

# A STUDY ON THE DARIGANGA PHONOLOGY

BY

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The relations among the East Mongolian languages are one of the most unexplored questions of Mongolian studies. In the way of investigation there stand peculiar difficulties. Though we have at our disposal exhaustive material of two of these languages, Khalkha and Ordos, through the various studies, of Ramstedt,<sup>1</sup> Vladimirtsov,<sup>2</sup> Todaeva,<sup>3</sup> Sanžeev,<sup>4</sup> Poppe,<sup>5</sup> Rudnev,<sup>6</sup> Mostaert<sup>7</sup> and others,<sup>8</sup> these two languages are the most distant members of the East

<sup>1</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart*, Helsinki 1902 ; *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, MSFOu XIX (1903).

<sup>2</sup> B. Ja. Vladimirtsov, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия*, Leningrad 1929 ; *Северная Монголия II. Предварительные отчеты лингвистической и археологической экспедиций о работах, произведенных в 1925 году*, Leningrad 1927. On further works concerning Khalkha and the East Mongolian group, I refer the reader to the complete bibliography of Vladimirkov given in: *Филология и история монгольских народов, Памяти академика Бориса Яковлевича Владимирцова*, Moscow 1958, pp. 8—11.

<sup>3</sup> B. H. Todaeva, *Грамматика современного монгольского языка. Фонетика и морфология*, Moscow 1951.

<sup>4</sup> G. D. Sanžeev, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков*, Moscow 1953. A short grammatical sketch in: A. R. Rinčine's *Краткий монгольско-русский словарь*, Moscow 1947.

<sup>5</sup> N. N. Poppe, *Практический учебник монгольского языка. Халхаское наречие*. Leningrad 1931 ; *Строй халха-монгольского языка*, Leningrad 1936 ; *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1951 ; *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, Helsinki 1955 (= MSFOu 110) (cited as: *Introduction*).

<sup>6</sup> A. D. Rudnev, *Материалы по говорам Восточной Монголии*, StPbg. 1911.

<sup>7</sup> A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud). Étude phonétique*, Anthropos XXI—XXII (1926—1927), pp. 851—869, 160—186 ; XXV (1930), pp. 725—727 (cited as *Le dialecte I*, resp. II. and III.), *Dictionnaire Ordos I—II*, Peking 1941—1942 (cited as *Dictionnaire*) ; *Textes Oraux Ordos*, Peip'ing 1937 (cited as *Textes Oraux*).

<sup>8</sup> There are a few other works on East Mongolian languages, or on some details of them, such as the works of Vitale deSercy, Cybikov, Bimbaev, Žamtsarano etc. but they contain little material for the comparative study of the East Mongolian group. For these works I refer to the bibliography given in Poppe's *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*, pp. 127—128, 134—135 and *Geserica*, Asia Major III, p. 6—13 by the same author.



Mongolian group. Of the other dialects belonging to this group we have very scanty data.<sup>9</sup> The comparative studies are rendered more difficult by the fact that among the Khalkha dialects only that of Ulan Bator (former Urga) has been thoroughly discussed, and we know very little about the other Khalkha dialects.<sup>10</sup> In the comparative studies of the East Mongolian dialects an important role is played by those Khalkha dialects which seem to occupy an intermediate position between the central Khalkha and the south-east sub-group to which Ordos belongs. We got to know of the existence of these dialects from the statements of Vladimirtsov (*Срав. грам.*, pp. 9—18), and Poppe (*Introduction*, pp. 20—21, 103), and it was Professor Ligeti who called my attention to their importance in the relations among East Mongolian dialects.

One aim of my study tour, made in 1958 in the Mongolian People's Republic, was to collect material on the position of the South Khalkha dialects.<sup>11</sup> During my tour I have visited the Dariganga territory.

I left the Mongolian capital on the 15th of August. At first I went to Sajn Šand, the center of Dorno Gobi aymak, from there I travelled through Bajin Mönggü, Bajšingtu, Onggon, I passed by the Sedžin-nur, reached Bajingol and then the center of the Dariganga sumun. The first part of my time I spent there and in the neighbourhood, then, on the 22th of August I went — through Tsagan Bulak — to Asgat sumun, another sumun of the Dariganga territory. This was the native place of my friend and guide Sükhbatar, scientific co-worker of the Committee of Sciences and Higher Education, and at the same time lecturer of the University of Ulan Bator. Here in Asgat I have collected the major part of my linguistic and ethnographical material. Then I returned through Barun Urt, Khentei and Nalajkha back to Ulan Bator.

The Darigangas are living on the so-called Dariganga Volcanic Highland, in the south borders on the frontier of the Chinese People's Republic. To the north-west it extends as far as the territory of Bajšingtu; in the east it reaches Jugodzir. According to the local tradition the territory got its name from the

<sup>9</sup> See Rudnev, *op. cit.*; L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise*, Budapest 1933, Činggeltei, *Dumdadu ulus-taki Mongγol töröl-ün kele-nügüd ba Mongγol kelen-ü ayalγu-nuγud-un yerüingkei bayıdal*, *Mongγol kele bičig*, 1957: 12, pp. 25—48, 1958: 1 pp. 44—48, 1958: 2, pp. 41—57, 1958: 3 pp. 32—39, 1958: 7 pp. 26—32; etc. Masayosi Nomura, *On Some Phonological Developments in the Kharchin Dialect*, *Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 132—136, and the material in the comparative grammars of Vladimirtsov, Sanžeev, and Poppe cited above.

<sup>10</sup> Concerning the Khalkha dialects some references can be found in the comparative grammars already cited; furthermore see Sanžeev's *Дархатский говор и фольклор*, Leningrad 1931. Some other new works will be mentioned below.

<sup>11</sup> The other aim of my tour was to continue my work begun in 1957 and to study the ethnography of the nomadic way of life. The material collected on the Mongolian tent and other problems I wish to publish at a later time.



mountain *Dari owō* near the centre of the present Dariganga sumun, and from a little lake, *Gaṅga-nūr*, not far east from that centre. The *Dari-owō* is now named *Altan owō*, and in older times was also known as *Dzaḡin ḡar óndór*.

We find mention of the Daringanga as early as Timkovsky's travel-book,<sup>12</sup> who in 1821 wrote that one part of the Manchu Emperor's stud was tended between Ude and Dari-Ganga. He gives the first report on the etymology of the word, connecting it with the *Dari-owō* and the *Gaṅga-nūr*, and notes that in Dari-Ganga a stud-amban is residing. The control is exercised by a Chakhar commander in Kalgan.

The first scientific research of Daringanga was made by the late V. A. Kazakevič, who made a study tour in 1927 to the Daringanga, and published his first account in 1930.<sup>13</sup> He collected considerable material on the dialect, and announced the publication of it (*op. cit.* pp. 36, 45), but this was never published owing to his premature death. We know further, that Vladimirtsov knew a part or the whole of this material. In his comparative grammar he cites a few Dariganga words with reference to the collection of Kazakevič (*Срав. грамм.*, pp. VIII, 409—411).

The territory was visited by several geographers, but neither linguistic nor ethnographic material was collected by them. In connection with these expeditions I can refer the reader to the works and bibliographies of E. M. Murzaev<sup>14</sup> and B. A. Obručev.<sup>15</sup>

The first linguistic description of the Dariganga dialect we owe to A. Luvсанденев, who gave in a paper written in Mongolian a short sketch of the descriptive Phonology of Dariganga.<sup>16</sup>

Regarding their history there is still a living tradition among the Darigangas that in older times they were the keepers of the Manchu Emperor's personal live-stock, that is, they belonged neither to the Khalkha nor the Chakhar feudal organisation. On the forming of the Dariganga territory Kazakevič cites an imperial edict from the *Meng ku yu mu ch'i* which decreed the establishment of the imperial stud on the Dariganga territory. On his tour Kazakevič collected a narrative of local tradition (*op. cit.*, pp. 40—41), accord-

<sup>12</sup> I was not in a position to use the original Russian edition of the travel-book written by E. F. Timkovsky (*Путешествие в Кумай через Монголию в 1820 и 1821 годах* I—III, StPbg 1824). I had only the French translation at my disposal: *Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821* I—II, Paris 1827, t. II, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> V. A. Kazakevič, I., *Намогильные статуи в Даригаанге. II., Поездка в Даригангу. Материалы комиссии по исследованию Монгольской и Танну-Тувинской народных республик и Бурят-Монгольской АССР*, b. 5, Leningrad 1930.

<sup>14</sup> E. M. Murzaev, *Монгольская Народная Республика*, Moscow 1952.

<sup>15</sup> B. A. Obručev, *Восточная Монголия*, Moscow—Leningrad 1947.

<sup>16</sup> A. Luvсанденев, *Дариганга аялгууны авианы зүйг судалсан туршлагаас, Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн бүтээл, нийгмийн ухааны анги №2*, Ulan Bator 1957, p. 1, 49—64.



ing to which when the Emperor Kang-hsi (Enke-amugulang) conquered the ölöts, he took away from them the animals which previously the ölöts had carried off from the Khalkhas. After the matter was examined, it seemed that the best pastures for these animals would be the Dariganga territory. Then there were chosen Chakhar soldiers, who were at this time in alliance with the Manchus, and the herd was given them with the order that they should keep it on the Dariganga pastures. Afterwards an administrative unity was formed according the Manchu organization, and it was attached to the imperial pastures. The territory was carved out from the khoshuns Gobi-mergen-wang, Dalai-wang, Abaga and Sunit.

A letter, also found by Kazakevič, is of special interest. This was written in 1912, and is originating from the correspondence between the Ministry of the Interior of the Autonomous Mongolia and the Darigangas. According to this letter the Darigangas became subjects of the khan of Mukden in the time of the Chakhar Ligdan-khan. When the Ts'in dynasty came to power, according an imperial decree, a group of men were chosen from the eight Chakhar khoshuns, who were entrusted to keep the Dariganga stud.

The close historical connection of the Darigangas and the Chakhars is thus deeply rooted in tradition. Ligdan was defeated in 1643, and the Chakhars came in this year under Manchu rule. In 1691 the session of *Dolôn-nūr* announced the Khalkhas joining the Manchu-Chinese empire. The oirat Galdan khan was beaten by Kang-hsi in 1696. Following these events Manchu influence was strengthened in Mongolia, and one of the first manifestations of this was the detaching of the Dariganga fields and its placing under direct central control. Those who are acquainted with the nature of nomadic feudal organisation and with the migrations of the Mongols in the 16th and 17th centuries,<sup>17</sup> need not be told that the connection with Chakhar organisation does not mean evidently Chakhar ethnical origin ; however, we have to count with a strong Chakhar influence.

In consequence of their administrative independence the Darigangas did not at first side with the Mongolian revolution. Only after a few years they did take part in the building up of the new People's Republic. In 1927 they still maintained their own administrative organisation within the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1924 the territory consisted of 13 *sumuns*, which were divided in five *gars*. One *sumun* consisted of three *bags*, one *bag* of five *arbans*. In one *arban* there were ten *yurts*, that is : 150 *yurts* in a *sumun*. In the official figures, given in 1957, the Darigangas were 2% of the total of Mongolian population

<sup>17</sup> The most important migrations of these times were : the procession of the Khalkha Tüsetü-khan to the Great Chinese Wall, the raids of the Oirat Galdan-khan as far as the Selenga, Onon, and Tola, the campaigns of the Chakhar Ligdan-khan and that of the Sunit Tengis.



in the Mongolian People's Republic, hence the number of the Darigangas was 16,000.<sup>18</sup> That was also the number which I was told in the centre of the Sükhbatar *aymak*, to which now the Dariganga territory belongs. In 1957 the territory had seven *sumuns*: Dariganga, Naran, Asgat, Khongor, Onggon, Khaldzan, and Bajin-delger.

In the present study I propose to discuss the position of the Dariganga dialect in the series of dialects of which the farthest members are Khalkha and Ordos. I will compare the Dariganga data with the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator collected by me (referred to as *KhU*),<sup>19</sup> or to the Khalkha Literary language as contained in the dictionary of Luvsandendev<sup>20</sup> (referred to as *KhL*) which latter I transliterate according to the system of the *Acta Orientalia Hung.* If other sources are cited the locus is given. Ordos is cited after the *Dictionnaire* of Mostaert under the abbreviation: *Ord.* I hope that further studies will make it possible to compare Dariganga with dialects more closely related to it such as South Khalkha, Chakhar, Üdzümchin etc. I will discuss features only in that case when in some respects there exist differences among *KhU*, *Drg.* and *Ord.* In all other cases I refer to Khalkha.

My study will appear in three parts. The first part will deal with the Grammar, the second will present a few Dariganga texts, and the third a short vocabulary. I hope to continue my work with a study on the ethnography of the Dariganga at some later time.

### I. The stock of sounds

The Dariganga stock of sounds is essentially the same as that of Khalkha. I could only observe a slight difference with respect to the consonant *ᡚ*. This consonant is more palatalized in the Dariganga dialect (*Drg.*) than in the *KhU*. The palatalization is stronger before *i*, a little weaker in front vocalic words and scarcely audible in back vocalic words. According to Mostaert

<sup>18</sup> See S. Cegmid, *БНМАУ-ын газар зүй*, Ulan Bator 1957, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> We often speak of the central Khalkha dialect, *Urgamundart* as it was called by Ramstedt, or of the dialect of Ulan Bator, as it is called now. But we have to distinguish more precisely the Central Khalkha dialect and the new Khalkha standard language, and further, we have to speak of the Khalkha literary language. The dialect of Urga and Ulan Bator resp. were never homogeneous. The inhabitants of the capital have originated from several parts of Mongolia, not only from the central Khalkha territories. When we speak of the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator it means the new standard Khalkha language which is based in the first place on the Central Khalkha dialect, but which has a lively contact with the various other Khalkha dialects on the one hand, and with the new Khalkha literary language on the other. This standard language is spoken nowadays by the educated people everywhere in the Mongolian People's Republic.

<sup>20</sup> A. Luvsandendev, *Монгол-орос толь*, Moscow 1957.



(*Le dialecte II*, p. 173) the *š* is also palatalized in Ordos, in fact *ṣ̌*, but he does not transcribe it in his *Dictionnaire*. The differences between the Khalkha and the Ordos stock of sounds are not significant. Only *ö* corresponds to the Literary Mongolian (*LM*) *ö* in Ordos, while *ó* in Khalkha, and the Dariganga follows here the Khalkha, it has also *ó*. The Dariganga stock of sounds is shown in the following two tables :

## I. Vowels

	Front				Back			
			Mixed					
	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded
High	<i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>		<i>u</i>		<i>u</i>	
Highmid		<i>é</i>						
Midlow	<i>ö</i>		<i>ó</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>o</i>	
Low				<i>ä</i>		<i>á</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>a</i>

## II. Consonants

	STOP					Affricate				Spirant				Lateral	Tre- mulant		
	Oral				Nasal	Voiced		Voiceless		Voiced		Voiceless					
	Voiced		Voiceless		Voiceless												
	strong	weak	strong	weak	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak				
Bilabial		<i>b</i>	<i>p<sup>ɸ</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>m</i>								<i>w</i>				
Dental			<i>t, t<sup>ɸ</sup></i>	<i>D</i>	<i>n</i>												
Alveolar								<i>ts, ts<sup>ɸ</sup></i>	<i>DZ</i>			<i>s</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>		
Alveo-palatal								<i>tʃ, tʃ<sup>ɸ</sup></i>	<i>DŽ</i>			<i>ʃ</i>					
Praepalatal		<i>g</i>		<i>G</i>	<i>ŋ</i>			<i>kʒ</i>				<i>ʒ</i>					
Mediopalatal											<i>j</i>						
Postpalatal		<i>g<sub>ɸ</sub></i>		<i>G<sub>ɸ</sub></i>								<i>ʒ</i>					



## II. Phonology

### A) The Vowels of the Initial Syllable

1. In the major part of words where the *i* of the first syllable is followed by an *a* of the second syllable, the "breaking" does not take place in Ordos. After initial \**j*- and \**č*- in this case the Khalkha has "breaking", and so has Dariganga generally :

LM *žiran* 'sixty' ~ KhU *džarā*, Drg. *džarā*, Ord. *džira* ;

LM *žilabči* 'little vessel' ~ KhU *džalab'tš*, Drg. *džalab'tš*, Ord. *džilab'tš'i* ;

LM *žirya* 'to rejoice' ~ KhU *džarga-*, Drg. *džarča-*, Ord. *džirga-* ;

LM *čilayun* 'stone' ~ KhU *tš'ulū*, Drg. *tš'ulū*, Ord. *tš'ilū* ;

LM *čidal* 'capacity' ~ KhU *tš'adal*, Drg. *tš'adal*, Ord. *tš'idāl*.

Before a rounded vowel of the second syllable the breaking usually takes place in Ordos too, but we find a few exceptions, e.g. :

LM *činu-a* 'wolf' ~ KhU *tš'ono*, Drg. *tš'ono*, Ord. *tš'ino* ~ *tš'ono*.

When the word has initial *b*-, *m*-, *k*-, or *g*- in Khalkha and Dariganga we find "breaking", but an *i*-glide is heard after the initial consonant :

LM *birayun* 'calf' ~ KhU *b'ärū*, Drg. *b'ärū*, Ord. *birū* ;

LM *bira* 'strength' ~ KhU *b'är*, Drg. *b'är*, Ord. *bira* ;

LM *bida* 'we' ~ KhU *b'äd*, Drg. *b'äd*, Ord. *bida* ;

LM *mingyan* 'thousand' ~ KhU *m'än*, Drg. *m'än*, Ord. *minga* ;

LM *kilyasun* 'hair' ~ KhU *χ'älčas*, Drg. *χ'älčas*, Ord. *k'ilgasu* ;

LM *kingyara* 'a sort of knife' ~ KhU *χ'ängar*, Drg. *χ'ängar*, Ord. *k'ingar* 'faucille' ;

LM *kilbar* 'light, easy' ~ KhU *χ'älbar*, Drg. *χ'älbar*, Ord. *k'ilbar* ;

LM *gilba* 'to glitter' ~ KhU *č'älba-*, Ord. *gilba-* ;

LM *kirsa* 'corsac' ~ KhU *χ'ärs*, Drg. *č'ärs*, Ord. *girsä*.

In the cases, where we find "breaking" in the Ordos, the *i*-glide is absent from the Khalkha and Dariganga :

LM *miqa* 'flesh' ~ KhU *maχ*, Drg. *maχ*, Ord. *maχa*.

There are a few exceptions in this case too :

LM *kiyay* 'a plant', ~ KhL *chiag* (not *chjag*), Drg. *χ'äč* ~ *χ'äč*, Ord. *k'äč*.

2. The "breaking" of the *i* occurs neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos in the major part of words if the *i* of the first syllable is followed in the second syllable by *i* or *e*. In a few cases, however, the "breaking" takes place before *e*. The reason of this development is, that the sound *e* before *e* of the second syllable becomes more frontal and closed and frequently changes into *i* (4.) and *vice versa*. This development is more advanced in Ordos, but it is also found in Khalkha. Dariganga has advanced further in this respect than Khalkha.

LM *ingge* 'she-camel' ~ KhU *iŋge*, Drg. *eŋge* (~ *iŋge*), Ord. *eŋge* ;



LM *ire-* 'to come' ~ KhU *ire-*, Drg. *ére-* (~ *ire-*), Ord. *ére-* (~ *ire-*);  
 LM *isegei* ~ *isigei* 'felt' ~ KhU *ésgī* (~ *isgī*), Drg. *ésgī*, Ord. *esegi*.

3. An important feature of both Khalkha and Ordos is that under the influence of the *i* of the second syllable, the vowels other than *i* of the first syllable become more frontal. The opposition of the basic phonemes and their frontal variants in Khalkha is as follows: *a* : *á*, *o* : *ǫ*, *u* : *ú*, *e* : *é*, *ó* : *ö*, *ü* : *ü*. It seems that in Ordos this development — except for *e* — affects only the diphthongs formed with *i*. Dariganga follows generally Khalkha, only *a* becomes *ä* in a few cases.

LM *dayaki* 'the hair of children before its first cutting' ~ KhU *dāχi*, Drg. *dāχ*, Ord. *dā<sup>k</sup>χi*;

LM *talbi-* 'to put' ~ KhU *t'āwi-*, Drg. *t'āwi*, Ord. *t'āwi-*;

LM *qariγul-* 'to return' ~ KhU *χār<sup>i</sup>ūl-*, Drg. *χār<sup>i</sup>ūl-*, Ord. *χarūl-*;

LM *morin* 'horse' ~ KhU *mōri*, Drg. *mōri*, Ord. *mori*;

LM *ergi-* 'to return' ~ KhU *érge-*, Drg. *érge-*, Ord. *erge-*;

LM *eligen* 'liver' ~ KhU *ēlig*, Drg. *ēlig*, Ord. *elege*;

LM *ergin* 'bank, side of a ditch' ~ KhU *érgen*, Drg. *érgen*, Ord. *erge*;

LM *ungsi-* 'to read' ~ KhU *uŋši-*, Drg. *umši-*, Ord. *omši-*;

LM *učir* 'reason' ~ KhU *utš<sup>c</sup>ir*, Drg. *utš<sup>c</sup>ir*, Ord. *u<sup>t</sup>š<sup>c</sup>ir*.

4. Due to the influence of the *e* of the second syllable, the *e* of the first syllable is becoming more frontal and closed. This development is probably taking place in Ordos too, but is not so advanced as in Khalkha and in Dariganga:

LM *engger* 'trimming' ~ KhU *énger*, Drg. *énger*, Ord. *enger*;

LM *ene* 'this' ~ KhU *én*, Drg. *én*, Ord. *ene*;

LM *kele-* 'to say' ~ KhU *χéle-*, Drg. *χéle-*, Ord. *k<sup>e</sup>ele-*.

Sometimes the *e* is so frontal and closed that it tends to change into *i*:

LM *kečegü* 'strong, heavy' ~ KhU *χits<sup>c</sup>ü* (~ *χéts<sup>c</sup>ü*), Drg. *gétš<sup>c</sup>ü* (~ *gits<sup>c</sup>ü*), Ord. *ce<sup>t</sup>š<sup>c</sup>ü*.

In this process initial *j* can also play a part:

LM *yeke* 'great' ~ KhU *iχ* ~ *jiχ*, Drg. *iχ*, Ord. *i<sup>k</sup>χe*.

The *j* can also follow the *e* of the initial syllable:

LM *beye* 'body' ~ KhU *bijje* ~ *bī*, Drg. *bī*, Ord. *bėje*.

5. In some words the *e* of the first syllable is developing into *i* under the influence of the initial *tš<sup>c</sup>-* and *ɖž-* in Ordos. In Khalkha and Dariganga in these cases we find *tš<sup>c</sup>-* and *ɖž-* and the *e* > *i* development does not take place:

LM *čenggeldü-* 'to be glad together' ~ KhU *tš<sup>c</sup>engelɖe-*, Drg. *tš<sup>c</sup>engelɖe-*, Ord. *tš<sup>c</sup>ingelɖe-*;

LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *tš<sup>c</sup>en<sup>k</sup>χer*, Drg. *tš<sup>c</sup>en<sup>k</sup>χer*, Ord. *tš<sup>c</sup>in<sup>k</sup>χer*;



LM *čeceg* 'flower' ~ KhU *tsets'eg*, Drg. *dzets'eg*, Ord. *dži'tš'ik* ;  
 LM *sečen* ~ *čečen* 'wise' ~ KhU *sets'en*, Drg. *dzets'en*, Ord. *dži'tš'in*.

6. In those words in which we have to suppose in the second syllable an original *u*, and where, in the major part of the dialects we have at the same time *o* in the first syllable, some Ordos dialects have *u* in the first syllable.<sup>21</sup> In these cases Dariganga and Khalkha have *o* :

LM *modun* 'tree, wood' ~ KhU *mod*, Drg. *mod*, Ord. *mydu* ;

LM *odun* 'star' ~ KhU *od*, Drg. *od*, Ord. *udu* ;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *t'os*, Drg. *dos*, Ord. *duṣu*.

7. What was said above (6.) about *o* and *u* resp. of the first syllable, can also be observed in the case of *ö* and *ü* resp. Dariganga follows Khalkha here too where *ö* corresponds to the Literary Mongolian *ö* :

LM *örüm* 'cream' ~ KhU *örüm*, Drg. *örüm*, Ord. *ürüm* ;

LM *öndür* 'high' ~ KhU *öndür*, Drg. *öndür*, Ord. *ündür* ;

LM *mönggü* 'silver' ~ KhU *mönḡḡ*, Drg. *mönḡḡ*, Ord. *müngü*.

8. In a few words the *a* of the first syllable became rounded on the influence of the following *b > w*, or because of other reasons. The *Dictionnaire* of Mostaert does not mark the labial *ā*, but he writes in his *Phonetics* that it does occur in the Ordos dialect (*Le dialecte I*, p. 855).<sup>22</sup>

LM *jabu-* 'to go' ~ KhU *jāw-*, Drg. *jāw-*, Ord. *jaw-* ;

LM *jalḡan* 'small, little' ~ KhU *džāḡan*, Drg. *džāḡan*, Ord. *džāḡan* ~ *džālḡan*.

#### B) *The Vowels of the Non-Initial Syllable*

9. Concerning the vowels of the non-initial syllable, there is a quantitative difference only between Khalkha and Ordos. The vowels of the non-initial syllable are also reduced in Ordos, only the reduction is not so advanced as in Khalkha (*Le dialecte I*, p. 861). Because of this and other technical reasons Mostaert does not mark the reduction in his *Dictionnaire*. The reduction of the non-initial syllable depends on word- and sentence-stress. On the influence of a secondary stress (the main stress falls invariably on the first syllable), the measure of reduction can alter in one and the same word, and at one and the

<sup>21</sup> See N. Poppe, *Remarks on the Vocalism of the Second Syllable in Mongolian* HJAS XIV (1951), pp. 189–207.

<sup>22</sup> The labial variant *ā* is more wide-spread as it was known till now. In the Oirat dialects of West-Mongolia, in Dzakhachin and Dörböt, it was observed by G. Kara (see *Notes sur les dialectes oirat de la Mongolie Occidentale*, Act. Orient. Hung. VIII (1959), p. 116).



same individual. In Khalkha, and in Dariganga too, the reduction of the non-initial syllable is so advanced that sometimes it is difficult to say which sound we have to deal with. Because of this reason, authors usually transcribe either *v* in place of Literary Mongolian *a*, and *u*, *ə* in place of Literary Mongolian *e*, *a* in place of Literary Mongolian *ü*, *ɨ* in place of Literary Mongolian *i* (Ramstedt, Poppe), or transcribe the vowel with a mark of shortness : *ǎ, ǔ, ǐ, ǣ, ǖ* (Vladimirtsov, Sanžeev). In my paper, following the system of *Acta Orientalia Hung.* I shall not mark the reduction of the non-initial syllable. The originally short vowels of the non-initial syllable are in every case reduced in the words cited as Khalkha and Dariganga.

**10.** The vowels, if they are final or before final *n*, which disappears in the dialects, are not heard in conversational speech, and are pronounced only in the case of secondary word or sentence stress both in Khalkha and in Dariganga. The reduction of the final vowel is very slight in Ordos. Therefore we find for Ordos *usu* *us* in Khalkha common speech which sounds in stressed position *ussu* (= *ussʰ*, *ussǔ*). Dariganga follows Khalkha :

LM *usun* 'water' ~ KhU *us* (~ *ussu*), Drg. *us* (~ *ussu*), Ord. *usu* ;

LM *köke* 'blue' ~ KhU *χóχ* (~ *χóχχó*), Drg. *góχ* (~ *góχχó*), Ord. *gö<sup>k</sup>χö* ;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *tos* (~ *tossu*), Drg. *dos* (~ *dossu*), Ord. *dusu*.

**11.** The vowel of the second syllable in those words which have more than two syllables is almost or entirely lost in Khalkha, while its articulation seems to be more complete in Ordos. Here too Dariganga follows Khalkha :

LM *kömüske* 'eyebrow' ~ KhU *χómsóǵ*, Drg. *χómsóǵ*, Ord. *k'ömös<sup>k</sup>χö* ;

LM *bögeji* 'ring' (of harness) ~ KhU *bögdž*, Drg. *bögdz*, Ord. *bögödži* 'joug' ;

LM *tataburi* 'tax' ~ KhU *ta<sup>f</sup>war*, Drg. *da<sup>f</sup>war*, Ord. *da<sup>f</sup>awur* ~ *da<sup>f</sup>awuri*.

**12.** The *i* of the non-initial syllable remained both in Khalkha and in Ordos in the major part of words, but in a few cases it underwent assimilation :

LM *bulčirqai* 'gland' ~ KhU *bultš<sup>c</sup>irχ<sup>p</sup>ē*, Drg. *bultš<sup>c</sup>irχ<sup>p</sup>ē*, Ord. *bul<sup>c</sup>tš<sup>c</sup>arχā* ;

LM *mayaji* 'to scratch' ~ KhU *māvdži*, Drg. *māvdza*, Ord. *māvdži* ;

LM *öčigen edür* 'yesterday' > KhU *öts<sup>c</sup>ógdör*, Drg. *ötš<sup>c</sup>igdür*, Ord. *ütš<sup>c</sup>ügüvür*.

**13.** The *ü* or *e* of the non-initial syllable, under the influence of *tš* or *dž* before it, is occasionally changed into *i* :

LM *süsüg* ~ *süjüg* 'belief' ~ KhU *süseǵ* ~ *süvžig*, Drg. *süvžig*, Ord. *süvžük* ;

LM *biličüg* ~ *biličeg* ~ *bilešig* 'ring' ~ KhU *biltš<sup>c</sup>eg*, Drg. *bülvžig*, Ord. *bilevžik* ~ *bülevžik*.



14. The second vowel of the group *aya, uya, eye, üye* etc., on the influence of the *j*, has developed in the standard language of Ulan Bator and in Dariganga into *i*. We do not find this development in Ordos:

LM *ayaya* 'cup' ~ KhU *ájig*<sup>o</sup>, Drg. *ájig*<sup>o</sup>, Ord. *ajaga*;

LM *nayan* 'eighty' ~ KhU *najji*, Drg. *najji*, Ord. *naja*;

LM *üyer* 'cloud-burst' ~ KhU *újir*, Drg. *újir*, Ord. *újer*.

15. In Dariganga final *a* and *e*, or *a* and *e* before final *n*, which disappears in the dialects, undergo labialization, if they stand after two consonants of which the second is *b*. In this case metathesis takes place, and the *a* and *e* resp. now before *b* are tending to become *u* and *ü* resp:

LM *silbe* 'leg, stem' ~ KhU *šilbe* (~ *šileb*), Drg. *šilü*, Ord. *šilbi* ~ *šilbe*;

LM *γurban* 'three' ~ KhU *γyраb* ~ *γyрyб*, Drg. *γyрyб*, Ord. *γyрwa*. We find this development also in the case of final *i*:

LM *borbi* 'tendon of Achilles' ~ KhU *borwi*, Drg. *borü* ~ *borwi*, Ord. *borwi*.

We meet with this phenomenon in non-final position too:

KhL *bérévchij* 'бабка (у животных)', Drg. *berüχi* 'knuckle'.

### C) The Diphthongs

16. It is characteristic of the East-Mongolian dialects that the diphthongs of Literary Mongolian have the tendency to be represented by monophthongs. Both in Khalkha and in Ordos there developed long vowels from the *au, eü, ei* diphthongs. The remaining diphthongs formed with *i* are characterized by the palatalization of the first vowel in Khalkha and Dariganga: *ai* > *ae*, *oi* > *oe*, *ui* > *ui* (in spite of the *u* > *ü* development in other positions), *öi* > *öi* and *üi* > *üi* (in spite of the developments *ö* > *ó*, and *ü* > *ü* in other positions). The articulation of the diphthong depends on whether it is to be found in the first or in the non-initial syllable, or rather, whether in stressed or unstressed position. On the whole we can distinguish in Khalkha and in Dariganga three degrees of stress: *ai* > *ae* ~ *ē* ~ *ā*, i.e. we find a long monophthong instead of the diphthong in unstressed positions more frequently in Dariganga than in central Khalkha. Mostaert distinguishes in his grammar only two degrees (*Le dialecte I*, pp. 858—860) and marks only one in his *Dictionnaire*.

17. The Literary Mongolian diphthong *ai* is generally changed in Ordos into a monophthong *ā*; Mostaert however remarks in his grammar (*Le dialecte I*, p 858) that in stressed positions the diphthong is preserved. In his *Diction-*



*naire* we find monophthongs in every case. Dariganga follows usually Khalkha, but in a few cases the tendency of monophthongisation is more advanced :

- LM *qayiči* 'scissors' ~ KhU *xaēĩtš*, Drg. *xaēĩtš*, Ord. *xāĩtšĩ* ;  
 LM *sayin* 'good' ~ KhU *saen*, Drg. *saen*, Ord. *sān* ;  
 LM *qayirala-* 'to love' ~ KhU *xaerla-*, Drg. *xārla-*, Ord. *xārla-*.

**18.** On the influence of the *o* in the first syllable, the *ai* of the following syllable became rounded in Khalkha and in Dariganga, while in Ordos we find a regular labial monophthong (see **21.**) :

- LM *noqai* 'dog' ~ KhU *noχ<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *noχ<sup>o</sup>ē*, Ord. *noχ<sup>ā</sup>* ;  
 LM *toluyai* 'head' ~ KhU *t'olq<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *t'olq<sup>o</sup>ē*, Ord. *t'olq<sup>ā</sup>*.

**19.** We find in Dariganga an alternation *aē* ~ *al* in final position :

- LM *sirya* ~ *siryai* 'yellowish' ~ KhU *šarga*, Drg. *šargal* (~ *šarg<sup>o</sup>ē*), Ord. *šarga* (~ *šarg<sup>ā</sup>*) ;  
 LM *ayuuliqai* 'abdominal cavity' ~ KhU *ajūlx<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *ajūlxal*, Ord. *ajūlx<sup>ā</sup>*.  
 LM *amayai* 'bridle' ~ KhU *amq<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *amqal* (~ *amq<sup>o</sup>ē*), Ord. *amq<sup>ā</sup>*.

**20.** The diphthong *ei* is tending to develop into a long vowel *ī* in Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga alike. An exception is the suffix of the comitative : *-tei*. Khalkha and Dariganga has *-tē*, Ordos *-t'ī*, and *t'ā* :

- LM *kündütei* 'respected' ~ KhU *xündüt<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *xündet<sup>o</sup>ē*, Ord. *k'ündü't'ī*.

**21.** The second member of the diphthong *oi* in stressed position becomes more rounded in Ordos than in Khalkha, in Ordos we find *óō*, in spite of Khalkha *oē*. In non-stressed positions the *oi* became a monophthong in Ordos. Dariganga follows Khalkha :

- LM *qoyina* 'after' ~ KhU *χoēn*, Drg. *χoēn*, Ord. *χóōno* ;  
 LM *toyiy* 'knee-cap' ~ KhU *t'oēg*, Drg. *t'oēg*, Ord. *t'óōg* ;  
 LM *toqoi* 'elbow' ~ KhU *toχ<sup>o</sup>ē*, Drg. *voχ<sup>o</sup>ē*, Ord. *voχ<sup>ā</sup>*.

**22.** There is a divergency within the East Mongolian dialects in the representation of the Literary Mongolian *ui* in unstressed positions. Dariganga does not follow here Khalkha, *ui* develops into *ī* :

- LM *qaryui* 'road' ~ KhU *χargui*, Drg. *xārgī* ;  
 LM *qančui* 'sleeve' ~ KhU *xantš<sup>o</sup>ui*, Drg. *xantš<sup>o</sup>ī*, Ord. *xan'tš<sup>o</sup>ū*. While in a few words we find the *ui* > *ī* development in the remaining dialects too :  
 LM *bui* 'he is' ~ KhU *bī*, Drg. *bī*, Ord. *bī*.

**23.** Generally the diphthong *üi* remains diphthong in Ordos. In a few cases however, it becomes a monophthong. In these words both Khalkha and Dariganga has the diphthong :



LM *küyilsün* ~ *küyisün* 'navel' ~ KhU *χüis*, Drg. *χüis*, Ord. *k'ūs*;  
 LM *küyiten* 'cold' ~ KhU *χüit'en*, Ord. *k'ū't'en*.

#### D) The Long Vowels

24. In the East Mongolian dialects long vowels develop from the sound-groups: vowel + \*γ / (\*g)/\*β + vowel and (rarely) vowel + \*m + vowel. In this respect there is no difference between Khalkha, Dariganga and Ordos, only in one case. If the group *-iya-*, *-iyu-* is not in the first and second but in the second and third syllables, and it stands after *k*, we find a diphthong in Khalkha. Not in every case do we find it in Dariganga, and never in Ordos where the front *k* > <sup>k</sup>χ is preserved:

LM *sakiyusun* 'amulett' ~ KhU *sāχ<sup>i</sup>ūs*, DrgA. *ɖāχ<sup>i</sup>ūs*, Ord. *sa<sup>k</sup>χ<sup>i</sup>ūs<sub>u</sub>*;

LM *takiya* 'hen' ~ KhU *tāχ<sup>i</sup>a*, Drg. *ɖāχ<sup>i</sup>ā*, Ord. *da<sup>k</sup>χ<sup>i</sup>ā*;

LM *dakiyad* > *dakiyad* 'again' ~ KhU *ɖāχ<sup>i</sup>ād*, Drg. *ɖāχ<sup>i</sup>ād*, Ord. *da<sup>k</sup>χ<sup>i</sup>āt*.

We have one example also after *r*:

LM *qariyul* 'to answer' ~ KhU *χār<sup>i</sup>ul-*, Drg. *χār<sup>i</sup>ul-*, Ord. *χarūl-*.

After *b*:

LM *talbiyur* 'support' ~ KhU *t'āw<sup>i</sup>ūr*, Drg. *t'āwūr*, Ord. *t'albūr*  
 (~ *t'ālb<sup>i</sup>ūr*).

25. Beside the long vowels originating from the groups *-aya*, *iya-* etc., we have long vowels which have been formerly short vowels. Khalkha, Dariganga and Ordos differs in many cases in respect of which word has such a secondary long vowel. Long in Khalkha and Dariganga, short in Ordos:

LM *qa* 'fore-leg' ~ KhU *χā*, Drg. *χā*, Ord. *χa*;

LM *sün* 'milk' ~ KhU *sū*, Drg. *sū*, Ord. *ūsū*.

Short in Khalkha, long in Dariganga and Ordos:

LM *ir* 'edge' ~ KhU *ir*, Drg. *ir*, Ord. *ir*.

Short in Khalkha, Dariganga, long in Ordos:

LM *irge* 'castrated sheep' ~ KhU *ireg*, Drg. *ireg*, Ord. *irge*.

All three of them have long vowel:

LM *ki-* 'to do' ~ KhU *χī-*, Drg. *χī-*, Ord. *k'ī-*;

LM *eji* 'mother' ~ KhU *ēɖž*, Drg. *ēɖž*, Ord. *ēɖži*;

LM *narin* 'thin, fine' ~ KhU *narīn*, Drg. *narīn*, Ord. *narīn*.

#### E) Metathesis of Vowels

26. There seems to be a difference between Ordos and Khalkha regarding the metathesis of vowels. This feature is very common in Khalkha because of the advanced reduction of the vowel of the non-initial syllable. In conse-



quence of the reduction and disappearance of the final vowel, words would frequently end in a consonant-group. If there is neither spirant nor affricate in the group, Khalkha and Dariganga insert a vowel between the consonants :

LM *gölme* 'leathern cover of the saddle' ~ KhU *gölüm*, Drg. *gölüm*, Ord. *gölme* ;

LM *irge* 'castrated sheep' ~ KhU *ireg*, Drg. *ireg*, Ord. *irge* ;

LM *büürge* 'saddle-bow' ~ KhU *büreğ*, Drg. *büreğ*, Ord. *bürge*.

If there is a spirant or an affricate in the consonant cluster the metathesis does not occur :

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *tš'am'tš'a* ;

LM *debse* 'saddle-cushion' ~ KhU *dews*, Drg. *dews*, Ord. *debse* ;

LM *qabqa* 'trap' ~ KhU *χawχ*, Drg. *čawχ*, Ord. *čawχ'a*.

27. We find metathesis of vowel and consonant sporadically in the first syllable in the Dariganga dialect :

LM *kijayalang* 'animal of 3—4 year' ~ KhU *χ'apzālan*, Drg. *éχpžālan* (~ *χipžālan*), Ord. *k'ipžārlan*.

#### F) *The Weakening of the Initial Strong Consonants*

28. While, regarding the vowels, the Dariganga dialect is closer to the phonetic peculiarities of Khalkha, in respect of the consonants the picture is more complicated. One of the most important divergences between Ordos and Khalkha is the regularity in Ordos that to the Literary Mongolian initials *q-*, *k-*, *t-*, *č-* in certain cases *č-*, *g-*, *d* and *dž-* correspond. Usually this phenomenon is called "sonorization" but I think, it would be more adequate to call it „weakening", because a voiceless strong consonant gives way to a voiceless weak consonant, and the tenseness of the organs of speech lessens.

29. In Ordos in those words which belong to the weakening categories Literary Mongolian initial *t-* is represented by *ɖ-*, while in Khalkha by *t-*. In Dariganga we find the same rule as in Ordos :

LM *tata-* 'to pull' ~ KhU *taɖ'a-*, Drg. *ɖaɖ'a-*, Ord. *ɖaɖ'a-* ;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *tos*, Drg. *dos*, Ord. *dūsū* ;

LM *tobči* 'button' ~ KhU *toɖ'tš*, Drg. *doɖ'tš*, Ord. *doɖ'tš'i*.

While in words of the non-weakening category we find everywhere aspirated *t'* :

LM *temür* 'iron' ~ KhU *t'ömör*, Drg. *t'ömör*, Ord. *t'ömör* ;

LM *taray* 'yoghourt' ~ KhU *t'arağ*, Drg. *t'arağ*, Ord. *t'arağ* ;

LM *temegen* 'camel' ~ KhU *t'emē*, Drg. *t'emē*, Ord. *t'emē*.

30. The Literary Mongolian initial *q-* is represented in non-weakening positions by *χ-* in Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga alike :



LM *qayas* 'half' ~ KhU *χagas*, Drg. *χagas*, Ord. *χagas*;  
 LM *qada* 'rock' ~ *χad*, Drg. *χad*, Ord. *χada*;  
 LM *qundaya* 'a little cup' ~ KhU *χundaya*<sup>v</sup>, Drg. *χundaya*<sup>v</sup>, Ord. *χundaya*;  
 while in the weakening categories we find in Ordos and Dariganga *ç*-, and in Khalkha *χ*-:

LM *qasiya* 'wall, enclosure' ~ KhU *χašā*, Drg. *çašā*, Ord. *çašā*;  
 LM *qabčiy* 'narrow' ~ KhU *χawč'ič*, Drg. *çawč'ič*, Ord. *çabč'ik*;  
 LM *qabtasun* 'board' ~ KhU *χabč'as*, Drg. *çabč'as*, Ord. *çabč'asy*.

**31.** The initial consonants of corresponding Literary Mongolian *k*- are different in Ordos and Khalkha also in the non-weakening categories. In initial position we have in Ordos *k*-, in other positions *č<sup>k</sup>*-, while in Khalkha we find in every position *χ*, except after *η*. Dariganga has the same correspondence as Khalkha. In initial position:

LM *kele* 'to say' ~ KhU *χele*-, Drg. *χele*-, Ord. *k<sup>č</sup>ele*;  
 LM *küjügün* 'neck' ~ KhU *χüdzü*, Drg. *χüdzü*, Ord. *k<sup>č</sup>üdzü*;  
 LM *küreng* 'brown' ~ KhU *χüreŋ*, Drg. *χüreŋ*, Ord. *k<sup>č</sup>üreŋ*;

in other positions:

LM *ökin* < *okin* ~ KhU *çxin*, Drg. *çxin*, Ord. *o<sup>č</sup>xin*;  
 LM *üker* 'cattle' ~ KhU *üxer*, Drg. *üxer*, Ord. *u<sup>č</sup>xer*;  
 LM *čikin* 'ear' ~ KhU *tšix*, Drg. *džix*, Ord. *džič<sup>k</sup>x*;

after *η*:

LM *tangkil* 'coddled' ~ KhU *t'ar<sup>k</sup>χil*, Drg. *t'ar<sup>k</sup>χil*, Ord. *t'ar<sup>k</sup>χi*;  
 LM *jingken* 'real' ~ KhU *džin<sup>k</sup>χen*, Drg. *džin<sup>k</sup>χen*, Ord. *džin<sup>k</sup>χen*;  
 LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *ts'er<sup>k</sup>χer*, Drg. *ts'er<sup>k</sup>χer*, Ord. *tš'er<sup>k</sup>χer*.

In the weakening categories the correspondence in initial position is *ç*- in Ordos and Dariganga and *χ*- in Khalkha:

LM *köke* 'blue' ~ KhU *χóχ*, Drg. *çóχ*, Ord. *çó<sup>č</sup>χö*;  
 LM *küse* 'to wish' ~ KhU *χüse*-, Drg. *çüse*-, Ord. *çüse*;  
 LM *kösige* 'curtain' ~ KhU *χóšig*, Drg. *çóšig*, Ord. *çóšögö*.

**32.** The correspondence to the Literary Mongolian initial *č*- depends on the following vowel. If there is an *i* after the *č*-, we find usually *tš<sup>č</sup>*- in the Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga in the non-weakening categories:

LM *čimügen* 'marrow' ~ KhU *tš'ömög*, Drg. *tš'ömög*, Ord. *tš'ömögö*;  
 LM *či* 'you' ~ KhU *tš'či*, Drg. *tš'či*, Ord. *tš'či*;  
 LM *činu-a* 'wolf' ~ KhU *tš'ono*, Drg. *tš'ono*, Ord. *tš'ino* ~ *tš'ono*.

In those cases when the breaking of the *i* has taken place in earlier times — perhaps prior to the development *č* > *ts* in Khalkha — we find *tš<sup>č</sup>* — in Khalkha. Dariganga follows Khalkha in most of the cases:

LM *čirai* 'face' ~ KhU *ts'ar<sup>v</sup>ē*, Drg. *ts'ar<sup>v</sup>ē*, Ord. *tš'arā*;  
 this phenomenon is more frequent in non-initial position:



LM *ečige* 'father' ~ KhU *ets'eg*, Drg. *ets'eg*, Ord. *é'tš'ige* ;

LM *qabčil* 'precipice' ~ KhU *χawts'al*, Drg. *čabts'al* ;

LM *qalčiyai* 'scanty' ~ KhU *χalts'ačaę*, Drg. *čalts'ačaę*.

We have also cases where in Dariganga the *č* remains while not in Khalkha:

LM *očigen edür* 'yesterday' ~ KhU *óts'өгдөр*, Drg. *ótš'igdūr*, Ord. *útš'ügüvūr*.

In the weakening categories we have in Ordos and in Dariganga *dž-*, while *tš-* remains in Khalkha :

LM *čikin* 'ear' ~ KhU *tšiχ*, Drg. *džiχ*, Ord. *dži<sup>kh</sup>χe* ;

LM *čigčei* 'littler finger (in : *čigčei quruyun*)' ~ KhU *tšigtš'i*, Drg. *džigtš'i*, see Ord. *džig'tš'i* „qui a une intelligence très vive; qui est vif, agiled; débruillard'.

In those words belonging to the weakening category where the breaking of the *i* had taken place earlier and Khalkha has initial *ts-* we find *dz-* in Dariganga and *dž-* in Ordos :

LM *čisun* 'blood' ~ KhU *tsys*, Drg. *dzys*, Ord. *džysu*.

**33.** In those words, which have a vowel other than *i* after the initial *č* the aspirated *tš'-* remained in Ordos, but in words of the non-weakening category we find *tš'-* in Khalkha and Dariganga :

LM *čerig* 'soldier' ~ KhU *ts'ereg*, Drg. *ts'ereg*, Ord. *ts'irik* ;

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *tš'am'tš'a* ;

LM *čulbuγur* 'halter' ~ KhU *ts'ulbūr*, Drg. *ts'ulbūr*, Ord. *tš'ulbūr*.

There are a few exceptions in Dariganga, which seem to be loanwords from a dialect where *č-* remained :

LM *čaydaya* 'police' (old term) ~ KhU *ts'ačdā*, Drg. *tš'ačdā*, Ord. *tš'agvā* ;

LM *čoyuži* 'padlock' ~ KhU *ts'ōdž*, Drg. *tš'ōdž*, Ord. *sōdži*.

In the weakening categories we find *ts-* in Khalkha *dz-* in Dariganga and *dž-* in Ordos :

LM *časun* 'snow' ~ KhU *tsas*, Drg. *dzas*, Ord. *džasu* ;

LM *čečeg* 'flower' ~ KhU *tsets'eg*, Drg. *dzets'eg*, Ord. *dži'tš'ik* ;

LM *čakilγan* 'lightning' ~ KhU *ts'aχilγan*, Drg. *dzaxilγan*, Ord. *dža<sup>kh</sup>χilγan*.

**34.** Mostaert writes in his Phonology that the initial *s-* becomes sporadically *dz-*, or *z-* in the words of weakening categories. The *Dictionnaire* does not mark these cases, therefore they escaped the attention of Mongolists. We have e.g. in Ordos *dzuxā* (LM *suqai*) 'tamaris', *zalk'in* (LM *salkin*) 'wind' (*Le dialecte II*, p. 173).

Regarding this development the Dariganga sub-dialect of Asgat is of special importance. In the phonetical sketch of Luvsandendev, cited above,



we find no mention of the correspondence  $s- \sim dz-$ . The reason of this is, that he collected his material from a Dariganga subdialect, where this phenomenon is not found, or only sporadically present. On the basis of the material collected by me, I can state that the weakening of the initial  $s-$  and  $š-$ , in the phonetic environments referred to below does not take place or only very sporadically in the sub-dialect of the Dariganga sumun (DrgD). Luvsandendev's material too must have been collected from here. But in the sub-dialect of Asgat (DrgA) the initial  $s-$  and  $š-$  became  $dz-$  and  $dž-$  respectively. From the words collected from these categories we have data from Ordos only with  $s-$  and  $š-$ .

LM *sūke* 'axe'  $\sim$  KhU *sūχ*, DrgD *sūχ*, DrgA *dzūχ*, Ord. *sū<sup>k</sup>χe*;

LM *saqal* 'beard'  $\sim$  KhU *saχχal*, DrgD *saχχal*, DrgA *dzaxχal*, Ord. *saχχāl*;

LM *saki-* 'to guard'  $\sim$  KhU *saχi-*, DrgA *dzaxi-*, Ord. *sa<sup>k</sup>χi-*.

While in the non-weakening categories we find  $s-$  in every case:

LM *sayā-* 'to milk'  $\sim$  KhU *sā-*, DrgDA *sā-*, Ord. *sā-*;

LM *sumun* 'arrow'  $\sim$  KhU *sym*, DrgDA *sym*, Ord. *symy*;

LM *sana-* 'to think'  $\sim$  KhU *sana-*, DrgDA *sana-*, Ord. *sana-*.

**35.** There is a group of words where the initial  $s-$  does alternate with  $č-$ . In most cases in these words the Ordos has developed from the variant beginning with  $č-$ ; but not in every case. In Dariganga this gives no difference.

LM *sačuy*  $\sim$  *čačuy* 'lock'  $\sim$  KhU *tsats'aq*, Drg. *dza'ts*, Ord. *dža'tš'uk*;

LM *sečen*  $\sim$  *čečen* 'wise'  $\sim$  KhU *sets'en*, Drg. *dzets'en*, Ord. *se'tš'in*  $\sim$  *dži'tš'in*;

LM *saču*  $\sim$  *čaču-* 'to throw'  $\sim$  KhU *tsats'a-*, Drg. *dzats'a-*, Ord. *dža'tš'u-*.

**36.** The  $s-$  before  $i$  has developed in early time into  $š-$  in the Mongolian dialects. The initial  $š-$  follows the  $s-$ :

LM *siqa-* 'to press'  $\sim$  KhU *šaqa-*, DrgA *džaqa-*, Ord. *šaqa-*;

LM *sita-* 'to catch fire'  $\sim$  KhU *šata-*, DrgA. *dža'ta-*, Ord. *ši't'a*;

LM *šatu* 'ladder'  $\sim$  KhU *ša't*, DrgA. *dža't*, Ord. *ša't'u*;

while in the non-weakening categories:

LM *sirin* 'leather'  $\sim$  KhU *šir*, Drg. *šir*, Ord. *šire*;

LM *silbi* 'leg, stem'  $\sim$  KhU *šilleb*, Drg. *šilü*, Ord. *šilbe*;

LM *sine* 'new'  $\sim$  KhU *šin*, Drg. *šin*, Ord. *šine*.

**37.** The alternation  $s \sim č$  appears before  $i$  as  $š \sim č$ :

LM *šibayanča*  $\sim$  *čibayanča* 'nun'  $\sim$  KhU *tš'awčan'ts*, DrgA. *džawčan'ts*, Ord. *tš'iwagan'tš'i*;

LM *sigčei*  $\sim$  *čigčei* 'littler finger'  $\sim$  KhU *tšigtš'i*, DrgA. *džigtš'i*, Ord. *džigtš'i*;

LM *siker*  $\sim$  *čiker* 'sugar'  $\sim$  KhU *tšixxer*, DrgA. *džixer*, Ord. *ši<sup>k</sup>χer*.



**38.** Mostaert and Poppe both deal with the rules under which the weakening takes place. Mostaert writes : „Pour une foule de mots polysyllabiques commençant par un explosive gutturale ou dentale, ou par une affricative palatale, il est impossible de savoir par le seul dialecte que nous étudions, si primitivement la consonne initiale était douce ou dure. C'est le cas pour tous les mots dont la première syllabe est portée par une voyelle brève suivie immédiatement d'une dure, ou séparée d'une dure suivante par une consonne non nasale” (*Le dialecte II*, pp. 166—167). That means that weakening takes place if :

- a) the word is polysyllabic,
- b) the first syllable is not long,
- c) the short vowel is followed by a strong consonant, or
- d) by a non-nasal and a strong consonant.

The rule given by Mostaert is essentially adequate. We have a few words which are monosyllabic in Literary Mongolian and which are weakening in Ordos, but they present a different problem, e.g. *qošī* ~ *χos* 'double' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a, cf. LM *qos*, < Turk *qoš*), and *qošī* in *χorō qošī* 'palais de prince' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a, cf. Secret History of the Mongols 169, *qoš*, 'Haus, (Jurte Zelt)'). Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un Niuca Tobca'an*, Leipzig 1939, p. 68 < Turk *qoš*), but here the question is raised of loanwords from a Turk language, and the Turk final *-š* is replaced in Mongolian either by a final *-s*, or with a final syllable *-ši*, because the Mongol had originally no final *-š*. In the first case the initial strong consonant does not weaken (*χos*), in the second case the word becomes polysyllabic (*qošī*). We have also a few monosyllabic verbstems in Ordos of which the initial does weaken. For instance : *des-* 'supporter' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 142a, cf. LM *tes-*), *dos-* 'se poster pour attendre ou passage' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 153b, cf. LM *tos-*), *dys-* 'atteindre' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 164a, cf. LM *tus-*), but the verbs occur only in their conjugated forms, and therefore they are always polysyllabic in the language. I can agree in essence with that rule of Mostaert too, which says that the weakening does not take place before long vowels. In the case of the long vowels of Ordos, we have to deal with the original group *-aya-*, *-ege-* etc., and therefore in these cases the initial is followed originally by a voiced *-γ-*, or *-g-*. Therefore we have not to deal with this as a separate case. Poppe, following Mostaert has also discussed this question, and pointed out the following rules : The weakening takes place in the case of :

1. *t* > *d* and *č* > *dž* (*Introduction*, pp. 103, 110)
  - a) if the second syllable of a stem begins with a strong, or
  - b) voiceless consonant and
  - c) the first syllable is short ;
2. *q* > *g* (*Introduction*, p. 130)
  - a) if the second syllable begins with a strong stop, or



- b) affricate, or
- c) a voiceless spirant, if
- d) the initial syllable is not closed by *n*, *ŋ* or *m*;
- 3. *k > ɣ* (Introduction, p. 141)
  - a) if the initial syllable is short,
  - b) and closed by a voiceless spirant
  - c) or the second syllable begins with a strong stop, or
  - d) affricate, or
  - e) voiceless spirant,
  - f) except, when the first syllable is closed by *n* or *m*.

The first thing to be remarked here is that the rules of Mostaert and Poppe do not differ essentially from each other. Though Mostaert speaks of the "following strong", and Poppe of the initial of the second syllable, there is no contradiction because a voiceless strong stop or an affricate cannot stand in Literary Mongolian originally at the end of a syllable, and therefore, the voiceless strong stop or affricate which follows the initial can only be the first consonant of the second syllable. But the first syllable can be closed by a spirant *s*. This is the case not only with the words beginning with initial *k*- and *q*-, as Poppe states, but also with other strong consonants: *desbür* 'endurance' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 142b cf. LM *tesbüri*), *dosbor* in *oŋgo'tš'on dosbor* 'le cheneau de bois dans lequel on verse l'eau qu'on vient de puiser et qui la conduit dans l'auge à abreuver le bétail' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 154a, cf. LM *tosburi*), *ɣysla-* 'être vis-à-vis de' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 165b, cf. LM *tusla-*, but *t'us* 'vis-à-vis' *Dict. Ord.*, p. 683a, cf. LM *tus*), *qoslo-* 'rivaliser' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a cf. LM *qosla-* 'réunir deux choses pareilles'; but cf. *qos* cited above).

Poppe does not mention whether the *n*, *ŋ* and *m* at the end of the first syllable hinder the weakening in the cases of initial *t*-, and *č*-, and at initial *k*- he speaks only of *n* and *m*. I have also a few cases of these categories:

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *tš'am'tš'a*;

LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *ts'erŋker*, Drg. *ts'erŋker*, Ord. *tš'erŋker*;

LM *tangkil* 'coddled' ~ KhU *t'anŋkil*, Drg. *t'anŋkil*, Ord. *t'anŋki*.

Drg. *t'orŋxo* 'tea-pot' cf. Kalm. *toŋχ* 'kleiner lederner Schlauch für Kumyss' (Ramstedt, *KalmWb.*, p. 401a)

Ord. *k'eršū* 'relent de friture' (*Dict. Ord.*, 414b), cf. LM *kengsigün*,

Ord. *k'örŋchi* 'être concave' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 429b, cf. LM *köŋkeyi*).

At the discussion of the development *k > ɣ* Poppe refers to the common basis of the rules namely, that in these cases a dissimilation of voiceless strong stops takes place but he does not extend this definition to the other strong initials. As we have seen all the voiceless strong initials are weakening under the same conditions:



if the initial is *t*-, *k*-, *q*-, *č*- (*s*-, *š*-)<sup>23</sup> and it is followed immediately by *t*-, or *k*-, or *q*-, or *č*-, or *s*-, or *š*-, and between them there is no *n*, or *ŋ*, or *m*, the initial in question becomes voiceless weak. That means: in polysyllabic words *the strong initials become weaks if they are followed at the end of the first syllable or at the beginning of the second by a strong consonant and between them there are only other than nasal consonants*. We can find this rule without exception only in the Asgat sub-dialect of Dariganga, because the initial *s*- and *š*- become weak only here in every such case.

As we have already seen, in one part of the East Mongolian group we find a clear tendency of sound-development. The question now arises, whether this is to be found in other members of the group?

**39.** Ramstedt has already pointed out that in the Khalkha dialect of Urga some words have weaker aspiration than other with the same initials. For instance the initial of the word *tš'ixxe* 'ear' is less aspirated than the initial of *tš'ulū* 'stone', the initial of the word *tš'axxar* 'Chakhar' has a less aspiration than the word *tš'ās* 'paper', the word *t'at'a-* 'to drive' has a minor aspiration than that of the word *t'al* 'low-land'. Poppe has also discussed the problem (*Introduction*, p. 103), and in his opinion, the initial in these cases is unaspirated. The question can be decided only with phonetic experiments. According to my observations made without instruments, the aspiration is considerably less in those words, which belong to the weakening categories in Ordos and in Dariganga. In these words we have omitted the sign of aspiration (cf. **29.**, **32.**, **33.**).

The strong stops and affricates in the East Mongolian dialects in initial position are usually aspirated. The initial *s*-, and *š*- according to the opinion of most Mongolists (Ramstedt, Vladimirtsov, Poppe, Sanžeev) is unaspirated, but Mostaert remarks that the *s* is aspirated in Ordos, and he calls attention to the fact that aspirated *š* occurs in other dialects of the East Mongolian group (*Le dialect II*, p. 172). To the occurrence of aspirated initial *s*- in other Mongolian languages Professor Ligeti has kindly called my attention. The aspirated voiceless strong spirant initial *s'*- and *š'*- have unaspirated, voiceless, weak spirant counterpart neither in Khalkha nor in Dariganga and Ordos, though we know of the unaspirated voiceless weak spirant *z* in Ordos, e. g. in the word: *zalk'* in 'wind' (cf. LM *salkin*). The *z* and *ž* are replaced by *ɖz* and *ɖž* respectively. That is why we find *ɖz* and *ɖž* instead of LM *s*- and *š*- in the words of the weakening categories in the Asgat sub-dialect of Dariganga.

Mostaert already raised the question that the lessening of aspiration in Khalkha is in connection with the weakening of the corresponding initials in Ordos (*Le dialect II*, p. 169). As it has been shown above, the lessening of

<sup>23</sup> *s*-, and *š*- only in the Asgat sub-dialect.



aspiration in Khalkha takes place in the same words which weaken in Dariganga and in Ordos. Therefore we have here the same tendency of sound development. In Khalkha of Ulan Bator (and in the east and west parts of the territory settled by the Khalkhas) the aspirated voiceless strongs become only unaspirated or little aspirated voiceless strongs, while in Dariganga and Ordos the same initials become unaspirated voiceless weaks.

40. In the East Mongolian languages the main phonemic opposition is that of the aspirated voiceless strongs and the unaspirated voiceless weaks. An unaspirated voiceless strong variant becomes very easily unaspirated voiceless weak. Vladimirtsov mentioned already a series of words in Khalkha of Urga which have initial aspirated voiceless strong, in place of unaspirated voiceless weak (*Срав. грам.*, p. 386), and Todaeva has published a list of such words (*Грамм.*, p. 37) without discovering the rule under which this takes place. Naturally, dealing with such variants of Khalkha of Ulan Bator as : *caṭ'an* ~ *χaṭ'an* 'Queen' (LM *qatun*), *džöṇχūr* ~ *tšöṇχūr* 'devil' (~ LM *čidkür*), *qobṭš'ūr* ~ *χobṭš'ūr* 'tax' (LM *qobčiyur*), etc., we have also to take in account the influence of a South Khalkha dialect.

41. While in the case of the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator, and the east and eastwest Khalkha dialects, in the „weakening categories” only the lessening of aspiration of the initial strongs is verifiable as a general tendency, in other Khalkha dialects we find also weakening, but not in the case of each voiceless strong initial, and not with the same regularity. In the dialect of the neighbourhood of Khentei (East Khalkha), from which we have folklore-texts in phonetic transcription by L. A. Amsterdamskaja (*Босмочно-халхаские народные сказки*, Moscow—Leningrad 1940), the initial *s*-, *š*- and *č*- do not weaken in the described cases, e.g. *saχχat*<sup>24</sup> (~ LM *saqal*) 'beard' (*op. cit.*, p. 5), *soχiž* 'lifting' (*op. cit.*, p. 7 cf. LM *sekü-*) *šatār* 'chess' (*op. cit.*, p. 9, cf. LM *šatar*), *čäčäyätäžä* 'sprinkling' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *čäčuylada-*).

The initial *t*-, in the major part of words does not weaken : *tus* 'profit' (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 10 cf. LM *tusa*), *tos* 'fat' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *tosun*), but *dostoe* (*op. cit.*, p. 24) *tata-* 'to pull' (in *tamiχi tatāt* 'smoking cigarette', *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 22, cf. LM *tata-*). I found also weakening : *daχχisä*, 'respected' (*op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13 cf. LM *taki-*).

The initials *k*- and *q*- are frequently represented by unaspirated voiceless weaks in the weakening categories : *gabtäγ<sup>a</sup>i* 'pouch' (*op. cit.*, p. 5, cf. LM

<sup>24</sup> The texts of Amsterdamskaja are written down in accordance with the Roman-lettered transcription of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. I cite them without any alteration.



*qabtayai*), *götlöt* 'lead' (*op. cit.*, p. 8, cf. LM *kötöl* ~ *kötel*-), *gatxa* 'Khalkha' (*op. cit.*, p. 20, cf. LM *qalqa*), *góxǒ* 'blue' (*op. cit.*, p. 17, cf. LM *köke*) etc. In other words we do not find weakening: *xutǔg* 'knife' (*op. cit.*, pp. 7, 20 cf. LM *kituya*) *xučižǎ* 'covered' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *quči*-), *xušünd* 'in the khoshun, administrative unity' (*op. cit.* p. 24, cf. LM *qosiγun*) etc.

41. In some of the Western Khalkha dialects, it seems, that the tendency, does work in the opposite direction. Namely, if in the weakening categories the phonemic opposition of aspirated voiceless strong and unaspirated voiceless weak is disappearing, this can also happen when an unaspirated voiceless weak initial becomes unaspirated voiceless strong. That means, if we have e.g. the original doublets  $*t > t^c : d < d^*$  and from this has developed  $*t > t^c : d < d^*$  in Khalkha of Ulan Bator and  $*t > d : d < d^*$  in Dariganga and Ordos, there can be at work an opposite tendency  $*t > t^c : t < d^*$ , and that is what we seem to find in some of the Western Khalkha dialects. This development is to be seen in the material which was collected by the expedition made in 1956 in West Mongolia organized by the Committee of Science and Higher Education. From this material there were published two short preliminary reports by E. Vanduj (*Зарим нутгийн аман аялгууны үгсийн сангийн тухай*, Ulan Bator 1957) and S. Barajshir (*Халхын аялгууны зарим хэсгийг судалсан тухай тэмдэглэл*, Ulan Bator 1957). The expedition visited six sumuns in the aymak Gobi-Altaj, seven sumuns in the aymak Dzabkhan, and seven sumuns in the aymak Khövsgöl. It is to be regretted that Barajshir — who collates dialectal forms with the corresponding literary ones — does not indicate from which part the territory he visited the cited words originate. It is clear from the material that in some words the original unaspirated voiced weak initial became unaspirated, or weakly aspirated<sup>25</sup> strong. This happens in the words, when the initial is followed by voiceless strong consonant: KhW after Barajshir, *op. cit.*, p. 2:

LM *jaqa* 'border' ~ KhU *dzaχ*, KhW *tsaχ*, Drg. *dzaχ*, Ord. *džaχa*;

LM *daqu* 'coat of goat's fur' ~ KhU *daχ*, KhW *taχ*, Drg. *daχ*, Ord. *daχu*;

LM *duqu* 'forehead, nape' ~ KhU *duχ*, KhW *tuχ*, Ord. *duχu*;

LM *γorčiγa*- 'to become long and thin' > KhL *gortig* 'stroke', KhW *χortok* 'id', Ord. *cor'ts'in* 'ridé',

LM *josso* 'the colour of the earth' ~ KhU *dzos*, KhW *tsos*, Ord. *džoso*.

<sup>25</sup> It is to be regretted that the Mongolian colleagues do not mark in their transcription the aspiration. They only denote it in the phonological introduction. The voiceless, strong representation of the initials in the following words can not be doubted, because the transcription is, in this respect, clear. The examples cannot be mistakes, because each word that belongs to the category in question shows the same shift in the published material.



42. As has already been pointed out, we have but scanty material of the various Khalkha dialects. We have some material from South Khalkha scattered on the pages of the comparative grammars of Vladimirtsov and Poppe cited above. Regrettably, we have no closer location of this material. What can be concluded from this material is that its phonetic structure stands not very far from the sub-dialect of Dariganga sumun. Poppe writes that South Khalkha can be also called Gobi Khalkha, because it is spoken in the Gobi regions of the Mongolian People's Republic. I have met during my tour some people who came from these territories and in whose language the traces of this phonetic structure could be detected. But we have to call the attention to the fact that the dialectal situation in the southern parts of the Mongolian People's Republic is not homogenous in this respect. For instance, a brief material collected by me around Sajn Šand, the centre of Dorno-Gobi aymak, does not show the features observed in the Dariganga sumun sub-dialect. This question, however, has to be further investigated.

43. Concerning the tendency of weakening we have finally to mention those cases when a word becomes one of the weakening category only if it has a suffix. This can only occur in such words which are monosyllabic, and such suffixes, which begin with an aspirated voiceless strong, e.g. the verb *kür*- does not belong to the weakening category, but, if the stem obtain the suffix of *nomen futuri* -*kü*, or the suffix of *converbium imperfecti* -*čü*, the new form *kürkü*, *kürčü* is going over to the weakening category and so on. In some of the dialects these forms have also voiceless weak initials sporadically. In the dialect of the neighbourhood of Khentei, collected by Amsterdamskaja we find transcribed *kürč* which stands perhaps for *cürtš* (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 10). We have in the Ordos *ɖʒacʰtʰu* instead of *tʃʰacʰtʰu* (*Textes Oraux*, p. 1), and beside the stem *kʰür*-, we find the forms *cürtšʰi* and *cürkʰi* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 438a), in the verb *tʰor*- 'être arrêté par quelque chose' we have the forms *ɖortšʰi* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 670a), at the verb *tʃʰav*- 'se rassasier' we find *ɖʒavʰar* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 689b) etc.

#### G) The Development $\check{c} > ts$ , $\check{j} > dz$ and Weakening

44. While in weakening Dariganga follows the Ordos-type dialects and not the Khalkha-type of Ulan Bator, on the other hand, regarding the development  $\check{c} > ts$ , Dariganga and Khalkha belong to one group and Ordos to another, both Khalkha and Dariganga have in the place of Literary Mongolian  $\check{c}$  before vowel other than *i*, in the not-weakening categories *tsʰ*-, while Ordos *tʃʰ*- (33.). This means that Dariganga is a *ts*-dialect. In the weakening categories the representation is as follows:

KhU  $\check{c} > ts$ , Drg.  $\check{c} > dz$ , Ord.  $\check{c} > ɖʒ$ .



Dariganga here gives an independent form to be met neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos. There are two possibilities how Dariganga *DZ* could have developed. Either we have to do with an originally *ts*-dialect, which later came under the influence of a weakening-dialect:  $\check{c} > ts > DZ$  or we have to do with an originally weakening-dialect which got in contact with a *ts*-dialect:  $\check{c} > D\check{z} > DZ$ . This problem can not be solved until we know more of the South Khalkha and the Chakhar dialects, and furthermore of the formation and history of the *ts*-dialects. But we can conclude that Dariganga  $DZ < \check{c}$ , independently of the way of its development, has to be younger than the formation of the *ts*-dialects.

**45.** To the Literary Mongolian  $\check{y}$  corresponds in positions before *i* an unaspirated voiceless weak *Dž* in Khalkha, Ordos and Dariganga alike. Before vowels other than *i* Khalkha has *DZ*, while in Ordos we find *Dž*. Dariganga follows Khalkha:

LM *jaqa* 'border' ~ KhU *dzaχ*, Drg. *dzaχ*, Ord. *džaχa*;

LM *jalayu* 'young' ~ KhU *dzalū*, Drg. *dzalū*, Ord. *džalū*;

LM *jebe* 'the top of the arrow' ~ KhU *dzew*, Drg. *dzew*, Ord. *džiwe*.

In those words, in which the „breaking” of the *i* had taken place in an early time, we find *DZ* both in Khalkha and in Dariganga:

LM *žiryuyan* 'six' ~ KhU *dzurcā*, Drg. *dzurcā*, Ord. *džurgā*;

LM *žirūken* 'heart' ~ KhU *dzūreχ*, Drg. *dzūreχ*, Ord. *džūre<sup>k</sup>χe*;

LM *žisün* 'colour of horse' ~ KhU *dzūs*, Drg. *dzūs*, Ord. *džūsū*.

We have an example where Dariganga differs from Khalkha:

LM *žibaži* > *jabaji* 'the corner of the lips' ~ KhU *dzawdž*, Drg. *džawdž*, Ord. *džawadži*.

**46.** In those West Khalkha dialects (see 41.) where the initial unaspirated, voiced weak had developed before a voiceless aspirated strong into an unaspirated, voiceless strong it seems to correspond to a Literary Mongolian initial  $\check{y}$ - before *i*, *tš*-, and before other vowels than *i*, *ts*-.

Thus we find the Literary Mongolian phonemic doublet  $\check{c} : \check{y}$  represented in our dialects as follows:

Literary Mongolian		Nonweakening categories				Weakening categories			
		KhU	KhW	Drg.	Ord.	KhU	KhW	Drg.	Ord.
$\check{c}$	Before <i>i</i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>
	Before other than <i>i</i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>Dž</i>
$\check{y}$	Before <i>i</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dž</i>
	Before other than <i>i</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>Dž</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>Dz</i>	<i>Dž</i>



H) *The Development*  $q > \chi$ ,  $k > \chi$  and  $k' > \chi$  and Weakening

47. Beside the tendency of weakening, and the tendency of development  $\check{c} > ts$ , the third important difference between Khalkha and Ordos is the spirantization of the Literary Mongolian  $q$  and  $k$ . The  $q$  is represented by  $\chi$  in all the three dialects (30.). The  $k$  remains in initial position as aspirated  $k'$ , in other position as  $^k\chi$  in Ordos, while in Khalkha we find in every position  $\chi$  except after  $\eta$  (31.). In the non-weakening categories, Dariganga follows Khalkha. We find remarks made by Vladimirtsov (*Спас. грам.*, pp. 10, 124) that in the former Dzasaktu-khan and Sajin-nojin-khan aymaks there are such Khalkha dialects, in which the initial Literary Mongolian  $k$  have not yet become  $\chi$ , it is only  $^k\chi$ . The same is reported by Barajshir (*op. cit.*, p. 11) from the present day Gobi-Altai and Dzabkhan aymaks.

This tendency of spirantization is also crossed by the tendency of weakening. In the spirantization Dariganga follows Khalkha, in the weakening Ordos, so we would expect after the analogy of  $tsx\dot{p}\dot{z} > dz$  a voiced spirant  $\gamma < \chi x \text{ } \underline{g}$ ; but we find instead of this  $\underline{g}$ . That means that the formation of Dariganga  $dz$  took place subsequent to the development  $\check{c} > ts$ , while the formation of the Dariganga  $\underline{g} < q$  prior to the development  $q > \chi$ . With this post quem and ante quem data we have given the relative chronology of the development of present-day Dariganga dialect. Naturally this does not give the chronology of the weakening, which must be older.

I) *The Alternation of Final -s and -d*

48. As I have pointed out above (38.) the spirant  $s$  is the only strong, voiceless consonant which can stand at the end of syllables or words. Whether it stands at the end of the first syllable (e.g. *tesbüri*), or at the beginning of the second (e.g. *tosun*) it causes the weakening of the initial strong. But with the final  $-s$  we find an alternation with  $-d$ , while in the case of initial  $s$ - we have none. This alternation was discussed by Ramstedt (*Urgamundart*, p. 19), Vladimirtsov (*Спас. грам.*, p. 397), Sanžeev (*Спас. грам.*, p. 87) and Poppe (*Introduction*, p. 121) and we have nothing to add. In Dariganga we have a few words in which we find  $-s$  in the place of Khalkha and Ordos  $-d$ :

LM *ebed-* 'to be ill' ~ KhU *öwö-ö*, Drg. *öwsö-*, Ord. *öwö-ö*,

LM *qabud-* 'to swell' ~ KhU *χawda-*, Drg. *χawsa-*, Ord. *χawud-*,

LM *qudqula* ~ *qudyula-* 'to mix' ~ KhL *chutgala-*, Drg. *χusχala-*, (~ *χusχala-*), Ord. *χudχula-*.

There is also an example where Khalkha has  $-s$ , and Dariganga and Ordos have  $-d$ :

LM *deled-* 'to beat' ~ KhU *velse-*, Drg. *velde-*, Ord. *velde-*.



K) *The Assimilation of  $\gamma$  before t and s*

49. As we have seen weakening is, essentially, a dissimilation of the strong consonants. Beside this we have also assimilation. Generally before or after *t* and *š*, *s*, the original  $\gamma$  or *g* become in Khalkha and Dariganga  $\chi$ , while they remain unchanged in Ordos:

LM *aytala*- 'to geld' ~ KhU *axt<sup>t</sup>la*-, Drg. *axt<sup>t</sup>la*-, Ord. *ag<sup>t</sup>ala*-;

LM *oytol*- 'to cut' ~ KhU *oxt<sup>t</sup>lo*-, Drg. *oxt<sup>t</sup>lo*-, Ord. *og<sup>t</sup>ol*-;

LM *šogsi*- 'to trot' ~ KhU *šogš<sup>i</sup>i*- (~ *šoχš<sup>i</sup>i*-), Drg. *džoxš<sup>i</sup>i*-, Ord. *šogš<sup>i</sup>i*-,

LM *ögkü* (nomen futuri) 'to give' KhU *óχó*, Drg. *óχó*, Ord. *ó<sup>k</sup>χó*-.  
After *t*:

LM *qudyula*- 'to mix' ~ KhL *chutgala*, Drg. *χusχala*- (~ *cusχala*-).  
Ord. *cuxyula*-.

L) *Redundant Consonants*

50. We have many such stems in Literary Mongolian in which we find a consonant in one case but not in another. Such are *tabi*- ~ *talbi*- 'to put', *küisün* ~ *küilsün* 'navel', *nutuy* ~ *nuntuy* 'camping-place' etc. In most cases it is not easy to say whether we have to deal with a redundant or a disappearing consonant. In Dariganga we find some words which have a *d*, but it is not found in other dialects:

LM *ayuuliqai* 'abdominal cavity' ~ KhU *ajulχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Drg. *ajulɔχal* ~  
~ *ajulχal* ~ *ajūmχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Ord. *ajulχā*;

LM *buyulay* 'upper arm' ~ KhU *buy<sup>l</sup>laq*, Drg. *buyɔlaq*;

LM *qara* 'black' > KhU *χarlaq* 'blackish', Drg. *χarɔlaq*.

Redundant *r*:

LM *kiřayalang* '3—4 years old animal' ~ KhU *χ<sup>i</sup>avzālan*, Drg. *exɔvzālan* ~  
*χivzālan*, Ord. *k'ivžārlan*;

LM *řabaři* 'the corner of the lips' ~ KhU *ɔzāvɔž*, Drg. *ɔžāvɔž* ~ *ɔžārɔɔž*,  
Ord. *ɔžāvavž<sup>i</sup>*.

Disappearing *l*:

LM *řayalqan* 'little' ~ KhU *ɔžāχan*, Drg. *ɔžāχan*, Ord. *ɔžālχan* ~  
*ɔžāχan*,

LM *külilge* 'tie' ~ Drg. *χūjilge* ~ *χūlilge*, Ord. *k'ūlilge*.

Disappearing *b*:

LM *kübke* 'caisse, boîte' ~ Drg. *cūχe* 'stove-pipe of clay', Ord. *cūb<sup>k</sup>χe* ~  
*cū<sup>k</sup>χe*, *cūw<sup>k</sup>χe* 'trou pratiqué en terre';

LM *silbe* leg, stem ~ KhU *šilbe*, Drg. *šilū*, Ord. *šilbe*;

LM *borbi* 'tendon of Achilles' ~ KhU *borwi*, Drg. *borū* ~ *borwi*, Ord.  
*borwī*.



M) *Metathesis of Consonants*

51. A special feature of Dariganga is the metathesis of consonants in cases where we find it neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos :

LM *tarbaya* 'the animal tarbagan' ~ KhU *t'arwag*, Drg. *t'awrag*, Ord. *t'arwaga* ;

LM *ebke* 'to wrap in' ~ KhU *ebχe*-, Drg. *eχwe*-, Ord. *eb<sup>k</sup>χe*-, ~ *ew<sup>k</sup>χ<sup>"</sup>e*-.

## A Brief Remark on Morphology

52. The differences between Khalkha and Ordos morphology can be divided in two parts. To one part belong those divergencies, which are merely phonetic. If the Literary Mongolian Dative-Locative *-dur/dür* is represented by *-ɖ* in Khalkha and *-ɖu/ɖü* in Ordos, or if we find the Literary Mongolian dubitativ *-γuǰai* as *-ɣɖz<sup>n</sup>ē* in Khalkha and as *-ɣɖžā* in Ordos, then we have to deal only with phonetic differences which have to be discussed in Phonology. The other part, the proper morphological differences are those cases when we cannot explain the divergency by phonetic reasons. For instance, the genitive form of the reflexiv-possessiv declination, the Literary Mongolian *-yuyan/yuban* is represented in Khalkha as *-inχān*, and in Ordos as *-inān*, or the Literary Mongolian concessive *-tuyai*, is to be found in Khalkha only in a few new political expressions (*mandat'ug<sup>n</sup>ē* 'vivat', *mandax bolt'ug<sup>n</sup>ē* 'id.'), while it is current in Ordos. In Dariganga I was unable to find any deviation from Khalkha morphology. Since the morphological differences between Khalkha and Ordos are thoroughly discussed by the authors (Mostaert, Poppe, Sanžeev) I have nothing to add here.

## A Brief Remark on the Lexical Stock

53. It is very difficult to make a statement on the lexical stock of Dariganga, not only because the material collected by me is naturally a fragment of the whole stock, but also because even after the publication of Mostaert's and Luvsandendev's excellent dictionaries we cannot say that the whole lexical stock of these languages is explored. If one or another word is not to be found in them, it does not follow that it does not exist in the language. I wish to make, however, a few remarks on the position of the lexical stock of Dariganga.

54. We have a few words which deviate only phonetically in Khalkha, Ordos and Dariganga, but these phonetic differences are apart from the regular phonetic divergencies.



- LM *burjasun* 'willow' ~ KhL *burgaas*, Drg. *burgas*, Ord. *burgasu* ;  
 LM *bayuri* 'the surface of a tent' ~ KhL *bujr*, Drg. *būr*, Ord. *būri* ;  
 LM *dölügen* 'calm' ~ KhL *dölgön* ~ *dölgöön*, Drg. *dölēn*, Ord. *dölōn* ;  
 LM *qurim* 'feast' ~ KhU *xurim*, Drg. *xurim*, Ord. *xorim* ;  
 LM *ungsi-* 'to read' ~ KhU *uṇši-*, Drg. *uṁši-*, Ord. *omsi-*.

**55.** We find words in Dariganga, of which the stem is known in Khalkha and Ordos, but the particular form is absent from the dictionaries :

LM *kenger* etc. 'bosom' ~ KhL *chencherceg*, Drg. *χenchedeg*, Ord. *k'emerdək* ;

LM *γayıqa-* 'to wonder' > KhU *ḷaeχalt<sup>nē</sup>* ~ *ḷaeχam* 'wonderful', Drg. *ḷaeχantā* 'id', Ord. *ḷāχal* 'id' ;

KhU *būgtš'im* 'stuffy', Drg. *būgt'mel*, Ord. *būgt'e*.

**56.** We find a few contractions in Dariganga which can not be traced nor found in that form in Khalkha or Ordos :

Drg. *gurm* 'plait' < *γurumusun* < *γurban mösün*, Ord. *ḷurmusun* 'id' ;

Drg. *margaddir* 'to morrow' < *marḡata edür*, Ord. *margata* ~ *margat'u*, KhU *margaš* ;

Drg. *χurgax* 'the husband of the elder sister' < *kürgen aqa* ;

Drg. *ts'āpōddür* < *čayadu edür*, Ord. *ūtš'ügüdüür*.

**57.** There is a group of words which can be found in Khalkha and in Ordos but with another meaning, e.g.:

Drg. *āzsa* 'old person, old woman, elder sister of the wife' (= KhU *awg<sup>nē</sup>*), Ord. *ādzū* 'frère plus agé' but in the NE part of Otok it means the same as *egetš'i*, 'soeur aînée' ;

Drg. *ḷasaq* 'the hoops of the fireplace; a measure for thin things; Kazak; a type of conveyance', KhU *χasaq* 'Kazak, a type of conveyance', Ord. *ḷasaq* 'charette, chariot, les cerceaux de fer servant à lier et maintenir les quatre pieds du t<sup>ulga</sup>'

Drg. *ēdzai* 'a sort of dried curd, not the same as *ēdmeq*', Ord. *ēdzqi* = *ēdmeq*

Drg. *bošog* 'the upper cross-rod of the tent's door', KhU *bošog* 'threshold', Ord. *bošogo* 'seuil de porte' ;

LM *bögeji* 'ring' ~ KhU *bōgdž* 'ring of harness', Drg. *bōgdž* 'id', Ord. *bōgōdži* 'yoke'.

**58.** There are certain words which are not common in the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator, and in the Khalkha literary language based on it, but which are to be found in other Khalkha dialects :



Drg. *ts'edž* 'a part of the halter', Khalkha of Gobi Altai (KhGA) *ts'edž* 'id' (Vanduj, *op. cit.*, p. 8);

Drg. *tor<sup>k</sup>χo* 'tea-cup', KhGA *t'unk<sup>u</sup>* 'id' (Vanduj, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

59. Finally I have to mention that category of words which I could not trace in Khalkha or in Ordos :

Drg. *berūχi* 'a part of the hoof', KhU *berevchij*;

Drg. *berge* 'a swift canter', Ord. *der<sup>k</sup>χere-* 'se dit d'un âne ou d'un mulet quand ils vont l'amble ou un pas rapide' ;

Drg. *vžalχamaq* 'a sort of milk product'.

Further examples will be easily found in the forthcoming vocabulary.