

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

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Abstract

This paper investigates relative clauses in the Secret History of the Mongols. Corpora of SHM compiled by the author were used and all relative clauses were tagged. Most cases of the relative clauses in SHM are pre-nominal or headless. Some relative clauses, however, appear after the head noun and occur in the sequence of “(Numeral, Determiner) Head Relative Clause”. We have also found some cases in which both the head and the relative clause bare the same Case marking. These clauses are nonrestrictive relative clauses, and their behavior in Case marking supports the analysis of treating a nonrestrictive relative clause as an appositional clause of the head noun. To sum up, there are two types of [...Head [Relative Clause]] sequences in SHM. One is the regular type in which the whole noun phrase takes one Case. In the other type the head noun and the relative clause are both Case-marked with the same Case, showing some sort of concordance. The former type is restrictive and the latter is appositional and non-restrictive.

Keywords: post-head relative clause, non-restrictive relative clause, Mongolian

1. Introduction

This paper investigates relative clauses in the Secret History of the Mongols (henceforth SHM). Corpora of SHM compiled by the author were used and relative clauses and nominal clauses were tagged.

According to our survey, there are 351 relative clauses in SHM. Most cases of the relative clauses in the SHM are pre-nominal ([RelativeClause] Head). See (1) and (2) for examples.¹ They might be classified into three types, i. e. gapped relative clauses, gapless relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Among them 50 clauses are gapless (e.g. (3), (4))

(1)	斡惕赤斤	那顏	斡都黑三	亦兒格邊
	Odčigin	noyan	[_{NP} [_{RC} oduγsan]	irge]-ben
	Name	chief	go.PFV	people-REFL.POSS
	忽亦剌	莎豁兒	捏列禿	額勒赤顏
	γuyira	Soqor	neretü	elči-yen
	request.CVB	Name	name.COM	messenger-REFL.POSS

¹ List of abbreviations used in glosses in this article: ABL, ablative; ACC, accusative; CAUS, causative; COOP, cooperative; CVB, converb; DAT, dative; GEN, genitive; HAB, habitual; IMP, imperative; IPFV, imperfective; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; NPST, non-past; PTCL, particle; PASS, passive; PFV, perfective; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PST, past; Q, question particle; QUOT, quotation marker; RECP, reciprocal; REFL, reflexive; REL, relative; VOL, volition.

亦列主為。(V10, S245, 33a_5:33b_1)

ile:jü'üi.

send.PST

‘Chief Odčigin sent his own messenger named Soqor to ask for his people who went (there).’

- (2) 也速該 把阿秃兒 安答 米訥 斡敦 巴剌^黑三
 Yesügei ba'atur anda minü [_{NP} [_{RC} odun baraysan]
 Name hero sworn_brother 1SG.GEN go.CVB finish.PFV
 兀魯思 米訥 你刊帖 阿不剌周 斡克罷。(V5, S164, 35b_2:3)
 ulus] minü nigente aburaǰu ögbe.
 people 1SG.GEN one_time rescue.CVB give.PST
 ‘My sworn brother Yesügei the hero once rescued my people who were departed.’

Gapless relative clauses are headed by an abstract noun such as *üges* ‘words’, *sedkil* ‘thought’, *hači* ‘merit’, *tusa* ‘benefit’ and *yosun* ‘manner, rule’.

The relative clause constructions *jasay ügüeldügsen üges* ‘the words they spoke’ and *tus qan-ıyan tebčın yadaısan sedkil* ‘the thought that one couldn’t abandon one’s own proper king’ in (3) and (4) are gapless.

- (3) 察罕塔塔兒 阿勒赤塔塔兒 都塔兀^惕塔塔兒 阿魯孩塔塔兒
 Čayan_Tatar, Alči_Tatar, Duta'ud_Tatar, Alqui_Tatar
 Tribe_Name Tribe_Name Tribe_Name Tribe_Name
 額兒乞^惕 亦兒格 田迭 木忽^惕哈周 札撒^黑 鳴訥列^勒都克先
 erkid irge tende muqudqaju [_{NP} [_{RC} jasay ügüeldügsen]
 honorable.PL people there destroy.CVB rule say.RECP.PFV
 兀格思-圖兒 阿勒壇 忽察兒 荅里台 忽兒班 兀格思-圖兒
 üges]-tür Altan, Qučar, Daritai ıurban üges-tür
 word.PL-DAT Name Name Name three word.PL-DAT
 兀祿 古倫 斡勒札突兒 擺亦主為。(V5, S153, 18a_3:18b_1)
 ülü kürün olja-dur bayıju'ui.
 NEG reach.CVB spoils-DAT stay.PST
 ‘Altan, Qučar, and Daritai didn’t follow the words that they spoke and stopped for spoils after destroying the important peoples of Čayan Tatar, Alči Tatar, Duta’ud Tatar and Alqui Tatar.’
- (4) 圖^思 合你-顏 帖卜臣 牙荅^黑三
 [_{NP} [_{RC} tus qan-ıyan tebčın yadaısan]
 proper king-REFL.POSS abandon.CVB be_unable.PFV
 薛^惕乞^勒 塔訥 勺卜 備。(V5, S149, 7b_3:4)
 sedkil] tanu jöb büi.
 thought 2.PL.POSS right exist.NPST
 ‘Your thought that (you) were not able to abandon your own proper king is right.’

There are also 53 headless relative clauses, e.g. (5) and (6). Headless relative clauses are gapped relative clauses without overt head nouns ([RelativClause] \emptyset). The relative clause constructions *umartaysan* ‘(the one) who has forgotten’, *untaraysan* ‘(the one) who has fallen asleep’ and *manayaru ügüleksen* ‘(the words) one said in the morning), *üde-yin ügüleksen* ‘(the words) one said at noon’ in (3)a,b are headless.

- (5) 額朵額 你客捏 含圖 阿主
 edö’e nigen-e qamtu aju
 now one-DAT together exist.CVB
 兀馬兒塔黑撒你顏 都刺惕合勒都周
 [_{NP} [_{RC} umartaysan] \emptyset]-iyan duradqalduju
 forget.PFV-REFL.POSS remind.RECP.CVB
 穩榻刺黑撒你顏 薛里兀魯勒扯周 阿牙! (V8, S200, 14b_1:3)
 [untaraysan]-iyan seri’ülülčejü aya!
 sleep.PFV-REFL.POSS awake.RECP.CVB exist.1VOL
 ‘Now let’s live together and remind the one who has forgotten, and awake the one who has fallen asleep for each other.’
- (6) ...馬納合魯 鳴話列克薛泥 兀迭石 忽荅魯阿速
 ...[_{NP} [_{RC} manayaru ügüleksen] \emptyset]-i üdeši hudaru’asu
 morning say.PFV-ACC evening tear.CVB
 兀迭因 鳴話列克薛泥 馬納合兒 忽荅魯阿速
 [[_{RC} üde-yin ügüleksen] \emptyset]-i manayar hudaru’asu
 noon-GEN say.PFV-ACC tomorrow tear.CVB
 希扯列 馬合 客額克迭古...(V10, S246, 44a_4:44b_1)
 hičere maqa ke’egdekü...
 shame certainly say.PASS.IPFV
 ‘If one undo in the evening what he has said in the morning, and if one undo on the next day what he has said at noon, certainly he will be shamed.’

Some relative clauses are post-head and occur in the sequence of “(Numeral) (Determiner) Head Relative Clause”. See (7).

- (7) ...帖木真... 你刊 古魯篋列 可溫 古溫 格兀
 Temüjin ... [_{NP} nigen görümele kö’ün kü’ün [_{RC} ge’ü:
 Name one lively boy man mare
 撒安 阿忽宜 勺勒合周 失兒合 阿馬習壇泥
 sa’an aqu]]-yi jolɣaju širya aytatan-i
 milk.CVB exist.IPFV]-ACC meet.CVB light-bay gelding.PL-ACC
 速刺巴速 帖列 可溫 帖木真捏 斡羅^黑 升忽刺宜
 surabasu tere kö’ün Temüjin-ne oroγ_šinqula-yi
 inquire.CVB that boy Temüjin-DAT a_kind_of_horse-ACC
 兀訥溫^勒罷。(V2, S90, 28b_3:29a_5)
 unu’ulba.

ride.CAUS.PST

‘Temujin ... encountered a lively lad who was milking maresand (as Temujin) inquired concerning the isabella geldings, the lad made (Temujin) ...to ride a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone.’

2. Targets: what can be relativized?

In SHM, the targets that were relativized are the subject, object, and dative/locative phrases.

Subject:

- (8) 額列 額都 脫劣宜 只阿^{黑三}
 [_{NP}ele [_{RC}edüi törö-yi ji'aγsan]
 this this many principle-ACC demonstrate.PFV
 古溫泥 納馬宜 土箋訥 那顏 孛魯阿速
 kü'ün]-i namayi tümen-ü noyan bolu'asu
 man-ACC 1SG.ACC ten thousand-GEN chief become.CVB
 牙溫 只兒合郎 備? (V3, S121, 39b_2:4)
 ya'un jiryalaŋ bui?
 what happy exist.NPST
 ‘Even if I, a man who has pointed out so many principles (for you), become a chief of ten thousand, what kind of happiness is it?’
- (9) 納蘭 升格^{克薛訥} 豁亦納 雪泥 逐步渾 哈蘭
 naran šingegsen-ü qoyina [_{NP} [_{RC}söni yabuqun] haran]
 sun set.PFV-GEN after night go.IPFV people
 客^{卜帖兀勒} 把里周 豁那秃孩 ! (V12, S278, 37b_4:5)
 kebte'ül bariju qonotuyai!
 nightguard seize.CVB spend the night.3IMP
 ‘After sunset, let the nightguards seize people who walk at night and pass the night.’

Object:

- (10) 撒因 額赤格因 赤訥 古里牙黑苔黑三 兀魯昔
 [_{NP} [_{RC}sayin ečige-yin činü quriyaγdaysan] ulus]-i
 good father-GEN 2SG.GEN gather.PASS.PFV people-ACC
 馬訥 不里訥 兀魯思 阿(卜)抽 孛兀^{克迭} 俞
 manu būrin-ü ulus abču newüγderün
 1PL.GEN all-GEN people take.CVB move.PASS.CVB
 亦^{惕合忽} 孛俞 額因 乞客迭罷 。 (V2, S73, 4b_1:3)
 idqaqu bolun eyin kigdebe.
 stop.IPFV become.CVB such do.PASS.PST
 ‘When (they) took all of our people who were assembled by your good father and made them to move, I tried to stop and this is how I was treated.’
- (11) 把里周 阿不^{黑三} 額箋 不列額 。 (V1, S41, 24a_5:24b_1)
 [_{NP} [_{RC}bariju abuγsan] eme] büle'e.
 seize.CVB take.PFV woman exist.PST
 ‘(She) was a woman who (he) seized.’

Dative/Locative:

- (12) 塔塔倫 也客扯列訥 也遂 捏列台 幹勤
 [_{NP} [_{RC} Tatar-un Yeke-čeren-ü Yesüi neretei ökin
 Tribe_Name-GEN Name-GEN Name name.COM daughter
 幹克迭克先 古列干 古溫 不列額 必。(V5, S156, 25b_3:4)
 ögtegsen] küregen kü'ün] büle'e bi.
 give.PASS.PFV son_in_law man exist.PST 1SG.NOM
 'I was the son-in-law whom the daughter named Yesui of Yeke-ceren of the Tatar was given to.'
- (13) 那闊兒 古兀捏 亦出阿黑苔阿速 土魯訥 多卜禿魯黑三
 nökör kü'ün-e iču'ayda'asu [_{NP} [_{RC} türü:n-ü dobtuluysan]
 comrade man-DAT retreat.PASS.CVB first-GEN attack.PFV
 合札兒都里顏 額客額魯牙! (V5, S153, 17b_2:4)
 γaǰar]-tur-ıyan ege'erüye!
 place-DAT-REFL.POSS rotate.1VOL
 'If our comrades get retreated by an enemy, let us return to the place where we attacked at the beginning.'
- (14) 額朵額 必苔納察 委亦惕忽 察黑
 edö'e [_{NP} [_{RC} bidan-ača uyidqu] čay]
 now 2PL-ABL weary.IPFV time
 孛勒罷。(V3, S18, 31a_4:5)
 bolba.
 become.PST
 'Now it's the time when (he) is weary of us.'

3. Marking typology

Relative clauses in SHM behave more like Japanese relatives than English or Mandarin Chinese relative clauses.

There is no explicit marking between a relative clause and the head noun in SHM and Japanese as shown in (15) and (16). On the other hand, a relative marker *de* always occurs in Mandarin Chinese relative clauses while overt relative markers appear obligatorily when subjects are relativized and optionally when non-subjects are relativized in English as shown in (17) and (18).

- (15)a. 圖思 罕都里顏 合兒 古兒格克先
 [_{NP} [_{RC} tus qan-dur-ıyan γar kürgegsen]
 proper king-DAT-REFL.POSS hand arrive.PFV
 古兀泥 客兒 阿兀勒苔忽? (V8, S200, 13b_2:3)
 kü'ün]-i ker a'uldaqu?
 people-ACC how exist.CAUS.IPFV
 'How can one allow persons who have laid hand upon their proper king to be alive?'
- b. 主魯格捏徹 脫列克先 額客余延
 [_{NP} [_{RC} jürüken-eče töregsen] eke]-yü'en
 heart-ABL give_birth.PFV mother-ACC.REFL.POSS

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------------------------|---------------|
| 赤馬 ^揚 合阿速 | 赤納兒 | 亦訥 | 者乞兒抽 |
| čimadqa'asu | činar | inü | jekirčü |
| make_displeased.CVB | spirit | 3SG.GEN | turn cold.CVB |
| 札里刺兀魯阿速 | 兀祿 | 孛里。(V11, S254, 25a_2:3) | |
| jalira'ulu'asu | ülü | boli. | |
| get better.CAUS.CVB | NEG | become.NPST | |
- 'If (you) make your own mother, who gave birth to you from her heart, unhappy, her affection turns cold and it will not get better.'
- (16)a. [_{RC} kinou sono gakkou-ni itta] hito (Japanese)
yesterday that school-LOC go.PST person
'the person who went to that school yesterday'
- b. [_{RC} Gakusei-ga kaita] ronbun
student-NOM write.PST paper
'the paper(s) that a student/students wrote'
- (17)a. [_{RC} ceng zai xiang-xia mu yang de] ren (Mandarin Chinese)
ever at countryside tend sheep REL person
'the person(s) who was/were tending sheep in the countryside'
- b. [_{RC} xuesheng xie de] lunwen
student write REL paper(s)
'the paper(s) that the student(s) wrote'
- (18)a. people [who were tending sheep in the countryside] (English)
b. the paper(s) [which/that/which the student(s) wrote]

Like Japanese, Nominative/Genitive alternations² exist in relative clauses in SHM. Although in most cases subjects in relative clauses in SHM are in Genitive Case, some are in Nominative Case.

In (19), the subject *Qurčaquš-Buyiruy qan ečige-yin činü* 'your father King Qurčaquš-Buyiruy' in the relative clause constructions is in Genitive Case. The subject *ečige eke* 'father and mother' in the relative clause in (20) is in Nominative Case.

- (19) ... 忽兒察忽思不亦魯^黑 罕 額赤格因 赤訥 勺般
...[_{NP} [_{RC} Qurčaquš-Buyiruy qan ečige-yin činü jöban
Name king father-GEN 2SG.POSS suffer.CVB
額堆 忽里牙周 阿^黑三 兀魯昔 赤訥
edüi quriyažu aysan] ulus]-i činü
these assemble.CVB be.PFV people-ACC 2SG.POSS
馬納兀 篋迭兀勒古 客捏 別兒 也勤
man-a mede'ü:lkü ken-e ber ya:kin
1PL-DAT govern.CAUS.IPFV who-DAT also how
篋迭兀勒古? (V5, S167, 43b_3:5)
mede'ü:lkü?
govern.CAUS.IPFV

² Subjects in Japanese relative clauses might be nominative or genitive, a phenomenon called Ga/No Conversion in the literature (Harada 1971).

‘(If you dies), how will we or anyone to govern your people who your father King Qurčaquš-Buyiruy assembled with labor?’

- (20) 額朵額 納牙阿苔察 阿撒^黑塔刺 合罕 莎余兒合阿速
 edö’e Naya-dača asaytala qahan soyurqa’asu
 now Naya-DAT.ABL ask.CVB king allow.CVB
 騰格理因 札牙阿兒 額赤格 額客
 teŋgiri-yin ʃaya’a-ar [_{NP} [_{RC} ečige eke
 heaven-GEN destiny-INS father mother.NOM
 脫列兀魯^克先 馬里顏納察 阿撒忽阿速! (V7, S197, 47b_4:48a_1)
 töre’ülügseŋ] mariyan]-ača asayu’asu!
 born.CAUS.PFV muscle-ABL ask.2VOL

‘Now while asking Naya, if (you) the King allow, please ask my body to which (my) father and mother gave birth with the destiny of Heaven!’

(21) and (22) are examples of Nominative/Genitive alternations in gapless relative clause.

- (21)a. 巴歹 約兒赤周 那可兒 阿都兀赤 乞失里合
 Badai yorčiju nökör adu’uči Kišilig-e
 Name go.CVB companion herdman Name-DAT
 扯列訥 鳴訥列^克先 兀格思 鳴訥列主兀。 (V5, S169, 48b_2:4)
 [_{NP} [_{RC} Čeren-ü ügüleŋseŋ] üges] ügüleju’ü.
 Name-GEN say.PFV words speak.PST
 ‘Badai departed and told (his) companion, the herdman Kisilig, the words Čeren said.’
- b. 額客因 米訥 帖只延 勺巴^黑三 合赤
 [_{NP} [_{RC} eke-yin minü tejiyen ʃobaysan] hači]
 mother-GEN 1SG.POSS bring up.CVB suffer.PFV merit
 豁牙兒 可兀敦 米訥 阿民突兒 土撒
 qoyar kö’üd-ün minü amin-dur tusa
 two son.PL-GEN 1SG.POSS life-DAT benefit
 孛勒罷 者。 (V9, S214, 17a_2:3)
 bolba je.
 become.PST PTCL

‘The benefit that my mother was in the trouble of bringing you up turned into a benefit to the lives of my two sons.’

- (22) 兀里苔 額兒帖 兀都兒 也速該 罕 額赤格魯額
 [_{NP} [_{RC} urida erte üdür Yesügei qan ečige-lü’e
 before early day Name king father-COM
 王罕 安苔 客額^勒都^克先 約速阿兒
 On-qan anda ke’eldügseŋ] yosu-’ar
 Name sworn_brother say.RECP.PFV reason-INS
 額赤格 篋圖。 (V5, S164, 36b_4:5)
 ečige metü.

‘(Ong Qan) is like a father (of Genghsi Khan) because that in early days Ong Qan declared himself anda with Father Yesugei Qan.’

It is noteworthy that the Accusative Reflexive Possessive suffixes *-yü'en/-yu'an* also occur in subjects of a relative clause in SHM. The subject *Čingis-qaha:n ečige-yü'en* '(my) own father Genghis Khan' in the relative clauses in both (23)a and (24) is apparently Accusative.

- (23) 成吉思合罕 額赤格余延 勾班
 [NP]_{RC} Čingis-qaha:n ečige-yü'en joban
 Genghis_Khan father-ACC.REFL.POSS suffer.CVB
 擺亦兀魯^{黑三} 兀魯昔 不 勾孛阿牙! (V12, S279, 46b_5:47a_1)
 bayi'uluysan] ulus]-i bü jobo'aya!
 build.CAUS.PFV nation-ACC NEG suffer.CAUS.1VOL
 'Let's not make to suffer the nation which my own father Genggis Khan established with labour.'
- (24) 成吉思合罕 額赤格-余延 多兒忽^勒
 [NP]_{RC} Čingis-qaha:n ečige-yü-'e:n dorqul
 Genghis_Khan father-ACC.REFL.POSS unfinished
 塔勒必^{黑撒揚} 亦兒格訥 巴黑塔惕 亦兒格訥 合里伯
 talbiysad] irgen]-ü Baytad irgen-ü Qalibai
 put_down.PFV.PL people-GEN Tribe_Name people-GEN Name
 莎壇突兒 阿牙刺^{黑三} 綽兒馬罕豁兒赤因 格只格 幹豁禿兒
 soltan-dur ayalaysan Čormaqan_qorči-yin gejige Oγotur,
 king-DAT set_out.PFV Name-GEN rear_guard Name
 蒙格禿 豁牙里 阿牙刺兀勒罷 。 (V12, S270, 15a_5: 15b_3)
 Möngetü qoyar-i ayala'ulbai.
 Name two-ACC set_out.CAUS.PST
 '(öğödei Khan sent out both Oqotur and Munggetu, rear guards of Cormaqan Qorci who set out to (conquer) Qalibai Soltan of the Baytad people who his own father Genghis Khan left undone.'

It happens that in SHM the Accusative marking occurs at the position generally occupied by the Genitive case only when it is combined with the Reflexive Possessive marking. Compare *aqa-yu'an dergede* 'at (my) own elder brother's side' in (25)a and *qan ečige-yin dergede* 'at the side of (my) father, the king' in (25)b.

- (25)a. 必 合罕 額赤格因 捏列亦都^{克先}
 bi qaha:n ečige-yin nereyidügsen
 1SG.NOM emperor father-GEN call.PFV
 阿合余安 迭兒格迭 阿周... (V11, S255, 32a_4:5)
 aqa-yu'an dergede aju
 elder_brother-ACC.REFL.POSS side exist.CVB
 'I, staying at the side of my own elder brother who my father, the king, nominated...'
- b. 幹歌歹 罕 額赤格因 迭兒格迭 阿周... (V11, S255, 29a_5)
 ögödei qan ečige-yin dergede aju ...
 Name king father-GEN side exist.CVB
 'Ogodei, being at the side of my father, the king...'

An alternative analysis is that *-yü'en/-yu'an* is also a combined form of Genitive marking and Reflexive Possessive marking. Hsiao (2016) found that the form “-i” is ambiguous between Accusative and Genitive marking in the 1716 woodblock version of Mongolian Geser when it is attached to a noun ended with the consonant ‘n’. However, the suffixes *-yü'en/-yu'an* are bound to a stem ended with a vowel. We will leave this issue for further study.

Hsiao (2012a, 2012b) report results of statistical studies on Nominative/Genitive alternations in relative clauses in Modern Mongolian. Genitive case is significantly preferred. She claims that finiteness of relative clauses is related to subject case marking. English relative clauses are finite and the clause-internal subjects are nominative. See (26).

- (26)a. the person (whom) you/I/he/she saw yesterday (English)
 b. *the person (whom) your/my/his/her saw yesterday

On the other hand, relative clauses in Mongolian are non-finite clauses, which cannot be headed by a finite indicative verb (Hsiao 2012a: 369-370).

The question is: if Mongolian relative clauses are nominalized clauses, why Nominative subjects are legitimate? Our answer is: Mongolian verbal noun are on the way to become indicative suffixes and may take the predicative position in matrix clauses (Hsiao 2007, 2009, 2013). As a result, verbal noun predicates in relative clauses may resemble those in matrix clauses. Therefore, relative clauses can be reanalyzed as finite clauses and have nominal subjects by analogy to their matrix counterparts.

4. Post-head relative clauses

There are two types of post-head relative clauses in SHM. The first type looks like pre-nominal gapped relative clauses except that the relative clause occurs after the head noun. See (27) to (30).

- (27) 必 失兒合 阿馬習壇 帖迭 備
 bi [NP širya aytatan [RC tede büi]
 1SG.NOM isabella gelding.PL there exist.NPST
 忽迭周 合兒速該 ! (V2, S90, 30b_1)
 hüldejü yarsuyai!
 chase_away.CVB come_out.1VOL
 ‘I will chase after the isabella geldings which are there and make them come out.’
- (28) ... 阿赤阿禿 秣麟 阿赤阿班
 ... [NP ači'atu morin [RC ači'a-ban
 load.COM horse load-REFL.POSS
 客別里兀勒 周擺亦因 不恢宜
 kebeli'üljü bayin büküi]-yi
 slip_down_to_one_side.CAUS.CVB stay.CVB be.IPFV-ACC
 阿赤阿 亦訥 豁黑脫勒周 影吉兒察黑途兒 亦訥
 ači'a inü hoytolju ingirčay-tur inü
 load 3SG.POSS cut_off.CVB saddle_rack-LOC 3SG.POSS

- 兀訥周 合兒抽 ... (V6, S172, 12b_1:3)
 unuǰu ɣarču
 ride.CVB come_out.CVB
 ‘(I), cutting off the burden of a horse whose load has inclined down to one side, riding on its saddle rack and coming out...’
- (29) 斡赤堅 你刊帖 必勒只兀兒 豁多里都^黑撒泥
 öčigen nigente [_{NP} bilʃi’ur [_{RC} ɣodoliduysan]]-i
 yesterday one_day lark shoot_a_bone-tipped_arrow-ACC
 帖因古 不里周 阿不刺阿。 (V2, S77, 9a_3:4)
 teyin-kü bulǰu abula’a.
 such beat.CVB take.PST
 ‘Recently one day, (they) took away violently a lark which (we) had shot with a bone-tipped arrow, just like that.’
- (30) ...帖木真... 你刊 古魯篋列 可溫 古溫 格兀
 Temüjin ... [_{NP} nigen görümele kö’ün kü’ün [_{RC} ge’ü:
 Name one lively boy man mare
 撒安 阿忽宜 勻勒合周 失兒合 阿馬習壇泥
 sa’an aqu]]-yi jolɣaǰu širya aytatan-i
 milk.CVB exist.IPFV]-ACC meet.CVB light-bay gelding.PL-ACC
 速刺巴速 帖列 可溫 帖木真捏 斡羅^黑 升忽刺宜
 surabasu tere kö’ün Temüjin-ne oroɣ_šinqula-yi
 inquire.CVB that boy Temüjin-DAT a_kind_of_horse-ACC
 兀訥溫^勒罷。 (= (7))
 unu’ulba.
 ride.CAUS.PST
 ‘Temujin ... encountered a lively lad who was milking maresand (as Temujin) inquired concerning the isabella geldings, the lad made (Temujin) ...to ride a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone.’

Note that unlike (27)-(30), in (31) the case marker is on the head *Dei-sečen-nü Börte-üjin* ‘Dei-sečen’s (daughter) Börte-üjin’ instead of the whole nominal phrase including the relative clause.

- (31) 田迭扯 帖木真 別古台 豁牙兒 德薛禪訥
 tende-če Temüjin Be(l)gütei qoyar [_{NP} Dei-sečen-nü
 there-ABL Name Name two Name-GEN
 孛兒帖兀只泥 也孫 納速禿 不恢突兒 兀者周
 Börte-üjin-i [_{RC} yisün nasutu büküi-dür üjeǰu
 Name -ACC nine age.COM be.IPFV-DAT see.CVB
 亦列^克薛額兒 合合察周 不列額 客魯漣 沐漣
 iregse’e:r qayačaǰu bülle’e]] Kelüren müren
 come.CVB separate.CVB be.NPST Name river

忽魯兀 額鄰 幹(楊)罷。(V2, S94, 36b_1: 3)
 huru'u erin o(d)ba.
 along search.CVB go.PST
 'From there, Temujin and Belgutei went along the Keluren River to seek Dei-sečen's (daughter) Börte-üjin, from whom (Temujin) has separated since he saw her and came (back) at nine years old.'

The second type of post-head relative clauses are those in which both the head and the relative clause bare the same case marking. See (32) to (35).

In (32) the relative clause *Tu'ula müren-nü qara tün-ne бүкүй* '(who) was in the Black Woods of the Tu'ula River' and the head noun *Kereyid-ün To'oril Oṅ-qan* 'To'oril Ong Qan of the Kereyid' take the Dative Case marker *-dur/-dür*. Both the relative clause *nuntuy-tur qočoruysan* '(who the Tayicuud's Besud) left behind at the campsite' and the head noun *nigen öčüken Kököčü neretü kö'ün* 'a little boy named Kököčü' in (33) take the Accusative Case marker *-i*.

- (32) ...帖木真 合撒兒 別勒古台 忽兒班 客列亦敦
 Temüjin, Qasar, Belgütei ṡurban [_{NP} Kereyid-ün
 Name Name Name three Tribe_Name-GEN
 脫幹鄰勒 王罕突兒 土兀刺 沐漣訥 合刺
 To'oril Oṅ-qan]-dur [_{RC} Tu'ula müren-nü qara
 Name Name-DAT River_Name river-GEN black
 屯納 不恢突兒 幹勒抽 鳴訥列論... (V3, S104, 1a_2:4)
 tün-ne бүкүй]-dür o(d)ču ügülerün...
 woods-DAT be.IPFV-DAT go.CVB say.CVB
 'Temujin, Qasar and Belgutei three altogether went to To'oril Ong-qan of the Kereyid, who was in the Black Woods of the Tu'ula River, and said...'
- (33) 泰亦赤兀敦 別速敦 嫩禿黑圖兒
 Tayiči'ud-un Besüd-ün nuntuy-tur
 Tribe_Name-GEN Tribe_Name-GEN campsite-LOC
 你刊 兀出干 闊闊出 捏列禿 可兀泥
 [_{NP} nigen öčüken Kököčü neretü kö'ün-i
 one little Name name.COM son-ACC
 嫩禿黑圖兒 豁綽魯黑撒泥 必荅訥埃 阿不阿惕
 [_{RC} nuntuy-tur qočoruysan]]-i bidanu'ai abu'ad
 campsite-LOC left_behind.PFV-ACC ours take.CVB
 亦列周 訶額倫 額客迭 幹克罷。(V3, S119, 32b_4:33a_1)
 irejü Hö'elün eke-de ögbe.
 come.CVB Name mother-DAT give.PST
 'Our soldiers picked up a little boy named Kököčü, who (the Tayicuud's Besud) left behind at the camp site, and gave him to Mother Hö'elün.'

In SHM, the texts about how a child was given to Genghis Khan's mother Үд'елн are similar. Like the structure of (33), the relative clause *ge:(g)sen* '(who the Tatar) abandoned at the campsite'

and the head noun *nigen öčüken kö'üken* 'a little child' in (34) take the same case marking.

- (34) 塔塔倫 豁兒合刺^{黑三} 納刺禿失禿額捏
 Tatar-un qoryalaysan Naratu-šitü'en-e
 Tribe_Name-GEN build_shelter.PFV Name-LOC
 保兀^{勒三} 嫩禿^{黑圖兒} 塔刺灰突兒 你刊 兀出干
 bawuysan nuntuy-tur talaqui-dur [_{NP}nigen üčüken
 live.PFV campsite-LOC ruin.IPFV-DAT one small
 可兀客泥 格薛泥 必荅訥 扯里兀^楊
 kö'üken-i [_{RC}ge:(g)sen]]-i bidan-u čeri'ü:d
 child-ACC abandon.PFV-ACC 1PL-GEN soldier.PL
 嫩禿合察 幹^{勒主為}。(V4, S135, 16b_5:17a_2)
 nuntuy-ača olju'ui.
 campsite-ABL get.PST
 'While ruining the campsite built by the Tatar at Naratu-šitü'en, our soldiers got a small child, who (the Tatar) abandoned.'

However, (35) shows that the head noun and the relative clause may be separated by some other constituent in this type of relative clauses. In (35), the subject of the matrix clause *bidan-u čeri'üd* 'our soldiers' intervenes between the lengthy head of the relative construction *buluyan maqalaitu, maral-un yodun yutusu, ičigin jarqay usun-u buluyan jalγaysan de'eltü, tabun nasutu Küčü neretü, nidün-dür-iyen yaltu kö'üken* 'a five year-old child named Küčü with fire in his eyes, who wears a hat of sable, boots of the skin of the legs of the doe, and a gown of the water sable' and the relative clause *nuntuy-tur qočoruysan* '(who the Uduyid Merkid) left behind at the camp site'.

- (35) 兀都亦^楊 篋兒乞^楊 都兒別倫 不^{龜罕}
 Uduyid Mergid dürberün [_{NP}buluyan
 Name Tribe_Name flee_in_panic.CVB sable
 馬哈來禿 馬蘭倫 豁敦 忽都速禿 亦赤勤 札兒合黑
 maqalaitu, maral-un yodun yutusu, ičigin jarqay
 hat.COM doe-GEN skin_of_legs boot.COM skin
 兀速訥 不^{龜罕} 札^{勒合黑三} 迭額^{勒禿} 塔奔 納速禿
 usun-u buluyan jalγaysan de'eltü, tabun nasutu
 water-GEN sable connect.PFV gown.COM five age.COM
 曲出 捏列禿 你敦都里顏 合^{勒禿} 可兀客泥
 Küčü neretü, nidün-dür-iyen yaltu kö'üken]-i
 Name name.COM eye-LOC-REFL.POSS fire.COM children-ACC
 必荅訥 扯里兀^楊 嫩禿^{黑圖兒} 豁綽魯^{黑撒泥}
 bidan-u čeri'üd [_{NP}[_{RC}nuntuy-tur qočoruysan]]-i
 1PL-GEN soldier.PL campsite-LOC left_behind.PFV-ACC
 豁^{勒周} 阿^{卜赤刺周} 訶額倫 額客迭 掃花 阿^{卜抽}
 olju abčiražu Hö'e:lün eke-de sauqa abču
 get.CVB take.CVB Name mother-DAT gift take.CVB

幹^揚抽 幹^克罷 。 (V3, S114, 23b_3:24a_3)

odču ögbe.

go.CVB give.PST

‘Our soldiers found a five year-old child named Kücü, with fire in his eyes, wearing a hat of sable, boots of the skin of the legs of the doe and a gown of the water sable, who the Uduyid Merkid left behind at the campsite, and gave him to Mother Ho’elun as a gift.’

We propose that these are non-restrictive relative clauses, and their behavior in case marking supports the analysis of treating a non-restrictive relative clause as an appositional clause of the head noun.

The first type of post-head relative clauses exemplified by (27)-(30) are all restrictive. See (36).

- (36)a. [_{NP}širya aytatan [_{RC}tede büi] (extracted from (27))
isabella gelding.PL there exist.NPST
the isabella geldings which are there

- b. [_{NP}ači’atu morin [_{RC}ači’a-ban (extracted from (28))
load.COM horse load-REFL.POSS
kebeli’üljü bayin büküi]-yi
slip_down_to_one_side.CAUS.CVB stay.CVB be.IPFV-ACC
‘a horse whose load has inclined down to one side’

- c. [_{NP}biłji’ur [_{RC}γodoliduysan]]-i (extracted from (29))
lark shoot_a_bone-tipped_arrow-ACC
‘a lark which (we) had shot with a bone-tipped arrow’

- d. [_{NP}nigen görümele kö’ün kü’ün (extracted from (30))
one lively boy man
[_{RC}ge’ü: sa’an aqu]]-yi
mare milk.CVB exist.IPFV]-ACC
‘a lively lad who was milking mares ‘

Different from that of (27) to (30), the relative clause in (31) is non-restrictive.

- (37) [_{NP}Dei-sečen-nü Börte-üjin-i [_{RC}yisün nasutu büküi-dür
Name-GEN Name-ACC nine age.COM be.IPFV-DAT
üjejü iregse’er qayačaju büle’e]]
see.CVB come.CVB separate.CVB exist.PST
‘Dei-sečen’s (daughter) Börte-üjin, from whom (Temujin) has separated since he saw her and came (back) at nine years old.’

As for the second type of post-head relative clauses in SHM, the relative clauses are non-restrictive.

- (38)a. [_{NP} Kereyid-ün To'oril Oŋ-qan]-dur (extracted from (32))
 Tribe_Name-GEN Name Name-DAT
 [_{RC} Tu'ula müren-nü qara tün-ne
 River_Name river-GEN black woods-DAT
 бүкүй]-dür
 be.IPFV-DAT
 'To'oril Ong-qan of the Kereyid, who was in the Black
 Woods of the Tu'ula River '
- b. [_{NP}nigen öčüken Kököčü neretü (extracted from (33))
 one little Name name.COM
 kö'ün-i [_{RC}nuntuy-tur qočoruysan]]-i
 son-ACC campsite-LOC left_behind.PFV-ACC
 'a little boy named Kököčü, who (the Tayicuud's Besud) left behind
 at the camp site'
- c. [_{NP}nigen ü'üken kö'üken-i [_{RC}ge:(g)sen]]-i (extracted from (34))
 one small child-ACC abandon.PFV-ACC
 'a small child, who (the Tatar) abandoned.'
- d. [_{NP}buluyan maqalaitu, maral-un yodun (extracted from (35))
 sable hat.COM doe-GEN skin_of_legs
 yutususutu, içigin jarqay usun-u buluyan
 boot.COM skin water-GEN sable
 jalyaysan de'eltü, tabun nasutu Kücü
 connect.PFV gown.COM five age.COM Name
 neretü, nidün-dür-iyen yaltu kö'üken]-i
 name.COM eye-LOC-REFL.POSS fire.COM children-ACC
 bidan-u čeri'üd [_{NP}[_{RC}nuntuy-tur qočoruysan]]-i
 1PL-GEN soldier.PL campsite-LOC left_behind.PFV-ACC
 'Our soldiers ... a five year-old child named Kücü, with fire in his eyes, wearing a hat
 of sable, boots of the skin of the legs of the doe and a gown of the water sable, who the
 Uduyid Merkid left behind at the campsite...'

The apposition analysis of multiple case marking can be supported by the following examples.

In a simplified way, the structure of (39) is 'Mother Hö'elün raised up A, B, C, D these four inside her tent.' All of the members in the list (i.e. A, B, C, D) as well as the appositional phrase *ede dörben* 'these four' are marked by the Accusative marker *-i* in (39).

- (39) 訶額倫 額客 篋兒敦 嫩禿合察 幹勒苔黑三
 Hö'elün eke [_{NP}[_{RC}Mer(gi)d-ün nuntuy-ača oldaysan]
 Name mother Tribe_Name-GEN campsite-ABL get.PASS.PFV
 古出 捏列禿 可兀客泥 泰亦赤兀敦 朵脫刺
 Kücü neretü kö'üken]]-i, [_{NP}[_{RC}Tayiči'ud-un dotora
 Name name.COM child-ACC Tribe_Name-GEN inside

別速敦	嫩禿合察	斡勒苔黑三	闊闊出	捏列禿
Besüd-ün	nuntuy-ača	oldaysan]	Kököčü	neretü
Tribe_Name-GEN	campsite-ABL	get.PASS.PFV	Name	name.COM
可兀客泥	塔塔倫	嫩禿合察	斡勒苔黑三	
kö'üken]]-i,	[_{NP} [_{RC} Tatar-un	nuntuy-ača	oldaysan	
child-ACC	Tribe_Name-GEN	campsite-ABL	get.PASS.PFV	
失吉刊忽禿忽	捏列禿	可兀客泥	主兒乞訥	
šigiken-qutuqu	neretü	kö'üken]]-i,	[_{NP} [_{RC} Jürkin-ü	
Name	name.COM	child-ACC	Tribe_Name-GEN	
嫩禿合察	斡勒苔黑三	孛羅兀勒	捏列禿	可兀客泥
nuntuy-ača	oldaysan	Boro'ul	neretü	kö'üken]]-i
campsite-ABL	get.PASS.PFV	Name	name.COM	child-ACC
額迭	朵兒別泥	格兒	朵脫刺 ...	帖只額罷。(V4, S138, 24a_2:24b_5)
ede	dörben-i	ger	dотора	teji'ebei.
these	four-ACC	home	inside	bring_up.PST

'Mother Hö'elün raised up within the tent the boy named Kücü, who was gotten from the Mergid's camp site, the boy named Kököčü, who was gotten from the Tayici'ud's subtribe Besud's camp site, the boy named šigiken-qutuqu, who was gotten from the Tatar's camp site, and the boy named Boro'ul, who was gotten from the Jurkin's camp site these four. '

In (40), *Oŋ-qan* 'Ong-qan' is not the head of the relative construction *qadqulduysan yaĵar* 'the place where they fought with (Ong-qan)' because the head at issue is *yaĵar* 'place'.

- (40) ...成吉思合罕 ... 王罕納察 合惕忽勒都黑三
 ...Čingis-qahan ... Oŋ-qan-nača [_{NP}[_{RC} qadqulduysan
 Name ... Name-ABL battle.RECP.PFV
 合札列察 合合察周 兀迭失迭 歌多勒周 合合潺
 yaĵar-ača qayačaĵu üdeši-de ködöljü qayačan
 place-ABL separete.CVB night-DAT remove.CVB separate.CVB
 豁那罷。(V6, S171, 10a_1:3)
 qonobai.

spend_the_night.PST

'...Genghis Khan ... separated themselves from Ong-qan, from the place where they fought, removing and separating themselves in the evening, and passed the night.'

(41) is another example for case marking for members in a list and their collected form. Although the abstract noun *üges* 'words' is not marked, the headless relative and the collected form *bügüde* 'all' are both marked. (40) also shows that multiple case marking is optional. It helps to account for the reason why the non-restrictive relative in (37) is not case-marked.

(41) ... 巴歹	乞失里 ^黑	豁牙兒	鳴訥列論	也客扯列訥	鳴訥列 ^克 先
Badai	Kišilig	qoyar	ügülerün	[_{NP} [_{RC} Yeke-čeren-ü	ügülegsen]
Name	Name	two	say.CVB	Name-GEN	say.PFV
兀格思	可兀泥	亦訥	納鄰客延訥		
üges],	[_{NP} [_{RC} kö'ün-i	inü	Narin-ke'en-nü		
word.PL	son-GEN	3SG.POSS	Name-GEN		
速木的顏		忽輪	撒兀周	鳴訥列 ^克 薛泥	
sumud-ıyan		hürün	sa'uju	ügülegsen]]-i	
arrow.PL-REFL.POSS		sharpen.CVB	sit.CVB	say.PFV-ACC	
篋兒乞歹察哈安		阿蠻察哈安客額兒	豁牙兒	阿馬習思	
[_{NP} [_{RC} 'Mergidei-čaya'an		Aman-čaya'an-ke'er	qoyar	aytas	
Horse_Name		Horse_Name	two	geldings	
把里周	忽牙	客額 ^克 先	兀格思	不古迭宜	
barıju	huya!'	ke'egsen]	üges]	bügüde-yi	
catch.CVB	tie.1VOL	say.PFV	word.PL	all-ACC	
鳴訥列周	斡克罷。(V5, S169, 50a_1:50b_3)				
ügülejü	ögbei.				
say.CVB	give.PST				
'Badai and Kişilig two told (Genghis Khan) all of the words Yeke-čeren said and what his son Narin-ke'en talked about catching and tying two geldings when he was sitting polishing his arrows.'					

To sum up, there are two types of [...Head [Relative Clause]] sequences in SHM. One is the regular type, in which the whole NP takes one case. In the other type the head noun and the relative clause are both case-marked with the same case, showing some sort of agreement. The former type is restrictive and the latter is non-restrictive.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper investigates relative clauses in the Secret History of the Mongols. Most cases of the relative clauses in SHM are pre-nominal or headless. Some relative clauses, however, appear after the head noun and occur in the sequence of “(Numeral, Determiner) Head Relative Clause”. We have also found some cases in which both the head and the relative clause bare the same Case marking. These clauses are non-restrictive relative clauses, and their behavior in Case marking supports the analysis of treating a non-restrictive relative clause as an appositional clause of the head noun. To sum up, there are two types of [...Head [Relative Clause]] sequences in SHM. One is the regular type in which the whole noun phrase takes one Case. In the other type the head noun and the relative clause can be both Case-marked with the same Case, showing some sort of concordance. The former type is restrictive and the latter is appositional and non-restrictive.

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