*VV-*, *Vi-*), *VC-*, *CV-*, *CVC-*, *VCC-*, *VCVC-*, *CVCV-*, *CVCVC-*, *CVCCV-*]. The third part of the appendix (pp. 161–166) lists the bound stems, and also contains a table showing which suffixes can be added to a certain bound stem.
- The causative suffixes are a very interesting field of the Mongolian word formation. In Önör-

bayans' work, according to the former grammars of Khalkha, they are discussed under the suffix *-UUL-* (pp. 53–57), because this is the most productive causative suffix. The *-lgA-*, *-gA-*, and *-AA-* suffixes are mentioned by him as variants of the suffix *-UUL-*. In my opinion, these suffixes are historically independent from each other, because they cannot be derived from each other. These suffixes cannot be used freely, their usage is determined by linguistic laws.

In Önörbayans' work we find the following system:

1. The *-UUL- < -*GUL-* causative suffix is added to verb-stems ending in short vowels or consonants (stems, which in the Written Mongolian end in a short vowel), e.g. *üjüül-* ‘to show’, *yavuul-* ‘to send’. To this definition it must be added that verbs ending in a short *-i-* always demand this suffix.
2. The *-lgA- < -*/GA-* causative suffix is added to verb-stems ending in long vowels or diphthongs, e.g. *uulga-* ‘to cause or give to drink’. We have to remark that in Written Mongolian the *-IGA-* suffix is demanded, when the verb ends in a *-GV-* sound group. Some modern examples already do not show this feature, e.g. *güilge-* ‘to cause to run’.
3. The *-gA⁴- < -*KA-* causative suffix is added to verb-stems ending in *-r-*, *-l-*, *-d-*, and *-s-*, e.g. *garga-* ‘to cause to go out’, *salga-* ‘to separate, divide’, *nisge-* ‘to cause to fly’.
4. The *-AA⁴- < -*GA-* causative suffix is added to stems ending in a consonant (*-C < CVⁱ*),

e.g. *asaa-* ‘to cause to burn’, *bertee-* ‘to injure, hurt’.

This system looks a little bit different in Written Mongolian language. Poppe in the 223rd–228th paragraphs of his *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Wiesbaden, 1954) cites two homophone *-GA-* causative suffixes. Beside their distributional rules, the only difference between them is that if the stem of a verb ends in a consonant then the vowel of the suffix is pronounced short (Khalkha *-gA⁴-*), and if the stem of the verb ends in a vowel, then the vowel of the suffix is pronounced long (Khalkha *-AA⁴-*). In my opinion, these two suffixes are not two homophone suffixes, only one. If we examine their distributional rules, then we do not find a common point, and the fact that the Literary Mongolian *VGV* sound group produces *long vowels* in modern Mongolian was what made Poppe to say that in one of the two suffixes the vowel is pronounced long.

Although Önörbayan does not mention it in connection with the suffix *-GA-*, it is worth mentioning that causative suffix *-IGA-* is a composite suffix, of which the first element is the *-I-* causative suffix (GWM §227), and the other is the above-mentioned *-GA-* suffix.

As a summary we can draw the conclusion that Önörbayans' precious work fills a hole in the field of Mongolian word formation, and in the future it will surely be used as a reference book in the research of the Khalkha language.

Béla Kempf