

Poppe, The Primary long vowels

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN

AIKAKAUSKIRJA

JOURNAL

DE LA

SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE

63

HELSINKI 1962

The Primary Long Vowels in Mongolian

BY

NICHOLAS POPPE

I.

Many years ago, Ramstedt noticed that the long vowels in Khalkha had resulted from the contraction of vowels of two adjacent syllables, the intervocalic consonant having disappeared.¹ Thus, Mo.² *qayā-* 'to close' has resulted in *χā-* in Khalkha. On the other hand, Mo. *baqa* 'small' has not developed into *sā* but has remained *baqa* in Khalkha. These dual developments were discussed by Ramstedt in another article of his in which he came to the conclusion that these dual developments were due to different accentuation: *χā-* < **qayā-* but *baqa* < **bāqa*.³ Therefore it is surprising that Vladimirtsov who had accepted these observations of Ramstedt⁴ set up his rather phantastic theory that the different developments had been due to the transition of the ancient Mongols from a hunting economy to animal husbandry.⁵

As long ago as in 1937, the author of these lines stated that

¹ G. J. Ramstedt, Das Schriftmongolische und die Urganmundart phonetisch verglichen, JSFOu 21: 2, p. 21 - 24.

² Written Mongolian.

³ G. J. Ramstedt, Zur Geschichte des labialen Spiranten im Mongolischen, Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig 1912, p. 186 - 187.

⁴ B. Ya. Vladimircov, Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazika i xalxaskogo narečija, Vvedenie i fonetika, Leningrad 1929, p. 216.

⁵ op.cit., p. 241.

Written Mongolian made a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels and gave such examples as *dag-a* «to follow» and *dayā-* «to be able to lift, to overpower», and also such examples as *qayālqa* > Kh.² *zälqav* «gate».³ In this connection, I should remark that the formulation given in my «Introduction» is unfortunate. Instead of saying «Where *y* in the middle of words was preserved etc.»⁴, I should have said «The consonant *y* before a short vowel», and there where I discussed the origin of the long vowels⁵ I should have added that *y* (and some other consonants) had disappeared only before a long vowel (originally a stressed vowel).

The correct solution of the problem was found in 1959 when simultaneously there appeared Professor Hattori's article⁶ and my article «On the Velar Stops»⁷ which was followed by my «Comparative Grammars».⁸ In the latter work the disappearance of certain consonants and the contraction of the vowels into one long vowel is regarded as taking place in the so-called weak position, i.e., before a long vowel which had developed from an accented vowel.⁹

It is important to remark that the groups Mo. *ayā*, *ayū*, etc. have been preserved in regular correspondences and in old loan words in Tungus (Evenki, Solon), the second vowel always being long:

¹ N. N. Poppe, Grammatika pis'menno-mongol'skogo yazika, Moskva-Leningrad 1937, p. 19, 40–41, 45. Cf. also N. Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 24.

² Khalkha.

³ Poppe, Grammatika, p. 16.

⁴ N. Poppe, Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies, Helsinki 1955, p. 149.

⁵ Poppe, op.cit., p. 59–60.

⁶ Shirō Hattori, The Length of Vowels in Proto-Mongol, Studia Mongolica Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comiteti (sic) Scientiarum et Educationis Altae Reipublicae Populi Mongoli, t. 1, fasc. 12, Ulaanbaatar 1959, p. 3–6.

⁷ N. Poppe, On the Velar Stops in Intervocalic Position in Mongolian, Ural-Altische Jahrbücher, Bd. 31, 1959, p. 271.

⁸ N. Poppe, Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil I: Vergleichende Lautlehre, Wiesbaden 1960.

⁹ Poppe, op.cit., p. 41.

Ev.B¹ *agī* < **agū* «open uninhabited place, steppe» = Mo. *ayū* < **agū* / **agūi* «vast». Kh. *ū* «broad, wide», *ūwom* «wides», *ūdūm* id.

Ev.B *boqōli* «rope» < Mo. *boyō* < **boqō-* «to bind», Kh. *no-* «to bind».

Ev.B *jalagān* «stassel on the hat» < Mo. *jalayā* < **jalagā*, Kh. *pzalā* id.

Ev.V² *idegē* «thing, property» < Mo. *idegēn* < **idegēn*, Kh. *iwē* «food».

Ev.V *kamaqā* «disease, calamity» < Mo. *qamiyā*, Kh. *qanā* «relevance, importance, relation».

Ev.B *jūluqā* «vein» < Mo. *jūlyā* < **jūluqā*, Kh. *užolō* id.

Ev.B. *kadamār* «bridle» < Mongol. **kadabār* > Mogol. *qadār*, Mo. *qajūqār* < **kajūbār* < **kadūbār* id., Kh. *qanzār* id.

Ev.B *hūrgē-*, Sol.³ *irūgē-* id. < Mongol., cf. MMo.⁴ *hīrū-*, Mo. *irūgē-* < **pirūgē-*, Kh. *qūrā-* «to say benedictions».

Sol. *butuqē-* «to fulfil» < Mo. *bütūqē-*, Kh. *mu'vā-* id.

Sol. *imayā* «goats» < Mo. *imayān* < **imagān* id., Kh. *gamā* id.

Sol. *oyōr* «mortar» < Mo. *oyūr* < **ogūr* id., Kh. *ūr* id.

Sol. *šiqū-* «to filter» < Mo. *šiqū-* < **šiqū-* id., Kh. *šū-* id.

Sol. *temegqē* «camel» < Mo. *temegēn* < **temegēn* id., Kh. *temē* id.

The Mongolian loan words in Tungus are important from that point of view that they give an answer to a number of questions. First of all, it is obvious that, at the time when the intervocalic consonant was still present in Ancient Mongolian (or Proto-Mongolian), the second vowel was still long, e.g., PMo. **imagān* > Sol. *imayā* «goats». This stage was followed by another one in which the intervocalic consonant was represented by a spirant and the second vowel was already short:

¹ Evenki of Barguzin after N. N. Poppe, Materiali dlya issledovaniya tungusskogo yazika, Narečie barguzinskix tungusov, Leningrad 1927, p. 38.

² Evenki after G. M. Vasilevic, Èvenkijsko-russkii slovar', Moskva 1958.

³ Solon after N. N. Poppe, Materiali po solonskomu yaziku, Leningrad 1931.

⁴ Middle Mongolian.

Ev.V. Ev.B *kēwer* »meadow, open space, swamp» < Mongol. **kēwer* < **kebēr* »steppe».

Ev.B *dawā-* »to sing» < MMo. *dawā-* id., cf. Dagur *ᠠᠶᠤᠮᠠ* »to call». Mo. *dayān*. Kh. *ᠳᠠᠶᠠᠨ* »voice, song».

Ev.B *owar* »mortar» < Mongol. **owar*. Mo. *oyūr* < **ogūr*, Kh. *ᠶᠣᠷ* id.

Ev.V *umul* »owl» < Mongol. **uculi*. Mo. *uyūli* < **ugūli*, Kh. *ᠤᠮᠤᠯ* »owl».

Ev.V *huruwan* »thumb» < Mongol. **quruwan*. Mo. *quruyān* < **kurigān*, Kh. *ᠵᠢᠷᠢ* »finger».

On the basis of the Mongolian loan words in Tungus, the history of the groups **agā*, **agū*, etc. can be represented as follows:

1. Proto-Mongolian **dagān* »voice» > Mo. *dayān* id.
2. Middle Mongolian **dawān* > *da'wān* »voice», *da'wā-* »to call» > Dag. *ᠠᠶᠤᠮᠠ* id.
3. Modern Mongolian: Kh. *ᠳᠠᠶᠠᠨ*. Kalmuck *dān* »voice».

2.

I shall not dwell on cases in which Written Mongolian *γ* or *g* (**g*, **p*, **b*, **q*, **m*, **ŋ*) have disappeared and the vowels have been contracted into one long vowel, because these cases are well known, and examples of these developments can be found by the hundreds. Here the following question will be dealt with: did long vowels occur only after **p*, **b*, **g*, **q*, **ŋ*¹ or also after other consonants? If they occurred also after other consonants, what happened to the latter?

We shall examine all cases as far as possible. We shall see that the consonant **k* > Mo. *q* and *k* in the weak position, i.e., before a long (original accented) vowel has become voiced, i.e., developed into *g*, and *g* respectively, but has remained voiceless in the strong position, e.g., Mo. *daga-* < MMo.² *daqā-* < **dukā-*, Kh. *ᠳᠠᠭᠤ*, Bur.³

¹ These cases were dealt with in my *Vergleichende Grammatik*, pp. 46–49, 59–62.

² Middle Mongolian.

³ Buriat.

daqo- »to follow» = Mng.¹ *daqā-* id.³ As for the other consonants, they have not been affected by the long vowel which follows them immediately.

*ā

Mo. *šiba-* < **šipā-* »to plaster, to stucco», Kh. *šaww-* id.² > Yak. *šibā-* id., L.⁴ *hibā-* id.

Mo. *saba* < **sapā* »vessel, container», Kh. *saww* id. = Mng.*sawā* »instrument, tool, vase».⁵

Mo. *dayiba-* < **dayipā-* »to swing, to wave», Kh. *dāwew-* id.⁶ > Yak. *daibā-* »to wave», Yak. *taibā-* »to swing the wings» (an older borrowing).

Mo. *ayūrea* < **ābūrēā* < **apūrēā* »residue which remains when liquor is brewed», Kh. *ār'ᠦᠨ* id. > Ev.V *ārēā* »kind of cheese which is made of that residue».

Mo. *yada-* < **yadā-* »to be unable, to be poor», Kh. *γaww-* id., Mng.*iwā-* »to be exhausted» > Yak. *satā-* < **kadā-* < **yadā-* »not to reach the aim, to fail in achieving»; a newer loan word is Yak. *džadā-* »not to be able».

Mo. *šida-* < **šidā-* »to be able», Kh. *ᠯšaww-* id., Mng.*sda-* »to be able» = Yak. *satā-* »to be able».

Mo. *qada* < **kadā* »rock, cliff», Kh. *γaww* id., Mng.*qadā* id. = Ev. *kadār* > Yak. *žadār* id.

¹ Monguor.

² This and some other examples and the idea that **k* has developed into *g* in this position were suggested to me by Professor Shirō Hattori in a letter of May 5, 1960.

³ Mo. *šiba-* must be a borrowing, because **p* in weak position usually disappears.

⁴ Lamut or Even after V. I. Cincius i L. D. Rišes, *Russko-čevenskii slovar'*, Moskva 1952.

⁵ Mongolian *saba* must be a borrowing for the same reason as *šiba-* »to plaster».

⁶ After *-yi-* the consonants **p* and **b* do not disappear in weak position, probably due to the fact that *-yi-*, together with the preceding vowel, became a diphthong in a rather early stage.

Mo. *uda-* < **udā-*. Kh. *уду-*, Mngr. *удā-* 'to linger, remain in the same position, to be late' = Yak. *utā-* 'to remain behind, to lag'.

Mo. *jida* < **jidā*, Kh. *дзавдо* 'spear' = Mngr. *дзидā* id.

Mo. *qada-* < **kadā-* 'to nail, to sew, to fix' = Yak. *χatā-* 'to nail'.

Mo. *udagan* < **udākān* / **idākān* > **idagan* > Dag.¹ *yovagan* 'shamaness', Kh. *удовг* id. > Ev.V *idākeṅ* id., *idākān* 'shaman's'.

Mo. *sudasun* < **sudālsun* 'artery', Kh. *судос*, Mngr. *свдвзг* id. = Ev. V *sudasun* id. (< Modern Mongolian).

Mo. *quda* < **kudā*. Kh. *хүддв* 'parents of a married couple', Mngr. *гүд* id. > Ev.Sh.² *kudā* id.

Mo. *qudaldu-* < **kudāldu-* 'to trade, to sell', Kh. *хүддөлдв* id. = Mngr. *dārdi-* id.

Mo. *budaṅ* < **budāṅ* 'fog', Kh. *буды* id. > Yak. *budān* / *bidān* id.

Mo. *unugan* < **unukān* 'foal', Kh. *унуг* id. > Ev.V *unukān* id.

Mo. *šinaga* < **šinakā* 'saddle', Kh. *шанг* id. > Ev.V *šinakā* id.

Mo. *tarbagan* < **tarbakān* 'marmot', Kh. *тарваг* id., Mngr. *t'ōrqa* id. > Ev.V *tarbagā* id., Ev.Sh. *tarbakā* id.

Mo. *jalga-* < **jalkā-* 'to connect, to make longer', Kh. *жалг* id., Mngr. *дзиргā-* id. > Yak. *salyā-* 'to add, to make longer by attaching something'.

Mo. *gayyqa-* < **gayyikā-* 'to admire', Kh. *гэйгэ* id. > Ev.V *gaykān-* 'to be surprised, astonished', Yak. *χaiyā-* 'to praise'.

Mo. *ilga-* < **ilkā-* 'to distinguish, to discern' > Yak. *ilyā-* 'to choose, select'.

Mo. *sonirqa-* < **sonirkā-* 'to be interested', Kh. *сонрх* id. > Yak. *sonuryā-* 'to be interested in everything new'.⁴

¹ Dagur.

² On this word see Albert F. Dien, A Possible Early Occurrence of Altaic Iduyan, CAJ, II, p. 12 ff.

³ S. M. Shirokogoroff, A Tungus Dictionary, Tokyo 1944, p. 151.

⁴ The vowel of the suff. *-rkā-* > *-ryā-* is always long in all verbs in Yakut, cf. O. Böhtlingk, Über die Sprache der Jakuten, Theil I, St. Petersburg 1851, p. 296. Cf. L. N. Xaritonov, Tipi glagol'noi osnovi v yakutskom yazike, Moskva-Leningrad 1954, p. 83.

Mo. *kilgasun*, MMo. *qilqāsun* < **kilkāsun* 'hairs', Kh. *хилгэс*, Bur. *хилгэхон* id. > Ev.V *kilgāhun* id.

Mo. *tala-* < **talā-* 'to rob, to take away', Kh. *t'allo-* id. > Ev.V. *talānā-* 'to take away', Yak. *talā-* 'to loot, to rob'.

Mo. *sula* < **sulā* 'weak, loose', Kh. *сүлл* id. = Mngr. *sulā* 'weak, idle, lazy', *сглі* 'idle, unoccupied, leisure'.

Mo. *bula-* < **bulā-* 'to inter, to dig', Kh. *бул-* id. = Mngr. *bulā-* 'to inter, plant'.

Mo. *aglag* < **aglāk* 'remote, uninhabited', Kh. *аглог* id. > Ev.V *aglā* 'even, treeless', *aglān* 'meadows'.

Mo. *dargala-* < **darkalā-*, Kh. *даргал-* 'to forge iron, to be a smith', Dag. *darxalā-* id. > Ev.V. *darkalā-* id.¹

Mo. *dayula-* < **dafūlā-* 'to sing', Kh. *дүйл-* id. = Ev.V *dawlā-* < MMo. *daylā-* id.

Mo. *uyila-* < **uylā-* 'to cry, to weep', Kh. *уйл-* id. = Mngr. *ulā-* id.

Mo. *qarma-* < **karmā-* 'to rake', Kh. *харма-* id. > Yak. *χarbā-* 'to row, to rake'.

Mo. *oyima-* < **oyimā-* 'to swim', Kh. *оёмо-* id. > Yak. *oimō-* 'to walk in water, to wade'.

Mo. *mana-* < **manā-* 'to watch', Kh. *манн-* id. > Yak. *manā-* id.

Mo. *sana-* < **sānā-* 'to think', Kh. *санв-* id. > Ev.V *sanā-* id., Yak. *sanū-* id. = Ev.V. *sā-* 'to know', Yak. *āχ-* < **sāq-* 'to count', Trkm. *sān* 'number', *sāna-* < **sānā-* 'to count'.

Mo. *una-* < **unā-* 'to fall', Kh. *унв-* id. = Mngr. *unā-* id.

Mo. *irjagina-* < **irjaginā-* 'to show one's teeth' (dogs) > Yak. *irdžiginā-* id.

Mo. *qura* < **kurā* 'rain', Kh. *хүр* id. = Mngr. *χurā* id.

Mo. *duran* < **durān* 'memory, desire', Kh. *дүр* id. = Mngr. *durān* 'desire'.

Mo. *bara-* < **barā-* 'to finish, to consume', Kh. *баро-* id., Mngr.

¹ The vowel of the suff. *-lā-* of denominal verbs is long in Dagur, cf. N. N. Poppe, Dagurskoe narečie, Leningrad 1930, p. 124; same in Evenki, cf. Vasilevič, op. cit., p. 766; and same in Yakut, cf. Xaritonov, op. cit., p. 63.

**surā-* 'to be finished, to be consumed, spent, to die' > Yak. *barā-* 'to finish, destroy'.

Mo. *darasun* < **darāsun* 'swine' = Mng. *derāse* id.

Mo. *aral* < **arāl* 'islands', Kh. *aral* id. = Mng. *arā* 'a spot left open in a canal or in a river'.

Mo. *qara* < **karā* 'black', Kh. *qarv* id., Mogol *qarō* < **qarā* id. > Ev. B. *karā* id.

Mo. *untara-* < **untarā-* 'to go out (light), to be extinguished', Kh. *un't'v-* id. = Mng. *ni'grā-* 'to sleep'.¹

Mo. *abura-* < **apurā-* 'to have pity, to save, rescue', Kh. *aurv-* id. > Yak. *abrā-* / *abirā-* 'to correct, to show grace'.

Mo. *sayāra-* < **sagārā-* 'to decrease', Kh. *sārv-* id. > Yak. *sārā-* 'to be slow, irresolute'.

Mo. *jiyūra-* < **jigūrā-* 'to knead', Kh. *dzūr-* id. = Mng. *ōžūrā-* id.

Mo. *qagdara-* < **kagdarā-* 'to be worn out', Kh. *qaqdzv-* id. = Mng. *qavārā-* id.

Mo. *qayūra-* < **kabūrā-* 'to peel off', Kh. *χūr-* id. = Mng. *χūrā-* id.

Mo. *tusa* < **tusā* 'usefulness, profit', Kh. *t'ussv* id. = Mng. *pusā* id.

Mo. *buta* < **butā* 'bush', Kh. *bu't'v* id. = Mng. *busā* 'plants growing in the shape of bushes'.

Mo. *duṭa-* < **duṭā-* 'to be insufficient', Kh. *du't'v-* id. > Yak. *tuṭā-* 'to be behind'.

Mo. *qata-* < **katā-* 'to become hard', Kh. *qa't'v-* id., Mng. *qadā-* id. > Ev. V. *katān* 'hard', Yak. *kitānax* 'hard', *kitāl-* 'to become hard'.

Mo. *sayāta-* < **sagātā-*, Kh. *sā't'v-* 'to console' > Yak. *sātā-* 'to console oneself, to amuse oneself'.

Mo. *toḡta-* < **toktā-* 'to stop, to stand still', Kh. *t'oḡ't'v-* id. > Ev. V. *toktō-* id., Yak. *toḡtō-* id.

¹ The suff. *-rā-* has a long vowel in Monguor, Yakut, and Evenki.

Mo. *soḡta-* < **sōktā-* 'to be intoxicated', Kh. *soḡ't'v-* id., Mng. *soḡdō-* id. > Ev. V. *sōkta-* id.

Mo. *nogto* < **noktā* 'halter', Kh. *noḡ't'v* id. = Mng. *noadō* id.

*ḡ

Mo. *solī-* < **solī-*, Kh. *solli-* 'to mix' > Ev. V. *solī-* id.

Mo. *sačuli* < **sačulī*, Kh. *sa't'sulḡ* 'libation' > Ev. V. *čabalt* id.

Mo. *čabi* < **čabi*, Kh. *t'sawḡ* 'groins', Bur. *samḡ* < **čami* id. > Yak. *sami* 'buttock'.

Mo. *qani* < **qani* 'friend', Kh. *qanḡ* id. > Yak. *qani* 'similarity, pair, homogeneous objects', L. *kani* 'twins'.

Mo. *sayāri* < **sagārī*, Kh. *sāgrḡ*, Mng. *sari* 'suède' > Yak. *sarī* 'suède made of deer's skin'.

Mo. *narin* < **narīn*, Kh. *nārḡ* 'thin', Mng. *narin* id. > Yak. *narīn* 'neat, fine, elegant'.

Mo. *ulari-* < **ularī-* 'to alternate', Kh. *ulorḡ-* id., Mng. *urila-* < **ulari-* 'to do something alternately' > Yak. *ularij-* id.

*ē

Mo. *iče-*, MMo. *hīčē-* < **pičē-* 'to be ashamed', Kh. *i't'š-* id. = Mng. *šōzičē-* id.

Mo. *nimegen* < **nimekēn*, Kh. *niḡḡ* 'thin, fine' > Ev. V. *neḡmekēn* 'short, low'.

Mo. *emeḡelji* < **hemekēlji* 'idol of the protecting spirit of the home' > Ev. V. *heḡmekēn* 'hunter's amulets'.

Mo. *ide* < **iḡē* 'energy, activity', Kh. *idō* id. > Ev. V. *iḡē* 'talent'.

Mo. *kederge* < **kādērkē* 'instrument for tanning leathers', Kh. *kedērege* id. > Ev. V. *kēdēreḡwān* id., Yak. *kādārḡn* id.

Mo. *kürgen* < **kürigen* < **kürikēn* 'son-in-law', Mng. *k'urgēn* id. > Ev. V. *kurčēn* 'husband of the younger sisters'.

Mo. *gejige* < **gejikē* < **gedikē* 'cues', Kh. *geḡḡgeḡ* id. = Ev. V. *geḡkēn* 'back of the head'.

Mo. *delge* < **delkē* «to spread out», Kh. *delgə* id. > Yak. *tālgd*-id.

Mo. *kürge* < **kürkē* «to bring to the destination», Kh. *χurgə*-id. = Mng. *k'urac*-id.

Mo. *ödken* < **hödkēn* < **pötkēn* «thick (of liquids)», Kh. *ödx* id., Mng. *spocudn* < **hödkēn* id. > Ev.V *utkūn* id.

Mo. *töle* < **tölē*, Kh. *töllu* «to pay» > Yak. *töläö* < **tölä* < **tälä*-id.

Mo. *čime* < **čimē* «to adorn, decorate», Kh. *čšimə*-id. > Yak. *simä* / *simü* < **čimä*-id.

Mo. *üne* < **ünē* «price», Kh. *unə* id., Mng. *niäm* id. > Ev.V *uniē* «to buy», *unič*-id.

Mo. *sünesün* < **sünēsün* «soul», Kh. *sunəs*, Bur. *hunnəhəŋ* id. = Mng. *sumičəz* id.

Mo. *ünēsün* < **hünēsün* < **pünēsün* «cinder, ashes», Kh. *unəs* id. = Goldi *puničktə* < **pučktə* id., Ev.V *ulčptən* / *hulčptən* id.

Mo. *šičire* < **titirē* «to shake, tremble», Kh. *č'ič'šyr*-id. > Yak. *titirä*-id.

Mo. *töre* < **törē* «to be born», Kh. *t'ər*-id., Mng. *t'uro*-id. > Yak. *törüö* < **törü* < **tärä*-id.

Mo. *mören* < **mörēn* «river», Kh. *mörə* id. = Mng. *murōn* id.

Mo. *dörü* < **dörē* «ring in the nose of a domestic animal», Kh. *döra* id. = Mng. *durö* id.

Mo. *ikire* < **ikirē* «twins», Kh. *ičxər* id. > Ev.V *igirč* / *ikərč* id., Yak. *igiriü* < **ikiriü* id.

Mo. *ötögü* < **ötökü* «old, elders», *ötöl* «to grow old», Kh. *č't'al*-id., Mng. *spöli* «to become old», *spöcu* < **ötökü* «old» > Ev.V *čtč* «old man», *utčlč* «formerly, in olden times», *učlčptir* «ancestors» = Chuvash *vanš* < **ötä* «old».

Mo. *keble* < **keptē* «to lie down», Kh. *χəb'tə*-id. = Mng. *kivič*-id.

*i

MMo. *täli* «then» = Ev.V *tčli* «at that time».

Mo. *ele*, MMo. *šli* «this» = Ev.V *čli* «here».

Mo. *ejen* < *čjin* < **čdin* «lord, master», Kh. *čdözč* id. = Ev.V *čdi* «husbands», Anc. Turk. *idi* «lords».

3.

The observations made in section 2 lead to the conclusion that the vowels of a number of Mongolian suffixes were originally long. Such suffixes are:

1. Suffixes of noun-derivation:

1. *-gan* / *-gen* < **kän* / **kēn*: Mo. *udagan* «shamaness», *unugan* «foal», *tarbagan* «marmot», *kürgen* «son-in-law», etc.

2. *-li* < **lī* / **lī* of deverbal nouns: Mo. *sačuli* «libation» etc.

2. Suffixes of verb-derivation:

1. *-ga-* / *-ge-* < **kā-* / **kē-* of causative verbs: Mo. *jalga-* «to make longer», *ilga-* «to distinguish», *delge-* «to spread out», etc.

2. *-gina-* < **gīnā-* / **gīnē-* of deverbal verbs: Mo. *irjagina-* «to show the teeth».

3. *-la-* / *-le-* < **lā-* / **lē-* of denominal verbs: Mo. *dargala-* «to be a smith», *dayula-* «to sing», etc.

4. *-ra-* / *-re-* < **rā-* / **rē-* of deverbal verbs: Mo. *abura-* «to save», *untara-* «to be extinguished», *sayara-* «to last long», etc.

5. *-rqa-* / *-rke-* < **rkā-* / **rke-* of denominal verbs: Mo. *sonirqa-* «to be interested».

Another conclusion which is probably more important concerns the primary verb-stems which take the causative suffix *-yā-* / *-gē-*.

It is known that the verbal stems ending in a short vowel in various Mongolian languages take the causative suffix *-ül-* / *-ül-* = Mo. *-yül-* / *-gül-*: Bur., Kh., Ord. *alül-* «to cause to kill», Kalm. *alül-* id. from *alo-* «to kill» = Mo. *alayül-* «to make kill» from *ala-* «to kill».

On the other hand, many verbal stems ending in a short vowel form the causative by adding the suffix *-ā-* / *-ē-* = Mo. *-yā-* / *-gē-*:

Mo. *udayā-*, Kh. *yüā-* «to delay, to make become late» from Mo. *uda-* «to linger».

Mo. *qadayā-*, Bur. *χadā-* «to cause to nail or sew» from Mo. *qada-* «to nail».

Mo. *qatayā-*, Kh. *χa't'ā-* «to make dry, to make hard» from Mo. *qata-* «to become dry, to become hard».

Mo. *unayd-*, Kh. *ynogd-* »to make fall down» from Mo. *una-* »to fall».

Mo. *toḡlayδ-*, Kh. *t'oḡ't'δ-* »to make stand still, to establish, to take a decision» from Mo. *toḡta-* »to stand still».

Mo. *soḡlayδ-*, Kh. *soḡ't'δ-* »to make drunk» from Mo. *soḡta-* »to become drunk».

Mo. *untarayδ-*, Kh. *yn't'brā-* »to extinguish» from Mo. *untara-* »to go out, to be extinguished».

It has been demonstrated above that the primary stems *uda-*, *qada-*, *qata-*, etc. end in a primary long vowel. From this the conclusion can be drawn that the causative suffix Mo. *-γδ-* / *-ḡδ-* can be taken as evidence that the stem-final vowel is long in origin. In other words, those verbal stems which take this suffix must have been ending in a long vowel. Of course, many original stems appear at the present time with other causative suffixes but this is due to analogy. There are such dual forms as Kh. *serē-* and *serūl-* = Mo. *sereḡδ-* and *sereḡll-* »to awaken» from *sere-* »to awake». However, originally all stems of this kind took only the suff. *-γδ-* / *-ḡδ-*.

4.

The occurrence of primary long vowels in the first syllable in Mongolian was discovered recently. No mention of primary long vowels in the first syllable is found in Ramstedt's and Vladimirtsov's works. Even in his latest works, Ramstedt states that there is no evidence of a phonemic opposition of primary long vowels to short vowels in Mongolian.¹ The same opinion was expressed in 1955 by the author of these lines who believed that all long vowels were of secondary nature.²

The occurrence of primary long vowels in the first syllable was

¹ G. J. Ramstedt, Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft, I, Lautlehre, Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto, Helsinki 1957, p. 165.

² Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies, p. 73-76.

discovered by Hattori¹ whose article was followed by the *Comparative Grammar* of the author of these lines.²

Hattori reconstructed the original long vowels of Proto-Mongolian, basing himself on the Monguor and, to a lesser extent, Dagur data. The author of these lines reconstructed them on the basis of the Altaic comparative studies, i.e., by comparing Mongolian with Tungus and Turkic. The argument of the author was as follows: if Turkic and Tungus have primary long vowels and if Mongolian is related to Turkic and Tungus, there must have been primary long vowels in Mongolian, too. By comparing such words as Mngr. *ḡll* »shoulder-blade» with Turkmenian *γll* »mane» and Yak. *ḡll* »fat under the mane of a horse» or Mngr. *mōdi* »tree» with Dag. *mōδ* and Ev. *mō* < **mōδ* »tree», the author came to the conclusion that Monguor and Dagur long vowels in these and some other words are primary in origin but not secondary as he had believed before.

In this article I am going to demonstrate that Mongolian primary long vowels can be reconstructed in the first syllable not only on the basis of Monguor and Dagur data or by comparing Mongolian data with those of Yakut and Turkmenian but also by basing one's research on Mongolian loan words in Yakut and Tungus.

Before I proceed to a closer examination of Mongolian correspondences to the long vowels in Yakut and Turkmenian and to Mongolian loan words in Evenki and Yakut, I wish to remark that the very useful list of Turkmenian words containing long vowels, compiled by Räsänen³, provides numerous examples such as:

Trkm. *āl* »red» = (or >) Mo. *al* id.

Trkm. *bāja* »the husband of the sister of Ego's wife» = Mo. *baja* < **bāja* id.

Trkm. *ēāya* »child» = Mo. *ēāqa*, Kh. *t'saxxo* < **ēāqa* id.

Trkm. *yāyrin* »shoulder-blades» = Mo. *dayārin* < **dāgārin* »sore under the saddle».

¹ Hattori, op.cit., p. 6.

² Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, p. 92 ff.

³ Martti Räsänen, Türkische Miscellen, Studia Orientalia ed. Soc. Orient. Fennica XX: 1, 1960, p. 5-49.

Trkm. *qäyn* < **qädin* 'father-in-law' = Mo. *qadam* < **kädum*, Kh. *qadom* id., etc.

I shall proceed to the main discussion.

*4

Mo. *daqu* < **däku* 'fur jacket, fur coats, Kh. *daqxo* id., Mngr. *däxu* 'women's waistcoat' > Ev.V *däke* 'women's jackets'.

Mo. *tala* < **täla* 'plain, steppe, prairies, Kh. *t'allo* id. > Yak. *täla* 'field, prairies'.

Mo. *čabirqai* < **čäbirkai* 'temples', Bur. *sabirgai* id. > Ev.V *čäwurkai* / *čäwurgai* id.

Mo. *janu* < **jän-u* 'to threaten', Kh. *dzanu* id., Mngr. *ščiäni* 'to hate, to menace' = Yak. *šan* id. > Ev.V *šan* id.

Mo. *laqa* < **läka* 'silurus, shat-fish', Kh. *laqxo* id. > Yak. *läxa* 'common gremille'.

Mo. *čabi* 'groins, Kh. *t'sänci* id. > Yak. *džämi* 'belly, womb'.

Mo. *sag* < **säk* 'excrements, filth', Bur. *haq* id. > Yak. *šäx* 'excrements'.

Mo. *tagki* < **täki* 'cup, bowl', Bur. *taqšu* id. > Ev.V *täkeq* id.

*5

Mo. *ösin* < **höšin* < **pöštin* 'spark', Kh. *o't'si*, Bur. *ošin* id. from **höt* < **pöt* 'fire' > Ev.V. *höšin* / *ösin* 'spark' = Yak. *uot* 'fire', Trkm. *öt* id.

Mo. *dom* < **döm* 'fortune-telling', Kh. *dom* id., Mo. *domog* < **dömak* 'tale, story' > Yak. *tuom* / *duom* < **döm* 'rites'.

Mo. *bor*, Bur. *bor* < **bör* 'clay' > Yak. *buor* 'earth, clay'.

Mo. *gom* < **köm* 'saddle-felt, saddle-cloth', Kh. *χom* id. > Ev.V *köm* 'saddles, *kömdan* 'saddle covers'.

Mo. *gota* < **köta* 'enclosure, fence, town, city', Kh. *χo't'o* id., Ord. *qo't'o* id. > Ev.V *göta* 'enclosures, *göta* 'to fence, *ηöta* id.

Mo. *jol* < **jöl* 'happiness, good luck', Bur. *zol* id., Mo. *jolqur*

< **jälku* 'to encounter', Bur. *soig-* id., Mngr. *ščiörqo* id. > Ev.V *jöl* 'good luck' = Yak. *suel* < **jöl* 'sway, roads, Trkm. *yöl* id.

Mo. *oi* < **höi* < **pöi* 'forests, MMo. *höi* id., Kh. *öj* id. > Ev.V *höi* 'swamps, cf. Trkm. *öy* 'depression, valleys' < Mongol.

Mo. *soqor* < **šökar* 'blinds, Kh. *soqor* id., Mngr. *soqor* id. > Ev.V *šöxar* 'squint, cross-eyed'.

Mo. *sonin* < **šönin* 'interesting, news, Kh. *soni* id. > Ev.V *šönin* 'heroes'.

Mo. *toqoi* < **tökai* 'elbow, bends', Kh. *t'ox'š* id., Mngr. *t'uqut* 'elbow' = Ev.V *tökikän* < **tökikän* id.

Mo. *soqta* < **šöktä* 'to be intoxicated', Mngr. *soqoš-* < **šöktä* id., Kh. *soq't'o* id. > Ev.V *šökta* id.

Mo. *čoru* < **jör-u* 'to plane', Kh. *dzor-* id., Mngr. *ščiöri* 'to cut off, to make a sharp end' = Yak. *šor-* < **jör-* 'to plane', cf. Trkm. *yön-* id., primary root **yö-*.

*6

Mo. *jułga* < **jälkä* 'to tear off, to pluck', Kh. *dzulga-* 'to pluck' > Ev.V *julga* id.

Mo. *nura* < **nüra* 'cave-in, landslides, Mo. *nura* < **nürä* 'to cave in', Mngr. *nüra* 'cave-in, *nürä* 'to cave in' > Ev. *nüra* 'steep banks'.

Mo. *numun* < **nūmun* 'bows, Kh. *nyumo* id., Bur. *nomo* id., Mngr. *lumun* id. > Ev.V *nōma* 'Daurian bows, Ev.V *nēmki* 'bows'.

Mo. *guran* < **gūran* 'wild goats', Kh. *guro* id. > Ev.V *gūran* id.

*7

Mo. *jiрге* 'to cut off thin slices', Kh. *žiryo-* id., causat. of **jiři* < **jiři*, Mo. *jiřim* 'a thin strap', deverbal noun in *-m* from **jiři*, Mngr. *ščiři* 'to cut off thin lashes' > Yak. *šiv-* 'to tear' = Turk. Osm. *yirt-* < **yirti* 'to tear'.

Mo. *kirmağ* < **kīrmak* 'new snow', Kh. *χ'armoq* id. (**kīrmak* <

**kjār-mak* > Yak. *kīrpaχ* 'grain, particles' = Yak. *χār*, Trkm. *qār* < **kjār* 'snow', Chuvash *yur* < **kjār* 'snow'.

*ε

Mo. *gere* < **gērei* 'slight', Mngr. *gēriš* id. = Ev.V *gēri* < **gērei* id. Mo. *dēl* < **dēl* 'manes', Dag. *dēlbur* id., Kh. *dēl* id. = Ev.B *dēlin* id. = Yak. *siāl* < **jēl* id.

Mo. *keb* < **kēp* 'pattern, model', Kh. *χep* id. = Yak. *kiāp* < **kāp* 'form, shape', Trkm. *gāp* 'scarecrows'.

Mo. *kebi-* < **kēbi-* 'to ruminate', Mngr. *k'ēyi-* id., Kh. *χiwē-* id. = Trkm. *gāviš* 'cud'.

Mo. *tel* < **tēl*: *t. quraga* 'a lamb which sucks at two ewes', Kh. *t'el* *χurwāp* id., Bur. *tēlē* id. > Yak. *tīl* < **tēl* 'foal or calf which sucks the milk of several mothers'.

*δ

Mo. *ēōme* < **ēōme* 'stone of a fruit, kernel', Kh. *t'sōma* id. > Ev.V *ēōmē* < **ēōme* 'kernel'.

Mo. *dōte* < **dōte* 'near', Bur. *dutē* id. > Ev.V *dūtercyer* 'straight, shortcut'.

Mo. *ōl* < **hōl* < **pōl* 'wet, damp; nurrishment' > Yak. *ūōl* < **ōl*, Turk. Osm. *hōl*, Trkm. *hōl* / *ōl* 'wet'.

Mo. *ōs-* < **ōs-* 'to grow, increase, propagate', Mo *ōske-* < **ōskē-* 'to make increase', Kh. *ūs-*, Mngr. *ōse-* 'to grow, increase' > Yak. *ūōskā-* < **ōskā-* 'to originate'.

Mo. *ōs* < **ōs* < **ōč* 'hatred, revenge', Kh. *ūs* id. = Yak. *ūōs* < **ōč* 'bile'.

Mo. *sōge-* < **sōkē-* 'to scold, call names', Kalm. *sōgē-* id., Mngr. *sōč-* < **sōgē-* < **sōkē-* id. = Yak. *ūōχ-* < **sōk-*, Trkm. *sōk-* id.

Mo. *sōnū-* < **sōn-ū-* 'to be extinguished', *sōni* 'night', Mngr. *sund-* 'to be extinguished' = Ev.V *sūw-* 'to be extinguished', *sī-* < **sōi-* 'to extinguish' = Trkm. *sōn-* 'to be extinguished'.

*q

Mo. *ūde-* < **hūde-* < **pūde-*, MMo. *hūde-* 'to sew to', Bur. *ūde-* id., Mngr. *sōč-* < **hūde-* 'to patch', Mo. *ūdesūn* < **hūdešūn*, Kh. *ūwēs* 'thread, corde' > Yak. *ūdāsin* 'threads'.

MMo. *būрге* 'flea' = Mngr. *sūрге* id.

*r

Mo. *šilūgūsin* < **šilegūsin* 'lynx', Kh. *šilūs* id., Bur. *šēlūhēn* id., Mngr. *šēlic* < **šile* id. = Yak. *ūs* < **hūs* < **sūs* id.