Linguistic and non-linguistic factors in defining some variable grammatical constructions in Mongolian

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Товч утга: Ямар нэг үйлийг үйлдэгчийг хамгийн идэвхтэйгээс нь хамгийн идэвхгүй рүү нь эрэмбэлбэл, хамгийн идэвхтэй үйлдэгч нь хүн, удаах нь амьтан, хамгийн идэвхгүй үйлдэгч нь юм болно. Тэгвэл хэл зүйн харьцаа заах зарим нөхцөл, өгүүлбэрийн ижил бүрэлдүүлбэр, ижил бүтцэд тохиолдох хам байгууламжид илрэх утга үүргийн ялгамжааг нарийвчлан тодорхойлоход үйлдэгчийн энэхүү идэвхтэй, дундаж, идэвхгүй шинж нэлээд учир холбогдолтой байдгийг зарим жишээ баримтаас ажиглаж болно.

Бид энэхүү өгүүлэлдээ хэлзүйн нэг төрлийн буюу ижил харьцаанд илрэх утгыг тодорхойлохдоо хэлний ба хэлний бус хамааралт үзэгдэл, зүй тогтол ямар учир холбогдолтой байгааг монгол хэлний гурван зүйлийн баримтаар жишээлэн тайлбарлаж нотлохыг зорилоо. Үүнд:

Нэг. Нэрийн үйлдэх, өгөх оршихын тийн ялгал оролцсон хам бүтцийн жишээ

Хоёр. Нэрээс нэр үг бүтээх нэгэн дагавар оролцсон хам бүтцийн жишээ Гурав. Үйлдүүлэх, үйлдэгдэх хэв оролцсон хам бүтцийн жишээ

Хэлний баримтаас үзэхэд, хэлзүйн бүтцийн талаас ямар ч харшлах зүйл үгүй атал утга зохисгүйдэж байгаа нь хэлний бус хүчин зүйлээс хамаарч байна. Чингээд монгол хэлний үйлдэгдэх, үйлдүүлэх хэвээр хэлбэржүүлсэн үйл үгэнд үйлдэх, өгөх-оршихын тийн ялгалаар хэлбэржүүлэн холбосон холбоо үг бүхий хувилбартай өгүүлбэрүүдийн утгын ялгамжааг тодорхойлохдоо тухайн өгүүлбэр дэх субъект, объект нь Хүн-Хүн, Хүн-Амьтан, Хүн-Юм, Амьтан-Амьтан, Амьтан-Юм, Юм-Юмын алин байхаас тэдгээрийн эрхшээх үйл ялгавартай болж, түүнийг илэрхийлэх зарим боломж нь хэдийгээр хэлний хэл зүйн бүтцийн хүрээнд захирагдавч, утгын ялгамжаа нь хэлний бус хүчин зүйлээр нөхөцмөл, шалтгаацалтай байна гэсэн дүгнэлт хийж болно.

Түлхүүр үгс: Хэлний ба хэлний бус хүчин зүйл, ижил бүтэц, хувилбар бүтэц, утгын ялгамжаа

Abstract: In this paper, the author aims to explain regularities and linguistic and non-linguistic factors in defining differences in meaning manifested by the same grammatical relations, based on three types of evidence:

- 1. Examples of constructions consisting of dative, locative and instrumental cases.
 - 2. Examples of constructions containing causative voice.
 - 3. Examples of constructions using a derivational *suffix* to create a *noun*.

The description of sentence meaning and subject and object depend on whether

the subject and object are Person-Person, Person-Animal, Person-Thing, Animal-Animal, Animal-Thing, Thing-Thing. Though the means of expression obey grammatical structures, it can be concluded that differences in meaning may be restricted by non-linguistic matters.

This is crucial to defining detailed differences in the meaning and function of suffixes indicating grammatical relations, equivalent sentence components, and structures. In particular, from the viewpoint of grammatical structure, exemplified sentences may be correct in form but semantically inappropriate due to non-linguistic factors.

Keywords: linguistic and non-linguistic factors, same structure, variable structure, subject, object, meaning differences

Introduction

If actors are arranged in order from most active to least active, there is a progression from human: most active, animal: semi-active, to thing (inanimate): inactive. We assume that the most-active, semi-active and inactive nature of actors is important in defining detailed differences in the meaning and function of suffixes indicating grammatical relations, equivalent sentence components, and constructions. We propose using examples to clarify the meanings manifested by the same or differing relations and explain the significance of linguistic and non-linguistic factors.

Since the end of the 20th century, linguistics has been characterized by the establishment of an anthropocentric paradigm. Interpreting the meaning of idiomatic expressions such as metaphors, idioms and proverbs requires an anthropocentric approach based on interdisciplinary sciences such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, ethnography, cultural studies and the cognitive sciences. Hence the research methodologies and results of such fields are completely applicable to linguistics¹.

Many scholars have focused on extending methodological approaches to the study of idiomatic and metaphorical expressions. For example, Kořensky² adopts the anthropocentric paradigm as a fundamental approach in revealing the meaning components of language expressions and proposes the following framework: Language-Usus-Speech acts-Language norms-Speech. This has two more constituents than the tripartite language-parole framework proposed by Saussure. V.N. Teliy³ has emphasized that this structure is an appropriate formulation as a content.

We will attempt to prove this linguistic phenomenon with three different types of fact in Mongolian:

First. Constructions consisting of dative, locative and instrumental cases.

Second. Constructions consisting of causative voice.

Third. Constructions which include a nominalizing derivational suffix.

¹ For more about this, see Баянсан Ж. Соёл, хэл, үндэстний сэтгэлгээ (Улаанбаатар, 2016).

² Kořénsky. "J Ke vztahum ovecné a specialne lingvistické teorie systém", K princip pom marxistickej jazykovedy (Bratislava,1985).

³ Телия В.Н. *Человеческие факторы в языке: Языковые механизмы экспрессивности* (Москва, 1991).

1. Constructions consisting of dative, locative and instrumental cases.

- (1) Хормойгоороо гараа арчив. SUBØ bottom_of_garment.INSTR.POSS hand.POSS wipe.PST 'Wiped your hand with the bottom of your garment.'
- (2) Хормойдоо гараа арчив. SUBØ bottom_of_garment.DAT.POSS hand.POSS wipe.PST 'Wiped your hand on the bottom of your garment.'
- (3) Хормойгоороо нүдээ арчив. SUBØ bottom_of_garment.INSTR.POSS eye.POSS wipe.PST 'Wiped your eyes with the bottom of your garment.'
- (4) * Хормойдоо нүдээ арчив. * SUBØ bottom_of_garment.DAT.POSS eye.POSS wipe.PRT *'Wiped your eyes on the bottom of your garment.'
- (1) and (3) have the same syntactic structure, as do (2) and (4).

In these sentences, the objects of the verb apvu- (wipe), which are zap (hand) and Hyd (eyes) respectively, are formed with the accusative case and the possessive suffix. Xopmoŭ (bottom of garment) is marked with the instrumental case or dative-locative case and a possessive suffix. The two are combined with apvu- (wipe) in a simple sentence. The first three sentences are meaningful and comprehensible. But while (4) has the same structure as (2), it does not form a meaningful sentence. Although the sentence appears appropriate from the point of view of grammatical structure, semantically it is inappropriate due to non-linguistic factors. It is possible to move one's hand in order to wipe it with or on the bottom part of one's garment. However, (4) is inappropriate because the eyes are fixed in place, apart from movement within the eye sockets, unlike the hands which are able to move up and down. For this reason, the same grammatical structure can express a meaningful sentence in one case but not in the other. Creation of a meaningful sentence depends on correlations of capability.

- (5) нуруу өвдөх back be_painful.INF 'To have a pain in the back'
- (6) нуруугаар өвдөх back.INSTR be painful.INF 'To feel pain in the back'
- (7) нуруугаар (юм) гарах back.INSTR (something) go_out.INF 'Something comes out on the back'
- (8) Γγγρээρ capax bridge.INSTR go_out.INF 'To cross the bridge'

The word *Hypyy* (back), which occurs in (5) *Hypyy* $\theta\theta\partial\theta x$ (to have a pain in the back), and (6) *Hypyyeaap* $\theta\theta\partial\theta x$ (to feel pain in the back), occurs in the nominative and instrumental cases respectively, connected with the verb $\theta\theta\partial\theta x$ (to be ill, to

be painful). The first expression, (5) нуруу өвдөх (to have a pain in the back), is a general expression, whereas the second (6) нуруугаар өвдөх (to feel pain in the back) is specific as to location. Changing (5) нуруу өвдөх to (7) ((батга) нуруугаар гарах) (of acne) to come out on the back also involves specifying the location.

Given that the instrumental case form as found in (6) and (7) has the meaning of 'a specific place or certain area', (8) *zyypээp zapax* (to cross the bridge) would appear to be used in a similar sense. However, the instrumental case in (8) does not express same meaning as in (6) and (7), even though both *nypyy* (back) and *zyyp* (bridge) refer to physical objects and are connected with the same verb *zapax*. As *zyyp* (bridge) has the meaning of a device or instrument designed to carry things, the verb *zapax* (come out or go out) here expresses the meaning "to pass through or across something". On the other hand, (7) *nypyyzaap* (10M) *zapax* ((something) to appear on the back) expresses the concept of appearing in the area of the back. That is because *nypyy* refers to a part of the human body and does not express the meaning of a tool or instrument.

2. Constructions with causative voices

In Mongolian, the passive voice suffixes (-gd, -d, -t) change transitive verbs into intransitive verbs, the adversative voice suffix (-ld) changes both transitive and intransitive verbs into an intransitive, and the causative voice suffixes (-uul, -lga, -ga, -aa) change both transitive and intransitive verbs into transitive. Actors have forms in the nominative as well as dative-locative, accusative, instrumental and comitative cases.

These create sentence variations with results similar to compound sentences. For example: *Bu дүүгээрээ зураг зурууллаа* (*I let my sibling draw a picture*) includes two sentences, *Bu зураг зурууллаа* (*I let (sibling) draw a picture*) and Дүү зураг зурлаа (*A sibling draw a picture*). Close studies of sentence formation with causative suffixes have been undertaken by K.S. Ivchenkov⁴, G.D. Sanzheev⁵, P. Byambasan⁶ and D. Otgonsüren⁷. Mongolian linguists have studied and explained what components are included in the sentence composition depending on the form of passive voice used, and under what circumstances they take accusative, dative-locative or commutative cases. In particular, K.S. Ivchenkov studied indirect subjects which participate in sentence structuring, and, depending on the transitive verb with passive voice suffixes, in what instances they take dative-locative case. He classified transitive verbs, changed into passive voice, as below:

• transitive-passive verb, which controls the indirect subject by instrumental case

⁴ Ивченков К. С. Филологияи история монгольских народов (Москва, 1958).

⁵ Санжеев Г.Д. Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков (Глагол) (Москва, 1963).

⁶ Бямбасан П. Монгол хэлний онол, бүтцийн асуудалд (Улаанбаатар, 2006).

⁷ Отгонсүрэн Д. Орчин цагийн монгол хэлний үйл үгийн хэв байдлын найруулгын үүрэг (Улаанбаатар, 1982).

• transitive-passive verb, which controls the indirect subject by dative-locative case.

For each class over 40 verbs were listed⁸, including many verbs which can occur with either case such as: "асуулгах", "бичүүлэх", "дуудуулах", "алуулах", "дээрэмдүүлэх", "зодуулах".

- G.D. Sanzheev⁹ studied words pointing to the recipient of an action, revealed by verbs with passive voice suffixes, and in what instances they take accusative, dative-locative or instrumental cases, and explained the correlation between verb, noun semantics and grammar case semantics.
- P. Byambasan¹⁰ proposed that in sentences with passive voice, the agent is in the nominative, rarely the ablative case, while the recipient is in the dative-locative and comitative cases. He stated that variants of the sentence are created as below:

However, in *XyH yc ypc2aB* (A man let the water flow), the direct object logically becomes the recipient of the action; hence, the recipient of the intransitive passive expression takes the accusative case.

- D. Otgonsüren¹¹ determined that:
- in a sentence with the intransitive passive voice, the recipient takes the accusative case: Ээж дүүг долоон цагт босгов (Мот woke up my younger sibling at 7)
- in a sentence with the transitive passive voice, if the sense is of something being done by others, then the recipient takes the instrumental case: Аав надаар тоо бодуулав. (Dad had me solve some math problems)
- if the sense is that someone is ordered to do something, the recipient takes the dative-locative case: Багш хүүхдэд кино үзүүлэв. (The teacher showed the children the film).
- E. A. Kuzimenkov¹² studied the voice suffixes of Mongolian verbs and concluded that voice suffixes are indeed morphemes containing within them morphology, syntax and semantics. Voice is related to sentence creation. He studied in detail how these voice suffixes become the main instruments of sentence variation. Below are examples of how voice suffixes create sentence variants:

Passive voices:

а. Бат ном уншив- Эгч Батаар ном уншуулав.- Эгч Батад ном уншуулав Bat read a book – His sister made Bat read a book – His sister had Bat read a book

⁸ Ивченков К. С. Филология и история монгольских народов (Москва, 1958), 128-130, 135, 136

⁹ Санжеев Г.Д. Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков (Глагол) (Москва, 1963), 34-41.

¹⁰ Бямбасан П. Монгол хэлний онол, бүтцийн асуудалд (Улаанбаатар, 2006), 151.

¹¹ Оттонсүрэн Д. *Орчин цагийн монгол хэлний үйл үгийн хэв байдлын найруулгын үүрэг* (Улаанбаатар, 1982), 50, 162.

¹² Кузьменков Е.А. Глагол в монгольском языке (Ленинград, 1984), 77.

- б. Бат унтжээ- Эмч Батыг унтуулжээ- Эмч Батыг тариагаар унтуулжээ (Тариа Батыг унтуулжээ)
 - Bat went to sleep The doctor sent Bat to sleep The doctor sent Bat to sleep with an injection (The injection made Bat go to sleep)
- в. Бат тоо бодов- Эгч Батаар тоо бодуулав-(Эгч Батыг тоо бодуулав- Эгч Батад тоо бодуулав)

Bat did a calculation – His sister had Bat do a calculation – (His sister had Bat do a calculation – His sister had Bat do a calculation)

г. Бат ирэв- Ах нь Батыг ирүүлэв- Ах нь Батыг мориор ирүүлэв (Морь нь Батыг ирүүлэв)

Bat came – His brother had Bat come – His brother had Bat come by horse (His horse brought Bat)

д. Цамц хатав- Дүү цамц хатаав- Би дүүгээр цамц хатаалгав

The shirt dried – The younger sibling dried the shirt – I had the younger sibling dry the shirt ¹³

Adversative voices:

- а. Шарга ингэ уяагаа тайлжээ- Шарга ингэний уяа тайлагджээ- (Уяа нь шарга ингэд тайлагджээ)
 - The tawny camel calf undid its rope The tawny camel calf's rope came undone (The tawny camel's rope came undone)
- б. Би гэрээ санаж байна Надад гэр минь санагдаж байна. *I'm thinking of home My home comes to my thoughts*
- в. Би хүчинд автагдав- Би хүчээр (шахалтаар) автагдав- (Хүч намайг авав) I was taken by force I was taken by force (Force took me).

In Mongolian studies, the passive and active voices are considered to be similar in meaning, with passive and active potentially interchangeable. Scholars believe that the passive voice historically emerged from the causative. Studies have been made of the circumstances in which the two voices can be interchanged. P. Byambasan¹⁴ wrote: "it seems to be a misconception to regard cases where one can be used in place of the other with a similar meaning and function as representing two separate forms ... if the narrator focuses on horses taken by the power of the wind, the verb is in the active voice, but if he focuses on other things it is in the passive. This depends on the meaning and function of each voice."

On the one hand, in terms of general meaning, passive and active voices in modern Mongolian can be regarded as equivalent to the passive and active voices of English and Russian; on the other hand, due to communicative circumstances, they can have multiple structural variants with corresponding divergent meanings. This presents, in its turn, a whole array of problems, from complications with equivalents in neighboring languages to meaning complexities that are subtle even for native

¹³ Оттонсүрэн Д. Орчин цагийн монгол хэлний үйл үгийн хэв байдлын найруулгын үүрэг (Улаанбаатар, 1982), 74.

¹⁴ Бямбасан П. *Монгол хэлний онол, бүтцийн асуудалд* (Улаанбаатар, 2006), 156-157.

speakers. We will attempt to explain this issue through examples of variation, such as the following:

- (9) Чононд бариулсан хонь wolf.DAT grab.CAUS.PST sheep 'A sheep grabbed by a wolf'
- (10) Чононд баригдсан хонь wolf.DAT grab.PASS.PST sheep 'A sheep seized by a wolf'
- (11) Бүргэдэд үнэг бариулжээ eagle.DAT fox grab.CAUS.PRF 'The fox was grabbed by an eagle.'
- (12) Бүргэдэд үнэг баригджээ. eagle.DAT fox grab.CAUS.PRF The fox was grabbed by an eagle.'
- (13) Бүргэдээр үнэг бариулсан. eagle.INSTR fox grab.CAUS.PST 'The fox was grabbed by an eagle.'
- (14) Чоноор хонь бариулсан. wolf.INSTR sheep grab.CAUS.PRF 'The sheep was grabbed by a wolf.'
- (15) Доржоор хонь бариулав Dorj.INSTR sheep grab.CAUS.PST 'The sheep was caught by Dorj.'
- (16) Доржоор мод бариулав Dorj.INSTR wood grab.CAUS.PST 'Dorj was made to hold the wood.'

The noun phrases (9) Чононд бариулсан хонь (A sheep grabbed by a wolf) and (10) Чононд баригдсан хонь (A sheep grabbed by a wolf) contain two versions of the passive voice. In this example, the subject and object are both animals - sheep and wolf. Because it is natural for a wolf to prey on sheep, the two sentences do not differ semantically. However, another pair of examples with an identical structure having animals as subject and object show a divergence in meaning. (11) Бүргэдэд үнэг бариулжээ (The fox has been grabbed by an eagle) and (12) Бүргэдэд үнэг баригджээ (The fox has been grabbed by an eagle) appear similar in meaning in light of the natural law that a fox can be caught by an eagle, but there is a subtle difference in implication. Since the fox is regarded as a sly animal, (11) carries the implication that being caught by the eagle was a result of carelessness by the fox. On the other hand, (12) carries the implication that either the fox tried to escape in a sly way but was caught by the eagle, or that a hunting eagle suddenly and randomly caught the fox. The difference in meaning could be seen as natural selection or "survival of the fittest". It should be noted here that, if (11) is changed to (13) Бүргэдээр үнэг бариулсан (The fox was grabbed by the eagle), the likely meaning is that the eagle was trained to hunt foxes. But (14) Чоноор хонь бариулсан (The sheep was grabbed by the wolf) is likely to give rise to puzzlement why the wolf could not catch the sheep before this.

In other words, even though both subject and object are living animals, it is human perceptions of their mutual relationships, that is, non-linguistic factors, that create differences in meaning between the same structure and variant structures in a way that is unrelated to the grammatical structure of the language. Sentence (15) Доржоор хонь бариулав (The sheep was caught by Dorj) has the same structure as (13) and 14) but the subject is a man and the object is an animal. In (16) Доржоор мод бариулав (Dorj was made to hold the wood), which again has a similar structure, the object is an inanimate object. Sentence (15) indicates that a sheep, which is presumably faster and nimbler than a human being, was caught by a man. To understand the precise meaning of the sentence, it is necessary to recall the correlation between human and animal. Sentence (16) means that regardless of whether Dorj wanted to hold a stick or not, he was given the stick or was made to hold it as a result of an order or wish. Again, to understand the correct meaning, one must consider the human-inanimate object correlation within the sentence.

Identifying and understanding phenomena, characteristics, and conditions means understanding the relationships between them. In this way, a clear apprehension of relationships becomes the main method of exploring completely the object. In our examples, (10) Чононд баригдсан хонь (A sheep was grabbed by the wolf), (12) Бүргэдэд үнэг баригджээ. (A fox was grabbed by the eagle) the relationships between two animals are naturally unequal, as one is the predator and the other is its prey.

Here is another example, where we compare predicates in an equal relationship.

- (17) Ард олондоо хүрээлэгдсэн хүн (A person respected by the people.)
- (18) Ард олноороо хүрээлэгдсэн хүн (A person respected by the people.)
- (19) Ард олноороо хүрээлүүлсэн хүн (A person respected by the people.)
- (20) Ард олондоо хүрээлүүлсэн хүн (A person who had respected with people.)

The following examples will help clarify this:

- (21) Усанд хүрээлэгдсэн адуу water.INSTR surround.PASS.PST horse 'Horses surrounded by water'
- (22) Усаар хүрээлэгдсэн газар water.INSTR surround.PASS.PST land 'Land surrounded by water'
- (23) Усаар хүрээлүүлсэн газар water.INSTR surround.CAUS.PST land 'Land surrounded with water'
- (24) Усанд хүрээлүүлсэн адуу water.INSTR surround.CAUS.PST horse 'Horses surrounded with water'

In Mongolian, some transitive verbs can be used in the active or passive voice, depending on what the author wishes to emphasize. In the active sentence *Ус адууг хүрээлсэн (Water surrounded the horses)* the emphasis is on the water. In (21) *усанд хүрээлэгдсэн адуу (horses surrounded by water)*, the emphasis is on the horses, expressing the meaning that they came under the control of the water. In (24) *усанд хүрээлүүлсэн адуу (Horses surrounded with water)*, the horses were inactive and slow to move compared with (21). In (22) and (23) the subject and objects are the same but (23) expresses the power of the water in surrounding the island while (22) means that a piece of land is located in the middle of water.

3. Constructions with a nominalizing derivational suffix

In Mongolian, the "-чин" derivational suffix is attached to nouns to create nouns with the meaning "a person or thing that does something", for example: хоньчин (shepherd), адуучин (horse herder), ногоочин (vegetable grower), тариачин (crop farmer), гахайчин (pig farmer), тахиачин (poultry farmer), галуучин (gosherd) алд зөгийчин (bee keeper).

However, there are many words that cannot be derived on the analogy of such words, such as *нохойчин (dog keeper), *могойчин (snake keeper), and *хорхойчин (insect keeper). The main reason is not related to linguistic factors (ability of the language to create such forms) but to non-linguistic factors related to the needs of Mongolians.

In Mongolian, a person who cuts or styles hair is called *усчин* (hairdresser), but there is no comparable term *xymcuuh (nail styler) for a person who cuts or styles nails or *caxanuh (beard dresser) for a person who cuts or styles beards. The lack of *caxanuh is due to a respectful attitude to men's beards and non-linguistic, cultural factors. Previously only old people wore beards and there was a taboo on a person whose father was still alive wearing a beard. The saying "to be covered with the hair of a beard" meant "to lose one's attraction, to grow thin, to grow weak and tired", or "grow tired to death".

To sum up: From the viewpoint of grammatical structure, the exemplified sentences are correct in form, but the meaning may be expressed inappropriately due to non-linguistic factors. The above passive voice variants in Mongolian formed with a verb in the passive or causative voice will have a different meaning depending on whether the subject and object are Person-Person, Person-Animal, Person-Thing, Animal-Animal, Animal-Thing, Thing-Thing. Though the means of expression obey grammatical structures, it can be concluded that differences in meaning may be restricted by non-linguistic factors.

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