

**ФОНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ И ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИЕ СИСТЕМЫ
МОНГОЛЬСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ В ДИАХРОНИЧЕСКОЙ,
СТРУКТУРНОЙ И ФУНКЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЕ**

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**A DIACHRONIC STUDY OF NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES
IN MONGOLIC LANGUAGES**

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Abstract. This paper investigates negative imperatives in Mongolic languages from a historical perspective. The distributions of negative imperative markers in Mongolic languages are compared, based on data drawn from corpora of texts from Middle to early Modern Mongolian, published field reports of Modern Mongolic languages, and our own field notes. Negative imperatives are mainly marked by a pre-verbal negator *buu* in Mongolian historical documents such as *Secrete History of the Mongols*, *Altan Tobči*, *Erdeniyin Tobčiya* and *Mongolian Laokida*. In Modern Mongol proper, *buu* rarely appears and *bitegei* is used instead. However, *buu* is used in Dagur and several Mongol vernaculars spoken in Eastern Inner Mongolia, Liaoning and Heilongjiang, where contacts and interactions among Mongolian and Sinic people are lively and the Mongolian spoken in that area contains abundant Chinese borrowings. Santa and Mongghul-Mangghuer, two Mongolic language located far from Eastern Inner Mongolia also uses *buu*. It is argued that *buu* in modern Mongolic languages is not a Chinese loanword but a retention of Middle Mongol *buu*.

Keywords: negative imperative, prohibitive, Mongolic language, lexical borrowing, retention, innovation, conditional converb.

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1. Introduction

Geographically, Mongolic languages are located in Mongolia, Republic of Buryatia, Republic of Kalmykia, Afghanistan, and Inner Mongolia, Laoning, Heilongjiang, Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang of China. Rybatzki [27, p. 388-389] tentatively classifies Mongolic languages into the following six subgroups according to their relevant phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical properties: (1) Northeastern Mongolic: Dagur; (2) Northern Mongolic: Khamnigan Mongol-Buryat; (3) Central Mongolic: Mongol proper-Ordos-Oirat; (4) South-Central Mongolic: Shira Yughur; (5) Southeastern Mongolic: Mongghul-Mangghuer-Bonan-Santa; and (6) Southwestern Mongolic: Moghol.

This paper investigates negative imperatives in Mongolic languages from a historical perspective. The distributions of negative imperative markers in Mongolic languages are compared, based on data drawn from corpora of texts from Middle to early Modern Mongolian, published field reports of Modern Mongolic languages, and our own field notes. Data of Modern Mongolic languages used in the paper include: (1) Dagur (1988); (2) Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat (Buryat, Bargut dialect); (3) Mongol proper (Dörbet, Kharchin, Khalkha varieties), Oirat; (4) Shira Yughur; (5) Mongghul-Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa, Kanjia. Unless noted, examples are drawn from my field notes. All glosses are mine. Diachronic data are retrieved from corpora of the following historical texts: *Mongγol-un niyuča tobčiyān* (1228) ‘Secret History of the Mongols’ (SHM), Mongolian monuments in ‘Phags-pa script (1276-1368) (Tumurtogoo 2010), and Pre-Classic Mongolian monuments in the Uighur-Mongolian script (13th-16th centuries) (Tumurtogoo 2006) for texts represented Middle Mongol (13th century to 16th century); *Manju-i yargiyān kooli* (1635) ‘Manchu Veritable Records’ (MSL), *Erdeni-yin Tobčiya* (1662) ‘Precious Summary’ (ET), Beijing woodblock version of *Mongolian Geser* (1716), *Mongolian Laoqida* (1790) (LQD), and *Köke Sudur* (1871) ‘The blue chronicle’ (KS) for Late Mongol texts (17th century to 19th century); *Manju monggo nikan ilan acangga šu-i tacibure hacin-i bithe* (1909, 1910) ‘Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese Readers’ (MMC) for Early Modern Mongolian (early 20th century).

2. Negative Imperatives in modern Mongolic languages

Most of negative imperative markers in modern Mongolic languages correspond to Written Mongol *buu* and *bitegei*.

Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Mongghul-Mangghuer, Santa, sGo.dmar subdialect of Qinghai Bonan and Dörbet, Kharchin dialects of Mongol proper utilize the *BU* form. Besides, *BU* is also used in Written Oirat [4, p. 226].

Dagur: /bu:/

- (1) qaɭe:r bu: na:dtu, xal-yuita:. [14, p. 343]
fire.INS NEG play.2PL hurn-DUB.2PL

- "Don't play with fire! You may be burned."
Khamnigan Mongol: buu
(2)a. buu kele. [19, p. 98]
NEG say.2IMP
"Do not mention [it]!"
b. buu martaarie.
NEG forget.2OPT
"[please] do not forget [it]!"
Buryat: bü
(3) bü yab-uuzha-b. [29, p.114]
NEG go-DUB-1SG
"I shall not go!"
Bargut (a dialect of Buryat): /bu:/
(4) ji: bu: xəntəglə:re:. [3, p. 235]
you.NOM NEG be_angry.2OPT
"Please don't be angry!"
Dörbet (a dialect of Mongol proper): /bu:/
(5) bu: ty:t!
NEG be_naughty.2IMP
"Don't be naughty!"
Kharchin (a dialect of Mongol proper): /bu:/
(6) bu: jaw!
NEG go.2IMP
"Don't go!"
Mongghul-Mangghuer: /bi:/
(7) dau bi: gare! [10, p. 223]
sound NEG come_out.2IMP
"Don't make any sound!"
(8) bu bi: daulaja ba. [10, p. 224]
1SG.NOMNEG sing.1VOL PTCL
"Let me not sing!"
(9) mahani bii ide [16, p. 303]
meat NEG eat.2IMP
"Do not eat [the] meat!"
It is noteworthy that irrealis negator /li:/ (< ülü) sometimes plays the role of negative imperative marker. See (10). On the other hand, (11) exhibits that /bi:/, like /li:/, may occur in a conditional clause.
(10) te li: jaulaxgə budaxgola jauja.
3SG.NOM NEG go.3OPT 1PL.NOM go.1VOL
[10, p.224]
"Don't let him go, we'll go."
(11)a. təə bi: jausa amaxgəna? [10, p. 233]
2SG.NOM NEG go. CVB how.NPST
"What if you don't go?"
b. təə li: eidzisa te rəguna.

2SG.NOM NEG go.CVB 3SG.NOM come.NPST
 “If you don’t go, he will come.”

Besides, preverbal negators may occur before a “converb-imperative verb” chunk if the converb doesn’t take any argument, and are adjacent to the imperative verb if the converb takes arguments. Compare (12)a and (12)b,c.

(12)a. tɛə bi: bagala ɛidzə. [10, p. 233]

2SG.NOM NEG hit.CVB go.2IMP
 “You don’t go to hit [someone/something]!”

b. maxanə idela li: ɛidzim.
 meat eat.CVB NEG go.NPST.1SG
 “I’ll not go to eat the meat.”

c. tɛə nara baudəla: bi: sau.
 2SG.NOM sun go_down.CVB NEG sit.2IMP [10, p.240]
 “You don’t sit until the sun sets!”

sGo.dmar subdialect of Qinghai Bonan: be

(13) ce be er. [17, p. 343]

2SG.NOM NEG come.2IMP
 “You, do not come!”

Santa: /bu/

(14) bi xui dziərə bu kiəliəjə,
 1SG.NOM meeting on NEG say.1VOL
 tərə jə bu kiəliəgjə. [8, p. 207]
 3SG.NOM also NEG say.3OPT

“I’ll not say [anything] at the meeting! Let him not say [anything], too!”

(15) kieme-de bu kielie [24, p. 362]

who-DAT NEG say. 2IMP
 “Do not tell anyone!”

BITEGEI forms are utilized in Khalkha dialect of Mongol proper, Spoken Oirat, Kanjia, Shira Yughur and Bonan.

Khalkha: /bitgi:/~/bitxi:/

(16) engedʒ bitxi: xel!
 like_that NEG say.2IMP
 “Don’t say [things] like that!”

(17) bitgii gar. [31, p. 165]

NEG come_out.2IMP
 “Don’t go out!”

Spoken Oirat: / bitʃgæ:/ ~ /bitʃga:/~/bitʃkai/

(18) Bidni:ge: bitʃga: marta:.
 1PL.ACC NEG forget.2IMP
 “Don’t forget us!”

(19) ʃinæmæ:g bitʃgæ: xarʃli:ʃ, [11, p. 253]

NEG disturb.2OPT
 bi tɔŋ adɣamtæ: bæ:næ:b.
 1SG.NOM very busy be.NPST.1SG
 “Please don’t disturb me now, I’m very busy.”

Birtalan [4, p. 226] notes that Spoken Oirat negative imperatives are *bitkä~bicke~bicge~bice* 'do not'.

Kalmuck, a dialect of Oirat, uses *bicä*.

Kalmuck: *bicä*

(20)a. *bicä ir* [5, p. 246]

NEG come.2IMP

"Don't come!"

b. *bicä ir-tn.*

NEG come-2OPT

"[Please] don't come!"

c. *bicä ir-iy.*

NEG COME-1VOL

"I will not come!"

d. *bicä ir-txä*

NEG come-3OPT

"[Let him] not come!"

In Kangjia and Shira Yughur, the forms *büde~ püti* are used as negative imperative marker, while /təgə/ occurs in Bonan negative imperatives.

Kangjia: *büde*

(21)a. *ʃi küni büde sügü!*
2SG.NOM who.ACC NEG curse.2IMP
[28, p.203]

"Don't curse anyone!"

b. *tasu büde dʒaxara!*
2PL.NOM NEG be_noisy.2IMP

"Don't be noisy."

c. *kəmidə la büde medəkə!*
who.DAT also NEG know.1VOL

"Don't let anyone know (it)!"

Shira Yughur: /pətə/~ püti

(22)a. *bu pətə hanəja/hanəsa:.* [12, p. 247]
1SG.NOM NEG go.1VOL/go.1VOL

"I will not go."

b. *ʃə pətə hanə!*
2SG.NOM NEG go.2IMP

"Don't go!"

c. *munə kyken naqtə pətə hanəgane!*
1SG.GEN son woods.DAT NEG go.3OPT

"I hope that my son will not go into the woods."

(23) *ci püti tamiki soro-soo.* [26, p. 275]
2SG.NOM NEG tobacco smoke-2OPT

"[Please] do not smoke tobacco!"

Bonan (Bao'an): /təgə/~tege

(24) a. *təi təgə guara!* [9, p. 204]
2SG.NOM NEG be_angry.2IMP

- (27) su'u:ɣatai tergen-i č'i'ü: inü bü
 鎖有的 車子行 車轄 他的 不
 lock.COM cart-ACC lynchpin 3SG.POSS NEG
 č'i'ü:de'ü:lsü ! [SHM S124_V03_46a_2]
 教倒了
 overturn.CAUS.1VOL
 “I will not make its lynchpin to overturn the cart with a lock.”
 It is unlikely that Chinese *bü* (不) was borrowed into Proto-Mongolic and played a role it rarely played at that time.

3. Negative Imperatives in Mongolian Historical Texts

3.1 Negative Imperatives in Middle Mongolian Texts

There appear 71 tokens of the negator *bü* in Secret History of the Mongols. *Bü* cooccurs with 1st, 2nd, 3th person imperatives/optatives/jussives. See (28)-(30)¹. *Bü* appears before the verbs in imperative form or the verbal chunk. See (29)a, b.

- (28)a. bida bü bawu:ya ! [SHM S118_V03_31b_2]
 1PL.NOM NEG stay.1VOL
 “We will not stay!”
 b. manɣar-un unda:n bü meküde'ü:lsügei ! [SHM S124_V03_45a_4]
 morning-GEN drinks NEG lack.CAUS.1VOL
 “I will not let morning drinks insufficient.”
- (29)a. quda kö'ü: minü noqai-yača bü
 Relative_by_marriage son 1SG.POSS dog-ABL NEG
 soči'u:l ! [SHM S66_V01_47a_2]
 scared.CAUS.2IMP
 “Quda, don't cause my son to be scared by the dog.”
 b. ta ber bü a(b)ču yabudqun !
 2SG.NOM also NEG take.CVB go. 2OPT
 [SHM S72_V02_03a_3]
 “You don't take [us] away, too”
- (30) bidan-u beye čerig ese ɣaru'a:su bidan-ača
 we-GEN body soldier NEG come_out.CVB we=ABL
 aŋgida ö'e:re kebte'ü:l čerig bü ɣartuɣai !
 separately other nightguardsoldier NEG come_out.3JUS
 [SHM S278_V12_40a_2]
 “If our personal soldiers do not go out, let other nightguards separately from us not go out!”

There are 5 tokens of the form *bütügei* in Secret History of the Mongols. One of them is the 3rd imperative form of the verb “to be”. See (31).

- (31) ‘aŋgida qolo buyu.’ bütügei ! [SHM S189_V07_11b_5]

¹ The original Mongolian version of Secret History of the Mongol is missing. The data we use nowadays are recovered from Chinese transcriptions. We thank Prof. D. Tumurtogoo for his electronic versions of Romanized Secret History of the Mongols. Sources of the examples from historical texts are noted as “[Source (Section) Volumn_Page_Line]”.

separately far be.NPST be.3JUS

“Let [them] be far away [from us] separately!”

The other 4 tokens of *bütügei* are negative imperatives. Different from negative imperative marker *bitegei* in modern languages, *bütügei* in SHM are main verbs. Its meaning is “abstain, refrain”.

(32) aqa de'ü:-dür sayi ijilidülčen
 elder_brother younger brother-DAT just become_friends.COOP
 büküi-dür aqa bütügei ! [SHM S131_V04_09b_3]
 be.IPFV-DAT elder_brother abstain.3JUS

“At the moment when brothers just get in harmony together, let elder brother abstain [from doing something breaking the peace]!”

(33)...erte Alan eke-yin tabun kö'ü:d metü ya:kin
 early Alan mother-GEN five son.PL like why
 eye üge'ü:n büi ? ta bütügei !
 harmony NEG be.NPST 2.PL abstain.3JUS

[SHM S76_V02_08b_1:2]

“...why are you not in harmony as the five sons of Mother Alan in early [history]? You abstain [from doing something bad to your brothers]!”

(34) qan ! qan ! bütügei ! [SHM S174_V06_16b_2]
 king king abstain.3JUS

“Qan, Qan! Abstain [from rush to fight against Temüjin]!”¹

(35) ese uqaysan-dur bütügei ! [SHM S242 V10_24a_4:5]
 NEG realize.PFV-DAT abstain.3JUS

“As [he did] not realize [what he was doing], abstain [from killing him]!”

It is noteworthy the (32)–(35) are all cases of 2nd person imperatives. It is unclear why 2nd person imperatives take a 3rd person jussive suffix. One possibility is that *bütügei* in these examples shall be interpreted as 'let it be'. When SHM was glossed in Chinese in Ming dynasty, *bütügei* 'let it be' in these cases was reanalyzed as 'abstain from doing something so that the situation remains', and later grammaticalized into a prohibitive marker.

205 tokens and 86 tokens of *büi* occur in Mongolian monuments in ‘Phags-pa script (1276–1368) and Pre-Classic Mongolian monuments in the Uighur-Mongolian script (13th–16th centuries) respectively.

(36)a. éden-u güen-dür gëyid-dur 'anu
 3PL-GEN temple-LOC house.PL-LOC 3PL.POSS
 èlč'in bu ba-ut'uq'ayi ! [THE EDICT OF MANGAL (1276)]
 messenger NEG lodge.3JUS

"Let messengers not lodge at their temple and houses!"

¹ Although Cleaves (1982, p.100) translates the sentence as “Qan, Qan, let [it] be!”, in which *bütügei* is translated as “let it be” and seems to be analyzed as a 3rd person imperative of the verb “to be”, in note 15 he explains that here it means “do thou not that”. It’s clear that Cleaves doesn’t analyze *bütügei* in this case as a copula. The gloss for *bütügei* here is *xiū* (休), not *yōuzhě* (有者) is also a hint that *bütügei* here is not interpreted as a copula when SHM was transliterated, glossed in Chinese.

- b. q'ajar usu ya-u k'e 'anu buliju
land water what ever 3PL.POSS take_by_force.CVB
t'at'aju bu 'abt'uq'ayi !
pull.CVB NEG take.3JUS
"Let [them] not take their lands, water right and whatever by force!"
- c. éde basa sênšijud bič'igt'en g·eju yosu 'üge-ué
3PL also Taoist_monk.PL edict.COM say.CVB rule NEG
'üeles bu 'üeledt'ugeé !
behavior NEG do.3JUS
"Let them not, saying that they are Taoist monks with [the prince's] edict, do
ruleless behaviors, either!"

Like the cases in Mongghul-Mangghuer, BU is adjacent to the imperative verb if the converb takes arguments. See (36)b above.
The frequency of negative imperative markers in some Middle Mongolian documents is summarized as Table 1.

Table 1

Tokens of imperative negators in Middle Mongolian historical documents

Sources	Secret History of the Mongols (1228)	Mongolian monuments in 'Phags-pa script (1276–1368)	Pre-Classic Mongolian monuments in the Uighur-Mongolian script (13 th –16 th centuries)	Sum
Negators				
Bü	71	205	86	362
Bütügei	4	0	0	4

3.2 Negative Imperatives in Late Mongolian Texts

The frequency of negative imperative markers in some Late Mongolian documents is shown in Table 2. *bütügei* disappeared in these Late Mongolian Texts, while *bitegei* emerged.

Table 2

Tokens of imperative negators in Late Mongolian historical documents

Sources	Manju-i yargiyan kooli (1635)	Erdeni-yin Tobčiya (1662)	Beijing Geser (1716)	Mongolian Laoqida (1790)	Köke Sudur (1871)	Sum
Negators						
Buu	65	17	69	29	57	237
Bitegei	0	0	4	7	116	127

Neither Manju-i yargiyan kooli nor Erdeni-yin Tobčiya contains *bütügei/bitegei*. Besides of 2nd person imperative, *buu* occurs with 3rd and 1st person imperatives.

- (37) 'namayi buu alatuḡai!' kemen ayuju es_e
1SG.ACC NEG kill.3OPT QUOT be_afraid.CVB NEG

ügülelüge . [MSL V2_91a_6:7]
say.PST

"[I was] scared of being killed and didn't say [who I am]."

(38) činü jarliy-ača buu dabay_a ! [ET V1_3r_26]

2SG.GEN edict-ABL NEG violate.1VOL

"Let's not violate your edict!"

The innovative form *bitegei* emerged in 18th century's Beijing Geser and Mongolian Laoqida, and occurs more frequent than *buu* in Late 19th century's novel Köke Sudur.

(39)a. j_a či muu eyimü üge kelekü bolusa
well 2SG.NOM bad such word say.IPFV become.CVB
namayi maryata bitegei güičerei či. [Geser V4_11a_11]
1SG.ACC tomorrow NEG catch_up.2OPT 2SG

"Well, if you say such bad words, don't catch up with me tomorrow!"

b. ta balai bitegei sayirq_a [Geser V1_39b_11]

2PL.NOM stupid NEG boast.2IMP

"You don't boast stupid words!"

Note that *bitegei* can appear without taking an overt imperative verb in Beijing Geser, reminiscent of *bütügei* in SHM. See (40).

(40) abai bitegei ai . [Geser V4_6b_22:23]

baby NEG PTCL

"Baby, don't [do it]!"

It's surprising that *bitegei* may appear in an indicative clause. See (41).

(41) ejei minu bitegei dügürčü [Geser V1_46b_13]

mother 1SG.POSS NEG become_stuffed.CVB

ükünem bayinam.

die.NPST be.NPST

"My mother, don't [eat too much and] become stuffed!"

buu in Geser also shows interesting behavior. It may appear before an object-verb chunk. See (42)b. In (42)c, the verbal phrase "am kürge" was written as one word.

(42)a. ejei minu buu qariy_a ! [Geser V1_10b_12]

mother 1SG.POSS NEG curse.2IMP

"My mother, don't curse!"

b. nigen nigen-d'egen buu amu kürgelčey_e !
one one-DAT.REFL.POSS NEG mouth send.COOP.1VOL
[Geser V1_20a_8:9]

"Let's not send even one bite into [one's] mouth!"

c. miqan-i nada buu amkürge ! [Geser V1_19b_6]

meat-ACC 1SG.DAT NEG mouth.send.2IMP

"Dont send meat to my mouth!"

buu and *bitegei* are competing forms, which occur in the same contexts. Compare

(43)a, b.

(43)a. či erte buu eči ! [LQD V2_10a_4]

2SG.NOM early NEG go.2IMP

"You don't do early!"

- b. ger-ün ejen tür bitegei eçi ! [LQD V2_25a_2]
house-GEN master temporary NEG go.2IMP
"Host, don't leave at this moment!"

Negative imperative markers can occur before a verbal chunk, such as "Converb-MainVerb", "Verbl_Noun-AuxVerb" and "Complement-AuxVerb". See (44)a, b, c. Note that (44)c contains a lengthy complement composed of two phrases, i.e. "či mau bi sayin geju" and "nür ügei", and *buu* occurs between them.

- (44)a. či sayitur idegöljü ongyuča-du buu
2SG.NOM nicely eat.CAUS.CVB receptacle-LOC NEG
dügürgeju ög ! [LQD V2_18a_4] fill.CVB give.2IMP
"You nicely feed [the horses] and don't fill the receptacle!"

- b. öndürken qarbuyad buu kürgekügei bolqu , boyoni
rather_high shoot.CVB NEG send.NEG become.IPFV low
qarbuqula jebe sajiju ečin_e . [LQD V7_02b_6: 03a_1]
shoot.CVB arrow shake.CVB go.NPST
"Shoot rather high and do not become undelivered. When shooting low the arrow goes shaky."

- c. bida nökülreju yabuqula či mau bi
1PL.NOM make_friend.CVB go.CVB 2SG.NOM bad 1SG.NOM
sayin geju buu nür ügei boly_a sai .
good say.CVB NEG face NEG become.CAUS.2IMP PTCL
[LQD V7_14b_5:7]
"When we make friends, don't say "You're bad. I'm good." and make [your friend] faceless."

3.3 Negative Imperatives in Early Modern Mongolian Texts

There are 40 tokens of *buu* and one case of *bitegei* in Manju monggo nikan ilan acangga šu-i tacibure hacin-i bithe (1909, 1910). *buu* appears before the verbal phrase.

- (45)a. baysi namayi suryayad , ene üge-yi buu
teacher 1SG.ACC teach.CVB this word-ACC NEG
umartaytun !" kemebei . [MMC V1T_053_5] forget.2OPT say.PST
"Teacher taught me and then said, "Don't forget this word!"

- b. jaručalaqu bay_a kübegün-i čaγajilaju buu
make_one_a_servant.IPFV small boy-ACC forbid.CVB NEG
quluγan_a-yi čokiγtun ! [MMC 7T_031_10:11]
mouse-ACC hit.2OPT
"Forbidding small boy servant, 'don't hit mice!'"

- c. buu modun-u dour_a niγuytun ! [MMC 7T_228_5]
NEG tree-GEN under hide.2OPT
"Don't hide under a tree!"

The only case of *bitegei* in MMC is used as a main verb, too. See (46).

- (46) ketürkei čangyaqui-yi bitegei ! [MMC 7T_045_17]
extreme thirsty.IPFV-ACC NEG
"Don't make (them) too thirsty!"

4. Discussion and Conclusion

4.1 The Development of *buu* and *bitegei*

The use of *buu* declines from Middle Mongolian to Modern Mongolian. See Figure 1.

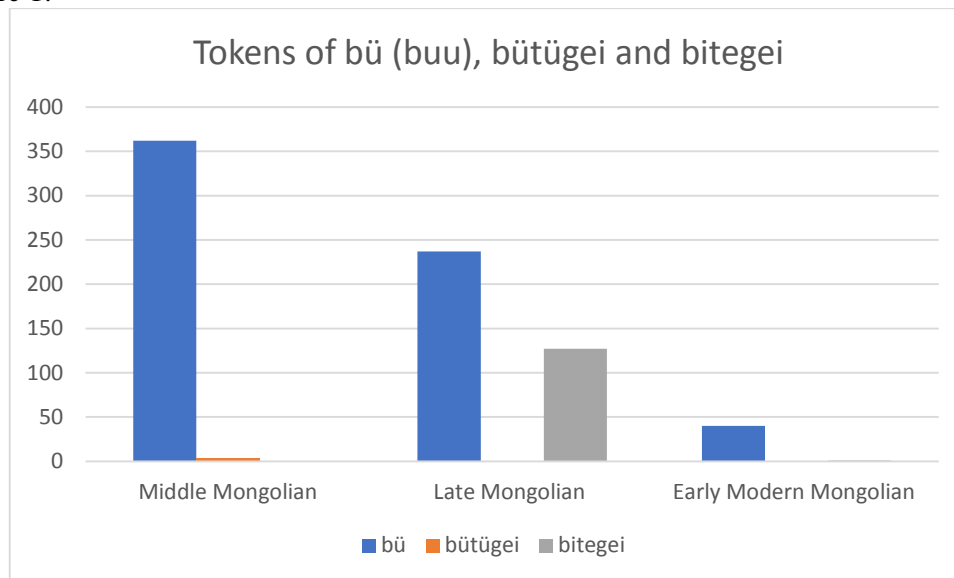


Figure 1. Numbers of tokens of bü, bütügei and bitegei in three periods

buu was replaced by *bitegei* in some languages/dialects/varieties but resists in others. There are 4 tokens of negative *bütügei* in SHM. The form *bitegei* appears in mid-17 century and is abundant in late 19 century. Nowadays, BU forms occur in Dagur, Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat, Written Oirat, Mongghul-Mangghuer, Santa, sGo.dmar subdialect of Qinghai Bonan and Dörbet, Kharchin dialects of Mongol proper. BITEGEI forms appear in Khalkha dialect of Mongol proper, Spoken Oirat, Kanjia, Shira Yughur and Bonan. Besides, negators /li:/ (<ülü) and *ese* occur in conditional clauses with imperative meaning in Mongghul-Mangghuer and Bonan respectively.

4.2 The Etymology of *bitegei* and *bütügei*

bütügei in SHM is used as a main verb composed of the verb stem *bü-* and a 3rd person jussive suffix *-tügei*. For those which were glossed as *xiū* (休) a puzzle arises: How come a 3rd person jussive verb was used in 2nd person imperatives? One possibility is that *bütügei* in these examples shall be analyzed as copula *bü-* taking the suffix *-tügei*, and its meaning is 'let [it] be'. When SHM was glossed in Chinese in Ming dynasty, *bütügei* was reanalyzed as 'stop/abstain from doing something so that the situation remains'. The negative meaning comes from 'to stop/abstain', and *bütügei* was further grammaticalized into a preverbal negative imperative marker. An

alternative hypothesis is that *bütügei* is derived from the contraction of *bü* 'NEG' + *atuyai* 'be.3JUS'¹

(*bü atuyai* > **bü ätügei* > *bütügei*). This analysis can account for the negative meaning easily, but the issue why a 3rd jussive form also occurs in 1st and 2nd person imperatives remains.

As for the etymology of *bitegei*, one possibility is that *bitegei* is a direct descendant of *bütügei*. *bütügei* becomes *bitegei* through de-rounding of the vowel /ü/. De-rounding of /u/~ü/ is an abundant process in Mongolian. For example, *bui* 'to be' is pronounced as /bi:/ in spoken language. Another possibility is that *bitegei* is not a descendant of *bütügei*, but a contraction of *bü* 'NEG' + *tege-* 'to do so, thus, or that way' + *-ye* '1VOL' (*bü tegeye* > **bütegei* > *bitegei*).

4.3 Concluding Remarks

We have traced the development of BU and BITEGEI from Middle Mongolian to Modern Mongolic languages/dialects. We find that realis and irrealis negator *ese* and *ülü* may be interpreted as negative imperative marker in some languages. Primary results show that it might be related to conditional/subjunctive. We also proposed tentative analyses for the etymology of *bitegei* and *bütügei*. However, there remains missing links of empirical data and problems unsolved. We'll leave them for further research.

Abbreviations

1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; ABL, ablative; ACC, accusative; CAUS, causative; COM, comitative; COOP, cooperative; CVB, converb; DAT, dative; DUB, dubious; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; IMP, imperative; INS, instrumental; IPFV, imperfective; JUS, jussive; LOC, locative; NEG, negation, negative; NOM, nominative; NPST, non-past; PFV, perfective; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PST, past; PTCL, particle; REFL, reflexive; SG, singular; QUOT, quotative.

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ДИАХРОНИЧЕСКОЕ ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ОТРИЦАТЕЛЬНЫХ ИМПЕРАТИВОВ НА МОНГОЛЬСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

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Аннотация. В статье исследуются отрицательные императивы в монгольских языках с исторической точки зрения. Распределение отрицательных императивных маркеров в монгольских языках сравнивается на основе данных, взятых из корпусов текстов от среднего до раннего современного монгольского языка, опубликованных полевых отчетов о современных монгольских языках и наших собственных полевых заметок. Отрицательные императивы в основном отмечены довербальным отрицателем *буу* в монгольских исторических документах, таких как «Гайная история монголов», «Алтан Тобчи», «Эрдениин Тобчия» и «Монгольская Лаокида». В собственно современном монгольском языке *буу* встречается редко, вместо него используется битэгэй. Тем не менее *буу* используется в Дагуре и нескольких монгольских наречиях, на которых говорят в Восточной Внутренней Монголии, Ляонине и Хэйлуцзяне, где контакты и взаимодействие между монгольскими и китайскими народами очень оживленные, а монгольский язык, на котором говорят в этой области, содержит множество китайских заимствований. Санта и монгуль-мангхуэр, два монгольских языка, расположенных далеко от востока Внутренней Монголии, также используют *буу*. Утверждается, что *буу* в современных монгольских языках — это не китайское заимствованное слово, а продолжение среднемонгольского *буу*.

Ключевые слова: отрицательный императив; формы повелительного наклонения; конструкции; выражающие запрет; монгольский язык; лексическое заимствование; удержание; инновации; условная трансформация.

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