



## 現代ハルハモンゴル語の記述句構文と結果構文

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# Depictives and Resultatives in Modern Khalkh Mongolian

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## 現代ハルハモンゴル語の記述句構文と結果構文

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**Abstract** : This study explores the characteristics of depictives in Khalkh Mongolian using the data from a questionnaire and from a tiny literary corpus. First, the inner structure, the position within a clause and possible controllers are addressed, then structural and semantic constraints on the choice of subject vs. object controller are discussed. While topicality and telicity exert some influence, pragmatic factors can override the tendencies thus induced. Instrumental case marking on the adjective, on the other hand, still allows for two interpretations, but object-related readings seem to be caused by the interpretation of the accusative-marked noun phrase as subordinate clause subject. The contrasting zero marking seems to be neutral, while the dative marking is not discussed. Adjective resultatives are restricted to zero marking and predictable results of transitive predications, but are not the primary means to express resultative meaning.

**Key Words** : depictive, resultative, adverbial, adjectival, adjective, Khalkha Mongolian, instrumental case, zero marking

### 1.1 Introduction

In Mongolian language studies, in Europe or in Mongolia, the main area of research has been form, not function or distributional frequency.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, while formal similarity indicates a certain degree of semantic or functional similarity, different functional categories may be lumped together into one formal coding in a single language, or there may even be fuzzy borders between certain functions that conceal the existence of distinct formal coding for the more prototypical variants of

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<sup>1</sup> Here, I want to express my gratitude to some people who in one way or another contributed to improve this study: D. Jung, St. Georg, M. Bazarragča, B. Pürev-Očir, I. Ojuun and, most of all, some fifty Mongolian informants.

these functions. Thus, for a grammarian to properly describe a language, the research has to be based not on either function or form, but on both of them.

This study is intended to contribute to “deconstructing” the formal category of “Mongolian adjectival adverbials”. While the notion of adverbials proper has been addressed by Mongolian studies, two other constructions that may formally be coded in a similar fashion have not: depictives and resultatives. While a proper definition of depictives shall be given below, we first want to look at two examples from English:

(1) *She snapped her bag shut ...* Winkler 1997: 1, taken from a novel of J. Irving

(2) *If you ate an animal raw* Winkler 1997: 1, taken from a novel of H. Lee

In (1), the state of being shut is the result of the action of snapping. In (2), on the other hand, the animal would be being raw while it was eaten. Resultatives delimit an action and indicate affectedness, while depictives denote a background action or a (more often transitory) state. There is another crucial difference between (1) and (2): in the second clause, *raw* could be omitted, while this is not the case with *shut* in the first sentence, and it is not rare that resultative adjectives are incorporated into their verbal predicates. On this basis, it might be useful to describe resultatives as “complex predicates” and depictives as “secondary predications”<sup>2</sup> (Winkler 1997: 1-11, 81, 332). Like in English, we will see that depictives and resultatives may be coded alike in Mongolian. However, as “adjectival resultatives” are somewhat rare in Mongolian, the main concern of this study will be depictive adjectives: their relation to adverbials, their inner complexity and their relation to the main clause. Then, the structural coding of resultative adjectives and alternative constructions to express resultative meaning will be described. Finally, the different functions of adjectives in Mongolian will be compared according to their structural coding.

The data used in this study is of four different kinds: acceptability judgements of constructed sentences, either systematically elicited on the basis of a questionnaire in Ulaanbaatar (only on depictives) or directly asked from Mongolians living in Bonn when a question of concern arose, sentences from a tiny text corpus and sentences from the world wide web that were searched for certain letter sequences which were expected to produce evidence on certain problems. The survey and the text corpus will be described below. First, however, some relevant structural properties of Mongolian

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<sup>2</sup> “Syntactic adjunct” in Winkler’s terms; she somewhat confusingly takes up the customary label “secondary predication” as a label for both, while refuting that resultatives are “secondary predicates” in her analysis.

will be explained.

## 1.2 Some linguistic characteristics of Mongolian

This section will give a short sketch of Khalkh Mongolian characteristics that will be of relevance for this study.

Khalkh Mongolian is an exclusively suffixing agglutinative SOP language; the predicate is only very rarely followed by any adjuncts. No part of a narrative indicative clause except for its predicate has to be phonologically realized. There are three types of verbal suffixes: finite suffixes, participles that are used sentence-finally or attributively, and converbs that are used adverbially (...) or in sentence-linking. There is a case system consisting of eight to ten case enclitics: nominative (unmarked), accusative, dative-locative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, comitative and directive, and additionally “attributive” (< /n) and possibly the negation marker =*γγ* as “privative”. Comitative and =*γγ* are also used to derive adjectives from nouns.<sup>3</sup> The reflexive-possessive (marking the subject as “possessor” in the widest sense) and the personal-possessive clitic usually replace the accusative. An indefinite direct object isn’t marked either. Subjects of subordinate sentences are marked with the accusative, genitive, zero and rarely also with the ablative and instrumental. Adjectives with case enclitics are usually constitutive for noun phrases the noun of which was dropped<sup>4</sup>, but adjectives with the instrumental or dative may as well function adverbially.

### 1.3.1 The survey

This survey on depictives and its pre-test have been conducted in Ulaanbaatar during September and October 2006. They consist of sentences constructed by the author somewhat in accordance with but mostly not in direct relation to sentences from the literature on depictives from general linguistics. The sentences 1-5, 8-10 and 14-18 are concerned with the controller (see below) of the depictive, 11-13 with its internal structure and 6-7 with word order (for sentences in this section, see appendix I; in the running text, sentences from the questionnaire will be marked as “QU” and

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<sup>3</sup> For more details on this view, see Sechenbaatar (2003: 43-46) and Janhunen (2003: 27). -*γγ*, especially in -*лγγ* and -*хγγ*, sometimes functions pretty much like a converb. However, as -*хγγ* can be used attributively as well, it would be an oversimplification to call it a converbal suffix.

<sup>4</sup> Saitō (1999: 95-100) argues for ellipsis and against conversion. His main argument is that the case suffix alone wouldn’t be sufficient, but that the adjective must be understood as being a part of a greater entity, eg *сайныг\_нь* good=Acc=PPO ‘the good one of them’, *бүсгүйчүүдийн сайхныг* girl-Pl=Gen beautiful=Acc ‘the beautiful one of the girls’, *далайн гүнээр* ocean=Gen depth=Instr ‘through the depth of the sea’. In the light of Slater’s suggestion that case markers aren’t suffixes but clitics (see footnote 6), an analysis as ellipsis indeed seems preferable.

have the usual consecutive numbers).

After the pre-test conducted with 7 native speakers using 34 sentences, the original test with 19 sentences was conducted with 29 informants in individual interviews. The number of 19 sentences was chosen to accommodate to the span of attention of the interviewees as determined in the pre-test. The interviewees were recruited from three groups: 1. all the participants of a German beginner's course at the military university 2. students who were lingering around in the national university or waiting at a copy shop 3. sales people in small or middle-sized shops. Of every interviewee, name, age, current and previous occupations (and education, if not obvious from the occupation), place of origin and sex were recorded. The average age was about 31 years (average divergence almost 10 years); only seven persons were older than 31, three of them by a considerable margin; the remaining people were between 18 and 31 years of age. Regarding their occupation, the interviewees can be divided roughly into four groups: university graduates (9), military officers (6), students (8) and sales people (6). Sales people with a bachelor degree were counted as students, officers and sales people with a master or higher degree were counted as university graduates. All interviewees had had ten years of compulsory school. The interviewees (except for the eight military officers who were ordered to take part) were asked if they were willing to participate in a linguistic survey that would consist of several Mongolian sentences and take about fifteen minutes. When they agreed to take part (as the great majority did), the sentences were read to them and shown them in written form. They were made familiar with three possible categories of categorizing a sentence: *bolno* 'okay/you can say so', *hačin* 'strange', *šal buruu* 'completely wrong'. Then they were asked if they considered the sentence in question to be correct (mostly by *Ingež helž boloh uu?* 'Can you say so?'). If they came up with a smoother way of putting the sentence, they were referred back to the sentence in front of them. If they hesitated or accepted a sentence after a period of hesitation, they were asked whether this sentence was somewhat strange after all. When they categorized a sentence as wrong, they were asked to explain their judgement, if that judgement was either unexpected or of special concern (i.e. as in sentence 12). For sentence 14, a less vulgar-sounding alternative was offered as an alternative. They were furthermore asked to which participant the adjective is related (eg *Dorž sogtuu jum uu esvel Ojuun sogtuu jum uu esvel ted hoër sogtuu jum uu, esvel todorhoj biš?* 'Is Dorž drunk or is Ojuun drunk, or are they both drunk, or is it unclear [who is drunk]?'). If a sentence could be interpreted, but was not acceptable anyway, the controller was noted if the informant mentioned it, but it was only explicitly asked for in the case of the sentences 9 and 10. Afterwards, the aforementioned personal data was asked. In four cases of people who had agreed to

participate, it was impossible to conduct the survey. Three of those were about 50 years of age and did not seem to have a basic understanding of the procedure or the sense in it. The fourth person was a young man who willingly gave completely unpredictable answers and in some sentences identified participants as controllers that did not agree with those mentioned in those sentences, but wasn't able to point out why he proposed these controllers either.

### 1.3.2 The written corpus

To supplement the survey and validate its findings, a few texts were read for depictive adjectives occurring in them. These texts were the first eight chapters of the novel “Seksijn haančlal ba er emijn durlal-3” (“CX”) by Š. Biligsajhan, p. 10-90, the short story “Har gegee” (“XG”) by N. Norov, the first subchapter of D. Čodnom's memoirs “Am'dral, bodol” (“AB”), pp. 28-42 (all three books DIN A 5) and the daily newspaper Nijgmijn tol' of October the 9<sup>th</sup> 2006 (“NT”) (12 pages DIN A 2, a little more than half of it text). The poems from Biligsajhan's book (together with some pictures making up for about 14 of the pages) were excluded from analysis.

While the number of words is hard to estimate and would have had to be counted manually, the relative text frequency of adjective depictives per DIN A 5 page can be compared: CX: 0,83; XG: 0,43; AB: 0,33; NT: 0,17 (not counting the 14 pages from CX and assuming 48 DIN A 5 pages for NT). While this remains a very rough comparison and has no statistical relevance whatsoever (also because of the small size of the sample), it appears that depictives are more frequent in literary texts, and that a great number of the depictives in the non-fictional texts are made up of quantitative depictives. However, only those depictives have been counted that could only be interpreted as depictives, thus excluding any ambiguous cases.

## 2.1 Depictives and adverbials

In this section we will deal with the relation and similarity between depictives and adverbials, elaborating on depictivity as a semantic phenomenon. Finally, we will adopt a rather strict formal definition of depictives for the rest of this essay.

A prototypical adjectival depictive sentence in Mongolian is (3):

(3) *Лена бүсгүй нүцгэн унтах дуртай.*

Lena girl naked sleep-PA1 like(Adj)

'The girl Lena likes to sleep naked.' CX 46

Here, Lena is the subject of *нүцгэн* as well as of *унтах*. *нүцгэн* does not specify the way in which the sleeping takes place, but a condition the subject assumes while

sleeping. Thus, it is clearly distinct from an adverbial that specifies the fashion in which an action takes place. On the other hand, (4) is unambiguously an example of an adverbial:

- (4) ... *ах\_нь*                      *бүр*              *хурдан яриж*              *байсан*      *болохоор* ...<sup>5</sup>  
 older\_brother=PPO extremely fast      speak-KV1 COP-PA2 because  
 ‘as he was talking very fast’ Internet

*хурдан* can only specify the manner in which the talking takes place; it is impossible to infer from this clause that the older brother is a fast person. Of course, there are cases less obviously depictive or adverbial than the above-mentioned ones. In a sentence like

- (5) *Саруул*      *янаглангуй гинших\_нь*      *түүний тачааллыг улам бадрааж*, ...  
 Saruul(female) tender moan-PA1=<sup>6</sup>NOM he\_Gen desire=Acc more promote-KV1  
 ‘Saruul’s<sub>i</sub> moaning tenderly only incited his<sub>j</sub> desire even more ...’  
 N.N.: Ганцхан заяах амьдрал (story)<sup>7</sup>

it is irrelevant whether Saruul moaned out of a feeling of tenderness or in a tender way; in normal circumstances, both cases coincide. Thus, it cannot be decided whether (5) is “meant” to be a depictive or an adverbial, and the not insignificant number of such sentences will normally have to be excluded from analysis. This similarity, however, is not unexpected: Using a rather small sample of languages that encode depictive formally different from adverbials, Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann (2001: 120) preliminarily propose a continuum between depictive and adverbial constructions:

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<sup>5</sup> Sentences are reproduced just as in the original source including non-normative spellings.

<sup>6</sup> Slater (2003: 77-78, 106, 166) observes that Mongolian case markers attach to phrases rather than to certain syntactic categories in Mangghuer and that that might be true for other Mongolian languages as well. In a phrase like *Туяа Дорж хоёр* T. D. two ‘Tujaa and Dorž’, the case marker would be added to *хоёр*, while that word is not very likely to be a semantic head as it is not “the most contentful item that most closely profiles the same kind of thing that the whole constituent profiles” (Croft 2001: 254-259). Thus, it is appropriate to follow Slater’s suggestion and analyse case markers as clitics.

<sup>7</sup> <http://forum.orkhon.net/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=440>

<i>Morphosyntactic level</i>	General adjunct construction						
	Depictive construction			Adverbial construction			
<i>Semantic level</i>	Participant-oriented expression			Event-oriented expression			
	<i>Condition or State</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Concomitance</i>	<i>Comparison</i>	<i>Manner</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>

The definition of depictives chosen by Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann is coined for typological purposes and demands that the depictive denotes the temporal background of the main predicate, is controlled by a participant (not necessarily complement) of the main predicate, constitutes a predication at least partly independent from the main predication (but without marking tense or mood), is no complement of the predicate and no adverbial and belongs to the same prosodic unit as the main predicate (2001: 77-78).

Such a definition does cover constructs like (6) and (7):

(6) *Би хувийн сургуульд ... багшаар ажилладаг.*

I private school=Dat teacher=Instr work-PA4

'I work as a teacher at a private school.' Zuunij medee, 2006-6-06

(7) *Залуу айн хурдаа нэмсэн боловч яг ард\_нь яваад л байж.*

guy fear-KV3 speed-REF add-PA2 although exactly behind go-KV2 FO COP-FV3

'Although the guy put his foot down in fear, she constantly remained running exactly behind him.' joke from the Internet

In (6), the obligatory instrumental case doesn't denote the manner in which the subject works ("like a teacher"), but the profession he exerts while he is teaching, thus constituting a depictive secondary predication. Principally, the KV3 used in (7) might be understood as sequential, simultaneous or adverbial; the second interpretation is the most common (Šinžleh uhaanij akademi 1966: 169-170). As an adverbial interpretation is not that likely ("put his foot down in a manner expressing fear"), the subject indeed *was* in a state of fear, and if he failed to cease to be afraid in order to be able to put his foot down more properly, he was being in fear simultaneously to putting his foot down, and thus this is a depictive as well.

The gradual difference between depictives and adverbials semantically widens the number of possible depictives. Next to „condition or state“, there are the categories “quantity”, “concomitance” and “comparison”, as well as “time”, and even “manner”



(see (5) above) and “location”:

- (8) *Тэд\_нар зургуул* *ирсэн.*  
 they six-collective\_suffix\_for\_numerals come-PA2  
 ‘The six of them came.’ Tserenpil and Kullmann 2005: 244
- (9) *Алтанхуяг авгайтайгаа хүүхэн зардаг.*  
 Altanhuyag wife-Kom-REF girl employ/sell-PA4  
 ‘Together with his wife, Altanhuyag employs [some] gals.’ CX 62
- (10) ... *Mongolchuudiig mal shig alj\_talj, shorond hiideg болсон*  
 Mongolian-Pl=Acc cattle like harry-KV1 prison=Dat do-PA4 become-PA2  
*baina даа.*  
 COP-FV1 MP  
 ‘[They] finally came to harry and throw into prison the Mongolians like cattle!’  
 Internet
- (11) *Харин би\_чинь багадаа ... хүүхэд өлгийдөж сураагүй хүн шүү.*  
 but I=PPO small=Dat=REF child cradle-KV1 learn-PA3-NEG person MP  
 ‘But I am somebody who didn’t learn how to cradle a baby in my childhood.’  
 XG 177
- (12) *wie in dem Lied von dem Mädchen aus B., ... das dann in ihren Schlittschuhen am Ufer gefunden wurde*  
 ‘As in the song about the girl from B. who ... was then found in her skates on the bank.’ Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann 2004: 116, from Die Zeit, 2000-03-30

In (8), a numeral functions as depictive for quantity: each of the subjects was part of a group of six people when performing her or his arrival. In (9), the prototypical noun in the comitative expresses concomitance: he is together with his wife, and he as well as his wife engages in employing girls. In (10), the comparison is less about the exact manner of killing – it is unlikely that the writer wants to imply that the carnage took place with stud guns and similar utensils for killing domesticated animals – but instead about the Mongolians being killed as if they *were* only cattle that are killed customarily and not human beings whom one usually more readily refrains from killing. In (11), the event takes place while the subject was being small, that is, being young, that is, in the past. The more common such a phrase is, the more we may assume it to be a direct reference to time. The example in (12) is likely to be possible in Mongolian as well and is a convincing case for a locative depictive; a fitting paraphrase would be

- (13) *das dann am Ufer gefunden wurde, während sie noch ihre Schlittschuhe anhatte*  
'who then was found on the river bank while she was still wearing her skates'  
constructed, 2 informants

In section 4 it will become clear why any reasonable further investigation into constructs like in (10) would encounter a thorough syntactic problem requiring further and typologically oriented study. Furthermore, the scope of an investigation taking into account verbal depictives would have to distinguish between clause-chaining and adverbiality, and thus would have to deal with the problem of subordination. As has been shown for Mangghuer and would be true for Khalkh as well, a framework for defining subcategorization as Haspelmath's (1995: 7-8, 12-17) is difficult to apply to Mongolic (Slater 2003: 224-231, 243-274), and while "restrictiveness and focusability" (Haspelmath 1995: 15-17) might still be promising criteria, I am not aware of a study that could provide the conceptual foundation for such an approach. For these reasons, we will restrict this study to depictives with the constituent structure (NP<sub>1</sub>)(NP<sub>2</sub>) AdjP V, and the prosodic criterion shall be excluded while excluding full-scale "depictive clauses" nevertheless. The noun that takes the depictive adjective as its predication will be called "controller", and both the adjective and its controller will be indicated by bold-face if the controller is unanimously agreed upon by native speakers or obvious from the context.

## 2.2 Internal complexity of the depictive phrase

In this section, it will be discussed whether depictive phrases may have a complex inner structure, that is, whether they can be compared, coordinated, modified, negated and have syntactic complements.

Negation was tested with (14) and proved to be possible while improbable, as it doesn't appear to make much sense to negate any depictive adjectives:

- (14) *Би загасыг түүхий биш идсэн.*  
I fish=Acc raw NEG eat-PA2  
'I didn't eat *the fish raw*.' QU

20 informants accept<sup>8</sup> (14), and those who don't reject its applicability because of

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<sup>8</sup> Because intuition can surely not constitute the basis for a differentiation between grammaticality and acceptability (in a given context of reception), as "grammaticality" escapes the intuition of native speakers (eg Labov 1975: 34-36), and text frequency is inappropriate as well (eg Sampson 2007), it seems appropriate to reject the notion of grammaticality altogether and to talk about acceptability

lexical alternatives such as *болгож* ‘cooked’ that was proposed by 5 of the 20 informants as well. That is somewhat surprising, as it is not attested that *биш* can be used behind an adjective that is followed by a lexical verb (for an account on the functions of *биш* see Bjambasan 2001: 15-18 and in addition Yu 1991: 138)<sup>9</sup>. It might be possible that this construct is possible as an extension of some construction, but not actually used, so that the specific way of confirming acceptability applied in the survey led to other results than might have been arrived at by asking something like ‘Do people say so?’, ‘Would you use this sentence?’ instead of ‘Can you say so?’. In addition, it must be emphasized that *биш* only negates the word or phrase directly preceding it. For the fish not to have been eaten at all, the main predicate would have to be negated. Thus, it would also difficult to find a context where the negation of the adjective could not be replaced by some lexical alternative (the setting of a sushi restaurant didn’t convince most doubters either – you don’t eat fish raw, never).

(15) *Би Доржийг найз\_охинтойгоо нүцгэн бөгөөд жаахан согтуу сексдэхийг*

I Dorž=Acc girlfriend=Kom naked and a\_little drunk fuck-Acc

*олсон.*

find-PA2

‘I found Dorž as he was fucking with his girlfriend naked and a little drunk.’ QU

All informants accept (15). Thus, the coordination of adjective predications with (or without<sup>10</sup>) conjunctions and their modification is possible and so is a depictive predication within a subordinated clause. The corpus includes quite a few other examples of modification, including reduplication such as in (21) or government as in

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only. An appropriate context or the speaker’s attention to a semantic nuance not realized previously can turn an unacceptable sentence into an acceptable one. A grammatical sentence would have to be grammatical under all circumstances, but as grammar is more likely subject to an evolution (Hopper 1987) rather than to some universal “universal grammar”, there’d be no heuristic tools for the linguist to determine grammaticality (Sampson 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Erdenimöngke (pers. comm.) told me that he often heard sentences like *Бид архи муу биш уусан* we alcohol bad NEG drink-PA2 ‘We had quite a few drinks.’ in Khorchin and added that he as an Ordos can say so as well. Three informants from Khalkha, on the other hand, said that they would say *Бид архи муугүй уусан* with the other negation marker instead.

<sup>10</sup> Tserenpil and Kullmann (2005: 214) suggest that a conjunction is obligatory within a predication containing more than one adjective. Three informants, asked if a variant of (15) containing no *бөгөөд* was correct, accepted it.

(16) and (17):

- (16) *Эсвэл хувь\_заяандаа итгээж, тэргүүн ихэмсэг явах уу?*  
or fortune=Dat=REF trust-KV1 head lofty go-PA1 FK  
'Or shall [I] walk around haughtily, full of trust into my luck?' CX 74
- (17) *Сэтгэлээрээ л баян амьдарвал ...*  
heart/mind=Instr=REF FO rich live-KV(conditional)  
'If one lives rich in feelings ...' CX 54

Like 'naked', the idiom *тэргүүн ихэмсэг* could never be interpreted purely adverbially, but either fulfils the function of an attributive clause or, as in this context, as a depictive. In (17), the depictive adjective may take a complement in the instrumental. Let's now take a look at comparison:

- (18) *Би Доржийг Оюунаас илүү согтуу олсон.*  
I Dorž=Acc Ojuun=Abl more drunk find=PA2  
'I found Dorž more drunk than Ojuun.' QU
- (19) *Дорж найзаа согтуу олсон.*  
Dorž friend=REF drunk find=PA2  
'Dorž found his friend drunk.' QU

Four informants feel that (18) is wrong and two think it is strange. Of those, three consider (19) to be strange or wrong, thus indicating that it is rather the semantics of the verb *ол*<sup>11</sup> and not the comparative construction itself that is to blame here. The remaining 23 informants accept (18), and of these, three reject (19) as strange or wrong. It might be the case that the clumsy use of *ол*- in (18) (and possibly (15) for that matter) doesn't strike the eye so much as its sentence structure is more complex and engaging than that of (19). But anyway, as there are 23 informants who accept (18), three informants we cannot say anything about and only three informants who reject it, it is maybe safe to say that depictive constructions involving the comparative

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<sup>11</sup> According to some native speakers, the verb *ол*- demands inanimate or, as some put it, "cast away" direct objects (that possibly have to be searched for). *согтуу* seems to fulfil this notion pretty well, as in case of the sentence *Би түүнийг өвчтэй олсон* I she\_Acc ill find=PA2 'I found her ill' QU, it is only eight people who accept it. However, it is not usual to see ill people lying around on the street in Ulaanbaatar, while drunken people quite frequently do. Thus, the sentence with *өвчтэй* is pragmatically implausible as well.

construction are as acceptable as any other complex depictives.

### 2.3 Position of the adjectival depictive in the sentence

This section deals with depictives not directly preceding the predicate. The previous examples have shown that the depictive adjective may directly precede the verb. (20) to (23) show other positions:

(20) *Нүцгэн би түүнийг олж харсан.*

naked I her\_Acc find-KV1 see-PA2

‘I found her naked.’ QU

(21) *амраг\_минь халуун хөнжилдөө нүв нүцгэн сонин уншаад л, ...*

lover=PPO warm blanket=Dat=REF RED naked paper read-KV2 FO

‘Under her warm blanket, my lover was reading the paper naked ...’

CX 11, 2 informants

(22) *би халамцуухан чиний гэрт очдог байсан.*

I drunk-diminutive you\_Gen home=Dat enter-PA3 COP-PA2

‘I used to enter your house a little drunk.’ CX 73, 2 informants

(23) *Би согтуу японы найзыг харсан.*

I drunk Japan=Gen friend=Acc see-PA2

‘I found the drunken Japanese friend.’ QU

(20) is rejected by 19 native speakers; of the remaining ten, six take the subject and four the object to be the controller of the adjective. A modification of pronouns by attributes is highly marked (Street 1963: 87). In spite of this, it seems plausible to interpret the comparatively high assumption rate of subject controllers as an interpretation as attribute. Unfortunately, given that (20) and (19) don’t constitute a minimal pair, this is mere speculation. If this analysis doesn’t hold, the question would have to be answered why one third of the informants accepted this sentence and whether a construction might exist that allows to place *нүцгэн* sentence-initially for reasons of information structure and with some suprasegmental marking, while a neutral pronunciation might render the sentence unacceptable. In (21) and (22), a slightly complex adjective is positioned between the subject and an inanimate direct object. The only sensitive interpretation of these sentences is inferred without difficulties. An animate object would pose even more difficulties when the adjective precedes an attributive phrase. Principally, as Tserenpil and Kullmann (2005: 214) propose, the genitive attribute (“origin”) should be leftmost, making it impossible for the adjective to be interpreted attributively in (23). However, of the 21 informants that assume an object controller, ten reject the sentence as strange or wrong, and it cannot

be determined whether the other 11 informants “overrode” that rule and interpreted the adjective as an attribute or whether they chose for a depictive interpretation. Five informants held that there might be three participants, either interpreting *япон* as a Japanese person or assuming *созтуй* not to mean ‘drunk’ but ‘mad’, thus finding a proper description for the country. Only the three informants that assumed a subject controller obviously interpreted the adjective as a depictive. However, if the depictive is marked by case, it can most likely take any sentence position before the verb:

- (24) *халамцуудаа сээтгэнэсэн харц илгээж*  
drunk=Dat=REF flirt-PA2 glance send-KV1  
‘*inebriated*, [she] sent [him] flirting glances ...’ CX 42

#### 2.4.1 Possible controllers

If one bases one’s assumptions on a purely syntactical point of view (eg Winkler 1997), only the subject or direct object of a matrix sentence may be the controller of the depictive adjective. In order for (25) to make sense, the adjective would have to be controlled by the indirect object, yet all informants but one established the subject as its controller and rejected the sentence:

- (25) *Элчийн\_сайдын яам захиаг надад согтуй явуулсан.*  
embassador=Gen ministry letter=Acc I=Dat drunk send-PA2  
‘*The embassy sent me the letter drunk.*’

Further evidence comes from (26) to (28) from the pre-test:

- (26) *Дорж Сайнаад нүцгэн үнсүүлсэн.*  
Dorž Sajnaa=Dat naked kiss-Kpass-PA2  
‘*Dorž was kissed by Sajnaa naked.*’
- (27) *Би түүнтэй согтуй уулзсан.*  
I she\_Kom drunk meet-PA2  
‘*I met with her drunk.*’
- (28) *Би өрөөнөөс харанхуй гарсан.*  
I room=Abl dark leave-PA2  
‘*I left the room in a gloomy mood/towards the darkness.*’

In (26) and (27), all seven informants identified the subject as the controller, and in (28) they either put the subject into a dark mood, let her bravely step forward into

the darkness or rejected the sentence. However, (15) was most often interpreted in a way that next to the pivot subject of *сексдэх*, its second complement *найз охинтойгоо* was assumed to be naked and slightly drunk, a logical conclusion from a pragmatic point of view as well as from the semantics of the comitative as would be exhibited in an adjunct<sup>12</sup>. Even more radical is the single dissenting interpretation of (25), taking the possessor of the head of the subject-NP as the controller. Thus, it is hard to rule out that sentences taken from real discourse may be meant to receive interpretations in which depictive adjectives are controlled by peripheral participants. As a fine illustration, we will finally look at an example from spoken German (Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann 2001: 74, overheard utterance):

(29) *da mussten wir dann mit Matthias quasi nackt nach Hause laufen*  
 ‘We then had to walk home with Matthias naked, so to speak.’

While the default interpretation of this sentence would involve subject control, “the context – Matthias being a little boy who had just been splashed with water by his brother – makes it quite clear that the intended controller is *Matthias*, embedded in a P[repositional] P[hrase].”

#### 2.4.2 Factors influencing the choice between subject or direct object as the controller

Treating factors that influence the choice between the subject or the direct object as the controller, we will look at topicality, verb class and adjective marking, partly in their relation to the discourse universe. We will first take a look at (30) and (31) (both sentences don’t allow for a resultative interpretation):

(30) *Зарим\_нэг<sup>13</sup> хүн намайг согтуу үнссэн.*  
 one\_or\_the\_other person I\_Acc drunk kiss-PA2  
 ‘One or the other person kissed me drunkenly.’ QU

(31) *Би нэг охиныг/залууг согтуу үнссэн.*  
 I a girl=Acc/boy=Acc drunk kiss=PA2

<sup>12</sup> This is the only case that educational level made a difference: four graduates and three officers stated that they couldn’t say anything about *найз охинтойгоо*, thus implicitly drawing a line between the semantic and the pragmatic level. Syntactically, this is no case of concomitance as the valency of the verb demands the comitative.

<sup>13</sup> One old informant from the town of Nalajh didn’t accept *зарим нэг*, so it was replaced with *хэдэн нэг* ‘some’.

'I kissed a girl/guy *drunkenly*.' QU

The only difference between (30) and (31) is with regard to the topicality (Croft 2003: 178-180) of their complements: in (30), the subject is a third person marked as indefinite and unspecific, but the DO is first person singular, while in (31), the subject is first person singular and the DO is a noun marked as indefinite denoting a human. While most informants assume a subject controller in both sentences, three informants assume an object controller in (30).<sup>14</sup> Thus, topicality plays a certain role in determining the controller.

Another important factor, according to Koizumi (1994), is the difference between "affected-theme transitives" and "non-affected-theme transitives": "Semantically speaking, an affected-theme transitive action/verb cannot repeatedly act upon the same object, while a non-affected-theme transitive can" (Koizumi 1994: 74 based on Halliday 1967 and Williams 1980). Based on Krifka 1989 (especially 158-163), we can equate this with telic predications, a correlation that Koizumi himself guardedly suggested. He then presents the following Japanese examples the source of which isn't specified and is very likely self-introspection (Koizumi 1994: 49, 51):

(32) Taroo-ga *azim-o hadaka-de* korosita. 'Taro killed *his lover naked*.'

(33) \*Taroo-ga *Ziroo-o hadaka-de* nagutta. 'Taro hit *Jiro naked*.'

According to Koizumi, these examples show that the "NP in the object position of a non-affected-theme transitive [=atelic predication] cannot be the antecedent [=controller] of a depictive predicate" (Koizumi 1994: 50). (32) has the Mongolian equivalent (34):

(34) *Дорж амрагаа нүцгэн алсан.*

Dorž lover=REF naked kill=PA2

'Dorž killed *his lover naked*.' QU

(35) *Дорж амрагаа согтуу алсан.*

Dorž lover=REF drunk kill=PA2

'Dorž killed his lover *drunkenly*.' QU

---

<sup>14</sup> For another two informants (and, in addition, two informants of the pre-test), (30) was less acceptable than (31). However, this might possibly also be related to the usage of *зарим нэг*.



	SUBJ controller	SUBJ or DO controller	DO controller	unacceptable
34	3	8	17	1
35	25	1	3	

Table 1

Well in accordance with the Japanese example, 25 informants are willing to assume an object controller in (34). However, it is important to keep in mind that this reading is facultative; for in (35), just as many informants assume a subject controller for entirely pragmatic reasons. Now we will take a look at the hypothesis about atelic predications:

(36) *Нохой намайг согтуу зуусан.*

dog I\_Acc drunk bite-PA2

'The dog bit me drunk.' QU

(37) *Найз\_залуу\_нь Туяаг нууц амрагтайгаа сексдэж<sup>15</sup> байхад*

boyfriend=PPO Tujaa=Acc secret lover=Kom=REF fuck-KV1 COP-QKV1

*бариад түүнийг нүцгэн зодсон.*

catch-KV2 she\_Acc naked beat\_up=PA2

'Her friend caught Tujaa fucking naked with her secret lover and beat her up naked.' 11 informants

(38) *Идэртүяа найз\_залуугаа нүцгэн тачаана.*

Idertujaa boyfriend naked fondle-FV1

'Idertujaa fondled her boyfriend naked.'<sup>16</sup> QU

In (36), 27 informants assume a subject controller, but as most insist that dogs can't get drunk, 26 of them rejected the sentence. Only two informants assume a semantically sound object controller. (37) offers an elaborate context in which the depictive should be interpreted as object-controlled for pragmatic reasons. Eight informants indeed chose the object controller (who is sometimes identified with Tujaa and sometimes with her secret lover), two considered the sentence ambiguous and one

<sup>15</sup> For an informant from Chakhar, the Khalkh word *сексд-* was replaced with *унт-* 'to sleep (with)'.

<sup>16</sup> The imperfective reading is a bit surprising, as it is limited to literary style, but this is how those informants from who I got feedback about the interpretation of this sentence understood it.

Principally, given a suitable context, a future reading would be possible as well, while the (seemingly older and to some informants unfamiliar) meaning of *тачаа-* 'to desire' seems to be rendered rather inaccessible by the presence of *нүцгэн*.

informant opted for her boyfriend only. Then, three informants interpreted (30) as object-controlled. Finally, (38), which has an atelic predicate and is pragmatically mildly object-leaning gets a rather arbitrary interpretation: 13 informants assume the subject and 15 the direct object to be the controller, and one was undecided.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, atelic predications might well induce a tendency to interpret a depictive as subject-controlled, but they don't force such an interpretation.

Another important difference is if the adjective is marked by case or not. There are three possible markings: instrumental, dative and zero. The dative wasn't included in the survey as it didn't seem to be productive, but to be rather limited so some historical forms such as *uxэд<yeke-de* 'very' or certain sentence adverbials (Џinggeltei 1999: 190). However, the corpus shows that the dative is not infrequent. Next to altogether three examples like (24) denoting a state of drunkenness in the dative with reflexive-possessive, there is (11) featuring *багадаа* small=Dat=REF 'when I was young' (XG 177) and one example with a quantity word:

(39) *Бидний хамтдаа өнгөрөөсөн өдрүүд*  
we=Gen together spend-PA2 day-Pl  
'the days we spent together' CX 75

An Internet search with Google shows that *хамтдаа* with=Dat=REF is pretty much lexicalized (35500 hits) in contrast to the personal-possessive form *хамтад нь* (860 hits), while the simple form *хамтад* barely seems to exist. Now we will contrast this to the frequent forms of *ганц* 'alone':

хамтад	50	ганцад	170
хамтад нь	860	ганцад нь	20
хамтдаа	35500	ганцдаа	5
хамтаар	14300	ганцаар	9210
хамтаар нь	6	ганцаар нь	100
хамтаараа	370	ганцаараа	61100

Table 2, 2007-09-10

There are two things to be aware of in advance: first, *хамт* is a quite common

<sup>17</sup> Of the 13 and 15, there are three people for each group that rejected the sentence or found it strange, but did accept the sentence when *мачаана* was replaced by *мачаангуй хүлээнэ* 'receives very passionately'. The reason might be that *мачаа-* is deemed obscene by some native speakers (,to fondle' approximately meets its denotation, but not its connotation).

postposition and sometimes its enlarged forms may be used as such as well. Second, the great majority of the hits for *ганцад* refer to the locative of the abbreviated form of lovely Ганц худаг prison, so the frequency of the remaining entries closes in on *хамтад*. Now while it is not feasible to “prove” anything from this table, one could speculate that two forms from the paradigm of *хамт* have been conventionalized for reflexive and non-reflexive possessive/zero, and the other two aren’t lexicalized, and the same might be true of the paradigm of *ганц* which, however, exhibits a tendency solely to use the reflexive form. Thus, there would be (or would have been at the time of grammaticalization) no significant functional difference between dative and instrumental.

The instrumental seems to be unmarked, but it has a certain affinity to subject controllers:

(40) *Дорж найзаа согтуугаар олсон.*

Dorž friend=REF drunk=Instr find-PA2

‘Dorž found his friend drunk.’ QU

(40) is rejected by five informants, eleven take it as subject-controlled and thirteen as object-controlled, while (19) that minimally contrasts with (40) by lacking an instrumental is interpreted as object-controlled by 22 informants (3 of them consider it as strange), as subject-controlled or ambiguous by 4 informants and as wrong by 3 informants. There may be two factors contributing to this: on the one hand, the unmarked adjective, with which the adjective marked with the instrumental contrasts, resembles the adjectival resultative construction where the controller always has to be the direct object (see section 3). Secondly, observe the following example:

(41) *цагийг хий\_дэмий өнгөрөөж, цаглашгүй мунхагаар залхуурвал ...*

time=Acc vainly spend-KV1 timeless stupid=Instr linger-KV(conditional)

‘If you spend your time in a vain fashion just stupidly lingering around ...’

(42) *Энэхvv программ\_хангамжийн тусламжтайгаар та маш хурданаар*

this\_very software=Gen help=Kom=Instr you very fast=Instr

*нслэгийн\_хуваарь, vнэт\_цаасны талаархи мэдээлэлийг шалгах боломжтой*  
flight\_schedule security=Gen related\_to information=Acc check possibility=Kom

‘With the help of this computer program, it is possible for you to check your flight schedule or new information about your securities in no time.’ Blog

In (41), the instrumental case either specifies that the action pertains only to a

limited period or that it is adverbial. As laziness can almost always be attributed to a subject that performs an act in a lazy fashion, it forms one of the ambiguous manner adjectivals. The absence of the instrumental would signal that the action was committed by a lazy person. In (42), the instrumental marks an adverbial and has the benefit of preventing an interpretation of *хурданаар* as an attribute to *нислэг*. If the adverbial interpretation could be confirmed, the adjective and the verb would only describe one action that is by definition conducted by the subject. Instrumental depictives would then formally resemble adverbials, and while they differ from actual adverbials in that they take part in secondary predications, these secondary predications would retain the constraint that they only can have a common controller that is inherent to (adverbial) complex predications. If the interpretation as temporal background could be sustained, the adjectival would relate to the entire matrix clause and thus could not relate to the direct object as it is not shared by subordinate and matrix clause<sup>18</sup>.

This whole phenomenon is not to be confused with the use of the instrumental as exemplified in the following sentence:

(43) *Би ирээдүйгээ маш сайхнаар төсөөлж мөрөөддөг.*

I future=REF very beautiful=Instr imagine-KV1 long\_for-PA4

‘I dream of my future as bright.’ CX 77, 9 informants

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<sup>18</sup> Pürev-Očir (2006) suggests the different explanation that the usage of instrumentals with adjectives could function as emphasis. It is therefore interesting to observe that the presence of the instrumental suffix in

*Баабар гуай атаархангуй/атаархангуйгаар шоолж байсан ч юм билүү?*

Baabar Mr. jealous /jealous=Instr mock-KV1 COP-PA2 FO MP FK

‘Didn’t Mr. Baabar jeer very jealously?’ 6 informants

instead of zero would convey to four informants the impression that a lesser degree of jealousy is involved. A fifth informant stated that the adjective that is marked by the instrumental might pertain to Baabar’s mental state, while the zero-marked adjective would relate to his words. Thus, this example is just the opposite of emphasis, and if the interpretation given by the one informant could be identified as the motivating factor behind the interpretations of the other four informants, it would also pose a problem for the interpretation of the instrumental as an adverbial marker. Yet, in the absence of significantly more evidence, all statements about the possible meaning of the instrumental in this context must remain speculation.

Here, the instrumental adjectival refers to a state of the direct object and not of the subject. However, this state is not a background to a matrix predication, but a state the object only assumes in the imagination of the subject, and the kind of conceptualization is specified by the verb. Thus, it is a complement within a sentence pattern into which certain verbs of psychic activity and perception such as *ойлгох* ‘to understand’, *таних* ‘to recognize’, *бодох* ‘to think (to conceptualize as)’, *хүлээн зөвшөөрөх* ‘to accept’ can be fitted. Which verbs are acceptable here seems to be a matter of convention.

If the abovementioned latter interpretation was correct and the whole matrix clause was in the scope of such an adverbial or depictive, why can a sentence that contains an adjective marked with instrumental case (like (40)) get an object controller?

(44) *Нохой намайг согтуугаар зуусан.* QU

dog I=Acc drunk=Instr bite-PA2

(45) *Намайг согтуугаар нохой зуусан.* QU

(46) *Намайг согтуу байхад нохой зуусан.*

COP-QKV1

2 informants, not controversial

(44) is rejected by 24 informants, and four more are so impressed by the identical hint given by case and semantics that they assume a subject controller that some of them didn’t assume in (36). In contrast, (45) is assumed by 12 informants to be object-controlled and only rejected by 10 informants<sup>19</sup>. Possibly, its syntactic structure relates to that of (46), where a subordinated sentence with the quasi-converb *-хад* originally consisting of PA1 and dative-locative denotes the temporal background in which the regularly accusative-marked subject of the converbal clause is bitten by the dog, while it is only inferred in the matrix clause. Now Mongolian converbal clauses usually precede their matrix clauses, but they may be embedded under circumstances not sufficiently understood so far:

(47) *Ээж\_нь хүүгээ ирэхлээр зүүн хацрыг\_нь үнсэнэ.*

mother=PPO son=REF come-KV(consequence) left cheek=Acc=PPO kiss-FV1

‘As her son arrives at home, his mother kisses him on his left cheek.’

Pürev-Očir 1997: 316, taken from a novel of L. Vangan

<sup>19</sup> Those informants that had accepted (44) were not asked this sentence.

The subject of the subordinate sentence (47) is marked with the reflexive-possessive that cannot be added to a nominative, but replaces the accusative, and thus is to a certain degree equivalent to the accusative in (41). Thus, (41) and (47) may have an equivalent sentence structure. Furthermore, a depictive-like adjective, if marked with the instrumental, may additionally take a possessive enclitic relating it either to the subject or to some other entity:

- (48) *Би түүнийг согтуугаараа / согтуугаар\_нь олсон.*  
I she=Acc drunk=Instr=REF / drunk=Instr=PPO find-PA2  
'I found her *drunk*.' / 'I found *her drunk*.' 2 informants

Instead of being adjoined to the instrumental, the enclitic may be added to the copula with a quasi-converbal suffix:

- (49) *Би түүнийг согтуу байхад уулзсан.*  
'I met [with him] when he was drunk.' 2 informants  
(50) *Би түүнтэй согтуу байхад\_нь уулзсан.*  
'I met with him when (he) was drunk.' 2 informants  
(51) *Би согтуу байхдаа түүнтэй уулзсан.*  
'I met with him when (I) was drunk.' 2 informants

(49) and (50) are two alternatives to indicate that the adjective isn't controlled by the subject. (49) has an embedded converbal clause with accusative subject, and (50) and (51) correlate to (48). It was such constructions that were most often used when informants corrected sentences. So there is a fuzzy border between depictives and converbal and quasi-converbal clauses, with sentences like (45) probably rather on the non-depictive side.

### 3. Resultatives

Resultatives of the form (NP<sub>1</sub>)(NP<sub>2</sub>) AdjP V aren't of major importance in Mongolian as has already been shown by Washio (1999) for Middle Mongolian. Washio (1999: 265-267) proposes to differentiate between three kinds of resultatives:

- (52) The planes flew the ozone layer thin.  
(53) He pulled his tie tight.  
(54) She dyed the dress blue.

In (52) and (53), the relation between the result and the event leading up to it is only indirect, while in (54) it is direct as “dying” necessarily causes something to adopt a colour. Washio calls the adjectives in sentences like (52) and (53) “strong” and in sentences like (54) “weak resultatives”. Intransitive verbs like *fly* in (52) can probably only take strong resultatives. Japanese only allows for weak resultatives, and French rules out adjective resultatives altogether. What about Mongolian?

(55) ... үсийг тогтмол хэт чанга татсан байдлаар боох зэргээс  
 hair=Acc regularly too tight pull-PA2 situation=Instr bind-PA1 etc.=Abl  
 хамааран үс унаж болно.

be\_affected\_by-KV3 hair fall\_out-KV1 can(root possibility)-FV1

‘... if you bind the hair too tightly, it might fall out.’ Internet forum

(56) эр\_нь ... эрийн\_бэлгийг чанга босгож ...

man=PPO penis=Acc stiff erect-KV1

‘the man (of them) ... erected his penis hard’ CX 56

(57) чи нүүр царайгаа ёстой сайхан будах юм

you face face=Acc really beautiful paint-PA1 MP

‘You paint your face really beautiful!’ CX 43

At the first glance, (55) seems to be en pair with (53), but the semantic of *tam-* doesn’t correspond to its English equivalent *pull* very neatly, eg Lessing (1995: 786): “acij-a tataxu. To tie or tighten the load.” Neither could we interpret a sentence like (56) as strong as the predicate isn’t just *босгож*, but *эрийн\_бэлгийг босгож* with a result that is predicable indeed. In (57), beauty is the result most often intended when applying make-up, the predicate again being *царайгаа будах* and not simply *будах*.

If strong transitive resultatives are not acceptable, one could predict that strong intransitive resultatives are ruled out as well:

(58) Тэр хутгаа мохоо зүссэн.

she knife=REF blunt cut=PA2

‘She cut her knife blunt.’ two informants

(59) Нуур хатуу\_биет хөлджээ.

lake solid freeze-FV3

‘The lake froze solid.’ 2 informants

Not very surprisingly, the likes of (58) and (59) are always rejected. Accordingly,

we may conclude, as Washio (1999: 271) did for Middle Mongolian, that Modern Mongolian does not allow strong resultatives. Let's now turn to case:

(60) *Тэр ханаа улаан/улаанаар будсан.*  
she wall=REF red/red==Instr paint-PA2  
'She painted the wall red.' three informants

(61) *Би ширээг цэвэр/цэврээр арчсан.*  
I table=Acc clean/clean=Instr wipe-PA2  
'I wiped the table clean.' / 'I wiped the table with something clean.' 3 informants

Two informants from Ulaanbaatar only accept (60) if the instrumental is present, while an informant from Chakhar would accept the absence of a suffix as well. However, both groups agree that *улаанаар* would refer to the means, red colour, and not to the result. Similarly, *цэврээр* in (61) can only denote a means. Then, a phrase like *олс чанга тат-* could either mean 'to pull a rope with all one's strength' or 'to tighten a rope by pulling', but if *чанга* is replaced with *чангаар*, the second interpretation becomes impossible. Datives have not been checked, but given their temporal interpretation in the context of depictives, it would be extremely surprising to discover a resultative meaning in them. Thus, we may guardedly conclude that there are no resultative adjectives marked with case in Mongolian.

However, most sentences constructed according to the scheme (NP<sub>1</sub>)(NP<sub>2</sub>) AdjP V have been rejected by the informants, and when translating from German, other constructions have been preferred:

1.) Related verbs with the converbal suffix -тал

(62) *Тэр хутгаа мохтол зүссэн.*  
she knife=REF become\_blunt-KV\_terminale cut-PA2  
'She cut her knife blunt.' two informants

(63) *Тэд өөрийгөө согтлоо уусан.*  
they (reflexive\_pronoun)=Acc=REF become\_drunk-KV\_terminale drink-PA2  
'They drank themselves drunk.' 2 informants

In both sentences, a *Converbum terminale* is used, which indicates that the action of the matrix clause predicate continues until the action of the subordinate clause sets in, and is added to the same verbal stems from which the adjectives *мохоо* and *согтуу* have once been derived. A structurally more similar translation of (63) would be 'They



drank until they were drunk.’

2.) Adjectives with inchoative copula:

Next to the stative/progressive copula *бай-* that derives from the verb *бай-* ‘to be’, there is the inchoative copula *бол-* ‘to become’. In the construction X *бол*-KV1 V, where X is a noun such as a substantive or an adjective, a resultative predicate noun is added as a complement to the verb V, eg:

- (64) *Yagaad\_gewel chinii hairtai aaw ,akh duu, eswel maybe*  
 because you\_Gen beloved father older\_brother younger\_brother or maybe  
*chinii HUU\_chini ch gay bolj torj bolno.*  
 you\_Gen son=PPO FO gay become-KV1 be\_born-KV1 could-FV1  
 ‘For even your beloved father or your beloved siblings or mutatis mutandis even your SON could have been born gay.’ Internet forum

3.) “Descriptive adverbs”

„Descriptive adverbs are adverbial words that vividly describe the result of an action. A preliminary count has revealed at least fifty descriptive adverbs in the Chakhar dialect, most of which are frequently used in everyday speech ... Unlike the other classes of adverbs, descriptive adverbs cannot modify adjectives.” (Sechenbaatar 2003: 166-167) Here an example from Khalkh:

- (65) *Харамсалтай\_нь миний өнгөрсөн явдлаас болоод намайг мэддэг*  
 unfortunately I\_Gen pass-PA2 behaviour=Abl because\_of I=Acc know-PA4  
*бүсгүйчүүдийн дунд миний нэр\_хүнд\_маань хуга унасан.*  
 girl-Pl=Gen middle I\_Gen reputation=PPO into\_pieces fall-PA2  
 ‘Unfortunately, because of my previous behaviour my reputation with the girls who know me has drastically plummeted.’ Internet guestbook

“Descriptive adverbs” cannot express depictive meanings, as (66) was rejected unanimously (as would likely be its English translation equivalent):

- (66) *Би модыг хуга орхисон.*  
 I tree=Acc into\_pieces leave\_behind-PA2  
 ‘I left behind the tree into pieces.’ 4 informants

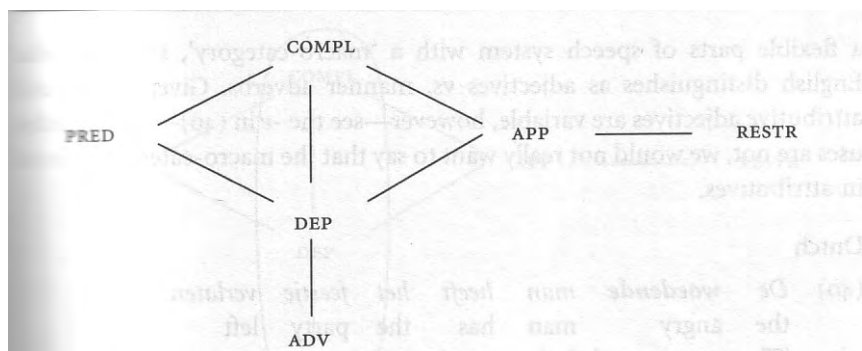
#### 4.) Reversed word order

While a simple sequence of two verbs shouldn't be confused with a resultative construction of its own right, another translation equivalent that could account for the rarity of resultative adjectives is simply a sequence of two verbs linked by a coordinating converbial suffix the first of which denotes an action that results in the action denoted by the second verb:

- (67) *Архи ууж согтсон хvmvvc ...*  
spirits drink-KV1 get\_drunk-PA2 people  
'People who drank spirits and got drunk ...' 81-r suvag, 2004-02-06

#### 4. Depictives, resultatives and related categories

In order to account for the similarities adjective depictive constructions exhibit when compared to other adjective constructions, Van der Auwera and Malchukov (2005: 411) developed the following "semantic map" in "conceptual space"<sup>20</sup>:



PRED=predicative of main predication, COMPL=complementative, APP=appositive attributive, RESTR=restrictive attributive, DEP=depictive, ADV=adverbial

The difference between restrictive and appositive adjectives is not marked by case

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<sup>20</sup> A semantic map is a means to represent linguistic similarities (as found in typological studies) in a multi-dimensional space that is envisaged to represent the human mind. For a short introduction, see Croft 2003: 133-142.

in Mongolian<sup>21</sup>. Adjectives not marked for aspect and tense can be used as predicates without copula etc. (see (68)), but only in the nominative. As an adverbial, adjectives can be used with or more often without instrumental (Šinžleh uhaanij akademi 1966: 292) (see (42), (69))<sup>22</sup>:

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<sup>21</sup> However, it might be the case that the order of the modifiers of the head noun makes a difference. The normal word order in Khalkh noun phrase is demonstrative-adjective-substantive, but sometimes the word order adjective-demonstrative-substantive occurs. In a constructed setting where a mother is asked which of her daughters, one beautiful and one less so, is more industrious, she answers:

*Сайхан миний хүүхэн хичээнгүй/ажилч байна.*  
 beautiful I\_Gen daughter industrious COP-FV1

For this sentence to be an appropriate answer, it would have to be interpreted as restrictive, that is ‘My beautiful daughter is industrious.’ (in the restrictive interpretation of the sentence). Yet, three of four informants rejected this as a possible answer, so that a more adequate translation for this sentence seems to be ‘My daughter, who is beautiful, is industrious.’ While this would point to a difference in the possible word order between restrictives and appositives, some other data I elicited seems to contradict this explanation:

*Чадвартай тэр эрдэмтдийг ажилаас хөөнө.*  
 able that scientist-Pl-Acc work=Abl hunt-FV1  
 ‘[They] will fire those able scientists.’ example adapted from Kolliakou 2004

Three of the informants feel that only the able scientists were fired (a restrictive interpretation), and two of those don’t infer this from a sentence with *Тэр чадвартай эрдэмтдийг*. Thus, it can only be stated that more research is necessary to clarify the function of this word order and its relation to restrictiveness.

<sup>22</sup> Another marking of interest is the marking of an adjective ending in a full vowel or diphthong with a full vowel:

... *үзэгчид дуртайяа зөвшөөрчээ.*  
 spectator-Pl like(Adj)-?? agree-FV3  
 ... the audience agreed with it gladly. AB 40

According to Pürev-Očir (2006: 2-3, 7-8), this is a somewhat literary form originating from the Middle Mongolian dative *-a* that, from a functional perspective, marks an “attributive adjunct that is

(68) Элбэгдорж угаасаа тэнэг.

Elbegdorž root=Abl=REF stupid

‘Elbegdorž is fundamentally stupid.’

from a commentary to a newspaper article on the Internet

(69) Ингэвэл ханиад хүндрэлгүй, түргэн эдгэрэх боломжтой.

then cold get\_worse-KV\_NEG fast heal-PA1 possibility=Kom

‘Then the cold doesn’t get worse, and it is possible that it quickly heals.’

Han’, 2006-3-30

Complementatives in Mongolian allow a predication within the proposition of a verb of cognition without complementizer only, if the sentence resembles a passive construction as far as verb morphology and the marking of the experiencer with the dative case<sup>23</sup> are concerned:

(70) Гэтэл энэ цолыг ... нэгэн холбооны зүгээс олгож байгаа\_нь

but this rank=Acc one club=Gen direction=Abl award-KV1 COP-PA3=NOM

чамлалттай санагдаж байна\_уу, таны хувьд?

regrettable think=Pass[‘seem’]-KV1 COP-FV1=FK, you=Gen part=Dat

‘But doesn’t it seem regrettable to you that this rank is awarded by a ... [private]

society? Serüüleg, 2006.7.17

As *чамлалттай* is the predication of the nominalized subject sentence that begins with *энэ цолыг*, but is on the other hand not divided from *санагдаж байна\_уу* by a

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emphasized” (“утгын өргөлттэй онцолбор гишүүн”). That is, it reinforces the meaning of a depictive. Accordingly, I doubt that a sentence-final full vowel as in the following example is part of the same phenomenon.

Тийм биш гэхэд мөн хэцүүгээ.

so NEG say-Dat the\_same difficult-??

‘It is very difficult to state that it is not so.’ Pürev-Očir 2006: 9, taken from a novel of L. Tüdev

<sup>23</sup> However, there seems to be a nominative experiencer in sentences like

Солонгост 2 залуу beer уумаар санагдаж... Нэг\_нь:

Korea=Dat 2 young\_man beer drink-PA(want\_to) think-Pass-KV1/FV3 one=NOM

‘In Korea, two young men want to drink beer... One [says]:’ (from a joke from the Internet)

complementizer and thus in an ad-verbial position to it, this kind of adjective predication is *sui generis* indeed. The adjective is usually unmarked or marked by (юм) *шүг* ‘like’ (compare (10), also possible with adverbials) as a kind of complementizer; in the 84 newspaper articles on my computer that contained the sequence “санагд”, it was never preceded by an instrumental.

Thus, unmarked adjectives can be used in all of the categories mentioned in the semantic map, while the instrumental can only be used with adjective depictives and to a limited extent with adverbials.

## 5. Conclusion

In Mongolian, there is a fuzzy border between adjectival depictives and adverbials as both may be marked with the dative, the instrumental and zero in a construct of the form (NP<sub>1</sub>) (NP<sub>2</sub>) AdjP V. Unmarked depictives usually appear in preverbal position, while marked depictives have the potential to be less restricted in this respect. Internally, depictives may be rather complex, allowing for comparison, complements, coordination, modification and possibly negation. The usual controllers of depictives are the subject and the direct object, but other participants cannot be ruled out altogether. The probability of subject control is enhanced by the presence of the instrumental case and possibly by atelic predications; the relative topicality of the participants and pragmatic reasons can weigh in for either subject or direct object. Direct objects controlled by adjectivals marked with the instrumental case probably resemble the subjects of intransitive subordinate clauses and thus would make up a construction that is syntactically different from depictives. The adjectives of Mongolian adjectival resultatives may not be marked with case; adjectival resultatives are only possible if the action indicated by the predicate has the quality indicated by the adjective as its probable result. However, resultative meaning is more often expressed with converbial constructions, a copula construction and descriptive adverbs. In conceptual space, depictives pretty much align with adverbials, while resultatives and attributives have to be and complementatives and predicates may be unmarked. There might be certain coding similarities of object-controlled depictives with resultatives and depictives with complementatives that yet have to be researched.

This being said, it seems necessary to refine Mongolian linguistic terminology. I’d propose to reinterpret the word байц гишүүн which has been understood as ‘adverbial’ up to now as a Mongolistic philological term that is comprised of үйлийн байц гишүүн ‘adverbials’, байдлын байц гишүүн ‘depictives’ and үр дүнгийн байц гишүүн ‘resultatives’.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED MOSTLY IN INTERLINEAR ANALYSIS

- adjoins a suffix ; = adjoins a clitic ; \_ the two orthographical words linked are treated as one entity for translational purposes or constitute the translation equivalent of a single Mongolian word; ‘ meaning; \* unacceptable; **Abl** ablative; **Adj** adjective; **AdjP** adjective phrase; **Acc** accusative; **Attr** attributive; **COP** copula; **CX**: Bilegsajhan 2006; **Dat** dative-locative; **DO** direct object; Encl clitic; **FK** question clitic; **FO** focus clitic; **FV1** finite verb 1: future, generic statements; **FV3** finite verb 3: inferential simple past; **Gen** genitive; **Instr** instrumental; **Kpass** causative or passive; **Kom** comitative; **KV** converb; **KV1** converb 1: default; **KV2** converb 2: as a sentence linker, anteriority; **KV3** converb 3: Converbium modale; **MP** modal particle; **NEG** negation; **NOM** nominalizer; **NP** noun phrase; **NT**: Nijgmijn tol’ 2006.10.9.; **PA** participle, often also “verbal noun”; **PA1** participle 1: future, default attributive (in many constructions); **PA2** participle 2: past, perfect; **PA3** participle 3: imperfective, irrealis; **PA4** participle 4: iterative; **PASS** passive; **Pl** plural; **PPO** personal-possessive: “belongs” (in a wide sense) to a participant that is not the subject of the clause; **QKV1** quasi-converb 1; **RED** reduplication; **REF** reflexive-possessive: “belongs” (in a wide sense) to the subject of the clause; **SUBJ** subject; **TH** theme; **V** verb; **XG**: Norov 2003

#### APPENDIX: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Би түүнийг өвчтэй олсон.
2. Дорж найзаа согтуу олсон.
3. Дорж найзаа согтуугаар олсон.
4. Дорж их уугаад найзыг согтуу олсон.
  
5. Элчийн сайдын яам захиаг надад согтуу явуулсан.
6. Нүцгэн би түүнийг олж харсан.
7. Би согтуу японы найзыг харсан.
  
8. Би загасыг түүхийгээр идсэн.

9. Нохой намайг согтуугаар зуусан.

10. Нохой намайг согтуу зуусан.

11. Би Доржийг найз охинтойгоо нүцгэн бөгөөд жаахан согтуу сексдэхийг олсон.

12. Дорж загасыг түүхий биш идсэн.

13. Би Доржийг Оюунаас илүү согтуу олсон.

14. Идэртуяа найз залуугаа нүцгэн тачаана.

15. Дорж амрагаа нүцгэн алсан.

16. Дорж амрагаа согтуу алсан.

17. Зарим нэг хүн намайг согтуу үнссэн.

18. Би нэг охиныг согтуу үнссэн.

9,5. Namajg sogtuugaar nohoj zuusan.

14,5. Idertujaа najz zaluugaa нүцгэн тацаангүј хүлеене.

[These two sentences were not written on the questionnaire and were asked orally if the preceding sentence had not been accepted.]

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