INTRODUCTION TO MONGOLIAN COMPARATIVE STUDIES

BY

NICHOLAS POPPE

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Preface

Although the study of Mongolian languages has made good progress in past decades and the achievements of comparative Mongolian linguistics are considerable, the task of writing a detailed comparative grammar of the Mongolian languages still rests with the future. What can be done at the present time is only a general outline of such a grammar. Therefore, I have chosen the title "Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies."

I started my work long ago and it took many years before the necessary observations were made and new phonetic laws and correspondences in morphology were established. The final draft of this book was completed under the program of the Inner Asia Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, in 1952.

Mongolian comparative studies were started by G. J. Ramstedt half a century ago. It is a great privilege for me to have this book published in the same series in which his classic works appeared. I take great pleasure in expressing my profound gratitude to the Société Finno-Ougrienne for publishing my work.

Nicholas Poppe
University of Washington
Preface to the Second Impression

The present book appeared thirty-two years ago and reflects the status rerum in Mongolian studies at the time of writing this book. In the years following the publication of the first impression of the book many important works on Mongolian languages, their history and their mutual relations have been published, and some opinions of the author have changed, so that the book needs correction and a new interpretation of some of the linguistic data collected by the author. A serious defect of the book is the lack of a detailed discussion of the primary long vowels and their influence on some consonants in intervocalic position. Otherwise, the book is still useable.

I wish to add my sincere thanks to the Finno-Ugrian Society for publishing this new impression and making my book available to readers again.

Seattle, 15 June 1987

Nicholas Poppe
Introduction

Brief History of Mongolian Comparative Studies

1. Mongolian comparative studies based on modern methods started half a century ago, when the Finnish scholar, G. J. Ramstedt (1873—1950), published his first works on Khalkha-Mongolian, simultaneously laying the foundation for descriptive and comparative Mongolian linguistics.\(^1\) His followers, who at the beginning included only Russians, took his publications as a model for their own works. As a consequence most of the works on Mongolian languages and dialects represent combinations of descriptive phonologies and grammars with comparative phonologies of the Mongolian languages, in which the phenomena of the language concerned are discussed comparatively with the data of Written Mongolian.

As the Khalkha-Mongolian language has been the first to be mentioned in this introduction, let us continue the discussion of what has been achieved in the field of descriptive and comparative studies of this language.

Of all the descriptive works and collections of materials the collection of Khalkha texts of Ts. Žamsaran and A. D. Rudnev\(^2\) and also that of the author of these lines\(^3\) should be mentioned here.


\(^2\) Образцы монгольской народной литературы, выпуск 1, Халхасское нарьчье (тексты в транскрипции), редактировали: Ц. Ж. Жамцаров и А. Д. Руднев, С.-Петербург, 1998.

\(^3\) И. Н. Понин, Происхождения народной словесности халха-монголов,
A study of the structure of Khalkha-Mongolian and a complete descriptive grammar of this language have also been published by me. There is also a new grammar of Khalkha-Mongolian by Todorova. A brief outline of Khalkha grammar by G. D. Sanzeyev is appended to a small but good Khalkha-Russian dictionary by A. R. Rinine.

The most voluminous work in the field of comparative studies of Khalkha is the monumental comparative phonology by B. Ya. Vladimirov. This is a valuable work in which sometimes in addition to Khalkha-Mongolian other Mongolian languages are discussed in so far as they were explored or otherwise known at the time when the comparative phonology was being written. If at that time more Mongolian languages had been known, certain chapters of Vladimirov's work could be included at the present time in a complete comparative phonology of Mongolian languages with no changes, e.g., certain sections dealing with vocalism. The consonantism was treated by Vladimirov too briefly and sometimes even


2 E. X. Todaeva, Grammatika современного монгольского языка, Фонетика и морфология, Москва, 1951.


superficially, but various sections referring to vocalism are still unsurpassed.

2. Another Mongolian language thoroughly explored is Buriat. After the outstanding grammar of this language by Castrén¹ many years elapsed before new works on the Buriat language were published. In the first place a valuable work by A. D. Rudnev on the Khori-Buriat dialect ² should be mentioned, which was followed by my works and those by Sanžeyev, dealing with the dialects of the Alar-Buriats,³ Nižnevudinsk-Buriats,⁴ Aga-Buriats,⁵ and Bargu-Buriats.⁶ Besides these works, which are not only descriptions of dialects but, to a great extent, also comparative studies, there are complete grammars of the Buriat language, much more recent than that by Castrén. The most complete grammar of almost all Buriat dialects is that published by the present author.⁷ A descriptive grammar of the new literary language of the Buriats, based on the Khori dialect, is that by Sanžeyev.⁸ The latter published also a Buriat syntax which is not good, however.⁹ A very good Buriat dictionary was published by Čemisov.¹⁰

¹ M. A. Castrén, Versuch einer burjätschen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss, S. Petersburg, 1857.
² A. D. Rudnev, Хори-бурятский говор, Опыт исследований, тексты, переводы и примечания, вып. I—III, С.-Петербург, 1913—1914.
³ N. N. Popie, Alarский говор, Ч. I, Ленинград, 1930; Ч. II, Ленинград, 1931.
⁴ G. D. Saniyev, Фонетические особенности говора нижневудинских бурят, Материалы Монгольской Комиссии 8, Ленинград, 1930.
⁵ N. N. Popie, Заметки о говоре агинских бурят, Труды Монг. Ком. 8, Ленинград, 1932.
⁷ N. N. Popie, Грамматика бурят-монгольского языка, Москва-Ленинград, 1938.
⁸ G. D. Saniyev, Грамматика бурят-монгольского языка, Москва-Ленинград, 1941.
⁹ G. D. Saniyev, Синтаксис бурят-монгольского языка, Улан-Уда, 1940.
¹⁰ Бурят-монгольско-русский словарь, составил К. М. Чемисов
Collections of Buriat texts are numerous. In the first place a large collection of Ekhirit texts published by ŽAMTSARANO should be mentioned. Alar-Buriat songs were published by SANŽEYEV and Tsongol texts by the author of these lines. A collection of various specimens of various dialects was also published, containing songs and other texts in the dialects of the Burjats of Aga, Barguzin, Alar, and of the tribes Tsongol and Ekhirit. There are also general surveys and classifications of the Burjat dialects.

3. Of the languages of Inner Mongolia the Urdu (or Ordos) language is well explored by the Reverend ANTOINE MOSTAERT. There is a very fine phonetic description of this important language, a valuable and large collection of texts, containing also a grammatical outline in the introduction, with translations, and an excellent dictionary in two volumes with an index as a separate (i.e., the third) volume, in which each Urdu word is compared with its Written Mongolian equivalent.
The other languages or rather dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia are less explored. The only more or less large work is Rudnev's book containing material on the dialects of the regions Durbut Beise, Aru Khorchin, Gorlos, Jostu, Tumut, Ujumchin, and also Urgus (Ordos), spoken in the territory of the Jerim, Ju-Uda, and Shilingol Leagues. The material collected on each of these dialects is very limited and, therefore, all of these dialects, except Urgus, should be regarded as insufficiently explored.

The author of this book had in his possession materials on the Urgat dialect spoken in the territory of the Ulan Chab League, but unfortunately they were lost. As far as I still remember, that dialect was very close to Khalkha, differing from the latter in that it always has s and d while Khalkha has them only before the vowel i.

Another dialect little explored is also Kharchin, about which there are two articles by Nomura and rather limited materials collected by me.

4. Relatively well explored are the dialects of the Oirats or the Western Mongols. First of all, there is a large literature on the Kalmuck language. An excellent dictionary of the Kalmuck dialects was published by Ramstedt. The introduction contains a brief grammatical outline and experimental phonetic data, the only material of this kind in the Mongolian field as yet published. The newest Russian-Kalmuck dictionary is that by Basangov. The best grammar of the Kalmuck language is that by Kotwicz.

1 A. D. Rudnev, Materialy po govoram Vostochnoi Mongolii, (v ruskami i nattami v tekstye), C.-Peterburg, 1911.
4 B. B. Basangov, Russko-kalmucskii slovar (T. II), Moscow, 1940.
5 Vl. L. Kotwicz, Opity grammatiki kalmucskogo razgovornego
A valuable collection of specimens of the Kalmuck language was published by Ramstedt.\textsuperscript{1} Texts in the Oirat dialects of North-West Mongolia were published by Vladimirsov.\textsuperscript{2}

5. Besides these Mongolian languages, more or less close to one another, there are also isolated languages, completely unintelligible to the Mongols living outside the areas concerned.

In the first place the language of the Mogols of Afghanistan is to be mentioned. Some data on that language were collected by Ramstedt.\textsuperscript{3}

Isolated groups of Mongols live also in the province of Kansu, in China. One of such tribes is the Shera-Yögurs near K'anglung ssü and on the river Khudjak Gol. Some material on their language was published by Mannerheim.\textsuperscript{4}

A valuable and interesting survey of the dialects of the Mongols in Kansu was published by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert whose article contains also a map of West Kansu with indications of all places populated by Monguors, Aragwa, Santa, and Tussu.\textsuperscript{5} The

\textsuperscript{1} G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückische Sprachproben, Kalmückische Märchen, MSFOu XXVII, I–2 (1909–1919).


\textsuperscript{3} G. J. Ramstedt, Mogholica, Beiträe zur Kenntnis der Mogol-Sprache in Afghanistan, JSFOu XXIII:4 (1906). A very fine article on the Mogols and their language is «Notes on Mongolian Groups in Afghanistan» by Iwamura Shinobu and H. F. Schurmann, Kyoto University, Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University, Kyoto, 1954, pages 480–515.

\textsuperscript{4} C. G. E. Mannerheim, A Visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs, JSFOu XXVII:2 (1911).

\textsuperscript{5} Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., The Mongols of Kansu and Their Language, Bulletin No. 8 (1931) of the Catholic University of Peking, pp. 75–89.
language of the Monguors has been thoroughly explored by the Reverend MOSTAERT and the late A. DE SMEDT.\footnote{1}

In Manchuria, near the city of Hallar and in the valley of the Nonni, Daur (Dagurs) live whose language is explored more or less sufficiently.\footnote{2}

6. Such is the present stage of the exploration of the living Mongolian languages and their relation to the Written Mongolian. The latter is well explored. There are satisfactory dictionaries and grammars of Written Mongolian. The literature on Written Mongolian is so large that we shall not dwell here on the enumeration of what has been achieved in this field.\footnote{3}

Good results have been achieved in the exploration of Middle Mongolian, i.e. the language of the XIII—XV century.

In the first place the Secret History should be mentioned on which at the present time a large literature exists.

The restored text of this important source was first published by HAENISCH.\footnote{4} He also made a translation,\footnote{5} compiled a dictionary of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1} A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M. et A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu occidental. Ie partie, Phonétique, \textit{Anthropos} \textbf{XXIV—XXV} (1929—1930), \textit{correct. XXVI} (1931); IIe partie: Grammaire, Peking, 1943; IIIe partie: Dictionnaire monguor-français, Pei-p'ing, 1933.

\footnote{2} А. О. Ивановский, Манджурия I, Образы селевского и дахурского языков, Санктпетербург, 1894; Н. Н. Попов, Дагурское наречие, Ленинград, 1930; N. Poppe, Über die Sprache der Daguren, \textit{Asia Major X} (1935), pp. 1—32, 183—220.

\footnote{3} A more or less complete bibliography is found in: N. Poppe, Stand und Aufgaben der Mongolistik, \textit{ZDMG 100} (1950), pp. 53 ss. The latest grammar is N. Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, \textit{Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie}, vol. I, Wiesbaden, 1954.

\footnote{4} ERICH HAENISCH, Manghol un Niucu Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Aus der chinesischen Transkription (Ausgabe Ye Têh-hui) im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt, Leipzig, 1937.

\footnote{5} ERICH HAENISCH, Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Aus einer mongolischen Niederschrift des Jahres 1240 von der Insel Kode'e im Keluren-Fluss, Erstmalig übersetzt und erläutert, Leipzig, 1948.
\end{footnotes}
the words occurring in the *Secret History*, and published an article on the grammatical features of that language.

Another restoration of the Mongolian text was undertaken by Pelliot who has published a French translation of a great portion of this document.

Very valuable explanations and corrections of words and locutions misunderstood by other explorers have been published by the Reverend Mostaert.

An important Middle Mongolian text in Chinese transcription is the so-called *Hua-yi yi-yu*.

The *kP'a-gs-pa* inscriptions are no less important for the study of Middle Mongolian.

A great deal of valuable material on the colloquial Mongolian language of the XIII—XIV century was collected by Moslem scholars of that time.

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These and numerous other works on Mongolian languages presently spoken and those of the past enable us to get a distinct impression of the mutual relations of the Mongolian languages and the ways of their development.¹

¹ In this book a simplified and uniform transcription is used, vide N. Poppe, Vorschläge zu einer einheitlichen mongolistischen Transkription, Ural-Altaiische Jahrbücher XXV: 1–2 (1953), pp. 119–132. The abbreviations used in this book are as follows:

AgaB — Aga dialect of Buriat after Poppe (page 7, note 5) and Cheremisov (p. 7, n. 10).

Al.B — Aral dialect of Buriat, see p. 7, n. 3.

AM — Ancient Mongolian.

BB — Bargu Buriat dialect, see p. 7, n. 6.


Ch. — Chakhar after the material collected by the author.

CM — Common Mongolian.

Dag. — Dagur, see p. 11, n. 2.

Dörb. — the Dörbet dialect of Kalmuck.

Ekh.B — the Ekhirit dialect of Buriat.

H — Hua-yi yi-yü after Häenisch (p. 12, n. 5) and Lewicki (ibid.).

IM — Ibn Muhannâ’s glossary, appendix to Poppe, Muqaddimah al-Adab (see p. 12, n. 7).

Kalm. — Kalmuck after Ramstedt, see p. 9, n. 3.


Kalm.D — Dörbet dialect of Kalmuck.

Kalm.T — Torgut dialect of Kalmuck.

Kh. — Khalkha after Poppe (p. 6, n. 2) and Rinchine (p. 6, n. 4).

Khar. — Kharchin after Nomura (p. 9, n. 2) and according to own observations.

Kh.B — Khori dialect of the Buriat language after Rudnev (p. 7, n. 2) and Cheremisov (p. 7, n. 10).

Ma. — Manchu.

MMO — Middle Mongolian.

Mo. — Written Mongolian.

Mog. — Mogol after Ramstedt, see p. 10, n. 3.

Mong. — Mongolian, see p. 11, n. 1.

Mu. — Muqaddimah al-Adab, see p. 12, n. 7.
Classification of the Mongolian Languages

7. One of the most difficult problems of linguistics is the definition of what is a language and what is a dialect. Sometimes it is difficult to define whether the language concerned is really an independent language or just a dialect of another language. Frequently political reasons are made a basis for linguistic definitions, and this inevitably causes much confusion. It is known, for instance, that Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian not long ago were regarded as three dialects of one language, the Great Russian, the Little Russian, and the White Russian. Low German and High German are two languages, while the former is sometimes called a dialect. Sometimes doubts are expressed about whether a language is really a language or a dialect and, in the event that agreement is achieved upon its being a dialect, it remains unclear of which language it is a dialect.

It is obvious that a classification of languages should be a linguistic one, and all sorts of political or cultural reasons should not influence the definition of what is a language and what is just a dialect of a language.

Before we proceed further we should explain that our classification of the Mongolian languages is based on the following principle: the tongue of a group of the populations of a territory within which no linguistic differences can be found other than individual peculiarities in pronunciation, syntax, or vocabulary is called here a dialect. The dialects differ from each other in phonologic and other aspects. The characteristics of a dialect manifest themselves in the speech of all people inhabiting the area concerned and do not display

O — Oirat, Written Oirat language, the language of the Zaya Pandita Script.
P — the ḫP’ags-pa script, see p. 12, n. 6.
SH — Secret History, see p. 12, n. 1.
Torg. — the Torgut dialect of the Kalmuk language.
Ts.B — the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language.
Urd. — Urdus, see p. 8, n. 6 and 9.
The names of languages mentioned only a few times, e.g., Durbut Beise, Aru Khorchin, etc. are not abbreviated.
any varieties other than individual ones. A group of dialects is here called a language. A language differing from another related language is a linguistic unit characterized by particular phonologic, morphologic, lexical, and other developments, constituting the basis of all dialects of which the language concerned consists.

8. The history of Mongolian can be divided into three main stages.

A. Common Mongolian.

In consequence of the dissolution of the Altaic unity, long ago, Pre-Turkic and Pre-Mongolian emerged as two different branches. Pre-Turkic split into Proto-Bulgarian (which later on became Volga Bulgarian, the ancestor of Chuvash) and Common Turkic (the ancestor of the present Turkic languages). Pre-Mongolian became gradually Common Mongolian. The latter, i.e., Common Mongolian, is characterized by the following:

a. It still had at the beginning of words the consonant *p or *q.

b. The groups *aya, *ayu, etc. were preserved.

c. The vowels *i and *i were distinguished only after *g, *γ and *k, *g; in all the other cases *i already had become *i and palatalized the immediately preceding consonants *t and *d, transforming them into *č and *š.

There are, of course, also other characteristic traits of Common Mongolian.

Ancient Mongolian was almost identical with Common Mongolian. Written Mongolian reflects the Ancient Mongolian well from the point of view of its phonetic and morphologic development, its most outstanding characteristic being that it has not preserved the Ancient Mongolian *p or *q.

The Ancient Mongolian period ended probably in the XII century of our era.

B. Middle Mongolian.

This stage is well explored, because many sources have been preserved, e.g., the Secret History and other documents in Chinese transcription, the kP'ags-pa script, and numerous Moslem sources
of the XIII—XIV century. This stage probably lasted till the XVI century.

Middle Mongolian is characterized by the following:

a. The initial *p or *q has become h or x.

b. The consonants *y and *g in intervocalic position have disappeared, but the vowels, especially if they are not the same (e.g. a and u), are not contracted yet.

c. The *breakings of *i and the development of *e into a rounded front vowel has only started.

Certain characteristics of this stage have survived in Dagur and Mogol.

C. Modern Mongolian.

This stage begins in the XVI century and still continues.

Its characteristics are the following:

a. Long vowels have emerged in the place of the ancient groups *aγa, *aγu, etc.

b. The vowel *i has become, in certain positions, another vowel (the so-called *breakings).

c. The vowel *e has become, in certain positions, a rounded front vowel.

9. Proceeding to the classification of the living Mongolian languages of the present time, independently of their historic classification, we can state the following.

A. Monguor.

This language, spoken in West Kansu, is an independent language and not a dialect of another Mongolian language.

First of all, it has preserved the initial *p or *q as f (and in other positions as x, etc.), while in no other Mongolian language outside of Kansu is there an initial f.

Another peculiar development is that in Monguor in the same words a strong consonant in the medial position has become a weak consonant, but the initial weak consonant has become a strong consonant.
The consonants *t and *k in consequence of a strong palatalization have become ɛt.

The vowels *o and *a have converged and become o. The same happened to the vowels *u and *u which have become u.

The vowel *i after the labial consonant *b has developed into u.

Monguor has lost the vocalic harmony in suffixes. As for the morphology of Monguor it is characterized by a peculiar locative form in -te which does not occur in other Mongolian languages.

Monguor has also an unusual plural form, and its conjugation is slightly different from that of the remaining Mongolian languages.

It is beyond doubt that Monguor is a separate Mongolian language not understandable to other Mongols.

Shirongol and Shera Yögr, represented by materials collected by Potanin and Mannerheim, are more or less close to Monguor. The material available is limited and was not collected by linguists so that it is difficult to say anything about their place among other languages or dialects. Conventionally they may be considered dialects of the same group as Monguor.

B. Dagur.

A separate language differing greatly from all the other Mongolian languages is Dagur in Manchuria. It is divided into two main dialects, that of Hailar and another one spoken near the city of Taitskar in the Nonni valley. The former has lost its initial ɛ < *q, the latter has preserved the secondary ɛ.

Dagur is marked by the preservation of the diphthongs ay < *ayu and ey < *egi.

Another characteristic is the preservation of the vowel *e as ɛ in positions in which it has become a rounded vowel in other Mongolian languages.

Dagur does not distinguish between *o and *ə which have converged and become u.

A peculiarity of Dagur is that *b in the middle of words has become a non-syllabic ə.

All final consonants of syllables or words have become r.
The vowels *o and *u have converged and become o before the vowel *u of the second syllable, or qa (at the beginning of words wqa) before the vowel *a of the second syllable.

Dagur is characterized by peculiar traits in its grammar. It has preserved, as the only presently spoken Mongolian language, the inclusive and exclusive pronouns of the first person of the plural and a complete conjugation of the auxiliary verb *a- 'to be'. The plural is formed with the Tungus suffix -swd, and so on.

C. Mogol.

A separate language is also Mogol spoken in Afghanistan. It differs in that it has lost the initial h or χ < *γ, but it has preserved the diphthong ou < *ay and *egi. There is no *breaking* of the vowel *i.

The syllables qi and gi still exist, while in the remaining Mongolian languages they have converged with *ki and *gi. The vowel *e has remained as such even in positions in which it has become a rounded vowel in many other Mongolian languages.

Mogol has preserved the final consonant n of the stem in declension in all case forms, while Dagur drops it in all cases and many other languages drop it in some cases but still preserve it in others.

Though the material on Mogol is rather limited, there is no doubt that it is a separate language of the Western branch of Mongolian.

D. Oirat.

The Oirat dialects, i.e. the dialects of the Dörbet, Bayit, Torgut, Uriankha, Zakhchin, Dambi-Ölet, and Mingat in North-West Mongolia (i.e., in the north-western part of Outer Mongolia), and of the Torgut in Alashan, Chinhai, and Zunger, and other parts of Inner Asia, constitute the Oirat language. The dialects mentioned are close to each other and differ from each other slightly. Therefore, I consider them dialects of one language. The Oirats created their own written language differing from the colloquial and displaying a few artificial traits.

The Oirat language is characterized by complete contraction of the vowels of the groups *aya, *ayu, etc.
There is the *breaking* of the vowel *i*. The vowel *e* has become ó in certain positions.

The affricates *č* and *ʃ* have become ts and s before vowels other than *i*. The diphthongs have developed into long front vowels, e.g. ā, ă, etc. Back vowels have become front before *i*, e.g., *a > ā,* *o > ŏ*, etc.

E. Kalmuck.

A group of Oirats moved west at the beginning of the XVII century and reached the bank of the Volga river. The dialects they spoke, mainly Dörbet and Torgut, became in the course of the time a new language. This is the Kalmuck language. Although it is very close to Oirat spoken outside Russia, Kalmuck is a separate language, because it has undergone a certain influence by Russian and Tatar.

It differs little phonetically or morphologically from Oirat, but its vocabulary is very different. Therefore, Kalmuck cannot be regarded, in its present stage, as a dialect of another language.

Kalmuck is divided into three main dialects: Dörbet, Torgut, and (on the Don river) Buzāwa.

A small group of Kalmucks, the so-called Sart Kalmucks, about 3,500 persons, live in the Kirgis area near the lake Issik Köl.

At the present time there seem to be no Kalmucks in the Volga region, because in connection with the liquidation of the Kalmuck Republic at the end of World War II all Kalmucks were deported to parts unknown and dispersed there. We do not have any information about them.

F. East Mongolian.

The languages discussed above are separate languages. The following tongues spoken in Inner and Outer Mongolia are in my opinion dialects of one language which can be called East Mongolian. It is important to point out that the tribes speaking these dialects call themselves *Mongol*, while the others do not use this name but call themselves Dagur, Mongour, Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck.

The tribes inhabiting Inner Mongolia and the Khalkha Mongols in Outer Mongolia are the only ones calling themselves *Mongol*. 
a. Khalkha.

The most important dialect spoken in Outer Mongolia is Khalkha. This dialect differs from all the other dialects of East Mongolian but slightly. An important phonetic feature is that Khalkha has four affricates instead of ṭς and ḍz of the remaining dialects of this group: before *i Khalkha has ṭς and ḍz, but before other vowels it has ṭs and ḍz.

As in all the other dialects of East Mongolian, here the groups *αγu and *εγu have developed into ū and Ṽ respectively.

The vowels *ō and *ū are distinguished consistently. The breakings of *i has taken place and the vowel *e has become a rounded vowel in certain positions.

A characteristic feature of Khalkha, bringing it close to all the remaining East Mongolian dialects, is the so-called labial attraction, i.e., a progressive labialization of the long vowels ā and ē. This manifests itself in that after a of the first syllable only ā follows (and not ā); after ē of the initial syllable only ē (and not ē) can follow.

Khalkha differs from the other dialects in its vocabulary, having a new political and scientific terminology, because Outer Mongolia has been for quite long a time a formally independent sovereign state.

b. The Ulan Tsab dialects.

The language of the Mongols living in the territory of the Ulan Tsab League (the banners Dörbön Khukhet, Mu Mingan, and three banners of the Urat) differs from Khalkha slightly and in particular in that ṭς and ḍz occur in all positions and not only before *i.

The dialect of the Khalkha Right Wing Banner belonging also to the Ulan Tsab League is just Khalkha.

c. Urduṣ.

In the territory of the province of Sui Yuan (Ordos, or more correctly Urdus, League Yeke Ju) Urduṣ Mongols live (banners Khangin, Dalat, Jungar, Otok, Ušin, Jasak, and Wan). Their dialect is a typical Inner Mongolian one. It differs from Khalkha in that it has
ts and ds in all positions, but as in South Khalkha (or Gobi Khalkha) dialects, the strong consonants at the beginning of words (i.e., *t, *q, *k, and *č) have become weak consonants (i.e. d, q, g, and dš respectively) when the following syllable starts with a strong or voiceless consonant.

In some subdialects of Urdu the vowel *o of the initial syllable remains o only when the vowel of the second syllable is *a, but it becomes u when the second syllable contains the vowel *u. Similarly, *o has become u before *u, but it remains o before the vowel *e.

d. Chakhar.

The language of the Chakhar Mongols in the Chakhar territory and in that of the Shilingol League (Ujumchin, Khuchin, Sunit, Abaga, and Abaganar) is what is usually called Chakhar Mongolian. These dialects are very close to Khalkha. The main difference is that Chakhar has ts and ds in all positions, while Khalkha has them only before the vowel *i.

In some Chakhar dialects the initial strong consonants become weak in the same positions as in Urdu and in Gobi Khalkha.

e. Kharchin.

The language of the Kharchin is spoken in the territory of the Jostu League (three original aimaks of Kharchin, Tumet, and Tangut-Khalkha). The Kharchin and Tumet dialects differ slightly from each other. A characteristic feature of the Kharchin dialect is the development of the affricates *č and *ž at the beginning of words into ts and dš respectively before *i, while before other vowels they have become ts and dš respectively, i.e., apico-alveolar affricates.

The vowel *u of the initial syllable has become in certain positions a diphthong ua or wa (or wai), and the group *ayu has produced ò or wò, while *uwu has become ā.

f. The Ju Uda dialects.

The territory of the Ju Uda League situated between the territories of the Jostu League, Chakhar, and the Jirim League, comprises the banners Naiman, Aru Khorchin, Jarut, Keshikten, Barin, Aok-
han, Chokhor Khalkha, and Onniut, whose populations speak dialects differing only slightly from those of the Mongols inhabiting the territory of the Jirim League, i.e., the banners Khorchit, Jalait, Durbut, and Gorlos. Here, in the northern part of the territory of the Jirim League, one of the most peculiar phonetic developments is the replacement of the affricate *č by the spirant ġ (ġ or ġ or s).

All these dialects (a — ġ) may be regarded as dialects of one language, namely the East Mongolian.

The characteristic features of this language are the following.

Labial attraction, «breaking», the vowel *e has become a rounded front vowel in certain positions; complete contraction of the vowels of the groups *aŋa, *aŋa, etc.; preservation of the affricates as such (*č and *ğ remain ts and ṣʂ respectively in some dialects, and they become tʂ and ts, ṣʂ and ṣs respectively in various positions).

A characteristic trait is also the conjugation in which there is only one form for all persons.

G. Buriat.

We have arrived at the Buriat language which is a separate language of the East Mongolian branch.

The Buriat language is characterized by the replacement of the affricates with spirants. The spirant *s has become ʰ at the beginning and in the middle of words, and ᵇ or t at the end of syllables or words.

The consonant *q has become j before *i. The Buriat conjugation has special forms for each person, e.g., jabanab 'I go', jabanāš 'thou goest', etc. There are also many other peculiar developments in phonetics and morphology. The Buriat vocabulary differs greatly from that of the neighbouring languages.

The Buriat language is not uniform but consists of several dialects. In the Western Dialects (Alar, Ekhirit, Bokhan, Tunka) the vowels *ə and *ü are well distinguished, but in Khori and Aga they have converged and resulted in u. In Alar *k before *i has become š, in Bokhan ĝ ~ š, in Ekhirit ĝ. The Ekhirit dialect has before *i the consonant ĝ instead of ġ (at the beginning of words).

A separate dialect is also that spoken in the Barguzin area. It is
phonetically the same as Ekhirit, but from the point of view of its vocabulary it is close to Khorì.

In Bargu, i.e., in the north-western corner of Manchuria, the Bargu Buriat dialect is spoken. It is a h-dialect like all the other West and East Buriat dialects, and the affricates have become spirants except for *ď before *i where it remains an affricate (i.e., ďă as in Kalmuck). The ablative case is formed with the suffix -āha, while all the other dialects have -hā (Barguzin has -han). There are also other characteristic features.

There are two transitional Buriat dialects occupying the place between Buriat and Khalkha. These are the Tsongol and Sartul dialects. The Sartul dialect distinguishes between *ă and *u, but Tsongol does not. Both dialects preserve their affricates (i.e., ți, te, ďă, and ďê) and the spirant *s remains s, except in the final position where it is d or t. Tsongol has also *u > o before the vowel *u of the second syllable. The conjugation in these dialects is typical Buriat. The same can be said about their vocabulary.

10. Let us sum up what we have said above.

There are two main branches of Mongolian: 1. East Mongolian and 2. West Mongolian.

1. **East Mongolian branch**

2. **West Mongolian branch**
   A. Mogol
   B. Oirat
   C. Kalmuck
PART ONE: PHONOLOGY

Vowels

General Remarks

11. The Mongolian languages have a large stock of vowels. A peculiar feature of the vocalic system is the contrast of long vowels versus short vowels and the contrast of back vowels versus front vowels. The distinction between the short and long vowels is essential, because many words differ from each other only in their shortness or length: Urd. ɪlə 'mountain', ʊlə 'sole', and ʊlə 'a requisitioned animal for riding or transportation purposes'.

In certain Mongolian languages, the vowels of the initial and the following syllables differ from each other in that the former are completely articulated vowels and the latter are greatly reduced and unclearly pronounced vowels. The vowels of the non-initial syllables easily lose their specific articulations, become reduced and disappear in many cases: Urd. ʊmər 'peace' = Kh. amər = Kalm. amər.

The vowels of the initial syllable remain, in general, the same in all Mongolian languages or in most of them. Great differences in the vocalism of the initial syllable are rare. If there are such differences they usually can be explained as results of the influence of the vowels of the following syllables.

Short Vowels of the Initial Syllable

12. Common Mongolian possessed the following vowels: *a, *o, *u, *i, *e, *o, and *u. These vowels were preserved in Written Mongolian almost intact. Only the vowel *i converged at an early
date with *i, although even in Pre-classical Written Mongolian, mainly in manuscripts of the XIV century, *i still occurs: saqi- 'to defend', qilinča 'sin', etc. Under the influence of neighbouring sounds in the words some of the vowels of the initial syllable have changed in spoken languages.

*a

According to Ramstedt the vowel *a is a pure *a in Khalkha, i.e., it is the same as the Italian *a in padre or the Finnish *a in pala 'piece': Kh. mal 'livestock'.

The vowel *a > Mo. a is represented in all Mongolian languages as a of the same quality. In West Buriat dialects, however, this vowel is pronounced much more to the back than the Italian *a in padre. But all these nuances are so insignificant that they are never reflected in the transcription. It is correct, therefore, to say that the vowel *a of the initial syllable remains the same vowel in all Mongolian languages.

The correspondences can be classified into (A) general ones and (B) special developments.

(A) General correspondences

The general rule is that *a is represented by a in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. ab- 'to take', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) ab-, Mong. aow-, Dag. ay-, Urd. ab-, Kh. aow-, Bur. aba-, Mog. afu-, O ab-, Kalm. aw- (cf. amnā 'he takes') id.

Mo. qalayun 'hot', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) qala'un, Mong. xalōn, Dag. xalōn, Urd. xalūn, Kh. xalūn, Bur. xalūn, Mog. xalōun, O xaloun, Kalm. xalūn id.

Mo. naran 'sun', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) naran, Mong. nara, Dag. nar, Urd. nara, Kh. nara, Bur. naran, Mog. naran, O naran, Kalm. narg id.

Mo. qažayur 'bridle', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qa'dar ∼ qadār, Mong. qadar, Dag.xcdlā, Urd. xadsr, Kh. xadsr, Bur. xadsr, Mog. qadār, O xazār, Kalm. xazār id.
Mo. yar 'hand, arm', MMO. (SH, Mu.) yar, Mong. gar, Dag. gari, Urd. gar, Kh., Bur. gar, Mog. gar, O yar, Kalm. gar id.

(B) Special developments

There are various special developments. General rules can be given only in few cases.

(a) Under the influence of the vowel *i of the second syllable the vowel *a of the initial syllable has become a palatalized vowel in all Mongolian languages. Its pronunciation varies between ā (French a in patte) and ā (Finnish a in hän 'he'): Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur. ā, and Kalm. ā.

Mo. bari- 'to seize', Mong. bari-, Dag. bari-, Urd. bārīt 'having seized', Kh. bārī-'to seize', Bur. bārī-, Mog. barinā 'he seizes', Kalm. bārī- 'to seize'.

Mo. qari- 'to come back', Mong. qari- 'to return', Dag. qārī-, Urd. qārī-, Kh. qārī-, Bur. qārī-, Mog. qarinā 'he returns', Kalm. qārī- 'to return'.

(b) A short a of all the remaining Mongolian languages becomes a long a in Monguor before *u, and it results in o or ọ in Mogol for no obvious reasons.

Mong. dāli 'shoulder', Mog. dōlu 'scapula' = Mo. dalu, Urd. dalu, Kh. dalū, Bur. dala, O dalu, Kalm. dalū 'scapula'.

Mong. dārī- 'to press', Mog. dūrunā 'he squeezes' = Mo. daru-, Urd. daru-, Kh. daru-, Kalm. dar- 'to press'.

Mong. dažu 'a short garment with no sleeves which was worn in olden times by Monguor women' = Mo. daqu 'fur coat', Urd. dažu 'a short coat covered with fur', Kh. dažu, Bur. daža, Kalm. dažo 'a coat covered with fur'.

Mog. tšosun 'snow', Mong. tšās = Mo. časun, MMO. (SH, Mu.) časun, Dag. tšas, Urd. tšas, Kh. tšasu, Bur. sahan, O časun, Kalm. tśas id.

Mog. yōl 'fire' = Mo. yal, Mong. gar, Dag. gati, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. gal id.

Mog. yōqi 'pig' = Mo. yaqai, Mong. xaqi, Dag. gāyn, Urd. gaxā, Kh. gaxē, Bur. gaxā, Kalm. gaxā ~ gaxā id.
Mong. qoburya 'rib' = Mo. qabirya id., Mong. xawudze < *qabiru 'side', Dagh. xabirg 'rib', Urd. xawirqa 'side', Kh. xawirga 'rib', Bur. xawirga, Kalm. xawirga 'side'.

Mong. oland 'he kills' = Mo. ala- 'to kill', Urd. ala-, Kh. al-~aI-aI-, Bur. aI-aI-, Kalm. aI-aI-id.

Mong. sőin 'correct' = Mo. sajan 'good', Mong. seI=I 'id., Dagh. sajxan 'pretty', Urd. sān, Kh. sān, Bur. hān ~hān, Kalm. sān 'good, healthy'.

(c) Under the influence of an immediately following consonant *b the vowel *a results in a rounded vowel in a few words: Khalkha ā ~ o, Kalm. o.

Mo. jabe- 'to go, to move', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) jabe-, Mong. jē < *jabe-, Dagh. jay-, Urd. jau-, Kh. jāw-, Kalm. jow- id.

(d) Under the influence of a preceding *e or *i the vowel *a has developed into i in Monguor.

Mong. tshasg 'snow' = Mo. ēzasun, Dagh. tkas, Urd. dēasun, Kh. tase-un, Bur. sahāt, Kalm. tase-un id.

Mong. tsaIti- 'to satiate oneself' = Mo. tāt-, Urd. tāt-, Kh. tsaIt- Bur. sada-, Kalm. tsaI-ta- id.

Mong. tshaqgi- 'to swallow' = Mo. žalgi-, Urd. dšalgi-, Kh. džalgi-, Bur. zājga-, Kalm. zājga- id.

(e) Under the combined influence of a preceding *e or *i and a following ā the vowel *a has developed into i in Monguor, Daghur, and sometimes in Urdu.

Mong. tśeqan 'white', Dagh. tšyān = Mo. čayan < *čayan, MMo. (SH, P) ča'an, Urd. tšaqān, Kh. tsaqān, Bur. sāyan, Kalm. tsayān id.

Mong. dšiujān 'fate' = Dagh. džiJá, Urd. džiJā, Bur. sājān id.

(f) Under the influence of the vowel *u of the third syllable the vowel *a has developed into u in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language.

Al. B bulγahan 'a temporary hut made of branches of trees' = Mo. balgyasun 'palace, city', Kh. balgns 'ruines of a city or a wall', Kalm. balγnsp 'city'.

Al. B darahan 'liquor made of milk' (in Siberian Russian tarasun) = Mo. darasun 'wine', Urd. darasu 'alcoholic beverage'.
13. The vowel \( o \) is an open vowel in Khalkha, according to Ramstedt. It is the same also in Urdu, while in Buriat it is a vowel articulated with lips rounded inarily and playing an insigificant role in producing this sound.

The Common Mongolian vowel \( *o \) becomes a palatalized \( õ \) (almost identical with French \( o \) in *homme*) before the vowel \( *i \) of the second syllable in Urdu, Khalkha, and Buriat. In Chakhar and Kalmuck \( *o \) becomes \( õ \) in this position, which is identical with French \( eu \) in *peu* or German \( õ \) in *können*:


Mo. qorin 'twenty' = Dag. ṭari, Ch. ṭari, Urd. ṭari, Kh. ṭari, Bur. ṭari, Kalm. ṭari id.

(A) The general rule is that \( *o \) remains \( o \) in monosyllabic words in all languages. An exception is the Dagur language where the initial \( *o \) becomes \( o̞a \) in monosyllabic stems.


Mo. ol- 'to find', MMO. (SH, P), Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ol- = Dag. o̞al- id. The rules concerning the disyllabic and polysyllabic stems with \( *o \) in the initial syllable are more complicated.

In Mongour, Khalkha, Buriat, Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck the vowel \( *o \) results in \( o \) with a few exceptions which will be discussed below.

In Dagur \( *o \) remains \( o \) before \( *u \) of the following syllable (a), while it becomes \( qa \) (and at the beginning of words \( w̞a \)) before a syllable with \( *a \) (b).

In Urdu \( *o \) remains \( o \) only before \( *a \) (b), but it results in \( u \) before \( *u \) (a). The latter development seems to be of an early date, because the language of the Secret History already contains forms with \( u < *o \) in this position. It occurs also in other languages but inconsistently.

(a) Mo. modun 'tree, wood', Kh. modn, Bur. modn, Kalm. modn id. = SH modun, Dag. mōd, Urd. mudu id.
Mo. oduń 'star', SH hodun, Mong. ēdē, Dag. odū ~ oddo, Kh. oddu,
Bur. odannya, Kalm. qodī id. = Urd. udu id.

Mo. dobutul- 'to ride quickly', SH dobut-, Kh. dobut-, Kalm.
dupul- 'to run quickly, to gallop' = Urd. dupul- id.

Mo. yolumta 'hearth', SH yolumta, Kh. qollumta id. = Kalm.
golmītā ~ gulmītī, Urd. gulmīta, Al.B gulița id.

Mo. sonɣu-, Dag. sonyo-, Kh. songo- 'to choose, to elect' = Urd.
sungu-, Kalm. sungu- ~ songu- id.

Mo. sojul, Kh. sojul 'civilization' = Al.B sujal id., Urd. sujurxa-
'to deign to, to be pleased to' (derived from the same stem).

(b) Mo. qola 'far, distant', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qola, Dag. xol ~ xol, Kh.
xol, Bur. xolo, Kalm. xolī id. = Urd. xolo id.

Mo. olan 'many, numerous', MMO. (SH, Mu.) olan, Kh. ollon,
Bur. oλα, Kalm. oλid = Dag. wężalan, Urd. olen id.

Mo. qota 'city, corral', MMO. (SH) qotan 'corral', Kh. xot, Bur.
xot, Kalm. xot 'corral, city' = Urd. gōto 'corral, city'.

Mo. qovosun < *qovalsun 'wild onion', Bur. qovust, Kalm. qovusy
id. = Dag. qovas id., Urd. qūt 'sort of leek'.

(B) The irregular developments are numerous. There is an incon-
sistent development *o > u in Mongour and other languages for no
obvious reason (a); the same development caused by a following
ū (b), or as a result of contamination (c); the development *o > ū
(i.e., long o) in Mongour (d); *o > u or ā in quite few cases in Mon-
gour (e); *o > i under the influence of the following syllable *či (f).

(a) The vowel *o results in u in various Mongolian languages in
relatively rare cases and for no perceptible reason. This occurs in
Mongour, Urdus, and in certain Buriat dialects:

Mong. uro- 'to enter' = Mo. oro- < *oro-., Urd. oро-. Kh. orv-
Bur. orv, Kalm. or- id.

Mong. sunos- 'to hear' = Mo. sonos- < *sonas-, Urd. sonas-, Kh.
sunos-, Kalm. sonśi id.

Mong. xulo 'far, distant' = Mo. qola, Dag. xol, Urd. xolo, Kh.
xol, Bur. xolo, Kalm. xolī id.

Urd. qwe = 'desert', AgA qab 'sand steppe' = Mo. yobi, Kh.
qur, Kalm. qur ~ qur id.
(b) In a few cases the development \( *o > u \) can be explained as a result of the influence of the following \( \ddot{u} \) (assimilation):

Mo. qosīyun 'snout, banner' (as a territorial and administrative subdivision) = Urd. ḡuṣā, Kh. ḡuṣā \( \sim \) ḡoṣū, Al.B ḡuṣūn 'snout', Kalm. ḡuṣū 'snout', Kalm. ḡoṣūn 'banner'.

Mo. oruyul- 'to cause to enter', Urd., Kh. orūl- id. = Al.B urūl- id.

(c) An abnormal development \( *o > u \) is Kalm. wja- 'to sew' = Mo. ojo- < *ojar-, MMo. (Mu.) oja-, Urd. ojo-, Kh. ojjā-, Bur. ojo- id.

This word has converged with \( *wja- 'to bind' \) in Kalmuck. Therefore, this is not a phonetic development.

(d) In a few cases the vowel \( *u \) has become long in Mongguor:

Mong. fūdi 'star' = Mo. odun, MMo. (SH, Mu.) hodun, Dag. od- \( \sim \) oddo, Urd. udu, Kh. oddān, Bur. odd, Kalm. odī id.

Mong. ūli- 'to find' = Mo., Urd., etc. ol- (cf. supra).

Mong. āli- 'to become' = Mo. bol-, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. bol-id.

(e) In quite few cases in Mongguor \( *o \) has developed into \( \ddot{u} \) or \( \ddot{u} \).

This may be a result of delabialization caused by the consonant \( f \):

Mong. fūn \( \sim \) fūn 'year' = Mo. on, MMo. (SH, Mu.) hon, Dag. ḍūn (\( \sim \) xuan), Urd. on, Kh. on, Kalm. on id.

(f) Under the influence of the syllable \( *či \) the vowel \( *o \) has developed into \( i \) in Dagur and Urdus:

Mo. od- 'to go', Kh. otṣ-, Bur. oṣo- 'to go' = Dag. irti-, Urd. irti- id.

\( *u \)

14. The vowel \( u \) is a dull sound produced in the back of the oral cavity with the larynx lowered considerably. It makes the acoustic impression of a vowel occupying the place between \( o \) and \( u \). In transcription the sign \( u \) is used.

The Common Mongolian \( *u \) is represented in the modern languages in general as \( u \). There are, however, numerous particular developments. Thus here, too, regular (A) and irregular developments (B) can be found.
(A) Regular developments

The general rule is that *u has converged with o in Dagur and, therefore, it is represented by qa (initially *ωa) before *a of the following syllable (a), and by o before *u (b). When followed by ă the vowel *u remains u in Dagur (c). In Kharchin *u has developed into ωa in all cases, except when it is followed by ă in which case it becomes o (c).

In the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language *u remains u in monosyllabic words or when followed by a syllable with *a (a); when followed by *u of the second syllable it becomes o (b).

In the remaining Mongolian languages it is mostly u in all positions. In Mogol it becomes u before *ɛ and * ç, e.g., qu’tšanä ‘he barks’, su’däi ‘sitting’.

Before *i of the second syllable the vowel *u has developed into a vowel articulated a bit more to the front. In Kalmuck *u in the initial syllable *qu before *i becomes a front vowel ü much resembling the French u or the German ü (d). Before *b or *m the vowel *u becomes o in Kalmuck (e), and if *b is followed by *i the vowel u develops into ø (f).


Mo. yurban ‘three’, MMo. (P) qurban, Dag. qarwa, Mong. qurän, Urdu. qurwa, Khar. qwarab, Kh. qurwen ~ quruh, Ts.B qurvo, Kalm. qorvo id.

(b) Mo. qurdu ‘quick’, MMo. (SH) qurdun, Urdu. qurdun, Khar. qvarada, Kh. qurdon, Ts.B xordon, Kalm. qurđi id.

Mo. usun ‘water’, MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) usun, Dag. os, Mong. fudsq, Urdu. usu, Khar. us, Kh. us, Ts.B oṣo, Mog. usun, Kalm. usq id.

(c) Mo. umba ‘to swim’, Dag. umpa- id., Kh. umbo ‘to cross a water’.

Mo. ulayan ‘red’, Dag. uläŋ ~ xulän, Mong. fulan, Urdu. ulán, Khar. olän, Kh. uläŋ, Bur. ulän, Kalm. ulän id.

Mo. dulayan ‘warm’, Dag. dulän, Urdu. dulän, Khar. doläyan, Kh., B dulän, Ts.B dulän, Kalm. dulän id.
(d) Kalm. χυριμ ~ χυριμ 'wedding party, festival' = Mo. qurim, Urd. qorim (!), Kh. χυριμ, Al.B qorim id.
   Kalm. χυριμ 'a person who reincarnates' = Mo. qubilyan, Kh. χυριμqan id.

Kalm. χυριμ 'to change the appearance, to take another shape' = Mo. qubil- id., Urd. χυριμ- Kh. χυριμ- id.
   Kalm. ωμσί 'to read' = Mo. ωμσί ~ ωμσί, Urd. ωμσί- (!), Kh. ωμσί-, Bur. ωμσί- id.

Kalm. ωμ 'uterus' = Mo. ωμ, Urd. ωμ, Kh. ωμ- id.
Kalm. ωμ 'a layman living according to the monastic rules' = Mo. ωμ < Sanskrit id., Urd. ωμ id.

Kalm. χυριμ ~ χυριμ 'three' = Mo. γυριμ, Urd. γυριμ, Kh. γυριμ id.

(f) Kalm. χυριμ 'part' = Mo. qubi, Urd. χυριμ, Kh. χυριμ id.
Kalm. χυριμ 'to contract, to pull toward the center' = Mo. qumi, Urd. χυμι ~ χομι, Kh. χυμι- id.

(B) IRREGULAR DEVELOPMENTS

(a) In rare cases *u becomes o in Kalmuck and in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language, when it is followed by the vowel *u in the next syllable. This is a development similar to that in Tsongol with the difference that in the latter it is regular while in Kalmuck and Alar it occurs only in a few words. It is possible that these irregular forms are borrowings.

Kalm. χυριμ 'boot' < *γυριμ = Mo. γυτολ, Urd. γυτολ, Khar. γυτολ, Kh. γυτολ ~ γυτολ, AgaB γυτολ id.

Kalm. ωμ 'to fart' = Mo. ωμ, Mo. (Mu.) ωμ, Al.B ωμ id.
Al.B nomo 'bow' = Mo. nomu, Urd. nomu, Kh. nomu, Kalm. nomu id.

Al.B. hom 'arrow' = Mo. sumun, Urd. sumu, Kh. sumu, Kalm. sumu id.

(b) In a few cases the vowel *u has become a in Dagur and Alar Burjat. Sometimes this development may be explained as a result of the influence of the long vowel a in the second syllable.
Dag. barang 'Buddha' = Mo. burqan, Urd. barang, Kh. barang, Bur. barang, Kalm. barang id.

Al.B balâ- 'to snatch away, to take by force' = Mo. bulija-,
Urd. bulâ-, Kh. bulâ-, Kalm. bulâ- id.

*i and *i

15. In Pre-Mongolian there were two vowels of the i type: a normal *i, i.e., a front *i, and another one which was a back vowel, more or less similar to Russian ï and Turkic i. The latter is rendered here as í. These two vowels (*i and *i) converged already in Common Mongolian and both were treated as i. Only after and before *q and *y, i.e., in the syllables qi and yi (and iqa,iya, etc.), the vowel í remained for a while. It still existed in this position in Ancient Mongolian, and even in the preclassical Written Mongolian language, i.e., prior to the XVII century, such forms occurred as qilîna 'sin' (now kilinê), qilyasun 'hair' (now kilyasun), and so on. In Middle Mongolian the groups qi and yi were preserved more or less consistently, e.g., Mu. qiryaqa 'he cut the hair', qir 'dirt', čiğin 'ear', yirîna 'penis', jâlyîba 'he swallowed', etc., cf. also the following examples taken from the ḋīrga-pa script: joqijaq 'to establish', saqiqiin 'those protecting' which existed along with t'akšiia 'hen' and jârikšijar 'according to the edict'.

The back vowel i still exists after and before q in the Mogol language, e.g., qîlanâ 'he cuts', qilyasun 'hair' (modern Mo. kilyasun id.), qîmsun 'nail' (modern Mo. khimsun), qîranâ 'he cuts hair' (modern Mo. kirya-), qîqeq 'knife' (modern Mo. kituya), etc. RAMSTEDET uses the sign i but says that in all these cases y (i.e., i in my transcription) could be written instead of i.

The vowel *i is not preserved in any other position and has converged in all Mongolian languages with *i. Thus in reference to the syllables *qi and *yi the following correspondences can be established:

Pre-classical Mo. qi and yi = MMo. qi and yi, Mog. qi and gi < *yi, but in all the other Mongolian languages qi > ki > further developments, and *yi > gi > further developments.

[Notes and references]
Therefore, in the following sections only the vowel i (〈*i and *i〉 will be dealt with.

16. The vowel *i (of any origin) has been assimilated in numerous cases to the vowel of the immediately following syllable. This phenomenon is called 『breakings』, which term was introduced by RAMSTEDT.

The 『breakings』 is a relatively recent phenomenon in Mongolian and did not occur frequently in Middle Mongolian. It is more or less definite that the 『breakings』 started at the end of the Middle Mongolian period. It is to be assumed that it did not start simultaneously in all dialects. Therefore, certain words occur in various Middle Mongolian documents with the vowel i assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable or unassimilated. In general the vowel i remains as such in Middle Mongolian (a), but there are also examples of the 『breakings』 (b).

(a) Mo. 〈šida 'spear', MMO. (SH, Mu.) šida, Mong. 〈dšida, Urd. dšida, Kh. dšaddo, Bur. 〈šada, Ekh.B jada, Kalm. dšišd id.

Mo. 〈šišasun 'fish', MMO. (SH, Mu.) šišasun, Mong. 〈dšišaqeq, Dag. 〈šišasun, Urd. 〈šišas, Kh. 〈šišaš, Kh.B 〈šašaš, BB 〈šašaš, Kalm. 〈šišasiš id.

(b) Mo. 〈nidurqa 'fist', MMO. (Mu.) 〈nidurqa, Mong. 〈nidurqa, Urd. 〈nidurqa, Kh. 〈nidurqa, Bur. 〈nidurqa, Kalm. 〈nidurqa id.

Mo. 〈nišiq 'naked', SH 〈nišiq, Mu. 〈nišiq, Dag. 〈nišiq, Mong. 〈nišiq, Urd. 〈nišiq, Kh. 〈nišiq, Bur. 〈nišiq, Kalm. 〈nišiq id.

The 『breakings』 is a peculiar feature of spoken languages. This does not mean, however, that it occurs there in all cases. On the contrary, there are numerous cases in which the vowel *i regularly remains as such and, when becoming another vowel, it does so independently of the vocalism of the following syllable (A). In numerous cases the 『breakings』 occurs, (B) but there are numerous inconsistencies.

(A) Conditions under which *i is always preserved

17. In Modern Mongolian languages the vowel *i regularly remains as such in monosyllabic stems (a) and in di- or polysyllabic
stems the second syllable of which contains either the vowel *i or *e (b). Thus the general rule is that in all these cases the vowel concerned is i in all Mongolian languages. A general exception is the Burjat language in which the vowel *i remains i only in monosyllabic stems (a) but tends to become e (ə ~ ə, at the beginning of words with a prothetic ə) in polysyllabic words (b). Exceptions to this rule are few: under the influence of the initial *b the vowel *i becomes u in Mongor (c) and in a few words it becomes e in various Mongolian languages, contrary to the general rule (d).

(a) Mo. ʒil 'year', MMo. (SH, P) ʒil, Mong. dzhir, Dag. džil, Urd.,
   Kh. džil, Bur. šil, Ekh.B ʒil, Kalm. džil id.
   Mo. čil 'direction', Urd., Kh., Kalm. ʧil id.
   Mo. ʒil 'a strange thing, something unusual, odd', Kh. džig,
   Kalm. džig id.
   Mo. ni- 'to blow the nose', Urd., Kh., Kalm. ni- id.
   Mo. či 'thou', MMo. (SH, Mu.) či, Mong. či, Dag. či, Urd. či, Kh. či,
   Bur. či, Mog., Kalm. či id.

(b) Mo. čikin < *ćiqin 'ear', Mong. čiqi, Dag. čiki, Urd. čičččč,
   Kh. čičččč, Mog. čičkin ~ čičkin, Kalm. čiččč id. = Bur. čiččč id.
   Mo. sinži 'mark, sign, omen', Urd., Kh. sinži, Kalm. sinži
    id. = Bur. šenži 'form, sign, mark, omen'.
   Mo. sine 'new', SH, Mu. šini, P šine, Urd. šine, Kh. šina, Kalm.
    šina id. = Bur. šenq, AgaB šani id.
   Mo. bičiq 'letter', SH, Mu. bičık, P bičiq, Mong. pučiq, Urd.,
   Kh. bičık, Mog. bičık, Kalm. bičiq = Bur. biček id.
   Mo. ɨbi ~ jilbi 'magic, sorcery', Urd. ɨbē ~ ɨbe, Kh. ɨbe id.,
   Kalm. ɨbe + 'slyness' = Bur. ɨbɨ 'sorcery'.
   Mo. inji 'dowry, slaves and subjects given as a wedding present
    to a princess', Urd. ēndši, Kh. ēndši = Bur. ēndş id., but Al.B ēndš id.
    (contamination with ɨnšo 'property').
   Mo. āre- 'to come', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) āre-, Mong. ře-, Dag. ār- ~
   Mo. inje- ~ inje- 'to laugh', MMo. (SH, Mu.) ine- ~ ře-,
    Mong. šenčč- id., Dag. īne- < *inječči 'laugher', Urd. īne- ~ ře-,
    'to laugh', Kh. īne- id., Mog. ḻennā 'he laughs', Kalm. īne- 'to
    laugh' = Bur. īne-, Al.B. ře- 'to laugh'.


Mo. biličeg ～ biličug 'ring', Mu. biletik, Urd. biledšik ～ buledšik id., Kalm. biltsug id. = Kh.B błęgšik id.

Mo. ginži 'chain' < Pers., SH ginži, Urd. gendši, Kh. gindši, Kalm. gindši id. = Al.B genšeg id.

(c) Mong. bu 'I' = Mo., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) bi, Dag. bi, Urd., Kh. bi, Bur. bi, Mog., Kalm. bi id.

Mong. pudšig 'letter, writing' = Mo. bičeg id., etc. (v. supra).

(d) Bur. xe- 'to do, make, put', Mog. kéná ～ kiná 'he does', Kalm. ke- ～ ki- id. (a possible contamination with ge- 'to speak') = Mo. ki- < *qi-, MMo. ki-, Mong. gi-, Dag. kī-, Urd. kī-, Kh. xi- id. (in monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel the vowel is usually long).

Dag. nēq 'one', Urd. nēge, Kh. nēgo, Bur. nēqṇ, Kalm. nēq id. = Mo. nigen, MM. (SH, Mu.) niken, P nik'en, Mong. nige, Mog. nikăn id. This rare case is, perhaps, a result of the influence by the stem Mo. nejile- 'to unite', nejite 'together', etc.

(B) The *breaking*

18. The so-called *breaking* is the assimilation of the vowel of the initial syllable to the vowel of the following syllable. This means that the vowel *i* preceding a syllable with *a, u, ū*, etc. becomes a, u, ū respectively: Kh. maxχu 'flesh, meat' = Mo. migan id. In certain Mongolian languages the vowel *i* is completely assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable, no trace of it being left, e.g., Kh. maxχu 'meat' (it is to be noted that the consonant m is not palatalized), while in others the palatalization of the initial consonant unequivocally testifies to the fact that the vowel in question was *i*, e.g., Al.B moχan 'meat' (it is to be noted that the consonant m is palatalized).

The vowel *i* is characterized by particular developments when followed by the groups *aγu, eγū*, etc.: it is the first vowel of the group which influences the vowel *i*, whereby the *breaking* takes place before *aγu* or *eγū* are contracted and become ū or ū respectively, e.g., Kh. b'āra 'calf' = Mo. birayγu id. In other languages the *breaking* took place at a later time, when *aγu* had already become ū. The consequence of this belated *breaking* is that *i* is assi-
ilated to the secondary ā < *ayu and not to the vowel *a of the
group *ayu, e.g., Al.B burū 'calf' = Mo. birayu id.

In many cases the vowel *i assimilates the vowel of the following
syllable or transforms it into a front vowel, particularly into *e > a.
The consequence of this development was the transfer of the word
concerned from the back vocalic series into the series of stems
discussed above (A), e.g., Mo. ʒida 'spear' = Kalm. dśida < ʒide
(it is to be noted that in consequence of this development no *break-
ing* has occurred; on the other hand cf. Al.B ədə < ʒida 'spear').

In other cases the *breakings* has occurred, but the vowel *i,
instead of palatalizing the preceding consonant has transformed the
whole word concerned into a front vocalic one, e.g., Mo. birayu 'calf'
= Kalm. būrū id.

As stated above the vowel *i tends to become a before *a, or it
becomes u before *u, etc. This does not mean, however, that *i
always becomes a when followed by *a. There are many stems in
which this development does not take place, and it is impossible to
establish definite rules covering all cases. More or less careful
examination shows that even in one and the same language *i before
*a becomes a in one group of words, while in the same position it
remains i in another group of words, e.g., Kh. məχχəw 'meat' = Mo.
miqan id., but Kh. miŋw or miŋnə 'thousand' (not miŋnə) = Mo.
miiŋnən id.

It should be mentioned that the development of the vowel *i
depends to a great extent upon the nature of the preceding consonant:
cf. the different developments of the syllables *bi- and *mi- in Urdus
and Khalkha, when the vowel of the immediately following syllable
is *a: while *bi- remains bi- in Urdus and becomes b'i- in Khalkha,
the syllable mi- becomes in many words ma- in both languages, cf.
Mo. bida 'we' = Urd. bida and Kh. b'iːddə id., but Mo. miqan 'meat'
= Urd. məxa and Kh. məχχəw id.

Considerable irregularities are caused by the initial consonants
*ɛ, *ʒ, and *s. The initial syllables *ɛɾ-, *ʒɾ-, and *ɾɾ- frequently
preserve their original vowel which remains i. This occurs usually
before long vowels, but sometimes it can be found before short vowels,
e.g., Mo. ēlāyūn 'stone' = Urd. tšūlū id. (cf. Kh. tšulū, Bur. šulūn id.), Mo. ēdi- 'to be able' = Urd. tšida- id. (cf. Kh. tšaddūr, Bur. šada- id.). It should be emphasized that the absence of the "breakings" in these positions is not a characteristic feature of a particular Mongolian language, in this instance Urdus, because there are cases in which the Urdus language has the "breakings" when in other languages it is not found, cf. Urd. tšomgor 'marrow, bones filled with marrow' = Kalm. tšingg, Mo. čimügen id. (cf. Al.B sempleg id. where ś is a regular development of *i in front vocalic words with no "breakings"). On the other hand, in many cases *č does not result in tš (= Bur. ś) but becomes ts (= Bur. s), although the vowel immediately following is *i. Likewise *į results in dš (= Bur. and Kalm. š), although one would expect here dč (= Bur. š, Ekh.B j). This occurs mainly in cases in which the vowel *i is followed immediately by *q or *γ, and the development *č > ts and *į > dš may be due to the fact that in the vicinity of these deep velar consonants the vowel *i was still a back vowel, i.e. ě, which did not palatalize the preceding consonant.

In general the following cases have to be examined separately:

*i before *a and the secondary ā (1); *i before *u (2); *i before *ū (3); *i before *ayu (4); *i before *egū (5); *i before *uyu or *iyu (6); *i before *ūgu or *iğu (7); *i before *uya (8); *i before *ūge (9); *i before a secondary o or ọ (10).

(1) As a general rule the vowel *i results in a before the vowel *a.

An initial *i results in the syllable ja in this position, i.e., the vowel has a prothetic j. In Urdus, Kalmuck, and Monguor the initial consonant is not palatalized in the event of "breakings", i.e., there is no i-glide between the initial consonant and the secondary vowel. In Khalkha two developments are found: the initial consonant is connected by an i-glide with the secondary vowel a < *i, or in many stems the glide may not be present, i.e., the initial syllable may be mía or ma. In many cases mía and similar initial groups alternate with mi in Khalkha, i.e., the vowel a may alternate with i. In Monguor the initial *i remains as such and never becomes ja- as in other
languages. In Dagur and Buriat the initial consonant is usually palatalized, e.g. *mi > mā before *a.

In summarizing, the following can be stated: in Monguor, Urdu, and Kalmuck the vowel *i becomes a without palatalization of the preceding consonant; it becomes a or ʰi in Khalkha, and in Dagur and Buriat it results in ʰa with the preceding consonant palatalized. The vowel *i remains i in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Mogol (a). The initial *i becomes ja- in Dagur, Urdu, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, but it remains i in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Monguor, and Mogol (b). There are numerous exceptions and *i may become a in one language but remains i in another one, although in the latter language, under similar conditions, *i usually becomes a.

(a) Mong. ṅaṅṣa, Urdu. ṃaṅṣa, Kh. ṃaṅṣa, Kalm. ṃaṅṣ 'flesh, meat' = Dag. niya, Bur. niṣaŋ id. = Mo. nilqa, MMo. (SH, Mu.) miqan, Mog. miqon id.

Mong. nargē 'young, tender' = Dag. nûlţa 'infant', Kh. nûlţa id. = Mo. nilqa, Urdu. nila, Kalm. nîla id.

Urd. šara, Kh. šara, Bur. šara, Kalm. šar 'yellow' = Mo. siro, MMo. (SH, Mu.) šira, Mong. šira, Mog. šira id.

Dag. b'ada 'we', Kh. b'adda ~ bidda id. = Mo. bida, Mog. bidá, Urdu. bida, Bur. hēdi, Kalm. bīdi id.

Dag. niŋaŋ, Kh. m'àngaŋ 'thousand' = Mo. mīngan, Mong. mīngyän, Urdu. mīnga, Bur. mīngaŋ, Kalm. mīngyi id.

Kh. n'āræ ~ naræ 'infant', Al.B nārā id., nārāla ~ nārāla- 'to bear a child' = Mo. niraj 'infant', Urdu. nirā 'a little child'.

Kh. dšara 'sixty', Kh.B šaraŋ id. = Mo. žirān, MMo. (SH, Mu.) žiran, Mong. džiran, Urdu. džira, Kalm. džir id.

Kh. džadda, Al.B, Kh.B. šada, Ekh.B jada 'spear' = Mo. žida, MMo. (SH, Mu.) žida, Mong. džida, Urdu. džida, Kalm. džido id.

Urd. šara-, Kh. šara-, Bur. šara-, Kalm. šar- 'to fry' = Mo. sira-, MMo. (SH, Mu.) šira-, Mong. širä- id.

Kalm. matā ~ matā 'lash' = Mo. mīlaya, SH mina'a, Dag. mīna, Urdu. mīla, Bur. mīna id.
Mo. *milijayud* ~ *milijanrud* 'the celebration of the birth of a child',
AL.B *milängit* id., *mila*-'to perform a ceremony, to initiate', Kalm. *milayud* 'the celebration of the birth of a son', *mila*-~*milen*-'to initiate, to consecrate, to dedicate', *milayyn* 'congratulation'.

Kh. *jala* 'fly, gad-fly' = Mo. *ilaya* id., Urdr. *iłość < *iluya*, Bur. *jilhän* 'fly', Kalm. *iläsä ~ iläsä* id., cf. SH *hilatu* - 'to be bitten by flies'; there were two alternating forms of this word: *hilaya* ~ *hiluya*.

(2) The vowel *i* before *u* develops regularly into *u*, but in the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language it becomes *o*. This occurs also in the Alar dialect but rarely. In Dagur *i* results always in *o* in this position, because *u* before *u* becomes *o* in Dagur.

The general rule is that *i* before *u* becomes *u* in Monguor and Mogol (in both of them rarely), *o* in Dagur, *u* in Urdu, Khalkha and Buriat (except for the Tsongol dialect), *o* in the Tsongol dialect and (sometimes) in Alar, *u* and sometimes *ä* in Kalmuck.

(3) The vowel *i before *u results in ü or further into u. In Dagur
*i remains as such. Initial *i gets a prothetic j-

Mo. *nidiin 'eye', MMO. (SH, Mu.) *nidiin, Mong. nudu, Dag. *nide, 
Urd. nudu, Kh. nudda, Bur. *nude, Mog. nudun, Kalm. nüdä id.
Mo. *sidüin 'tooth', MMO. (SH, Mu.) *sidüin, Mong. *sdi, Dag. *sde, 
Mo. *niiqüün 'naked', MMO. (SH, Mu.) *niiqüün, Mong. *nišiqör, 
gey, Kalm. *nuqšeqe id.

Mo. *jisün 'color of a horse', MMO. (SH) *jisün 'color, appearance', 
Dag. *dewu 'appearance' (< other Mongolian languages), Urd. dewu, 
Mo. *nigül 'sin', MMO. (IM) *nül, Dag. *nugul (< other Mongolian 
Mo. *ildu < *uil < *qildu 'sword', MMO. (Mu.) *ildün, Mong. 
urdů 'sabre', Urd. *urdū, Kh. jüldä ~ juulda ~ ildä, AgaB. jüldä, 
Kalm. *ildä ~ *jildä ~ *ildä id.

Mo. *jisün 'nine', SH *jesün, Mu. *jisün, Mong. *qeśen, Dag. *ise, 
*jest ~ *jëşč id.

(4) The vowel *i before *ayu is preserved as such in Written Oirat, 
but *ayu has become o in there. The vowel o of the group ou < *ayu 
has transformed the vowel *i of the first syllable into o in Kalmuck.
In the remaining Mongolian languages the vowel *i has developed, 
in this position, in the same manner as before *u or ü < *ayu. The 
initial *i, however, results in jo- even in Khalkha.

Mo. *cilayun 'stone', SH *cilоun, P *cila'un, Urd. *cilů, Kh. *culū, 

Mo. *sbayun 'bird', SH *sbao'un, Mu. *siba'un, Mong. *su id., Dag. 
Kalm. *šucün id.

Mo. *kirayu < *qirayu 'white frost', Urd. kirū, Kh. *kərū ~ 

Mo. *birayu 'calf', MMO. (SH, Mu.) *bura'u, Mong. burū, Urd. birū, 
Mo. iṣayur 'origin, root', Mu. hiṣa'ur, Urdu. idšūr, Kh. jodsūr, Kalm. josūr ~ SH, P huṣa'ur, Mong. adšūr, Dag. ḥodšūr, Urdu. udšūr, Kh. udsūr, Bur. uzūr, Kalm. ušūr 'root, origin'.

Mo. iṭayu 'partridge', Urdu. iltū, Kh. jotū, Kalm. jōtūn id.

(5) The vowel *i before *eqū becomes u or develops further into u. The initial *i remains as such.

Mo. bilegū 'hne, whetstone', SH bile'ūde- 'to hone', Mu. bilūd 'whetstone', Mong. bulū, Urdu. bilūd, Kh. bilūd, Bur. bultū, Kalm. bulūd id.

Mo. ẓīkegūn 'cool', Urdu. dīxūn, Kh. dīxūn ~ dīwxūn, Kalm. zekūn id.


(6) The vowel *i before *uyu and *iyu results in u.

Mo. siluyun 'direct, frank, sincere, honest', Urdu. šulūn, Kh. šūlūn, Kalm. šulūn id. On the other hand, the parallel form šokūn in Kalmuck may serve as an indication that the ancient form was *silayun (vide 4).

Mo. nihiyun ~ niliyun 'disgusting, sickening', Urdu. nulūn, Kalm. nilūn id.

Mo. niruyun 'back, spine', SH niru'un, Mu. nirūn, Mong. nurū id., Dag. nirū 'the ridge of the roof', Urdu., Kh. nurū 'back, spine', AgaB nūrgūn, Kalm. nurūn id.

Mo. ẓimwusun 'buck-thorn' (a plant), Kalm. dźimūsūn id.

Mo. bisiyun 'quick, intelligent', Mu. bišūn 'intelligent', Urdu., Kh., Bur., Kalm. bašū 'quick'.

(7) The vowel *i before *ugū and *iğū results in ə and further in u.

Mo. sirīgūn 'rough', Mu. širūn, Mong. šūrun, Urdu. šurūn, Kh., Bur. šurūn, Kalm. šūrūn id.

Mo. nidūgūr 'pestle', Mong. nūdir, Urdu., Kh. nūdir, Bur. nūdır, Kalm. nūdür id.

Mo. ğisīgū, Urdu., Kh. dīšū 'oblique', Kalm. dīšū 'against, opposite'.
(8) The vowel *i before the groups *uya (> ọ) and *ya (> o) results in o. The initial *i results, in this position, in o and sometimes lacks the prothetic j- (a). The same development *i > o occurs sometimes in cases in which the group *uya remains as such instead of being contracted (b).

Mo. žilüya 'halter, rein', SH žilu'a, Urd. ḍilō, Kh. ḍilō, Bur. dōlō, Ekh.B jōlā, Kalm. dōlā id.
Mo. sīryolžin < *siruyolžin 'ant', Mong. sūrguulžin, Urd. sūrgūldši  ̃  sūrgūldši, Kh. sūrgūldši, Al.B sūrgūldž, Kalm. sūrgūldš id.
Mo. sīroj < *siruaj 'dust, earth', SH žiroaj, Urd. šorō < *siruwa, Kh. šorō < *sirōj < *siruwa, Bur. šorō, Kalm. šorā  ̃  šorā id.;
cf. Mu. širā'u  ̃  širū < *siruyu, Mong. širū < *siruyu id.
Mo. iruyar < *hiruyar < *hiruyar 'bottom', SH hiru'ar id., Mu. hiru'āraša 'from the bottom', Urd. irūl < *irūr, Kh. jorōl, Bur. ojor, Kalm. jorāl id.
Mo. činuwa < *činba 'wolf', SH činā, Mu. činā, Mog. činā, Urd. čāno, Kh. čāno, Bur. čāno, Kalm. čāno id.
Mo. iruwa < *tirba 'omen', Urd. joro, Kh. joro, Bur. joro, Kalm. joro id.

(b) Mo. kituwa < *qituwa 'knife', SH kituwa', Mu. qituwa, Mong. ṭidog, Kh. ṭuqtu, Al.B čolog id., Mog. qūtqū id.; cf. Urd. utaga, Kalm. ute id.
Mo. ʿudan 'a female shaman', Dag. jadāyan < *idayan < *iduyan id., Al.B ʿudagōn id.;  ̃  Mo. ʿudavan id., Urd. ʿudagān < *uduyan 'midwife', Kh. ʿuduyn 'female shaman', Kalm. udyn id.

(9) The vowel *i before the group *ũge (> long vowel) results in ŏ and its various equivalents, i.e., ē etc., and in languages in which *ǒ and *ũ have converged the vowel *i results in ŏ in some languages (Khalkha), but in others it does not
have the prothetic j- (Buriat) (a). In many stems *i has developed into ə (or ã) before *ुge which remains as such instead of beingcontracted and becoming a long vowel (b).

(a) Mo. ṡujuven 'space, crack, free time'. Ur. ṭoḷa, Kh. ṭoḷa, Kh.B suḷa 'free time', Kalm. ṭoḷen 'crack'.

Mo. kirügen 'saw', SH kirü’e, Mu. kirö, Mong. kirü, Ur. ḍorö, Kh. xorö, Al.B sörö, Kh.B žorö, Kalm. kör id.

Mo. irügel < *hirüger < *pirüger 'benediction, blessing, prayer', MMO. (SH, P) hirü’er, Mu. hirır, Mong. ūrū-'to say blessings', Ur. ūrū-'to bless, to say a prayer', ūrūr 'blessing, prayer' (with no prothetic j-), Kh. jörö 'benediction', Ekh.B ǭrër, Kalm. jörél id.

(b) Mo. sibügen 'awl', MMO. (SH, Mu.) sibügen, Mong. sibüge, Ur. sōyöge, Kh. sōyöge, Al.B sōyögi, Kh.B sōbęggə, Kalm. sōyög id.

Mo. ɕinügen 'marrow, bone containing marrow', Mu. ēmeqen id., Mong. ɕinügen 'arm', Dag. sumug 'bone', Ur. ɕinügü 'marrow, bone containing marrow', Kh. ɕinunque id., Bur. ɕımeqen, Kalm. tɕınügen id.

(10) The vowel *i before a secondary o or ə becomes o and ə respectively. In languages in which *o has resulted in another vowel the vowel *i acquires the quality of the latter. The origin of the secondary vowels o and ə is obscure in these cases.

Mo. soro 'a pointed stick, a spit', SH širo, Ur. šoro, Kh. šorö 'spit', Bur. šoro, Kalm. šorö 'a sharp end, point'.

Mo. šonqor ‘falcon’, SH ſiŋor, Ur. šorxor, Kh. šonxor, Bur. šonxor, Kalm. šonxor id.

Mo. sül ‘soup, bouillon’, SH šülen, Mu. šilen, Ur. šōla, Kh. šılla, Al.B šölən, Kh.B šölüŋ, Kalm. šölə ~ šöləŋ id.

Mo. čidür 'devil', MMO. (H) čidkör, Ur. čidźör, Kh. čidźar, Kh.B śudźar, Kalm. čidźar ~ čidźar id.

Mo. čidür 'hobble', Mu. čiderlebe 'he hobbled', Mong. čudör, Ur. čudör, Kh. čudar, Al.B śdör, Kh.B śudur, Kalm. tüdër id.

Mo. ɨskil- 'to kick, to trample', Mong. sguorda-, Ur. śköl-, Kh. śkölə-, Al.B śgül-, Kalm. əskl- 'to kick'.
19. The vowel \( *e \) has developed into various vowels. (A) Usually \( *e \) is preserved as \( e \). The quality of this vowel varies from that of a moderately open front \( e \), i.e., \( e \) (e.g., in Kalmuck) to a back vowel transcribed as \( e \) (e.g., in Buriat where it is a high back-wide vowel). The latter may be slightly rounded, i.e., \( \varepsilon \) (e.g. in Dagur). Thus, the general correspondence is: Mo. \( e \), MMO. \( e \), Dag. \( \varepsilon \), Urd., Kh., Mog., and Kalm. \( e \), Bur. \( e \). In Monguor the uniformity is broken and in monosyllabic stems \( *e \) has become \( a \), \( ä \), \( iä \) (the latter after \( dž \)), and \( e \) (a); at the beginning of words \( t \) (b); in disyllabic and polysyllabic stems after a consonant \( ie \) (c); the latter rule does not apply to the position after \( a \) \( *e \) in which we find \( \varepsilon \) \( *e \) (when the following syllable contains the vowel \( *i \)) or \( a \) (when the following syllable contains the vowel \( *e \)) (d).

(a) Mo. \( e \varepsilon \) 'the width of textiles', Urd., Kh., Kalm. \( e \varepsilon \), Bur. \( \varepsilon \) = Mong. \( a\varepsilon \) id.

Mo. \( kən \) 'who', MMO. (SH, Mu.) \( kən \), Dag. \( k\varepsilon \), Urd. \( k\varepsilon \), Kh. \( x\varepsilon \), Bur. \( \varepsilon \), Mog., Kalm. \( k\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( k\varepsilon \) id.

Mo. \( g\varepsilon \) 'felt tent, house', MMO. (SH, Mu.) \( g\varepsilon \), Dag. \( g\varepsilon \), Urd., Kh. \( g\varepsilon \), Bur. \( g\varepsilon \), Mog., Kalm. \( g\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( g\varepsilon \) id.

Mo \( \varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'copper', Urd. \( dž\varepsilon \) (in the influence of \( dž \)), Kh. \( dž\varepsilon \), Bur. \( \varepsilon\varepsilon \), Kalm. \( \varepsilon\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( dž\varepsilon\varepsilon \) id.

(b) Mo. \( e \)el- 'to be worn out', Urd. \( e\varepsilon \), Kh. \( e\varepsilon \), Bur. \( \varepsilon\varepsilon \), Kalm. \( e\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( e\varepsilon \) id.

Mo. \( e\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'milion, devil', MMO. (H) \( h\varepsilon\varepsilon \), Mu. \( e\varepsilon \) 'devil', Urd. \( e\varepsilon \) 'milion', Kh. \( e\varepsilon \) id., Bur. \( \varepsilon\varepsilon \) id., Kalm. \( e\varepsilon \) 'hawk' = Mong. \( \varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'an evil spirit'.

Mo. \( em\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'saddle', SH \( em\varepsilon\varepsilon \), Mu. \( em\varepsilon \), Dag. \( em\varepsilon \), Urd., Kh. \( em\varepsilon \), Bur. \( em\varepsilon \), Mog. \( em\varepsilon \), Kalm. \( em\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( im\varepsilon \) id.

(c) Mo. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'ready', MMO. (SH, Mu.) \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) id., Dag. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'to prepare', Urd. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) 'ready', Kh. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \), Bur. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \), Kalm. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) = Mong. \( b\varepsilon\varepsilon \) id.
Mo. beri 'the wife of the son, daughter-in-law', MMo. (SH, Mu.) beri, Dag. bêri, Urd. bêre, Kh. bûra, Bur. bêri, Kalm. bero id. = Mong. bieri 'wife'.

Mo. dere 'pillow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) dere, Dag. derb, Urd. dêre, Kh. dêra, Kalm. der = Mong. dire id.

Mo. nere 'name', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) nere, Dag. ner, Urd. nere, Kh. nêra, Bur. nêrê, Mog. nere, Kalm. nera ~ nêrê = Mong. nere id.

(d) Mo. ekin < hekin < *gekin 'head, beginning', MMo. (SH, Mu.) hekin 'head', Dag. eki id., Urd. ege 'beginning, origin, head', Kh. ékê 'beginning', Kh.B gê'n id., Al.B gêny 'source, fountain, spring', Mog. ekin 'head', Kalm. ekê 'beginning, spring' = Mong. zêgi 'beginning'.


Mo. eligen < *heligen < *peligen or *peliken 'liver', MMo. (SH, Mu.) heligen, Dag. elîg, Urd. elege, Kh. êllêg, Bur. elêgy, Mog. elkan, Kalm. elkê id. = Mong. zâligê < *zêligê id.

Mo. erbekej < *herbekej < *zorbaykej 'butterfly', MMo. (H, Mu.) herbêgi, Urd., Kh. erbewêzi, Bur. erbêgé, Kalm. erweetê id. = Mong. zâligê id.

20. (B) The vowel *e before *e or *i becomes ê, i.e., a front and narrow (closed) vowel. This occurs in Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Mogol (a).

The vowel ê existed already in Middle Mongolian. The hP'ags-pa script has a special letter for this vowel. The vowel ê occurs there in many words, e.g., êbe in 'disease', êykê 'peace, quietude', êrdem 'u 'virtuous', êrdinis 'jewels', êse (a negative), and in a few other stems.

In Khalkha the vowel *e becomes i (through *ê) before the syllable *êi or *êj; in Urdus this vowel results in i (through ê) after *ê- and before *i. Under the influence of the consonant j the vowel *ê results in i in both Khalkha and Kalmuck (b).

(a) Mo. ter примерsky, heaven, deity', SH tenge, Mu. tenri, P dêri 'god, heaven', Mong. tiangeri, Dag. tengir, Urd. tenger, Kh. tenge, Bur. tengir, Kalm. tengi id.
Mo. _ede _'these', SH & Mu. _ede, P _ede, Dag. _de, Urdd. _de, Kh. _de, Bur. _de, Kalm. _de id.


Mo. _ene _'this', SH & Mu. _ene, P _ene, Mong. nie, Dag. _en, Urdd. _ene, Kh. _ene, Bur. _en, Mog. _en, Kalm. _en id.

Mo. _elci _'messenger', SH & Mu. _elci, P _elci _'messengers', Urdd. _elci _~ _elci, Kh. _elci _~ _elci _'messenger, ambassador', Bur. _elci, Kalm. _elci _'messenger'.


(b) Mo. _beje _'body', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) _beje, Mong. _bij, Dag. _beje, Urdd. _beje, Kh. _bijja, Bur. _beje, Kalm. _bij _~ _bijja id.

21. (C) The vowel *e becomes a rounded vowel in a few languages. This occurs in the case when the vowel *e is followed by *u, especially by the syllable *bui or *mui. Sometimes it occurs also before b followed by another vowel and not necessarily by *u. This phenomenon is characteristic of Modern Mongolian, i.e., Urddus, Khalkha, Burjat, and Kalmuck. In Middle Mongolian the vowel *e is preserved in the positions mentioned above, although in a few stems the vowel *e already has become a rounded vowel in Middle Mongolian.

The basic rule is that *e in the position indicated above results in the following vowels: Mo. e, MMO. e, Dag. _e, Mog. e, Mong. i (before *e) and u (before *u), Urdd. _i, Kh. _i, A.B (and in all West Burjat dialects) _i, AgaB and Kh.B _u, Kalm. _i (a). In various cases *e has resulted in a rounded vowel in Middle Mongolian. In these cases it is represented in Dagur and Mogol by _u; in Urddus _ö and, before other than labial consonants, _u (b).

Mo. ebūdūg 'knee', SH ebūdūg, Mu. ebūdūk ~ ūbūdūk, Mong. uđūg, Mog. undūk, Urd. ūvūdūk, Kh. īwādūk, Al.B ībūdūk, Kh.B uƀēḏūk, Kalm. hör id.

Mo. ebečin 'disease', ebed- 'to be ill', SH ebečin ~ ūbečin 'disease', Dag. ęude- 'to be ill', Mong. idi- id., Mog. ebātuna 'is aching', Urd. ūwūd- 'to be ill', Kh. īwād- id., īwatkin 'disease', AgaB gheʃeŋ 'sickness, disease', Al.B ībūdūŋ id., Kalm. őwēŋ id.

(b) Mo. elgü- 'to hang', SH elgū- 'to fish', Mu. őlgū- 'to hang', Urd. ulgü-, Kh. īlgu-, Kh.B ulgə-, Kalm. őlgi- id.


Mo. ergū- 'to lift, to raise', SH ārgū-ul- 'to cause to carry', Mu. őrgū- 'to lift', Mong. urgu- 'to carry on the back' (an obvious contamination with āgūr- 'to carry on the back'), Urd. urgu- 'to lift', Kh. īrḡa-, Kh.B ārgə-, Al.B īrgū-, Kalm. őrg- id.

Mo. emku- 'to chew, to keep in the mouth', Mong. xāŋgu- < ēmarki- 'to put in the mouth', Dag. ūmκu- 'to chew', Urd. ēmku- 'to put in the mouth', Kalm. ēmkə- id.

Mo. essūg 'kumys', SH essok, Urd. uṣūk ~ āṣok id., Kh. āṣak 'yeast for kumys'.

Mo. ebūl 'winter', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) ūbūl, Mong. uɣur, Dag. uɣul, Mog. uβul ~ ebūl, Urd. ūwōl, Kh. īwal, Al.B ībōl, Kh.B uŋgel, Kalm. ūeŋ id.

*ō

22. The vowel *ō remains ő (= French ou, German ö) in Urdu, Chakhar, and Kalmuck. It is represented by ū in Khaikha and in West Buriat dialects. The vowel ū is a sound occupying the place between a high-mixed-wide-round and mid-mixed-narrow-round vowel. In East Buriat dialects (Khor, Aga) and in Dagur the vowel *ō has converged with *ū and is represented by ū. In Mogol the vowel *ō has been preserved in a few words, but in others it has resulted in ū, i.e., converged with *ū.
In Monguor the vowel *ɔ has converged with the back vowel *o and is represented by o, but after *k and *g it is wo (a). When followed immediately by r, it is u (b). In a few words it has lost its rounded character and become ia = Dagur e (c).

In Urdu the vowel *ɔ remains only in monosyllabic stems, and before *e in polysyllabic stems (d). It has developed into u when followed by *u (e).

(a) Mo. bödöne < *bödene 'quail', Urd. bödōnō, Kh. bēddana, Kalm. bödn° id. = Mong. bodono id.


Mo. ödūn < *hōdūn < *pōdūn 'feather', SH ödūn, Mu. hōdūn id., Dag. udūs 'feathers', Urd. udω, Kh. ēdā, Al.B ēdē, Kalm. ödē id. = Mong. fōdī id.

Mo. sōmi 'night', SH sūnī, Dag. suṇi, Mog. suṇi, Urd. sūnō, Kh. sēna, Al.B hēnī, Kh.B kωnī, Kalm. sō ~ sōn id. = Mong. soni id.

Mo. gölige 'pup', Urd. gōlgō, Kh. gēlgē, Kalm. gölg° id. = Mong. guorguo id.


Mo. kōmōri- < *kōmeri- 'to turn over, to be overturned', Urd. kōmir-, Kh. xīmar-, Al.B xīmēr-, Kh.B xumēr-, Kalm. kōmr- id. = Mong. kuomori- id.

Mo. kōmōške < *kōmeske 'eyebrows', Mu. kōmūške, Urd. kōmōskō 'eyelashes', Kh. xīmasxa 'brows', Kalm. xīmasxa id. = Mong. kuomosqua 'eyelid'.


Mo. mūren 'river', SH mūren id., Mu. mūren 'sea', Dag. mur 'river', Urd. mūrōn, Kh. mūryn, Al.B mūryn, Kalm. mōry 'river' = Mong. mūrōn id.

Mo. tūrī- < *tūre- 'to be born', MMo. (SH, Mu.) tōre-, Dag. tūr- id., Urd. tūrī-, Kh. tēr-, Al.B tērī- id., Mog. tuunā 'he is born', Kalm. tōr- 'to be born' = Mong. tur- id.

*— Poppe
(e) Mo. mösün < *mölsün < *mölisün 'ice', MMO. (SH, Mu.) mölsün, Mong. mordze, Urd. mösū < *mölisün id., Kh. mūs ~ mössa, Al.B mölikön, Kh.B mūlihēn, Kalm. mös id. = Dag. mejā id.

Mo. môngün 'silver', SH mängün, Urd. mōngō ~ mungu, Kh. mūnga, Al.B mūngēn, Kalm. mūngō id. = Mong. miànggu, L mengū, Shìrongol mengū, Dag. mungu id.

(d) Mo. kōkō < *kōke - 'to suck', SH kōkō-, Mu. kōke-, Mong. kuguo- id., Kh. ḡōkxa-, Al.B ḡūkū- id., Mog. kōkānā 'he sucks', Kalm. kōk̡ - 'to suck' = Urd. gōk̡- id.

Mo. kōk 'blue', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kōke, Mong. kuguo, Dag. kūke, Kh. ḡōkxa, Al.B ḡūkū, Mog. kūkā, Kalm. kōk̡ id. = Urd. gōk̡ id.

Mo. oḷās- < *ōlēs- 'to be hungry', MMO. (SH, Mu.) oḷes-, Mong. los-, Dag. unsu-, Kh. ells-, Al.B ēldē-, Kh.B ulde- id., Mog. ulāsunā 'he is hungry', Kalm. oḷās- 'to be hungry' = Urd. oḷās- id.

(e) Mo. ōrūm 'gimlet', Kh. ōram, Kalm. ñṟponsor id. = Urd. urum id.

Mo. ōndūr 'high', SH ōndūr, Kh. ōndar, Al.B ōndër, Kalm. ōndır id. = Urd. ūndur id.

*ū

23. The vowel *ū is represented by ā (= French ū, German Ä) only in Kalmuck. In Dagur, Mogol, Urdus, Chahkar, Kharchin, Khalkha, and Buriat it is u, i.e., the Norwegian u in hus 'house' (high-mixed-narrow-round). In Monguor it has converged with *u and usually results in u (a). In Dagur it sometimes becomes ū after labial consonants. The development *u > ū occurs also in rare cases in Burjat (b). Before *iē the vowel *ū sometimes becomes uu in Mogol (c).

(a) Mo. ōge 'word', SH, Mu. ōge, P ōge, Mong. uge, Urd. uge, Kh. uge, Kalm. āgu id.

Mo. ūkū- 'to die', SH, Mu. ūkū-, P ūk'ū-, Mong. fugu-, Dag. wugu-, Urd. ḡāx̂u-, Kh. ḡāx̂a-, Bur. ḡē- id., Mog. ukunā 'he dies', Kalm. ūk̡- 'to die'.

Mo. būrī- 'to cover', MMO. (SH, Mu.) būrī- id., Mong. būrī- 'to make a cover of leather for a drum', Urd. būrī- 'to cover', Kh. būrī-
to cover, to upholster', Mog. burkuná 'he covers', Kalm. bûr-
to cover'.

Mo. küčün 'strength', SH, Mu. kūčün, P kūčêün, Mong. küdži,
Dag. küdž, Urd. guûtî, Kh. guûtê, Al.B guûtê, Kalm. kütsê id.
(b) Mo. bûse 'belt', MMO. (SH, Mu.) bûse, Mong. pûdê, Urd.
bûse, Kh. bûs, Kalm. bûs id. = Dag. bêse, Bur. bêse id.
Mo. sůbe 'hole in the needle, needle’s eye', Urd. suwe, Kh. suwa,
Kalm. suw* id. = Al.B bêse id.
(c) Mo. unijen 'cow', Mong. unê, Dag. unê, Urd., Kh. unê,
unâ id.

Disappearance of Vowels in the Initial Syllable

24. The disappearance of vowels in the first syllable occurs as
a rare phenomenon in all Mongolian languages. It takes place mainly
in cases in which the following (i.e., the second) syllable is long (A).

Al.B niž- ‘to laugh’ = Mo. inij-, Mong. senê- id., Dag. inêd
‘laughter’, Urd. enê ~ inê- ‘to laugh’, Kh. inê- id., Mong. innâná
‘he laughs’, Kalm. inē- ‘to laugh’.

Al.B niêy ‘cow’ = Mo. inijen, Urd., Kh. unê, AgaB unõn id.
Mong. sun ‘milk’, Kh. sū, Mong. sun id. = Al.B uñin, Urd. uñu,
Kalm. uñê, Mo. uñin ~ sün id.

25. In Monguor the vowel of the first syllable disappears more
or less regularly (B). This occurs at the beginning of stems (a) and
after *$p > *k > s$, after *s, and after *s > * (b).

(a) *a- > Zero:
Mong. šdžä- ‘to transport loads on the back of animals’ = Mo.
ači-, Urd. ați-, Kh. ați-, Al.B aša- id.
Mong. ndagá ‘promise, oath’ = Mo. andayäj, Kh. andayâr id.
Mong. ndžûse ‘plough’ = Mo. anžûsun, Urd. andžasu, Al.B anza-
hay id.
Mong shê ‘spelt’ = Mo. arbaä, Urd. aručä, Kh. aručê, Kalm. aruâ
~ aručä ‘barley’.
Mong. saq-a- 'to shed' = Mo. asqa-, Urd. asxa-, Kh. asxw-, Bur. adxa-, Kalm. asx- id.

Mong. jüga 'bowl, cup' = Mo. ajaya, Urd. ajaga, Kh. aijaq, Kalm. avã id.

*e > Zero:

Mong. štšiś = Shirongol ıštšu, Mo. ıbüğün, Urd. ıbšū, Kh. ıbšū, Al.B ıbsũŋ id.

Mong. ššiš 'to go' = Mo. eč-, Urd., Dag. iši- id.

Mong. dige 'to revive' = Mo. edege- 'to recover', Urd. edege-, Kh. eddoša-, Al.B edge- id.

Mong. sdämie 'bread' = Shirongol ıtimi, Mo. edemeg id.

Mong. kadži 'elder sister' = Mo. egetči, Urd. egetši, Kh. egotši, Bur. egetš id.

Mong. rdžige 'donkey' = Mo. elžigen, Urd. elジー, Kh. ıldžiŋ id.

Mong. nie 'this' = Mo. ene, Dag. ene, Urd. ene, Kh. enə, Bur. enę.

Mong. ena, Kalm. eṉ id.

Mong. nda 'here' = Mo. ende, Urd. ende, Kh. endo, Bur. endę, Kalm. end id.

Mong. nge 'skirts' = Mo. engər, Urd. enger id.

*i > Zero:

Mong. re- 'to come' = Mo. ire-, Kh. ire-, Al.B jere-, Kalm. ir- id.

(b) Mong. saqa- < *hasay- < *pasay- 'to ask' = Mo. asay-, SH hasay-, Kh. asu- < *asayu- id.

Mong. ššiš- < *ščeš- < *çče- 'to be ashamed' = Mo. iše-, SH hiče-, Urd. etši-, Kh. iši-, Bur. eč- id.

Mong. sáday 'string, rope' = Mo. utasun, MMo. (H) hudasun < *qutasun, Urd. utasu 'thread', Kh. utos id., Al.B utahan 'silken thread'.

Mong. sdarga < *qtargya < *qbtargya 'a little bag' = Mo. qbatargya, Dag. xartarga, Urd. gatarga, Kh. xabtarga id.

Mong. sàrčiš 'to be broken' = Mo. setere-, Urd. setere-, Kh. seter- id.

Mong. sënir 'ribbon fixed to the mane of an animal dedicated to a god' = Mo. sêter, Urd. sêter, Kh. sêter, Bur. hêter id.

The Vowels of the Non-Initial Syllables

26. The ancient vowels of the non-initial syllables were well preserved both in Written and Middle Mongolian. The Middle Mongolian vocalism of the non-initial syllables reflects the ancient conditions well.

Mo. jabu 'to go' = MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) jabu id.
Mo. gola 'far' = MMO. (SH, Mu.) gola id.

However, in many stems the vowel *a after a syllable with *o (or the vowel *e after a syllable with *o) was already assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable in Middle Mongolian and in Classical Written Mongolian:

Mo. oron < *oran 'place' = SH oron, but P and Mu. oran id.
Mo. ūnēčin < *ūnēčin 'orphan' = SH ūnēčit 'orphans', but Mu. ēnēčin 'orphan'.

Other vowels were sometimes also assimilated at an early date.

The original vocalism of the non-initial syllables is well preserved in the following colloquial languages: Mogol, Dagur, and Urgus. In Monguor it has greatly changed, and in Khalkha and Burjat the vowels of the non-initial syllables are articulated indistinctly. There they are represented by reduced vowels. In Oirat dialects and in Kalmuck they have disappeared completely and transferred the function of syllabic elements to the consonants m, n, η, l, and r, transforming them into syllabic consonants ṁ, ṅ, l̇, and ṙ. In other cases they are represented by greatly reduced vowels.

27. Let us examine the vowels of the non-initial syllables.

*a

(a) *a after *a:
Mo. ala 'to kill', MMO. (SH, Mu.) aλa-, Mong. aλa-, Dag. aλa- ~ aλ-, Urd. aλa-, Kh. aλi-, Bur. aλ- id., Mog. oλa 'he kills', Kalm. aλ- 'to kill'.
Mo. aman 'mouth', MMO. (SH, Mu.) aμan, Mong. ama, Dag. ama, Urd. ama, Kh. aμañ, Bur. aμañ, Mog. amañ, Kalm. aμañ id.
(b) *a after *o:
Mo. boro < *bora 'grey', SH boro, Mu. bora, Mong. boro id., Dag. boro in the compound bortóyör 'the grey-mottled' (name of a shamanist spirit), Urd. boro, Kh. boro, Bur. boro, Mog. boró < *borá < *bora, Kalm. bor 'grey'.
Mo. oro < *ora- 'to enter', SH oro-, Mu. ora-, Mong. uro-, Dag. wóra-, Urd. oro-, Kh. or- ~ or-, Bur. oro- id., Mog. oraná 'he enters', Kalm. or- 'to enter'.

(c) *a after *u:
Mo. una- 'to fall', MMO. (SH, Mu.) una-, Mong. una-, Dag. wéana-, Urd. un-, Kh. un-, Bur. una- id., Mog. unóná 'he falls', Kalm. un- 'to fall'.
Mo. qulavāj 'thief', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qulavaj, Mong. xorqüé, Urd. xulajā, Kh. xulqū, Mog. qulavej, Kalm. xulqā ~ xulqā id.

(d) *a after *i:
Mo. sipa 'yellow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) šīra, Mong. šīra, Urd. šara, Kh. šara, Bur. šara, Mog. šira, Kalm. šar id.
Mo. miqan 'meat, flesh', MMO. (SH, Mu.) miqan, Mong. māxa, Dag. māya, Urd. māxa, Kh. māxā, Bur. miqan, Mog. miqon, Kalm. māxə id.

*u

(a) *u after *a:
Mo. amur 'peace, rest', SH amurlī- 'to be quiet, peaceful', Mu. amur 'rest', Mong. xamur- 'to rest, to relax', Dag. amul 'prosperity, felicity', Urd. amur, Kh. amur, Bur. amar, Kalm. amr 'rest'.
Mo. aluqa < *ałuqa, IM haluqa, Urd. aluqa, Kh., Kalm. alx, Mog. aluqa 'hammer'.

(b) *u after *o:
Mo. odun 'star', MMO. (H, Mu.) hodun, Shera Yögur hotun, Mong. fōdī, Dag. oddo, Urd. udu, Kh. oddu, Bur. odon, Kalm. ody id.
Mo. modun 'tree, wood', SH mudun, Mu. modun, Dag. mōd, Urd. mudu, Kh. modū, Bur. modon, Kalm. modī id.

(c) *u after *u:
Mo. usun 'water', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) usun, Mong. fudeu, Dag.
os ~ os, Urd. us, Kh. us ~ usu, Ts.B oso, Al.B Kh.B uhun, Mog. usun, Kalm. usp id.

Mo. urtu 'long', MMO. (SH, Mu.) urtu, Mong. judur, Dag. orto, Urd. urtu, Kh. uru, Bur. ula, Mog. urtu, Kalm. ur id.

(d) *u after *i:
Mo. ćisun 'blood', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ćisun, Mong. tsedn, Dag. tšus, Urd. dšusu, Kh. tšusn, Bur. šah, Mog. tšusun, Kalm. tšus id.

Mo. nidurqa 'fist', Mu. nudurqa, Mong. nudurqa, Urd. nudurqa, Kh. nudorqa, Bur. nusurqa, Kalm. nudırə id.

*e

(a) *e after *e:
Mo. ene 'this', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ene, P ene, Mong. nie, Dag. ene, Urd. ene, Kh. ėna, Bur. enə, Mog. ena, Kalm. enə id.

Mo. term 'the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent', MMO. (SH) term id., Mong. termän 'wall', Kh. těrom 'the grate of the wall', Bur. torm, Kalm. term id.

(b) *e after *ē:
Mo. őlēs < *õlēs- 'to be hungry', MMO. (SH, Mu.) őlēs-, Mong. lose-, Dag. unsur-, Urd. őlēs-, Kh. ŋlēs ~ õlēs-, Al.B öld-, Kh.B uleqi- id., Mog. ulēštän 'he is hungry', Kalm. őlēs- 'to become hungry'.

Mo. kūke 'blue', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kūke, Mong. kugoa, Dag. kuke, Urd. gōx̂x̂, Kh. řičča, Al.B čičči, Kh.B čiččo, Mog. kūká, Kalm. kūkə id.

(c) *e after *u:
Mo. ńegen 'fox', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hūngen < *钚ngen, Mong. jūnea, Dag. unuq, Urd. unege, Kh. unaga, Al.B unqeq id.

Mo. īre 'seeds, descent', P hūre, Mu. hūren 'fruit', Mong. īre id., Dag. ınt 'child, descendant', Urd. īre, Kh. ur, Bur. ur, Kalm. urə id.

(d) *e after *i:
Mo. īre- 'to come', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) īre-, Mong. re-, Dag. ir- ~
jir- id., Urd. ire-, Kh. ir-, Bur. jere- id., Mog. iränä 'he comes', Kalm. ir- 'to come'.

Mo. nigen < *niken 'one', MMO. (SH, Mu.) niken, P nik'en, Mong. nige, Dag. neg, Urd. nege, Kh. nége, Bur. negi, Mog. nikan, Kalm. negi id.

*ů

(a) *ů after *e:

Mo. ečüs 'end', SH ečüele- 'to the end, until it ends', P hel'ūs 'end', Urd. etūs, Kh. etās, Kalm. őts' id.

Mo. getul- 'to cross a river', MMO. (SH) kētāl- id., Urd. getul-, Kh. getel-, Bur. getel- id., Mog. ketulundā 'he crosses a river', Kalm. (rarely) getel- 'to cross a river'.

(b) *ů after *ō:

Mo. mōngūn 'silver', SH mūngūn, Mong. mūngū, Dag. mēngw, Urd. mungw, Kh. mūnga, Al.B mūngů, Kh.B mungę, Kalm. mōngō id.

Mo. ondār 'high', SH, P ōndār, Mu. hōndār (or hōndār?), Mong. nūdr, Dag. undūr, Urd. undār, Kh. ēndār, Al.B ēnər, Kh.B ūndér, Kalm. ūndr id.

(c) *ů after *ū:

Mo. usūn 'hair', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hūsūn < *fūsūn, Mong. fudž, Dag. usū, Urd. usw, Kh. ušsā, Kh.B uweŋ, Mog. usun, Kalm. ušē id.

Mo. škū- 'to die', MMO. (SH, Mu.) škū-, P škū-, Mong. fūgu-, Dag. uğ, Urd. uχχu-, Kh. uχχa-, Bur. uχe- id., Mog. ukuksōn 'dead', Kalm. ēk'- 'to die'.

(d) *ů after *i:

Mo. niđūn 'eye', MMO. (SH, Mu.) niđūn, Mong. nudū, Dag. niđ ̣ 'nide', Urd. nudū, Kh. nuđa, Bur. niđen, Mog. nudun, Kalm. niđi id.

Mo. ničūgūn 'naked', Mu. ničūgūn ~ ničūgūn, Mong. ničigōr, Dag. ničkō, Urd. nučwgyun, Kh. nučsagęń, Bur. nučegęń, Kalm. ničęgęń id.
28. The vowel *i preserves its character after other vowels generally better than any other vowel. Usually it remains as such, no matter what the preceding vowel is. In a few stems, however, it is assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable.

Mo. ažürü 'stallion', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ažüry, Urd. adźarga, Kh. adderqo, Bur. azarga, Kalm. aṣyə id.

Mo. ežen < *ežin < *edin 'master', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ežen, P ežen, Dagh. cėžin, Urd. cēzin, Kh. ɛddaŋ < *ežen < *edin, Al.B ɛčery, Mog. cēken, Kalm. eyʃ id.

Mo. eçige 'father', Kh. eteygo < *eçege < *eçige, Bur. eycqg id.

As stated above the vowel *i remains as such. In Buriat dialects it always tends to be assimilated. Nevertheless, the preceding consonant is palatalized in Buriat, and the consonants š (≪*ʃ, *ȳ) and ȳ (≪*ʒ) remain as ʃ and ʒ respectively. In Kalmuck *i disappears, as all vowels do.

Mo. amin 'life', MMO. (SH, Mu.) amin, Mong. ami, Dagh. amini, Urd. ami, Kh. āmiŋ, Bur. aminiŋ, Kalm. āmŋ id.

Mo. morin 'horse', MMO. (SH, Mu.) morin, Mong. mori, Dagh. mori, Urd. mori, Kh. moriŋ, Bur. moriŋ, Kalm. mörŋ, Kalm. Buzawa mörŋ id.


Mo. ekin 'beginning', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hekin, Mong. čegi 'beginning', Dagh. eki 'head', Dagh.IV. čeki, Urd. eçeqi 'source', Kh. ečeqi 'beginning', Al.B ešeqi 'source, spring', Mog. ekin 'head', Kalm. ečeqi 'source, spring'.

Mo. ökin 'daughter', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ökin 'daughter, girl', Mong. ŋudźin 'girl', Dagh. uqin 'daughter', Urd. okin, Kh. ᥞzqiqi ~ ᥞqiqi id., Al.B ŋišbüt < *ökin köbegüd 'children', Kalm. okŋi 'daughter'.

Mo. kūli- 'to bind', IM kūlhe 'he bound', Mong. kuoli-, Urd. kuuli-, Kh. čudli-, Bur. čudli- 'to bind', Mog. kuulina 'he binds', Kalm. kūli- 'to bind'.

Mo. bičig 'letter, writing', SH, Mu. bičik, P bičy, Mong. pudźig, Urd. bišiki, Kh. bišik, Bur. bəšık, Mog. bišik, Kalm. bišyk id.
29. In Pre-Mongolian there was an alternation of the vowel *i with *u and another alternation of the vowel *i with the vowel *a, i.e., *i ~ *u and *i ~ *a.

The result of this alternation is that the vowel i of one Mongolian language is replaced by another vowel in another Mongolian language.

Mo. *arasun ~ *arisun ~ *arîsun 'skin, hide', SH arasun, Mu. arasun, Mong. araș, Dag. aras ~ ars, Urd. arus, Kh. ārs, Bur. araĥan, Mog. arōsun ~ *arasun ~ *arwsun, Kalm. ārș id.

Mo. anžasun ~ *anžisun < *andisun 'plough', Mu. anžasun, Mong. ndžâse, Urd. andašu, Kh. andâs, Bur. anzaĥan < *andisun < *andisun; cf. Urd. (Wang, Jasaq) āndâs, Kalm. andâș < *andasqa < *andusqa id.

Mo. qadûrur 'sickle, scythe', Mu. qadûrtu 'for the harvest', Mong. qadîr 'sickle', Urd., Kh. ğadûr 'sickle, scythe', Kalm. ğadîr id.; cf. Bur. ğașûr < *qađiyur < *qadyur 'scythe'.

Mo. qondolaj < *qondulaj 'hip', Urd. čondolô, Kh. čondolê, Al.B čondolô, Kalm. čondolâ id.; cf. SH qonžjasun < *qondiyasun 'posterior', Mong. guändtiâse id., Al.B čonsôhoŋ < *qonžiyasun < *qondiyasun 'posterior'.

Metathesis of Vowels

30. Metathesis is a common phenomenon. A vowel following a group of two consonants may change its place and occupy the place between the consonants concerned. This affects mainly those groups of consonants of which the first is either r, l, m, or s (a).

Metathesis occurs frequently in Khalkha. A particularly frequent phenomenon is the metathesis of the vowel *i (b).

(a) Mo. qaqâl 'gate', Urd. qâlqa, Bur. qâlga id., Kalm. qâlqî 'road' = Kh. qâlqî > qâlqî 'gate'.

Mo. argy 'means, list', Urd., Bur. arqa id. = Kh. arqv ~ arqg id.

Mo. tampa 'seal, stamp', Urd., Bur. tampa, Kalm. tamyô id. = Kh. tâmgv ~ tamount id.

Mo. ēsûg 'letter', Kh. wussâk id. = Dag. wusuk 'word' ~ vuskulv < *vusâglî 'to speak'.

.
Mo. *gyaraqu* (Nom. futuri) 'to take out, to cause to come out',
Mo. *ojiiyaqu* (Nom. futuri) 'to understand', Kh. *jeljya* id. = Al.B. *jeljya* id.
(b) Mo. *adai* 'similar', Al.B *adai* id. = Kh. *adad* id.
Mo. *qatari* - 'to jump, to trot', Al.B *qatar* id. = Kh. *qatir* id.

Paragoge

31. Stems ending in liquid consonants obtain an additional *i* at the end. This occurs in Monguor, Dagur, and Urdu.
The appearance of an additional *i* is not a frequent phenomenon. It occurs in Dagur only at the absolute end of words, while in Monguor it occurs also at the end of stems.

The Long Vowels

32. The long vowels are of two kinds from the point of view of their origin. The general rule in all Mongolian languages is that the
long vowels develop from groups of sounds, namely those consisting of a vowel + a consonant + a vowel (A).

The intervocalic consonant of such a group was either *γ (and in front vocalic stems *ɡ) or *β (or *w), *η, and *m. The consonants *γ (*ɡ) and *β had converged already in Common Mongolian, whereas the consonants *η and *m were preserved for quite long a time. There are only a few examples of *η and *m disappearing in the intervocalic position.

The consonants *γ (*ɡ) and *β were represented in Ancient Mongolian only by *γ (*ɡ) which sometimes alternated with *b. This alternation occurred in cases in which the consonant in question had been *β in Pre-Mongolian. The situation in Written Mongolian is the same as in Ancient Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian *γ and *ɡ gradually disappeared, whereby identical vowels preceding and following the consonant in question were contracted into one long vowel, e.g., *ayɑ > a'ɑ or ɑ. When the vowels were different they remained uncontracted, e.g., *ayu > a'u. In most Mongolian languages spoken at the present time the contraction of the vowels into one long vowel takes place also in the latter case, e.g., *ayu > Kh. ɑ. Exceptions are the Dagur and Mogol languages in which originally different vowels in certain cases are not contracted.

There are also long vowels which have developed from short vowels (B). Contrary to the long vowels of the first type, these long vowels do not display regularity in all Mongolian languages.

(A) The Long Vowels of the First Category 33. Each group will be discussed separately.

*ayɑ

The group *ayɑ (< *ayɑ and *aβɑ) has developed into the following sounds:

(a) Mo. ɑyɑ,
MMo. ɑ'ɑ or ɑ,
Dag. ɑ,
Mong. (usually) ā, (after s) uā, (after š) ūā, and also a, 
Mog. ā and ā,
Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm. ā.
(b) Before *i of the third syllable the group *aya constituting the 
first two syllables of a stem results in Kh. āg, Bur., and Kalm. ā.
(a) Mo. saya- 'to milk a cow' (< *saya-, cf. Uig. say- id.), MMO. 
(SH) sa'a- ~ (Mu.) sā-, Dag. sā-, Mong. suā-, Urd., Kh., Kalm. 
sā-, Bur. hā- id.
Mo. ēyan < *ēayan 'white', MMO. (SH) ēya'an ~ (P) ē'aqa'an 
~ (Mu.) ēyān ~ ēqān, Dag. ēgiān, Urd. tṣaqa'n, Kh. tṣaqa'n, Bur. 
saqa'n, Kalm. tsayān id.
Mo. ulayan < *hulayan < *qulayan 'red', MMO. (SH) hula'an ~ 
(Mu.) hula'an ~ hulān, Dag. ulān, Mong. fulān, Urd. ulān, Kh., 
Bur. ulān, Mog. ulān, Kalm. ulān id.
Mo. qazayar < *qaziyar 'bridle', MMO. (Mu.) qadār, Dag. ʿadāla, 
Mong. qadar, Mog. qadar, Urd. ʿadsār, Kh. ʿadsār, Bur., Kalm. 
ʿazār id.
Mo. qayala 'gate' < *qalāya (cf. Turk. qapīy), MMO. (SH) 
qala'y 'door', Dag. ʿalāya 'gate', Dag., Mong. ʿalā 'to close', Urd. ʿalā 
'gate', Kh., Bur. ʿalāy id., Kalm. ʿalāy 'road'.
(b) Mo. sayari- 'to pass, to catch at, to offend', Mo. dabari- 'to 
pass' (< *dabari-, vgl. Turk. ṭabār- 'to touch, to hurt'), MMO. 
(SH) ṭabār-, Mong., Urd. ṭār-, Kh. ṭār-, Bur. ṭār-, Kalm. ṭār- id.
Mo. ṭayari- 'to cut, to strike off', Urd. ṭār-, Kh. ṭār-, Bur. 
ṭār-, Kalm. ṭār- id.

*ege

The group *ege (< *ege, *ebe, in rare cases *ene ~ *eme) results in:
Mo. ege (~ ebe), eme (< *ene), 
MMO. e'e or e,
Dag. ē,
Mong. iē (in presently monosyllabic stems and in the non-initial 
syllables of polysyllabic stems) and ē,
Mog. ē in the initial syllable and ō in the non-initial syllables,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ē,
Kalm. ē in the initial syllable, ē in the non-initial syllables.

Mo. degere < *degere (cf. Uig. jäg 'good') 'above', MMO. (SH, P) de’ere, Mu. dère, Dag. dër, Mong. dere, Urd. dère, Kh. dēra, Bur. dēr, Mog. dērā, Kalm. dēr* id.

Mo. seger 'vertebral column', Urd., Kh., Mog., Kalm. sēr 'back, spine'.

Mo. enegel 'saddle', MMO. (SH) emēl ~ (Mu.) emēl, Dag. emēl, Mong. inier, Urd., Kh. emēl, Bur. emēl, Mog. emēl, Kalm. emēl id.

Mo. degel ~ debel (< *debel) 'coat, fur coat', MMO. (SH) de’ēl ~ (Mu.) dēl, Mong. diēr, Urd., Kh. dēl, Bur. degel, Kalm. devel id.

Mo. degesun 'rope, string', MMO. (Mu.) dēsun, Dag. dēs, Mong. diēse, Urd. dēsu, Kh. dēs, Bur. dēqen, Kalm. dēq id.

Mo. geme ~ keme ~ *gēne- (cf. Turk. kənəš 'advice') 'to speak, to say', MMO. (SH) ke’ē ~ (P) k’e’e-, Mong. ge- id., Urd., Kh. ge- id., Mog. genə 'he speaks', Kalm. ge- 'to speak'.

Mo. kegere 'bay horse', MMO. (Mu.) keher, Urd. kēre, Kh. čēr, Al.B žejer < *kežir id.

*iği

The group *iği < *_ipv and *eği results in:
Mo. ği,
MMO. i,
Mong. ī,
Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ī.

Mo. ğirāğ < * içirāğ < * içiğirāğ 'massive', Mong. tširag 'not loosing', Urd. tširāḵ, Kh. tširok, Kalm. tširag 'solid'.

Mo. içiğan < * içiğan 'furuncle', MMO. (IM) ćiyan, Al.B şi-xan id.

Mo. içiğ < * içiğ 'dampness, moisture', Urd., Kh. tšiğ, Bur. siğ, Kalm. tiğ id.

*iğu

The group *iğu results in:
Mo. ğu,
MMo. usercontent or usercontent,  
Dag. usercontent,  
Mong. usercontent and usercontent,  
Mo. usercontent 'the male of a camel', MMo. (SH) usercontent, Urd. usercontent,  
Kh. usercontent, Kalm. usercontent id.  
Mo. usercontent 'wheat', MMo. (Mu.) usercontent (< Turkic), Mong. usercontent  
Urd. usercontent ~ usercontent, Kh. usercontent, Bur. usercontent, Kalm. usercontent 'grain'.  
Mo. usercontent 'wrong', MMo. (SH) usercontent 'mistake' ~ (Mu.) usercontent,  
Dag. usercontent 'incorrect', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. usercontent id.  
Mo. usercontent 'the first milk of a cow', Mong. usercontent, Urd. usercontent, Kh. usercontent,  
Bur. usercontent, Kalm. usercontent id.  

*usercontent  

The groups *usercontent and *usercontent < *usercontent result in:  
Mo. usercontent < *usercontent and usercontent < *usercontent,  
MMo. usercontent and usercontent,  
Dag., Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur. usercontent,  
Mong. usercontent (and usercontent), i (in the non-initial syllables),  
Kalm. usercontent.  
Mo. usercontent 'raw, uncooked', MMo. (IM) usercontent, Mong. usercontent, Urd. usercontent,  
Kh. usercontent, Bur. usercontent, Kalm. usercontent id.  
Mo. usercontent 'neck', MMo. (Mu.) usercontent ~ usercontent, Dag. usercontent,  
Mong. usercontent, Urd. usercontent, Kh. usercontent, Bur. usercontent, Mog. usercontent,  
Kalm. usercontent id.  
Mo. usercontent 'thick', MMo. (Mu.) usercontent, Mong. usercontent, Urd. usercontent,  
Kh., Bur. usercontent, Mog. usercontent, Kalm. usercontent ~ usercontent id.  
Mo. usercontent < *usercontent 'person, man, human being', MMo. (SH) usercontent ~ (P) usercontent ~ (Mu.) usercontent, Dag. usercontent ~ usercontent, Mong. usercontent,  
Urd. usercontent, Kh., Bur. usercontent (oblique cases usercontent), Kalm. usercontent  
~ usercontent id.  

34. The following groups contain different vowels. First we shall  
discuss such groups which consist of the vowel *i +  cryptocurrency(g) + a vowel  
other than *i.
The group *iya < *iya and *iβa results in different sounds, depending upon whether the vowel *i constitutes the initial (and a the second) syllable or the second syllable (the vowel *a thus forming the third syllable).

(A) In the first case, i.e., with the vowel *i constituting the initial syllable, the group *iya results in:
- Mo. iya,
- MMo. i' or ā,
- Dag. ā,
- Mong. ā,
- Urd., Kh. ā with no palatalization of the preceding consonant,
- Bur. ā with palatalization of the preceding consonant,
- Mog. iō,
- Kalm. ā without palatalization of the preceding consonant.

(B) In the latter case, i.e., when the vowel *i constitutes the second syllable, the group *iya results in:
- Mo. ija,
- MMo. ija, sometimes ā,
- Dag. ē with the preceding consonant palatalized,
- Mong. ē,
- Urd., Kh. ē, sometimes ā,
- Bur. ē with the preceding consonant palatalized,
- Mog. ā,
- Kalm. ā or ē with the preceding consonant palatalized.

(A) Mo. niya- < *niβa- 'to glue, to paste' (cf. Turk. japiš- 'to stick at'), MMo. (SH, Mu.) ni'α-, Mong. niē-, Urd., Kh. nā-, Bur. nā-, Mog. niōδu-, Kalm. nā- 'to stick at'.
- Mo. jiya- 'to demonstrate, to instruct', MMo. (SH) ji'α- ~ (Mu.) jā-, Dag. dā-, Mong. dži-, Urd. dzā-, Kh. dzā-, Bur., Kalm. zā- id.

(B) Mo. ačijan < *ačyan 'load', MMo. (SH) ači'an ~ (Mu.) ačān, Mong. ščiā- 'to load', Urd., Kh. ačā 'load', Bur. ačāŋ 'load'.
- Mo. aliya < *aliya 'frolicsome, playful', Urd., Kh. alā, Bur. aḷā, Kalm. alān ~ aḷān id.
Mo. garijatu 'subject', MMO. (SH) garijatan 'the subjects' \(\sim\) (P) garijatan 'subject, dependent on', Dag. \(\chi\text{afēt} \sim \chi\text{afāt} 'subject', Urd. \(\chi\text{arijātu} 'the immediate superior', Kh. \(\chi\text{arijātu} 'subject', Bur. \(\chi\text{afāla} id.

Mo. quriya- 'to collect, to gather', MMO. (SH) quriya- \(\sim\) (Mu.) qurt'ā-, Dag. \(\chi\text{orē}-, Mong. \(\chi\text{urū}-, Urd., Kh. \(\chi\text{urū}-, Kalm. \(\chi\text{urū}- id.

Mo. qaniya- 'to cough', Dag. \(\chi\text{nēdu}-, Mong. \(\chi\text{nā}-, Urd. \(\chi\text{nā}-, Kh. \(\chi\text{nā}-, Bur. \(\chi\text{nā}-, Kalm. \(\chi\text{nā}- \sim \(\chi\text{nā} id.

\(*\text{ige}

The group \(*\text{ige} results in the following sounds:

(A) When \(*\text{i} belongs to the non-initial syllable:

Mo. \(\text{ige},

MMO. \(\text{i}'e or \(\text{ē},

Dag. \(\text{ē},

Mong. \(\text{ē}, \text{but after } \(\text{d}ē \text{it is } \(\text{i}ē, \text{Urd., Kh. } \(\text{ē},

Bur. \(\text{ē},

Mog. \(\text{e}j, \text{Kalm. } \(\text{ē}.

(B) When \(*\text{i} belongs to a non-initial syllable:

Mo. \(\text{ije},

MMO. \(\text{i}'e or \(\text{ē},

Dag. \(\text{ē} with the preceding consonant palatalized,

Mong. \(\text{ē}, \text{Urd., Kh. } \(\text{ē},

Bur. \(\text{ē} with the preceding consonant palatalized,

Mog. \(\text{a} (\(\text{ā}) \text{with the vowel of the preceding syllable becoming a diphthong with } \(\text{i}, \text{Kalm. } \(\text{ē}.

(A) Mo. sige- 'to urinate', MMO. (SH) \(\text{sē}e\text{id.} \sim\) (Mu.) \(\text{sēbe} 'he urinated' \(\sim\) (IM) \(\text{sēsūn} 'urine', Mong. \(\text{sē} 'to urinate', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. \(\text{sē}i\text{id.}, \text{Mog. } \(\text{sejsūn} 'urine'.

Mo. \(\text{sige} 'grandchild, son or daughter of the daughter', Dag. \(\text{dējē} 'nephew', Mong. \(\text{dējē} 'the child of the daughter or of the sister', Urd. \(\text{dējē}, \text{Kh. } \(\text{dējē}, \text{Bur., Kalm. } \(\text{ē}.

(B) Mo. erējen 'motley, dappled', Urd. \(\text{erēn}, \text{Kh. } \(\text{erēn}, \text{Bur. } \(\text{erēn}, \text{Kalm. } \(\text{erēn} id.

5 — Poppe
Mo. *kerije 'crow', MMO. (SH) *ker'i'e ~ *ker'e' ~ (Mu.) *ker'i'.

Mo. *ünejen 'cow', MMO. (SH) *üm'ën ~ *ün'ejen ~ (Mu.) *ün'ejen.

*iwu

The group *iwu results in the following sounds:

(A) When *i belongs to the initial syllable:
Mo. iwu,
MMO. i'u,
Dag. a,
Mong. iû,
Urd. a,
Kh. a, rarely uû,
Bur. a with the preceding consonant palatalized,
Mog. uû,
Kalm. a, sometimes û,

(B) When *i belongs to the second syllable:
Mo. *iwu,
MMO. i'u or iju; a after ş, è or ô,
Dag. ā,
Mong. i,
Urd. ā, iû,
Kh. ā and sometimes ū,
Bur. ā with the preceding consonant palatalized,
Mog. ū,
Kalm. ā.

(A) Mo. ni'u 'face', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ni'ur, Mong. niûr, Urd.,
Kh. niûr, Bur. niûr, Mog. niûr, Kalm. niûr id.

Mo. *niwu~ 'to hide', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ni'u~, Mong. niû~, Urd.,
Kh. niû~, Bur. niû~, Kalm. niû~ id.

Mo. niwu~ 'son, boy', MMO. (SH) no'um, Dag. nûn id.

(B) Mo. qariyu 'answer, return', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qari'u, Dag.
çarû, Mong. çari, Urd. çarû, Kh. çarû, Bur. çarû, Kalm. çarû id.

Mo. qaliyun 'otter; dark coat of a horse', MMO. (SH) qali'un 'a brown horse' ~ (Mu.) qali'un 'beaver', Urd. qaliün 'coat of a horse',
Kh. qaliûn id., Bur. qaliûn 'otter', Kalm. qaliûn 'otter, dark color of a horse'.

*igû

The group *igû results in:
Mo. igû,
MMo. ī'ū,
Dag. īū,
Mong. i, īū,
Urd., Kh. īū,
Bur. īū with the preceding consonant palatalized,
Kalm. īū.

Mo. serigūn 'cool, fresh', MMO. (SH) serīū'-to cool off, to become cool' ~ (Mu.) serīūn ~ serūn, Dag. serūn̂, Mong. sarūn, Urd. serūn, Kh. serūn̂, Bur. hērūn̂, Kalm. serūn 'cool'.

Mo. terigūn 'head, beginning, first, initial', MMO. (SH) terīūn ~ (IM) terūn id., Dag. tuurūn̂ 'beginning', Mong. turū 'head', Urd., Kh. tuurū 'head', Bur. tuurūn̂ 'initial', Kalm. ārūn 'beginning'.

35. In this section the groups *ayu, *aβ̣, *eg̣, and *eβ̣ will be discussed. The developments of these groups display a great variety.

*ayu

Mo. ayu,
MMO. a'ū,

Dag. ay in originally disyllabic stems with the second syllable closed and also in tri-syllabic stems (a);

(d) or īū when a of the group *ayu belongs to a non-initial syllable (b);

(d) in originally disyllabic stems with the second syllable open(c),
Mong. īū, rarely u; in the non-initial syllables o (before ē it is d);
Urd., Kh., Bur. īū,

Mog. õu ~ û,

Kalm. û through *ou (the vowel o of the intermediate group

*ou has transformed the vowel i of the initial syllable into o).

(a) Mo. ayur 'anger', MMO. (SH, Mu.) a'ur, Dag. ayr, Mong., Urd.,
Kh., Bur. ār, Kalm. ār id.

Mo. ayuski 'lungs', MMO. (SH) a'ušk̡i ~ (Mu.) a'ušk̡i, Dag.
ayk̡i, Urd. āšk̡i, Kh. āšk̡i ~ āšg̡, Bur. āšg̡, Kalm. ōsku (an anomalous development) 'lungs'.

(b) Mo. sibayun 'bird', MMO. (SH) šiba' un ~ (Mu.) šiba'un id.,
Dag. ṣonū 'a bird of prey trained to catch birds', Mong. ṣū, Urg. ṣūnū, Kh. ṣonū, Bur. ṣūnū, Oir. ṣiboun, Kalm. ṣonūn 'bird'.

Mo. ėilayun 'stone, rock', MMO. (SH) ėilo'un ~ (P) ėila'un, Dag. thōlā, Urg. thōlū, Kh. thūlā, Bur. ūlūn, Oir. ėiloun, Kalm. ūlūn id.

Mo. qatayu 'hard', MMO. (Mu.) qata'ū, Dag. xatū, Mong. xadōn, Urg. qatū, Kh., Bur., Kalm. xatū id.

Mo. qalayun 'hot', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qala'un, Dag. xalōn, Mong. xalōn, Urg. xalūn, Kh., Bur. xalūn, Mog. qalōun ~ qalūn, Kalm. xalūn id.

(c) Mo. sayu- 'to sit', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) sa'ũ, Dag. sō-, Mong., Urg., Kh. sū- id., Mog. sōwen 'he sits', Kalm. sū- 'to sit'.

Mo. daayuda- 'to call', MMO. (SH) da'ũn 'voice' ~ (Mu.) da'ũn id., Dag. dō 'voice', dōd- 'to call', Mong., Urg., Kh. dū 'voice', Bur. dūn, Mog. dōwn, Kalm. dūn 'voice'.

*aβ*

The group *aβ results in the following sounds:

Mo., MMO., Dag. au,
Mong., Urg., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ā,
Mog. ūn.

Mo. taulaj < *taulaj (cf. Turk. taŭqan, taŭşan 'hare') 'hare', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ta'ulaj, Dag. taŭlē, Mong. táli, Urg. túlā, Kh. túlē, Bur. túlā, Kalm. túlā ~ túlā id.

Mo. aŭyan 'the elder son', Urg. āyan, Kh. āyen, Bur. āyan, Kalm. āyən id.

*eγū*

The group *eγū results in the following sounds:

Mo. egū,
MME. eũ,
Dag. egw when *g follows the vowel *e of the first syllable (a),
ũ when the vowel *e belongs to a non-initial syllable (b),
Mong. ü, after d it is ū,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ū,
Mog. ūu,
Kalm. ū.

(a) Mo. degūu 'the younger brother', MMo. (SH, Mu.) de'ū ~ (Mu.) dū, Dag. deu, Mong. diū, Urd., Kh., Bur. dū, Mog. dōun, Kalm. dū id.
Mo. negū- 'to move to another place, to migrate', MMo. (SH, Mu.) ne'ū-, Urd., Kh., Bur. nū-, Mog. nōu-, Kalm. nū- id.
Mo. gęgū 'mare', MMo. (SH) ge'n id. ~ (Mu.) gu'ūndū 'to the mare', Dag. gęk̮ 'mare', Mong. gū, Urd., Kh. gū, Bur. gūn, Kalm. gūn id.

(b) Mo. kečgū 'difficult, dangerous', MMo. (SH) keć'ūn ~ (Mu.) kečū, Dag. kečū, Urd. getšū, Kh. četsū, Bur. četsū, Kalm. ketsū id.

*eβ

The group *eβ results in:
Mo. eū,
MMo. e'ū,
Dag. eū.
Mong. ē,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ū,
Mog. ūu,
Kalm. ū.

Mo. keč 'son', kečken 'child, girl', MMo. (SH) kö'ün 'son' ~ (P) k'e'ūn ~ (Mu.) kün id. ~ (Mu.) ke'ūt 'sons' ~ (SH) kö'üken 'child' ~ (Mu.) kūken id., Dag. keč'e 'son, child', Mong. kū 'son, boy', Urd. kū, Kh. čū 'son, boy', Bur. čēk̮ 'girl', Mog. köon 'son, child', Mog. köuk̮ 'children', Kalm. kūk̮ 'girl'.


This group results in:

(A) in cases in which it is not followed by the vowel *i:

Mo. oya,
MMo. o’a ~ o’o,
Dag. ō in monosyllabic stems,
oga in disyllabic and polysyllabic stems,
Mog. oo,
Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ō.

(B) in cases in which it is followed by the vowel *i:

Mo. oya or oyo,
MMo. o’o or ō,
Dag. ō,
Urd. ō, Kh. ō, Bur. and Kalm. ō.

(A) Mo. toya ‘number’, MMo. (SH) to’a ~ (SH) to’o ~ (Mu.) to’an ~ (Mu.) tōn, Dag. tō, Mog. toa, Mong. tōr, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. tō id.

Mo. toyla- ‘to count’, Dag. tyala- id., Mog. toalanā ‘he counts’.

(B) Mo. toyorī- < *toyari- ‘to turn’, MMo. (SH) to’ori- ‘to turn, to go around’ ~ (Mu.) tōriba ‘he turned around’, Dag. tōri- ‘to go on a walk’, Urd. tōri-, Kh. tōṛv-, Bur. tōr-, Kalm. tōr- ‘to go around’.

*ōβ

This group occurs rarely. It results in:

Mo. ō, 
Dag. ō, 
Kh., Bur. ů, 
Kalm. ō.

Mo. qou ‘all’ (cf. Turk. qop ‘many’), Dag. 𨑠, Kh., Bur. 𨑠, Kalm. 𨑠 id.

*uŋa

The group *uŋa results (through an intermediate *oŋa) in different sounds, which depend upon whether *u belongs to the initial syllable (A) or to a non-initial syllable (B).

(A) Mo. oŋo, 
MMo. o’a ~ o’a > o’o, 

(B) Mo. uŋa, 
MMo. o’a,
Dag. ə,
Mog. va,
Mong. ə,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ə,
Kalm. ə,
Dag. ə,
Mog. ə,
Mong. ə or o,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ə,
Kalm. ə with the vowel *i of the initial syllable developing into o under the influence of the vowel *o of the intermediate group *oya.

(A) Mo. qorosun < *quyasun 'empty, dry', MMO. (SH) qorosun ~ (Mu.) quyasun (or qorosun?) id., Mog. quanä 'he dries', Mong. ʒoːd-seŋ 'empty', Urd. ʒosom, Kh. ʒosom, Bur. ʒosom, Kalm. ʒosø 'empty'.

(B) Mo. ʒiruya 'amber', Dag. ʒirə, Mog. ʒirə, Mong. ʒirə, Urd. ʒirə, Kh. ʒirə, Al.B žirə, Ekh.B jorə, Kalm. ʒirə id.

Mo. ʒiruyan 'six', MMO. (SH) ʒirvo'ın ~ (P) ʒirvo'ın ~ (Mu.) ʒirvo'ın (or ʒirvo'ın?), Dag. ʒirgən, Mong. ʒirgən, Al.B żorgən, Ekh.B jorgən (cf. Urd. dəergyə, Kh. dzərgə, Kh.B zərgən, Kalm. zərgən id. which are anomalous forms).

*βə

This group has resulted in:

Mo. va,
MMo. o (~ ə),
Dag. ə,
Mog. ə,
Mong (?)
Urd. o,
Kh. ə,
Bur. o,
Kalm. ə.

Mo. ɕinya < *təŋə 'wolf', MMO. (SH) čino ~ (Mu.) činä, Mog. tɕinä, Urd. tsonö, Kh. tsonö, Bur. tsonö, Kalm. tsonö id.

Mo. irya < *irə 'omen', Dag. irə 'blessing, benediction', Urd. joro, Kh. jorə, Bur. joro, Kalm. jorə 'omen'.
*uða

This group has developed, through the intermediate stage *ọba,
into the following sounds:

Mo. ụwa (= ụwa) ~ oo,
MMo. ọ'a,
Urdu, Kh., Bur. ọ,
Kalm. ọ (only in the initial syllable).
Mo. ọoqur < *ćuqur < *ćuqur 'speckled' (cf. Turk. ğurar),
Dag. tōxor, Urdu. tōxor, Kh. tōxor, Bur. sōxor, Kalm. sōxə id.
Mo. quwa 'yellowish' (a horse color), MMo. (SH) qo'ačin (fem.)
'grey, whitish', Urdu. ćo 'bright yellow', Kh. uχα < *χu (metathesis),
AgaB χuα, Kalm. ćo 'fair yellow'.
Mo. quwa 'beautiful, pretty', MMo. (SH) yo'a, Dag. goji < Kh.,
Urdu. ọo ~ ọo id., Kalm. ọo 'straight'; Kh. goji < *ọo, Bur. gojo id.

*ọge

The group *ọge (< *ọge and *ọbe) results in:

Mo. ọge,
MMo. ọ'e,
Dag. ọ,
Mog. ọa,
Mong. ọ,
Urdu. ọ,
Kh., Bur. ọ,
Kalm. ọ.
Mo. bọgere < *bọgere (cf. Turk. bəhɾak etc.) 'kidney', MMo. (SH,
IM) bọre, Dag. bər, Mog. bərə, Mong. bəro, Urdu. bərə, Kh. bər,
Bur. bərə, Kalm. bəɾə id.
Mo. ọgede 'upwards' (cf. Mo. ọge- 'to go upstream'), MMo. (SH)
ọ'ede 'upstream', Mog. ọadda 'upwards', Urdu. ọdə, Kh., Bur. ọda,
Kalm. ọdə id.
*üge

The group *üge, depending upon whether the vowel *ü belonged to the initial syllable (A) or to the second syllable (B), results, through the intermediate stage *üge, in the following sounds:

(A) The vowel *ü belonged to the initial syllable:

Mo. ọge,
MMo. ọ̀e, 
Dag. ọ̀, 
Mong. ọ̀, 
Urd. ọ̀.
Kh., Bur. ọ̀, 
Kalm. ọ̀,

(B) The vowel *ü belonged to a non-initial syllable:

Mo. ọge,
MMo. ọ̀e ～ ọ̀e, 
Dag. ọ̀ ～ ẹ̀, 
Mong. ọ̀, 
Urd. ọ̀.
Kh., Bur. ọ̀, 
Kalm. ọ̀ with the vowel *i of the initial syllable becoming ọ under the influence of the intermediate *üge.

(A) Mo. bọge ～ *büge 'shaman' (cf. Turk. büğü 'wise'), MMo. (SH) bọ̀e, Mong. bọ̀, Urd. bọ̀, Kh., Bur. bọ̀, Kalm. bọ̀ id.

Mo. ẓọge ～ *ţọge- 'to transport' (cf. Turk. jük 'load'), MMo. (SH) ẓọ̀e ～ (Mu.) ẓọ̀be 'he transported', Mong. dźiô- 'to transfer', Urd. dźı̀, Kh. dźı̀, Bur. zı̀, Kalm. zı̀- id.

(B) Mo. edüge 'now, presently', MMo. (SH) edòe (the intermediate stage *dọ̀e) ～ (P) edūe, Dag. edě id.

Mo. irüge ～ *hirüger < *pirüger 'benediction', MMo. (SH, P) hirū'er ～ (Mu.) hirér id., Mong. šūrō- 'to say benedicitions, to pray', Urd. ōrō- id., ōrōl 'benediction', Kh. jōrūl, Ekh.B ērūr, Kalm. jōrēl id.

Mo. čilüge 'free space, free time, leisure, freedom', Urd. tšolā, Kh. tšolā, A.H svolā, Kh.B swolā, Kalm. tšölē id.

(B) The Long Vowels of the Second Category

37. As remarked above there are long vowels originating from short vowels. In many cases long vowels correspond to short vowels of the Written Mongolian language. These correspondences, however, are not consistent.
(a) First of all, a relatively consistent correspondence is that of long vowels to Written Mongolian short vowels in monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel, i.e., in stems the only syllable of which is open.

Mo., MMO. (SH, P) a- 'to be', Dag. ā- id.; in all the remaining Mongolian languages only single forms of this verb are preserved, and the vowel remains short: cf. Al.B aša 'being', Kalm. sāndhā < *aysan aši 'was', etc.

Mo. ki- < *qi- 'to do, to make, to put', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ki- ~ (P) k‘i- id. ~ (Mu) qildubalar (a reciprocal verb) 'they did mutually', Dag. ki- 'to do', Mog. kenā ~ kinā 'he does', Mong. gi- 'to do', Urd. ki-, Kh. ji- id., ḡilğu 'to cause someone to do', Bur. či- 'to do', Bur. ẓūl- 'to cause to do', Kalm. ke- 'to do'.

Mo. sūn 'milk', MMO. (Mu.) sūn, Dag. sū, Mog. sun, Mong. sun, Kh. sū, Ekh.B hūŋ (but accusative is hūjə) id.

(b) Sometimes the vowel is long in monosyllabic stems ending • in a consonant, i.e., in closed syllables:

Mo. on 'year', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hon, Dag. ọh, Dag. Iv. čuan, Mong. jān, Urd. on, Kh. ọn, Bur. ọn, Kalm. on id.

(c) In original disyllabic and polysyllabic stems the initial syllable sometimes becomes long in Dagur:

Mo. modun 'tree', MMO. (SH) mudun, Dag. mōd, Mong. mōdi, Urd. mudu, Kh. moddo, Bur. modon, Mog. modun, Kalm. modj id.

Mo. yadana 'outside', MMO. (SH) yadā ~ (Mu.) yadādu < *yada-yadu 'outer', Dag. ĝad 'out', Mong. qada 'outside', Urd., Kh. qadā 'out', Bur., Kalm. qadā id., Mog. yadana 'outside'.

(d) The lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable is a phenomenon particularly frequent in the Monguor language. The general rule seems to be that the original short vowels *a and *o become long before the vowel *u of the second syllable, and similarly, the primary *o becomes long before the vowel *u:

Mong. āba < *abu 'father' = Mo. abu, Kh. ābu, Kalm. ābu id.
Mong. dāzu 'the name of an ancient garment of Monguor women' = Mo. daçu 'fur coat', MMO. (SH) daqu id., Urd. daçu 'a short jacket', Kh. daçu 'fur coat', Bur., Kalm. daçu id.
Mong. dālī 'shoulder' = Mo., MMo. dalu 'scapula', Urdu. dalu, Kh. dalū, Mog. dōlū id.

Mong. dāri- 'to press, to squeeze' = Mo., MMo. daru-, Dag. dara-, Urd. daru-, Kh. daru-, Kalm. dar- id., Mog. darunā 'he squeezes'.

Mong. dōli- 'to lick' = Mo. dolija- ~ doluya- < *dalya- id., MMo. (Mu.) dolāba 'he licked', Urd., Kh. dolō- 'to lick', Bur. dolō-, Kalm. dolā- id.

Mong. fōdi 'star' = Mo. odun, MMo. (H, Mu.) hodun, Dag. od ~ oddo, Urd. udu, Kh. oddu, Bur. odū, Kalm. odṛ id.

Mong. fōdi 'feather' = Mo. ōdún, MMo. (Mu.) hūdūn, Dag. uduus, Urd. udu, Kh. ōddu, Kalm. ōḍṛ id.

(e) In a few cases the length of the vowel is of compensatory nature in Monguor:

Mong. āšē 'livestock, domestic animals' = Mo. adyusun, MMo. (SH) adusun, Dag. adasa < *adusu, Al.B adahay id.

Mong. ɣidaša- 'to separate' = Mo. qyala-, Urd. ɣaqtši-, Kh. ɣayotš- id.

(f) In a number of stems the vowels of the non-initial syllables become long in Dagur and Monguor, while they are short in the remaining Mongolian languages. It is possible that this phenomenon is due to emphasis.

Dag. ɣndūy 'egg' = Mo. ɣndegen, MMo. (SH, Mu.) ōndegen, Mog. ṣndāyün, Mong. ndige (disappearance of the initial vowel), Urd. ōndōgō, Kh. ɣndag, Al.B ɣndīgī, Kalm. ōndēgī id.

Dag. uqīn 'daughter' = Mo. őkin ~ őkin id., Al.B ōśibūt < *őkin kōbēgūd 'children', Kalm. őkπ 'daughter'.

Dag. ʒongər 'yellowish brown' (cf. Tungus near Barguzin koy-gər id.) = Mo. qonjor < *qonjar, Urd. ʒongor, Kh. ʒongur id.

Dag. ajdūy ~ airdūy 'terrible' = Mo. ajyulaq 'one who is to be feared'.

Dag. narīŋ 'thin' = Mo. narin, Mong. narin, Urd. narin, Kh. narīn, Bur. narīzun id.

Dag. -lā- (suffix of denominal verbs) = Mo. -la-, Mog. -la-, Mong. -la-, Urd. -la-, Kh. -la-, etc., e.g., Dag. darxalā- 'to forge' = Mo. darqala- id. (cf. Tungus darkalā- id., Yakut -lā-, etc.).


The Diphthongs

38. The so-called diphthongs in Written Mongolian are combinations of the type Vowel + ji, e.g., sayin 'good'. In Common Mongolian there were forms of the type *baji- 'to stand, to be' = Mo. bajī- id. which correspond to Khalkha baj- (in simplified transcription, but in fine transcription this is bā-j-).

The groups of the type *aji, *oji, etc. in many cases developed from *ayi, *ayi, etc. or *ayi, *ayi, etc.

In Pre-Mongolian there still existed groups of the type *ayi, *ayi, e.g., Mo. sajin < *sayin 'good' = Turk.: Uigur sav 'healthy'; Mo. qajik < *qaqits 'scissors' = Turk.: Yakut kipti id., etc.

When *i gradually became *i the latter palatalized the consonant *γr (*β), and *ayi became *ayi > *ayi (and *ayi became *ayi > *ayi). Hence the Common Mongolian *aji resulted.

In Ancient Mongolian there were already *aji, *oji, etc. The spelling of the Written Mongolian preserves this stage, e.g., Mo. aji < *ayi < *ayi 'yurt, neighbour', cf. Turk. aγil 'corral'.

In Middle Mongolian the groups aji, oji, etc. still existed as such, e.g., the spelling of the hP'ags-pa script still renders them as aji, oji, etc., for instance, P sajin 'good', talaji 'sea', ejimā 'such one'. At the end of words, however, P has only ej and yē, and not ej or uji, e.g., k'ē 'wind', arvū 'clean', etc. In the Secret History there are such forms as aji 'a camp of yurts', ejimā 'such one', but at the end of words only aji occurred, cf. noqaj 'dog' (and also ej, uji, e.g., kej 'wind', buj 'he is', etc.), although sometimes at the end of words the group uji is found, e.g., boluji 'is'.

In Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian the initial syllables still have aji, e.g., ajilya 'he scared' = Mo. ajiya- 'to scare', Kh. ailγa-
id., whereas in the non-initial syllables the group *aji is always represented by aj, e.g. dala'i 'sea'.

The correspondences in the Mongolian languages are as follows.

*aji

The group *aji results in different sounds, depending upon whether *a constitutes the initial (and ji the second) syllable (a) or a non-initial one (b). Besides, *aji undergoes, in certain languages, the influence of the vowel *o of the initial syllable and, consequently, *a becomes o (c).

(a) The group *aji constitutes the first two syllables:

Mo., MMo. aji, at the end aj,       Mo., MMo. aji, at the end aj,
Dag. aji, ā,    (ā),          Dag. aji, ā,
Mog. aï (ūi),       Mog. ēi,            Mong. ē, sometimes ēi,
Urd. ā,        Urd. ā,
Kh. ē,         Kh. ē,
Kh.B ē,         Kh.B ē,
Al.B ā (ā),       Al.B ā,
Kalm.D ā,       Kalm.D ā,
Kalm.T ā,       Kalm.T ā.

(b) The group *aji in other positions:

(a) Mo. sajin 'good', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) sajin id., Dag. sāiṣiŋ 'beautiful', Mog. sōiŋ 'good', Mong. sön, Urd. sān, Kh. sāiŋ, Kh.B hāiŋ, Al.B hāiŋ, Kalm. sān 'good'.
Mo. čai (< Chinese) 'tea', Dag. čē, Urd. čā, Kh. čā, Al.B čā, Kalm. čā id.

(b) Mo. dalai 'sea', MMo. (P) talaij ~ (SH, Mu.) dalai, Dag. dalaj, (Mog. does not have this word, but cf. yōqiŋ 'hog' = Mo. yaqaj id.), Mong. dalē, Urd. dalā, Kh. dalē, Al.B dalā, Kalm.D dalā, Kalm.T dalā id.
Mo. qaraqi- 'to jump', Dag. xara-, Urd. xara-, Kh. xara-ē, Al.B xara- id.

(c) *aji when influenced by the vowel *o of the initial syllable:
Mo. aği, at the end of words aği ~ aği,

MMo. aği,

Mog. eği,

Mong. ế; uế after _eye,

Urd. ṭ, ṭe

Kh. ṭe ~ ṭe, ṭe

Kh.B ṭe ~ ṭe, ṭe

Al.B ṭ, ṭe

Kalm.D ṭ, ṭe

Kalm.T ṭ, ṭe


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*egi

(a) The group *egi constituting the first two syllables:

Mo. eği, final eği,

MMo. eği, P usually has eği at the beginning of words,

Dag. ği, ği, *ığı

Mog. eği, (P)

Mong. ế, ế

Urd., Kh. i, i

Bur. ế, ế ~ ế

Kalm. ế, ế

(b) The group *egi in other positions:

Mo. eği, in final position eği,

MMo. eği, P eği,

Dag. eği, *eği, lagi

Mog. (P)

Kalm. ế

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(a) Mo. ejimū 'such one', MMo. (SH) ejimū ~ (P) ejimū, Dag. ejimr id., Urd. īm 'in this manner', Kh. īm 'such one', Al.B īmr, Kalm. īmr id.

Mo. tejimū 'of that kind, such as that', MMo. (SH) tejimū ~ (P) tejimr, Dag. tejimr id., Urd. īm, Kh. īm, Bur. īmr, Kalm. īmr id.
(b) Mo. delekej 'universe, world', MMO. (SH) delegej 'large' ~ (P) delegej id., Dag. delek‘i 'the surface of the earth', Urd. deleki, Kh. delki, Bur. delez‘a, Kalm. dekte id.

*oji

The group *oji constitutes only the first two syllables of stems, i.e., *o occurs only in the initial syllable (a). In other positions it is of secondary origin, resulting from *oji after the vowel *o of the initial syllable (vide supra) or from the group *wooji (b).

(a) *oji constituting the first two syllables:
Mo., MMO. ojoj,
Dag. qaj in presently monosyllabic stems or before *a of the following syllable; wqaj in initial position in otherwise similar conditions,

oj before vowels other than *a,
Mog. oj,
Mong. o in presently monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel (i.e., when the syllable is open),
ud in disyllabic stems after the deep-velar consonant ẑ,
ë in other disyllabic stems and after f in monosyllabic stems,
i sometimes in disyllabic stems,
Urd. ẑi,
Kh., Kh.B ẑi,
Al.B ẑ ~ ū,
Kalm. ẑ id.

Mo. oj 'forest', MMO. (SH) hoj; Mong. jţ, Urd. ẑi, Kh. ẑi, Al.B ū, Kalm. ẑ id.

Mo. ojira 'near', MMO. (SH) ojira, Dag. wqajr, Mog. ojro, Urd. oţro, Kh. oţro, Al.B ẑro, Kalm. ẑro id.

Mo. qojina 'after, behind', MMO. (SH, P) qojina, Dag. xajna, Mog. qoja, Mong. xunno, Urd. xoţno, Kh. xoţno, Al.B xoţno, Kalm. xoţno id.
Mo. nojitan 'wet', MMO. (SH) nojitan, Mong. nitiin, Urd. noqton, Kh. noqton, Al.B noqton, Kalm. noqy id.

Mo. mojilsun 'bird-cherry', MMO. (SH) mojilsun, Dag. mojī, Kh. moqī ~ moqīs id.

(b) oj < *oj < *uṣaṁ:
The group *uṣaṁ > *uṣa, occurring in the non-initial syllables in Common Mongolian, developed into o'aj at an early stage and finally resulted in the following sounds:

Mo. oj,
MMO. (SH) o'aj,
Urd. ə,
Kh. *ɛ,
Kh.B *ɛ,
Al.B ə,
Kalm.D ā,
Kalm.T ā.

Mo. siroj 'dust, earth', MMO. (SH) siro'aj, Mong. širu < *sirayu,

*uji

The group *uji < *uṣa and *uṣi results in the following sounds:

(a) *uji constituting the first two syllables:
Mo. uji,
MMO. uji,
Dag. oaj before *a of the following syllable; oṣa in the same position but at the beginning of words,
Mog. uǐ,
Mong. u-encoded velar consonants; usually u;
sometimes u at the beginning,
Urd. už
Kh. už (už)
Al.B ői
Kalm. ő

(a) Mo. užila- 'to weep, to cry', MMo. (SH) užila- ~ (Mu.) užila-
Dag. užai-, Khar. uži- id., Mog. užâna 'he is weeping', Mong. ulâ-
'to weep', Urd. uža-, Kh. užâ-., Al.B őžâ-, Kalm. őž- id.

Mo. užita- 'narrow', MMo. (H) hêtaa- ~ (Mu.) užâna, Mong.
ulâna ~ jâtan, Urd. užâna, Kh. užâ, Al.B őžâ, Kalm. őžâ id.

Mo. gurâmmâi- ~ gurânmâi 'beggar', MMo. (SH) gurâ- 'to beg' ~
(Mu.) gurâni 'beggar', Dag. gurâ- 'to beg, to ask', Mong. gušâla- 'to
beg, to ask for alms', Urd. gušramâi 'beggar', Kh. gušrântâ, Al.B
gurânsâ id., Kalm. ĝâ- ~ ĝâ- 'to beg', ĝûntâ 'beggar'.

(b) Mo. qaranqû; 'darkness, dark', MMo. (SH, Mu.) qaranqû, Dag.
xaranqûi, Mog. qaranqû; Mong. xaranqû, Urd. xaranqû, Kh. xar-
xângêi, Al.B xaranqû, Kalm. xâranqû id.

*ôji

The group *ôji converged with *ūji in most Mongolian languages
at an early date. It constituted the first two syllables, i.e., *ô belonged
to the initial syllable. This group has developed into the following
sounds:

Mo. už (or ū),
MMo. (SH) ôji,
Dag. uži,
Mong. ő; after k it is uy or už,
Urd. ői ( ~ uy, ő),
Kh. uži,
Al.B ői (seldom ő),
Kalm. ő.

Mo. sužke < *sûžke (cf. Turk.: Kirgis sôkó) 'earring', MMo.
(Mu.) sužke (or sužke?), Mong. sâže, Urd. sužâ, Kh. sûžâ, Al.B hiza,
Kalm. sîkô id.

Mo. kûtâ < *kûtâ (< *kûži (cf. kû-r, kû-l-dô- 'to freeze')

4 — Poppe
'cold', MMo. (SH) koyten id., Dag. kuqaq, Mong. kuutian, Urd. kulton ~ kuqiten ~ kiten, Kh. quiqan, Al.B quiqen, Kalm. kitg id.

Kalm. kilqg 'shirt' < Turk.: Uzbek koylak id.

Kalm. di~ dû- 'to be puzzled, to be scared, to be embarrassed', Al.B döjä 'stupid', döjar- 'to be stupefied, to be silly' (cf. Turk.: Yakut döj- 'to become stupid').

*üji

The group *üji results in different sounds, depending upon whether *u of the group belongs to the initial syllable (a) or a non-initial syllable (b).

(a) the resulting vowel constitutes the initial syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>üi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO. (SH)</td>
<td>üi, (P) üe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh., Kh.B</td>
<td>uj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al.B</td>
<td>üi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) the resulting vowel constitutes a non-initial syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(SH)</td>
<td>üi, (P) üe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>wi~üi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh., Kh.B</td>
<td>üi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al.B</td>
<td>üi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Mo. üile 'work, deed', MMO. (SH, Mu.) üile id. ~ (P) ücles 'deeds', Dag. wijd- 'to do', Mong. ulie 'deed, work', Urd. uile, Kh. üjl id., Al.B ülb 'needlework', Kalm. ülb 'work'.

Mo. üime- 'to hustle, to be solicitous, to be fiddling up and down', Urd. wiime-, Kh. üjmar-, Kalm. üm- id.

Mo. tujmar- 'fire, blast, conflagration', Urd. tujmar, Kh. tujmar, Al.B tâjmar, Kalm. tâm- id.

(b) Mo. tedui 'the size of; so much', MMO. (SH) tedui ~ (P) tedue, Urd. teđi~tedii, Kh. üdii, Al.B teđi, Kalm. teđâ ~ têdû id.

39. There are irregular developments of the diphthongs. They affect mainly suffixes. Such a suffix is, e.g., -taq of the comitative case:

Mo. -taq,

MMo. (P) -l'aji,
Dag. -pi / -ti,
Mong. -dɨ,
Urd. -tə / -ti,
Kh. -tə,
Ts.B -ti,
Kh.B -tə,
AgA B -tə / -tə,
Al.B -tə,
Kalm.D -tə / -te,
Kalm.T -tə / -te.


40. The final diphthongs are characteristic of ancient feminine forms. The masculine forms occurred without the final i:

(a) In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian there is an alternation of the final diphthong uŋ with u corresponding to a short vowel in spoken languages:

Mo. mayûj ∼ mayu 'bad, evil', MMo. (SH) ma'uij id. ∼ (IM) ma'uillabâ 'he reproached, cursed', Dag. mə < *mayu, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. mii < *mayu 'bad, evil'.

Mo. ayûj ∼ ayu 'large, vast', MMo. (SH) a'uij ∼ (P) a'uij ∼ (Mu.) a'u, Mong. ā, Urd. ādəm < *ayu'jim < *ayudəm id., Kh. ādəm, Al.B ṣəm, Kalm. u < *ayu 'vast'.


(b) The alternation -ai ∼ -a occurs in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian in the suffix -*ya of the Nomen imperfecti:

Mo. -yañ (rarely and only in old texts) ∼ -ya, MMo. (SH) -'aj ∼ (P) -'ajɨ, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. -a < *-ya id.
41. Final diphthongs are dropped in many cases in Dagur:

Dag. ɣay ~ ɣaɣa 'hog, pig' = Mo. yaqai, MMO. (Mu.) yaqai, Mog. yœqê, Mong. ɣaqê, Urd. ɣaɣa, Kh. ɣaxê, Al.B ɣaxa, Kalm.D ɣaxa, Kalm.T ɣaɣa id.

Dag. ɣdœl 'sinciput, crown of the head' = Mo. ɣulai, Urd. dœulâ, Kh. dzulê < *ɣulai, Al.B dzolo < *ziluya, Kalm. zulâ < *zulai id.

Dag. noy 'dog' = Mo. noqai, MMO. (SH, Mu.) noqai, Mog. noqêi, Mong. noqê, Urd. noqê, Kh. noqê, Al.B noqê, Kalm.D noqê, Kalm.T noqê id.

Dag. mayal < *maqala 'cap' = Mo. malayaj, MMO. (SH, Mu.) maqalaj, Mog. malajî, Mong. marga, Urd. malâqā, Kh. malqê, Al.B malâqā, Kalm.D maqlâ, T maqlâ id.

Dag. maŋil 'forehead' = Mo. maŋlaj, MMO. (SH, Mu.) maŋlaj, Mong. maŋli, Urd. maŋnâ, Kh. maŋnê, Kalm.D maŋnâ, Kalm.T maŋnâ id.

42. Vocalic harmony is a phenomenon common to all Altaic languages. It is developed in the Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu-Tungus languages, and its traces are found in Korean.

Vocalic harmony is an old phenomenon in Mongolian. Being inherited from Common Altaic, it existed also in Common Mongolian.

Vocalic harmony is manifested by the fact that in one and the same stem only back or only front vowels may occur. This means that one and the same word may contain only *a, *o, *u, *i or only *e, *o, *u, *i.

The vowel *i converged with *i long ago and the latter became a neutral vowel. Now it may occur in stems with any vowels.

The vowel *i of the second syllable has transformed the back vowel of the initial syllable into a front vowel in a number of Mongolian languages, e.g., Ch. mœr, Kalm. mœr 'horse' < *morin, cf. Kalm. mœr slate 'with the horse' (and not mœrīlā).

The development of the groups *aji, *oji into long front vowels
in certain Mongolian languages in its turn affected the ancient principle. Although the groups mentioned have become ā and ē respectively, the resulting sounds, i.e., ā and ē, still function as back vowels in the system, because they have resulted from *aį or *oį. Such words as āl 'neighbor' and ē 'forest' in the dialect of the Alar Buriats are back vocalic stems requiring suffixes with back vocalism, e.g., ālār 'among the neighbors', ēbā 'to one's own forest', etc.

The Mongnor language has lost the vocalic harmony and, therefore, it does not have double forms of suffixes (with back or front vowels, depending upon the character of the stem concerned) but has only one form of each suffix.

A more recent phenomenon is the so-called labial attraction. Under the influence of the vowel o (or ź) unrounded open (wide) vowels in the non-initial syllables become rounded, e.g., after o no ā can follow but only ē. The general rule is:

After a syllable containing one of these vowels: Occur: Only one of these vowels:  
ō ā ē and not ā ā (ē) and not ē (and all the nuances of these vowels)

The labial attraction did not exist in Common Mongolian or Ancient Mongolian. It did not exist in Middle Mongolian either. It is unknown in the Mogol language. It does not exist in the Oirat dialects and in Kalmuck in particular.

The labial attraction is a characteristic feature in the Urdu and all the remaining Inner Mongolian (South Mongolian) dialects, in Khalkha, and in Buriat.

In considering vocalic harmony and labial attraction in the Mongolian languages, we will start with Common Mongolian.

(A) Common Mongolian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The initial syllable</th>
<th>The following syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a *a *u *i</td>
<td>*a *u *i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e *ē *ū *i</td>
<td>*e *ū *i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*a of the initial syllable:

*aqa 'elder brother'
*daru- 'to squeeze'
*saqii- 'to protect'

*o of the initial syllable:

*olan 'many'
*godun 'star'
*morin 'horse'

*u of the initial syllable:

*qulayan 'red'
*yutul 'boot'
*uuri- 'to call'

*i of the initial syllable:

*qilyasun 'horsehair, hair'
*qitya 'knife'
*qiqa 'ears'

*i of the initial syllable:

*ire- 'to come'
*sidun 'tooth'
*biçi- 'to write'

*e of the initial syllable:

*ere 'man'
*temür 'iron'
*geqii- 'to turn'

*ə of the initial syllable:

*koke 'blue'
*mọmpini 'silver'
*ọri 'debt'
*ū of the initial syllable:

*qūre 'seed, fruit, descendant'
*kūndū 'heavy'
*duři 'appearance, shape, face'

(B) Ancient Mongolian in many aspects did not differ much from Common Mongolian. In Written Mongolian, almost identical with Ancient Mongolian, and in Middle Mongolian *ī and *i converged and the syllables *qi and *yi were gradually replaced by ki and qi. In many cases *qi and *yi, however, still existed and in manuscripts dating from the XIV century forms with qi and yi occurred.

In Written Mongolian the group *uyaj already resulted in ej and this means that after i < *ī of the initial syllable the diphthong oj was possible.

The vowel a of the second syllable was frequently assimilated to the vowel o of the initial syllable in Mo. and MMo. Consequently, in many stems there was after o of the initial syllable the vowel o and not a. Similarly, after the vowel *e of the initial syllable the vowel *e became ē.

Ancient, Written, and Middle Mongolian

(The asterisk after Mo. means that the form concerned occurs only in the language of the pre-classical period; qi and yi mean that the vowel *i occurred only in this combination and did not occur with other consonants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The initial syllable</th>
<th>The following syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a u</td>
<td>a u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>a o &lt; *a u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi yi (AM, Mo.*, MMo.)</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i &lt; *i</td>
<td>a u Mo. oj &lt; <em>uyaj AM, Mo.</em>, MMo. qi yi i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i &lt; *i</td>
<td>e ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e u</td>
<td>e ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>e ē &lt; *e ü</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the initial syllable:

AM Mo. MMo. aqa 'elder brother'
AM Mo. MMo. daru- 'to squeeze'
AM Mo.* MMo. saqi- 'to protect'
AM Mo. MMo. aći < *ati < *ati 'grandson'

o of the initial syllable:

AM Mo. MMo. gola 'far, distant'
MMO. (SH) oron < *oran (cf. Mu. oran) 'place'
AM MMo. hodun, Mo. odun 'star'
AM Mo.* MMo. (Mu.) orqi- 'to throw'
AM Mo. MMo. morin < *morin 'horse'

u of the initial syllable:

AM *hulayan, MMo. hula'an, Mo. ulayan 'red'
AM Mo. MMo. yutul 'boot'
AM Mo. MMo. uri- < *uri- 'to call, to invite'

i of the initial syllable:

AM Mo. MMo. (Mu.) qilyasun 'horsehair'
AM Mo. MMo. qituya 'knife'
AM Mo.* MMo. (Mu.) čiqin < *čiqin 'ears'

i < *i of the initial syllable:

AM Mo. sira, MMo. šira 'yellow'
AM Mo. MMo. (Mu.) nisun 'mucus'
AM. *siruyaj, MMo. (SH) širo'aj, Mo. siroj 'earth, dust'

i < *i of the initial syllable:

AM Mo. MMo. ire- 'to come'
AM Mo. *sidün, MMO. šidün 'tooth'
AM Mo. MMO. biči- 'to write'

ö of the initial syllable:
AM MMO. (Mu.) òles-, Mo. òlos- 'to become hungry'
AM Mo. MMO. möngün 'silver'
AM Mo. MMO. öri 'debt'

ü of the initial syllable:
AM MMO. hüre, Mo. üre 'seed, fruit, descendant'
AM Mo. MMO. kündü 'heavy'
AM Mo. MMO. düri 'appearance, face, complexion'

(C) In Middle Mongolian the groups *aya, *ayu, etc. were already in the process of contraction after the consonant *γ had disappeared. This resulted in the appearance of long vowels (ā < a’ā < *aya etc.). This process has proceeded much further in the Mongolian languages spoken presently.

In many Mongolian languages vocalic harmony is connected closely with labial attraction. The latter plays an important role in grammar, because many suffixes appear in four forms, depending upon whether the stem concerned contains rounded middle vowels or not. Thus suffixes with ā appear also with ē, ō, and ū, depending upon the vocalism of the preceding syllable. In other words, the suffix vowel must not only be a back vowel (versus a front vowel) but also rounded or unrounded as the case may require.

In Middle Mongolian, Mogol, and in all Oirat dialects, including also Kalmuck, labial attraction does not occur. Further, it also does not occur in suffixes in Monguor, while in Dagur there are only traces of labial attraction almost undeveloped.

The labial attraction is fully developed in all remaining East Mongolian languages, i.e., in Urdu (and all the other Inner Mongolian dialects), Khalkha, and Burjat.

To illustrate this we shall follow the long vowel ā in a suffix, e.g., in the ablative case in all Mongolian languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The vocalism of the stem</th>
<th>The vocalism of the suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a or u</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e or ā</td>
<td>MMO. ē, Dag. ē (ē), Mog. ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mong. ă, Kalm. ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ă</td>
<td>MMO. ē, Dag. ē (ē), Mog. ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mong. ă, Kalm. ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ē and ă in the left column stand also for ē, ē, etc. and ă, ă, etc. respectively. Instead of ā in some languages ă is found, but this does not change the general picture.

The vowel a or u of the stem:

MMO. (Mu.) amanāsa 'from the mouth', usunāsa 'from the water'; Dag. baryanās 'from Buddha'; Mog. muryāsa 'from the bird'; Mong. amandza 'from the mouth'; Kalm. axās 'from the elder brother'; Urd., Kh. axās id.; Bur. axāha, BB axāha id.

The vowel o of the stem:

MMO. (Mu.) oranāsa 'from the place'; Dag. tšoljās 'from the stone'; Mog. morināsa 'from the horse'; Mong. moriđsa id.; Kalm. modnās 'from the tree'; Kh. modonōs id.; Bur. modonkē, BB modonōho id.

The vowel e (and all kinds of e-sounds) or ā (ă) of the stem:

MMO. (Mu.) erēse 'from the man'; Dag. ĕrēs id.; Mog. dērēsa 'from above'; Mong. nudundza < *nīđunēse 'from the eye'; Kalm. nūd- nēs id.; Urd., Kh. ĕrēs 'from the man'; Bur. ĕrēkē, BB ĕrēkō id.

The vowel ă (or ā) of the stem:

MMO. (Mu.) kölēse 'from the foot'; Dag. kulēs < *kölēs id.; in Mog. no appropriate example of the ablative has been found, but there is an instrumental form kölār 'with the foot, by means of the foot', cf. Kh. ḥalēr id.; Mong. ndurdza 'from the height' < *ündūrečē;
Kalm. köles 'from the foot' (cf. köler 'with the foot'); Urd. kölās 'from the foot'; Kh. կոլաս ~ չոլաս id.; Al.B չոլե, Aga չուլե ~ չուլե, BB չուլո id.

43. It was stated above (§ 38) that the groups *ąji, *uji, etc. in certain Mongolian languages have developed into long front vowels, e.g., *ąji > Al.B ą, *uji > Al.B ū, etc. The resulting long vowels are front vowels, but in the phonologic system they behave as back vowels, requiring suffixes with back vowels, e.g., Al.B bā'yāt < *baji-γad, Conv. perf. of *baji- 'to stand'; ālār < *ajiljar 'through the neighbours', etc.

The consequence of this is that certain front vowels (ā, ā) are treated as back vowels in the phonologic system; others, e.g., Al.B ū (< *uji and *üji) are, from the point of view of vocalic harmony, neutral vowels, e.g., ālāt < *ujilayad Conv.perf. of *ujila- 'to weep', ālār < *ujilēber 'by means of needlework' (instr.).

The groups *ąji, *oji, etc. were preserved as such in Ancient Mongolian, Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian. There they complied with the general rules of vocalic harmony, namely *ąji and other groups containing back vowels occurred in back vocalic stems, whereas *uji and other groups containing front vowels occurred only in front vocalic stems.

Let us investigate the groups *ąji etc. from the point of view of vocalic harmony and labial attraction.

(a) In Dagur ąj < *ąji occurs after all back vowels, but after a syllable with o the diphthong ąj is replaced by oj. Besides, the diphthong ąj is realized as ej or ē and even ē (the latter occurs with the preceding consonant palatalized).

The diphthong ej occurs in Dagur after syllables containing any front vowel, but on the other hand, it is frequently realized as ej (ē or ē). Consequently, ej (ē and ē) is neutral from the point of view of vocalic harmony.

Examples: Dag. daryaj 'always' < Ma. daruṣaṭ id.
Dag. moyoj < *moyaj 'snake'.
Dag. ābej < *abaj 'he will be'.

Dag. gelebj ~ gelbē < *kelebej 'he will say'.
Dag. taryagāñē 'strike!'
Dag. taušē < *tašlai 'hare'.
Dag. orē < *orəi 'evening'.
Dag. kundē < *könde 'sphere'.

(b) In Mogol the vowel *a often results in o or ṥ and the latter two vowels do not have any labializing influence upon the diphthong *ai. On the other hand, the vowel a results in ṣ also in the non-initial syllables and, therefore, the long vowel ṣ can follow a syllable containing the vowel a:
Mog. alô 'motley, dappled' < Turkic ala id.
Mog. arōsun 'skin' = Mo. arasun id.

The diphthong *ai < *aji does not occur as aj in the non-initial syllables in Mogol and Mong. It becomes ej in Mogol and i in Mong. in all positions and has converged with *ej, thus being a vowel indifferent from the point of view of vocalic harmony:
Mog. arfēi 'barley', Mong. sbē id. = Mo. arbai, Ur. aruê, Kh. aruê id.
Mog. yōqi 'hog', Mong. xajē id. = Mo. yaqai, Ur. xaxā, Kh. xajē id.
Mog. noqei 'dog', Mong. noqūē id. = Mo. noqai, Ur. nojō, Al.B nojō id.
Mog. sisgej 'felt', Mong. sgē id. = Mo. isgej, Ur. eseqī, Kh. isseqi, Al.B heqē, Kalm. šeqē id.

(c) In Oirat dialects and particularly in the Kalmuck language the group *aji constituting the non-initial syllables results in ā in back vocalic stems in the Dörbet dialect, while it is ā in the Torgut dialect. In front vocalic stems its equivalent is ē.
Dörb. gažā 'hog', Torg. gažā id. = Mo. yaqai id.
Dörb. nožā 'dog', Torg. nožā id. = Mo. noqai id.
Dörb. and Torg. erê 'thumb' = Mo. erekej < *herekej, Kh. erēj id.
Dörb. and Torg. költ 'having feet' = Mo. kölej, Kh. чүлэ id.
(d) The group *ajī has developed into ā in Urdu and in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language. In front vocalic stems the corresponding group was *eji which developed into i in Urdu. Under the influence of the vowel o of the initial syllable the group *ajī results in ā in Urdu, while both in Urdu and Alar the vowel o (ō) of the initial syllable has no influence at all.

In Khalkha, Khorī, and Aga the group *ajī constituting a non-initial syllable results in ā. The latter remains also after o of the initial syllable. The corresponding group in front vocalic stems is *eji which results in i, but in the dialect of the Alar Buriats it is represented by ē in unstressed syllables.

Urd. gazā 'hog', Al.B gazā id. = Mo. yaqai, Kh. gaxē ē, Kh.B gaxē ē ~ gazā id.

Urd. noqā 'dog', Al.B noqā id. = Mo. noqai, Kh., Kh.B noqē ē id.


Urd. ősēgi 'heel', Kh. isqī id. = Mo. ösēgei < *ösegei, Al.B huqē ē id.

44. Summarizing the above statements concerning the vocalic harmony of long vowels and the group *ajī in the non-initial syllables in modern languages, the following correspondences can be established:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The vocalism of the first syllable:</th>
<th>The vocalism of the suffix:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a or u</td>
<td>AM *aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mo. aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MMO. a'ā (ā̄)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. ā</td>
<td>ā ī ē ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog. ā</td>
<td>ē ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong. ā</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm. ā</td>
<td>ā (Dörb.) ā (Torg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd. ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. ā</td>
<td>ō ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū (ū)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū (ū)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- * indicates reconstructed pronunciation.
- Dörb. refers to G. Dörbay.
Consonants

45. The consonants are classified roughly into the following groups:

(a) labial,
(b) dental and alveolar,
(c) palatal,
(d) velar.

These four groups, in their turn, are classified into plosives (stops), affricates, and spirants.

They are divided into voiced and voiceless consonants.

The Common Mongolian consonant system is shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental &amp; Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Deep-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td></td>
<td>*q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*g</td>
<td></td>
<td>*γ (*q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>*c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>*c̬</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>*s &amp; *ʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>*β</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>*n</td>
<td>*ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ɽ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants</td>
<td></td>
<td>*r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A comparison of this system with that of any Mongolian language spoken at the present time reveals that the original voiceless stops and affricates are represented now by strong (aspirated) consonants, while the ancient voiced stops and affricates are represented by weak (unaspirated) consonants, i.e., fortes versus lenes. The weak (i.e., unaspirated) consonants are realized as voiceless in some positions and as voiced in other positions. Besides, a few phonemes exist no longer in most Mongolian languages. They have disappeared completely or they have converged with other phonemes.

The Labial Consonants

*p or *φ

46. In Common Mongolian there was at the beginning of a large number of words a voiceless labial stop (*p) or a bilabial spirant (*φ).

The consonant in question still existed in Common Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian it had already become h, i.e., a laryngeal spirant. In most of the Mongolian languages spoken at the present time it has disappeared completely with no trace left, and the stems concerned begin with a vowel.

The spirant f < *φ is preserved at the present time in the Monguor language where it occurs before a < *o, before ë ( < *o or *ë), u ( < *u or *ù), and before a ( < *uwuu) (a); it is represented by ɣ before a, e, ı, and also before u < *o (b); it has become ʃ before *i (c); and it has developed into s or ʃ immediately before another consonant (d).

In Shera Yögor and in San Tch’uan it is always h.

In the Tsitsikar dialect of the Dagur language (in the Nonni valley) explored by Ivanovsky, it is always ɣ, but in the Hailar dialect of the Dagur language it has disappeared.

In Middle Mongolian it was h; in Mogol, Urdus, Kharchin, Chakhar, Khalkha, Buriat, Kalmuck, etc. it has disappeared with no trace.

(a) CM *pon or *phi 'year' (cf. Ma. fon 'time', Korean pom

CM *ₚosun or *ₚosun 'star', Mong. ʃoɗi, MMo. (SH, Mu.) ᵀosun, Shera Yögur ᵀosun, San Tch‘uan ᵀosun, Dag.Iv. ᵐoτо, Dag.Hailar ᵜᵈо ~ ᵤᵈᵒᵈо id. = Mo. ᵀosun, Urd. ᵿᵈး, Kh. ᵤᵈး, Bur. ᵤᵈး, Kalm. ᵤᵈး id.

CM *ₚōsūn or *ₚōsūn 'feather', Mong. ʃoɗi, MMo. (Mu.) ᵀōsūn, Dag.Hailar ᵿᵈ UIS id. = Mo. ᵀōsūn, Urd. ᵿᵈ UIS, Kh. ᵿᵈ UIS, Al.B ᵿᵈ UIS, Kalm. ᵿᵈ UIS id.

CM *ₚuyula or *ₚuyula 'sack', Mong. ʃuída, MMo. (H) ᵢуйула id. = Mo. ᵢуйула, Urd. ᵢа, Kh. ᵢа, Kalm. ᵢа id.


CM *ₚünüń or *ₚüńir 'smell' (cf. Ma. ᵢунsun 'odor', Goldi ᵢун id.), Mong. ʃунir, MMo. (SH, Mu.) ʃунir, Shirongol ʃунir id. = Mo. ʃунir, Urd. ʃунir, Kh. ʃунir, Bur. ʃунir, Kalm. ʃунir id.

(b) CM *ₚarban or *ₚarban 'ten', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) ᵢарабan, Mong. ʃарабan, Shera Yögur ʃарабan, San Tch‘uan ᵢарабan, Shirongol ᵢаан, Dag.Iv. ᵢарабan id. = Mo. ᵢарабan, Urd. ʃараба, Kh. ʃараб, Bur. ʃараб, Kalm. ʃараб id.


CM *ₚepe 'to be dried in the sunshine, to warm oneself', Mong. ʃэ- 'to dry in front of a fire or in the sun, to warm oneself' = Mo. ᵢэпэ- 'to dry', Urd. ᵢэ- 'to be warmed', Kh., Kalm. ᵢэ- 'to bake' (is said of the sun).

CM *ₚogar or *ₚogar 'short' (cf. Ma. ʃоɡолон id.), MMo. (Mu.) ʃогар, Mong. ʃукur id., Shirongol ʃукur id. = Mo. ʃогor < *ₚogar, Kh. ʃүғур, Bur. ʃүғор, Kalm. ʃүғ id.

(c) CM *ₚirii- or *ₚири- 'to pray' (cf. Ma. ʃири- id.), MMo. (SH,
P, Mu.) kir'ur 'benediction', Mong. shuri- 'to say benedictions' = Mo. iruge, Urd. or- id., Kh. joril 'benediction', Al.B oril, Kalm. joril id.

(d) CM *putugun or *putugun 'vulva', MMo. (Mu.) hutugun, Mong. sdog id. = Mo. utugun, Urd. utug, Kh. utaga, Kalm. utg id.


47. The bilabial *p existed in Common Altaic also in the middle of stems. In intervocalic position it became long ago, namely in Pre-Mongolian, a voiced bilabial spirant *b which in Common Mongolian converged with *γ (or *g). In Middle Mongolian *b already had disappeared, but the vowels between which it had occurred did not contract into one long vowel (§ 32).

In a few stems *b survived and is represented by b at the present time.

CM *qaβa- 'to close' (cf. Turkic qapa- id.), Mo. qay-, MMo. (SH) qa'a- 'to encircle, to surround, to close', qa'alya 'door', Dag., Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ɣa- 'to close' ~ CM *qaβ~ in Mo. qab-qa-ɣ 'lid', Urd. qaβaq, Kh. qaβynk, Kalm. qaβaq id.

CM *deβel 'robe, coat', Mo. debel ~ degel id., MMo. (SH) deel ~ (Mu.) del, Mong. dier, Urd., Kh. del, Al.B degel, Kalm. dewel id.

*b

48. The initial consonant *b is preserved, as a general rule, in all Mongolian languages. It is voiceless in this position in a few languages, e.g., in Khalkha or Urdu, i.e., it is n (a).

It disappears in Mongol only in one word and this is *bol- 'to become' (b), but it becomes p in Mongol when the second syllable begins with a primary strong consonant (i.e., fortis) which, in its turn, has developed into a weak consonant (i.e., lenis) (c).

The consonant *b easily develops into w at the beginning of
stems in various Mongolian languages. This occurs under the influence of its environment in the sentence (sandhi), when the initial *b of a word is in intervocalic position, i.e., when the preceding word ends in a vowel (or in the liquid consonant l or r). (d).


Mo. boro < *hora 'grey', MMo. (SH) hor ö~(Mu.) hora id., Dag. bor in borsızor 'grey-mottled' (name of a shamanist spirit), Mong., Urd. boro, Kh. boro, Bur. boro, Mog. borö, Kalm. bör id.

Mo. bulay 'source, water spring', MMo. (SH) bulay ~ (Mu.) bulaq, Dag. bulär, Mong. bulag, Urd. bulak, Kh. bulač, Bur. bulag, Kalm. bulaq id.

(b) Mong. öli- 'to become' = Mo. bol-, MMo. (SH, P, Mu.), Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur., Mog., Kalm. bol- id.

(c) Mong. paqda- 'to have enough space' = Mo. bayta-, MMo. (Mu.) baqta-, Dag. barta-, Urd. baqta-, Kh. baqtö-, Bur. baqta-, Mog. baqta-, Kalm. bahtoo- id.

Mong. pudčaq 'pea' = Mo. burčay, MMo. (Mu.) burčaq, Urd. burčak, Kh. burtsņok, Kalm. burtsńq id.

(d) Mo. buj 'he is', MMo. (SH) buj ~ (Mu.) bi, Dag. bēi, Mong. wi, Urd., Kh. bi, Al.B bi, AgaB bi, Mog. bi, Kalm. bi id.

49. The consonant *b in final and medial position, particularly in intervocalic position, becomes a bilabial voiced spirant, i.e., w. In Mogol it results in j. In Dagur it becomes a non-syllabic u (and in front vocalic stems it is u), i.e., y and uy respectively. The syllable *bi, however, remains as such in Dagur. In final position (when closing a syllable) *b has become r in Dagur as does any consonant closing a syllable.

In Monguor the consonant *b in medial position has been preserved only in a few stems (a). In most cases it has disappeared there, whereas before *i it has become j. Particular developments in Monguor are *ibe > *či, *cbč > *či (a) and i; *ibü, *ebi, *übe, and *ubu have become ü (u), übu > ü (b).

In medial position the consonant *b sometimes alternates with m
sometimes under the influence of a nasal consonant) and with g
in almost all Mongolian languages (c).

After m the consonant *bh becomes p in Dagur (d).
(a) Mo. ab- 'to take', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ab-, Dag. ay-, Mong. awu,-
Mo. qabusion 'rib', MMO. (H, Mu.) qabusun, Dag. xabirho id., Mong. 
xabudze 'side', Mog. qoburya 'rib', Urd. xawisu 'side', Kh. xawirupa 
'rib', Al.B xawahan 'rib', Kalm. xuwirn id.
Mo. tabun 'five', MMO. (SH, Mu.) tabun, Dag. täy, Mog. tabun,
Mong. täwɛn, Urd. tawu, Kh. tawo, Bur. taban, Kalm. tewɛ id.
(b) Mo. tabin 'fifty', MMO. (SH, Mu.) tabin, Dag. taiow, Mong. 
tajin, Urd. tawi, Kh. tawɛ, Bur. tabin, Kalm. täwɛ id.
Mo. żibe 'rust', Mong. dzüč, Urd. dźīwe, Kh. dźewi id., Al.B dzewer-
to rust', Kalm. dzew 'rust'.
Mo. teberi- 'to embrace', MMO. (SH, Mu.) teberi-, Dag. teyeč-, 
Mo. kphereg 'fragile', Mong. këriq, Urd. kereq, Kh. këwerek id.
Mo. talbei- 'to put', MMO. (SH, Mu.) talbei-~(Mu.) tabi-, Dag. 
taibai-~taiwe- Mong. to- id., Urd. tawui-, Kh. tawɛ-, Bur. taibai-~taibai-,
Mog. talinâ 'he puts', Kalm. tewe- 'to put'.
Mo. ebed- 'to be ill, to be sick', MMO. (SH) ebečin 'disease' ~
(Mu.) ebed- 'to be ill', Dag. eyde- id., Mong. idi-, Kh. ida- id.
(c) Mo. qobar ~qamar 'nose', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qabar, Dag. qamar,
Mong. xawar, Urd. xamar, Kh., Bur. xamar, Mog. qabar, Kalm. 
čamr id.
Mo. nabči ~namči 'leaf', namara 'foliage', MMO. (Mu.) nabčin 
'leaves', Dag. lačči 'leaf' ~lawa < *nabaya 'rose petal' (or of any 
flower), Mog. nöm 'leaf', Mong. labčči 'leaf', Urd. nabčii, Kh. nabcii,
Al.B namšahañ 'leaf' ~Al.B namā 'foliage', Kalm. naptši ~namtši 
'leaf'.
Mo. sabu-'to walk', MMO. (SH, Mu.) sabu-, Dag. jay- id., Mog. 
jobana 'he goes', Mong. jē- 'to go', Urd. jawu-, Kh. jawu-, Al.B jaba-, 
Kalm. jaw- 'to go' ~Kalm. jumā 'he goes'.
Mo. ebul 'winter', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) ublic, Dag. uqul, Mog. ebulá 
~ubulañ, Mong. uqur, Urd. öiwŏl, Kh. ìreal, Al.B ĭbal, Kalm. öwŏl id.
50. There was in Common Mongolian a nasal labial consonant *m which occurred both at the beginning of stems and in the middle as well as at the end.

Sometimes the initial *m is a development of an original *b. This occurs usually under the influence of a nasal sound contained in the word concerned.

In general, *m is preserved as such in all Mongolian languages (a). The final m alternates sometimes with n. In Monguor the final m is often replaced with n (b).

The final *m of a syllable is assimilated easily to a following dental consonant. In Monguor dental consonants influence the consonant *m immediately preceding. A final *m of a word becomes n in Monguor when the word immediately following in the sentence begins with a dental consonant (c).

In a few cases the ancient intervocalic *m (of various origins) disappears in spoken languages (d).

(a) Mo. maru ~ maruj 'evil, bad', MMO. (SH) ma’uj id., (P, Mu.) ma’un id. (plural) ~ (Mu.) ma’u 'evil', Dag. mō, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. mū id.

Mo. miqan < *miqan 'flesh, meat', MMO. (SH, Mu.) miqan, Dag. mīya, Mong. macta, Urd. mazza, Kh. mazzu, Bur. mizan, Mog. migon, Kalm. mazga id.

Mo. minu < *binu genitive of bi 'I', MMO. (SH) minu (nom. bi), Dag. mini (nom. bi), Mong. muni (nom. bu), Urd. mini (nom. bi), Kh. mini (nom. bi), Bur. mən (nom. bi), Mog. mini (nom. bi), Kalm. mini (nom. bi) id.

Mo. sumun 'arrow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) sumun, Dag. somo, Mong. sumu, Urd. sumu, Kh. suma, ALB homon, Kalm. sump id.

Mo. em 'medicine, drug', MMO. (Mu.) em, Dag. em, Urd., Kh. em, Bur. em, Kalm. em id.
(b) Mo. nayadun 'play, game', MMO. (Mu.) nādum
～nādun, Dag. nād id. < *nayadun, Mog. nōtunā 'he plays', Mong. nādīn 'play, game', Urd. nādam, Kh. nādūm ～nādu ～*nayadun, Bur. nādan, Kalm. nādān ～nādūn id. It is possible, however, that the forms concerned are derived with two different suffixes, -*m and -*n, which do exist. Mo. tulum 'a sack made of a hide', MMO. (Mu.) tulum, Mong. tulun, Urd. tulum, Kh. tulun id.

Mo. ĝarim 'half', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ĝarim, Mong. ĝarīm, Urd. ĝarīm 'some of them', Kh. ĝarīm, Bur. zağam 'some', Kalm. žärm id.

(c) Mo. qamtu 'together', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qamtu, Mong. čanđu ～čand, Mog. qamtu, Urd. qamtu, Kh. čamtu, Bur. čamtu id.

Mo. kemjije 'measure', MMO. (SH) kem, Dag. kendī, Urd. kemđē, Kh. kemđē, Bur. kemđē, Kalm. kemđēn id.

(d) Mo. kene- < *kene- (cf. Turk. kænäš 'advice') 'to say, to speak', MMO. (SH, P) ke' id., Mong. gi- 'to call', Urd., Kh. ge-, Bur. ge-, Kalm. ge- 'to speak, to say'.

Mo. kümün 'person, human being', MMO. (SH) gu'ūn ～(P) k'ū'ūn, Dag. kū ～kūn, Mong. kun, Urd. kun, Kh. kuŋ, Bur. kuŋ, Kalm. küm̥ ～kūn id.

The Dental and Alveolar Consonants

*t

51. Common Mongolian *t was probably a strongly aspirated dental consonant. In the hP'ags-pa script it was rendered with a character of Tibetan origin which in the original Tibetan script was used for the aspirated t', e.g., t'ende 'there', t'at'ažu 'dragging', etc. Like all the other strong consonants *t did not occur at the end of syllables or words, and in this position only *d occurred.

The consonant *t remains t in most Mongolian languages not only at the beginning of words but also in medial position.

In Khalkha, Urdus, Chakhar, Kharchin, and some other languages it is strongly aspirated.
(A) At the beginning of words it has in East Mongolian an aspirated recursion, i.e., it is \( \text{t'} \). In the middle of words it has an aspirated recursion and incursion, i.e., it is \( \text{t'} \). When the final vowel of a stem is dropped in fast speech, a medial \( \text{t'} \) enters the final position (this is not, however, the absolute end) and then it has only an aspirated incursion in Khalkha, i.e., it is \( \text{t} \).

In other Mongolian languages the consonant \( \text{t} \) is less aspirated or it is not aspirated at all, e.g., in the Aga, Tsongol, and Sartul dialects of Buriat it is aspirated (\( \text{t'} \), \( \text{t'} \), \( \text{t} \)), but in the dialects Alar, Ekhirit, and in all the other West Buriat dialects, and also in Kal-muck it is not aspirated at all.

The consonant \( \text{t} \) does not occur before \( \text{i} \) (or \( \text{y} \)), because in this position it became \( \text{t} \) in Pre-Mongolian. Thus Common Mongolian already had the syllable \( \text{t} \) where Common' Altaic had had \( \text{t} \) (a).

When the second syllable of a stem begins with a strong (or voiceless) consonant, i.e., with \( \text{t}, \text{t}, \text{s}, \text{f}, \text{g}, \) or \( \text{k} \), the initial consonant \( \text{t} \) of a short syllable is not aspirated in North Khalkha, West Khalkha, and Central Khalkha, i.e., in the region of the city of Ulan Bator, north of it up to the Russian frontier, and west of it to the rivers Orkhon and Selenga, and from there almost to the territory of the Oirat dialects. Thus in the area defined instead of \( \text{t'a't'ovox} \) 'to drag' only \( \text{ta't'ovox} \) is pronounced.

When the initial syllable is closed by a nasal consonant (i.e., \( n, m \)) the initial \( \text{t} \) is aspirated there. When the syllable is closed by another consonant (\( b, d, s, r, y, g \)) it is again unaspirated.

In South East and South Khalkha (Gobi Khalkha), in some Chakhar dialects, and also in Urdu the consonant \( \text{t} \) before a strong or voiceless consonant of the second syllable becomes \( d \), i.e., a voiceless \( n \) (weak, lenis). In monosyllabic stems \( \text{t} \) remains \( t \) before a voiceless consonant (e.g., \( s \)) (b).

The sonorization of \( \text{t} \) (\( \text{t} > n \)) at the beginning of words, which occurs under the conditions enumerated above has nothing in common with the sonorization in Middle Mongolian: cf. P \( \text{denri} \) 'heaven' = Kh. \( \text{teng} \) id.; P \( \text{doto} \) 'Buddhist monks' = Kh. \( \text{toen} \) 'Buddhist monk of noble origin'.

In Monguor the initial *t results in d in a limited number of words containing the consonant s in one of the syllables. It is not certain whether this is a case of dissimilation t → d → s (c).

Before a secondary i and, in general when palatalized, the consonant *t becomes tš. This occurs in Urdu (rarely) and in Monguor (more frequently) (d).

(a) Mo., MMO. (SH, Mu.) ta 'you', Dag. tāi, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ta, Mog. to (tod) id.
Mo. toya 'number', MMO. (SH) to’a ~ (SH) to'o ~ (Mu.) to’an, Dag. tōi, Mong. tōr, Urd., Kh., Bur. tōi, Mog. tan, Kalm. tōn id.
Mo. toor 'net', MMO. (IM) tor, Mong. tōr, Urd., Kh., Mog., Kalm. tor id.
Mo. tābun 'five', MMO. (SH, Mu.) tābun ~ (P) tābun, Dag. tāŋ, Mong. tāŋ, Urd. tāu, Kh. tāw, Bur. taban, Mog. tabun, Kalm. tāw id.

(b) Mo. toko- < *toqa- 'to saddle', MMO. (SH) toqu’ul- 'to put the saddle on' ~ (Mu.) toqo- 'to saddle', Mong. tugu-, Urd. dozo-, Kh. toxv ~ Kh.South doxv-, Bur. toxo-, Kalm. tox- id.
Mo. tōya- 'to stop, to establish himself'. MMO. (SH) tōyta- ~ (Mu.) tōqa-, Dag. tōta-, Urd. doqto-, Kh. ṭōru-, Kh. South ṭōtuo-, Bur. ṭooto-, Kalm. tok- 'to stand firmly'.

(c) Mong. dagṣera- 'to be broken' = Mo. tasura-, MMO. (SH, Mu.) tasura-, Dag. tasar-, Urd. dasar-, Kh. ṭass̄-, Kh.South dassar-, Bur. tast̄a-, Kalm. tas- id.
Mong. dicei- 'to tolerate' = Mo. tes-, Dāz. tesc̄-, Urd. des-, Kh. tes-, Kh.South des-, Kalm. tes- id.
Mong. dusa 'use, usefulness' = Mo. tusa-, MMO. (SH, Mu.) tusa, Dag. toso, Urd. dusa, Kh. tūso, Kh.South ṭūso, Bur. tūha, Kalm. tus id.

(d) Urd. tām 'so' = Mo. tejimū 'such', MMO. (SH) tejimū ~ (Mu.) tejin 'so, thus', Dag. tejner 'such one', Kh. tjem, Bur. time, Kalm. tim id.
Mong. tīda- 'to pull' = Mo. tata-, MMO. S̄̇ tāta- ~ (P) tā'ā-, Dag. tata-, Urd. dāta-, Kh. tāt̄a, Kh.Southeast tāta-, Bur. tata- id., Mog. tatanā 'he pulls', Kalm. tāt̄o- 'to pull'.

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Mong. ʧid[i]ʃiʃ ‘to feed, to bring up’, Urđ. ʧiʃiʃ ‘to feed’ = Mo. teʃje, MMO. (SH) teʃiʃ ‘(Mu.) to feed’, Dag. teʃiʃ, Kh. teʃiʃ, Bur. teʃiʃ, Kalm. teʃiʃ id.

(B) In medial position, i.e., in the middle of words, the consonant *t usually results in t. In intervocalic position on the boundary between the initial and second syllable the consonant *t becomes d (o) in Monguor. This development of the consonant *t occurs also after *l or *r in Monguor. The sonorization of *t in Monguor is accompanied by another phenomenon, namely the development of the initial weak consonant into a strong one, i.e., *h > t.

Mo. tata ‘to pull’, MMO. (SH) tata ‘(P) t’at’a’, Dag. tata, Urđ. tata, Kh. taw, Bur. tata id., Mog. tatana ‘he pulls’, Kalm. taw ‘to pull’ = Mong. ʧida ‘to pull’.

Mo. buta ‘bush’, Urđ. buta, Kh. buʃu, Bur. buta id. = Mong. buda id.

Mo. uyuta ‘sack’, MMO. (H) kuɾuta, Urđ. ʃta, Kh. ʃtw id. = Mong. ʃuda id.

Mo. qata ‘to become dry, to harden’, MMO. (Mu.) qata, Dag. xata, Urđ. qata, Kh. qaw, South qaw, Bur. qata, Kalm. qatɔ = Mong. xadə id.

Mo. dotora ‘dotara ‘in, within’, Urđ. dotor, Kh. dotor id. = Mong. tudor id.

Mo. sitaya ‘to set on fire’, Kh. šatɔ ‘to burn, to catch fire’, Bur. šata id. = Mong. šdɔ id.

Mo. altan ‘gold’, Urđ. alta, Kh. alta, Bur. alta, Kalm. allɔ id. = Mong. xardan id.

Mo. umarta ‘to forget’, Urđ. marte, Kh. martɔ id. = Mong. musdɔ id.

*d

52. Common Mongolian *d was a voiceless weak consonant (media lenis), i.e. d. It is voiceless in all positions in Dagur, Monguor, Khar- chin, Chakhar, Urđus, Khalkha, and in the dialects Tsongol and Sartul of Buriat, and also in Bargu Buriat. In all the remaining
Buriat dialects and in Kalmuck it is voiced at the beginning of words and in intervocalic position.

The consonant *d results in such different sounds in various positions that they have to be discussed separately.

(A) The consonant *d at the beginning of words is always voiceless in Dagur, Monguor, Urduś, Chakhar, Kharchin, and Khalkha, i.e., it is n, but it is voiced in Buriat and in West Mongolian, i.e., in Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck (a).

In Monguor *d has resulted in t at the beginning of words when the strong aspirated consonant on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable becomes a weak consonant, i.e., d - t > t - d. This phenomenon is ancient and in Middle Mongolian there are cases in which the initial consonant *d before a syllable beginning with t or s has become t (b).

In a few cases initial *d becomes t in West Buriat dialects (c) and when palatalized it becomes j (d).

(a) Mo. daru- 'to press', MMO. (SH, Mu.) daru-, Dag. dara-, Mong. dəri-, Urd. daru-, Kh. dar- , Bur. dara- id., Mog. daruná 'he squeezes', Kalm. dərə- 'to squeeze'.

Mo. degere 'on, above', MMO. (SH, P) de'ere ~ (Mu.) dère, Dag. dër, Mong. där, Urd. dère, Kh. dëra, Bur. dër, Mog. dëră, Kalm. dëră 'id.

(b) Mo. duțănu 'insufficient, lacking, incomplete', MMO. (SH) duță nu ~ (Mu.) duță ~ (Mu.) tută id., Dag. doto- 'to leave', Mong. tută 'insufficient', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. duță 'insufficient', Mog. duțăna 'he flees'.

Mo. dotora < *dotara 'in, within', MMO. (SH) dotora ~ (P) dot'ora ~ (Mu.) dotara ~ (Mu.) totara, Dag. dətər, Mong. tudor ~ turo, Urd. dotor, Kh. dotur, Bur. doso, Mog. dotůna, Kalm. dotů id.

Mo. doțčin 'forty', MMO. (SH, Mu.) doțčin, Dag. duđči, Mong. tiečzin, Urd. dötsi, Kh. duđči, Al.B döșči, Kh.B důșči, Kalm. dōtšči id.

(c) Mo. danqa 'tea pot', Kh. dança, Al.B təncə, Kalm. dança id.

(d) Mo. debis- ~ debis- 'to spread out a rug or a carpet', MMO. (SH, IM) debis- ~ (Mu.) debis-, Dag. dečus-, Mong. dučes-, Urd.
deves-, Kх. devos-, A.lB jěboššo 'spreading' < *debiššu, Kalm. deves' 'to spread out'.


53. (B) In the middle of words, in intervocalic position on the boundary between the initial and the second syllable, the consonant *d is geminated (long) in Khalkha, i.e., dd. In Dагur, Mongnuor, and Urdus it is voiceless, i.e., d (a).

In Middle Mongolian and in the Ekhirit and Agа dialects of the Buriat language *d in intervocalic position on the boundary between the initial and second syllable, in words ending in -*sun becomes t.
In Kalmuck it disappears. Probably it was first assimilated to s, i.e., d + sun > ssun > sun. This is an old phenomenon and occurs in Mogol and also in the Western dialects of Middle Mongolian represented in the dictionary Muğaddimat al-Adab (b).

In Dагur in rare cases *d > t in intervocalic position in words beginning with the voiceless spirant χ < *q. This is a result of assimilation: the weak consonant after a voiceless has become strong (c).

A peculiar development is that of *d > r in the vicinity of the consonant l in Dагur and in the dialects of the Mongols of the banners Gorlos and Jostu. This is a kind of rhotacism (dl > rl) (d).

A particular case is the Common Mongolian alternation *d ~ *z. The result is that a word may have d < *d in one dialect but another dialect (or language) may have dě (or ds or ś or s) in the same word (e).

(a) Mo. čida- 'to be able', MMo. (SH, Mу.) čida-, Dag. šada-, Mong. sda-, Urd. tšida-, Kх. tšadd-, Bur. šada-, Kalm. tšad- id.

Mo. jada- 'to be unable', MMo. (SH, Mу.) jada- id., Mong. idā- 'to be tired, to be exhausted', Dag., Urdg. jada- 'to be unable', Kх. jadd-, Bur. jada- id.

Mo. ide- 'to eat', MMo. (SH, Mу.) ide-, Mong. idie-, Dag. ide-, Urdg. ide-, Kх. idd-, Bur. ide- id., Mong. idáná 'he eats', Kalm. ida- 'to eat'.


Mo. gedesün 'intestines', MMo. (Mу.) getesün ~ gesüsün, Dag.
(c) Mo. qodayala - 'to save, to preserve', MMO. (SH) qadayala-, Dag. xadaqala-, Urd. xadaqala-, Kh. xaddagol-, Kalm. xad“gol- id.
Mo. qodoyodu < *qoduyadu 'inner organs', Dag. xotd, Urd. xoddu, Kh. xoddo, Bur. xoddo, Kalm. xot* id.
(d) Mo. qudulu - 'to sell', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qudula-, Mong. dhardi-, Khar. xualdo- (xualdo-), Urd. xudala-, Gorlos and Jostu xurla-, Kh. xudoldo-, Bur. xudalda-, Kalm. xuld- (with *d- disappearing).
Mo. ojodal < *ojadal 'seam', Dag. ojil, Kh. ojidal id.
(e) MMO. (SH) qada’ar ~ (Mu.) qadar ‘bridle’, Dag. xadala, Mong. qadar, Mog. qadar < *qadayar id. ~ Mo. qazayar < *qaziyar < *qadiyar, Urd. zadzär, Kh. zadzär, Bur., Kalm. zasär id.
Mo. an’jisan ‘plough’, MMO. (Mu.) an’jasun, Mong. našišeg, Urd. andżasu ~ andus, Kh. andżes, Bur. ansahan id. ~ andasqa > Kalm. andosxo id.
Mo. qadayur ‘sickle’, MMO. (Mu.) qadir, Mong. qadir, Urd., Kh. xadur, Kalm. xadır id. ~ *qaziyar > AgaB xázür id., Kalm. xadēz ‘the edge of a halberd’.

54. (C) The final *d of the stem or syllable has developed in many different ways. At the end of a syllable it is voiceless in all Mongolian languages, i.e., it is n. It is still more voiceless at the end of a non-initial syllable and also before voiceless consonants. In these positions it is t, which is not aspirated however (a).

At the end of a syllable or word the consonant *d has become r in Dagur. The statement concerning the development *d > l in Dagur, made in my book on the Dagur language (see p. 11, n. 2) is not correct and the example Dag. nizdel ‘singuli’, SH niž‘el id. = Mo. nižged should be explained in another manner. The form *nižigel ‘singuli’ has the suffix *gel and Mo. nižged is formed by analogy with yurbayad ‘terni’ and the latter is a regular plural in -d of *yurbayal. Thus, there is no development *d > l (b).
The final *d of a syllable or word alternated with *s in Ancient Mongolian. This alternation reflects the final *ê. In consequence of this alternation there are sometimes in one and the same language parallel forms with d and s, or one language has d and another language has the consonant s in the same word (c).

The final *d of a stem, when entering the intervocalic position (e.g., before a suffix), becomes a laryngeal h in the Alar dialect and certain other West Burin dialects. In Tsongol it becomes s. Before *i it becomes s in the Barguzin and Aga dialects (d).

A final *d of a syllable disappears before a homoorganic consonant or is assimilated to the latter (e).

(a) Mo. udqa 'meaning, sense, signification; shamanist tradition, origin of a shaman' (cf. udum 'origin'), Urd. udzâ 'signification, sense, meaning', Kh. udzê id., Al.B udzâ 'shamanist tradition', Kalm. udzê id.

Mo. cêdê 'to be satisfied, to satiate oneself', MMO. (Mu.) çæba 'he became satisfied, he satiated himself', Mong. chêdê 'to satiate oneself', Urd. cêdê-, Kh. cêdê-, Bur. sada- id., Mog. tsatqâlyanà 'he satiates, he satisfies', Kalm. cêdê- 'to satiate oneself'.

(b) Mo. qadçu- 'to sting, to prick', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qatqë-, Dag. qarqê-, Mong. qasqê-, Urd. qadçu-, Kh., Bur., Kalm. qadçu-id.


(c) Mo. ded ~ des 'the following, the next', Urd. ded, Kh. ded ~ des, Kalm. ded id.

Mo. nayad ~ nayâs 'to play', MMO. (Mu.) nádu-, Dag. nágâ-, Mong. nâdî-, Urd. nâd-, Kh. nêd- ~ nâs-, Bur. nâda-, Kalm. nâd- id.

Mo. eske < *êkke 'to cut', MMO. (SH) edke- id. ~ (Mu.) hekke-, Mong. digê-, Urd. eske-, Kh. êsê- id., Mog. etqânà 'he cuts'.

(d) Mo. ed 'goods, wares', Urd., Kh. ed, Al.B êd id. ~ ALB êhê (acc. of the refl. possessive decl.).

Mo. bolod < *bolad 'steel' (< Persian), Urd. bolod, Kh. bolât, Al.B bulât id. ~ bulâhîs (acc.), Ts.B. bolosîr (instr.).
Mo. morid 'horses', Ts.B morit id. ~ morisör (instr.), AgaB morisši (acc.).

e) Mo. od- 'to go away', Kalm. od-, Kh. otš- < *odči- id.
Mo. oči < *odči 'spark' (cf. Turk. ot 'fire'), cf. Mo. odqan the
name of the spirit of the fire (< od + qan 'khan').
Mo. čad- 'to satiate oneself', Kh. tsad- id., Al.B sad- ~ sada-
id., Al.B sasrā < *sadcara = Mo. čadala 'until he was satisfied'.

*č

55. The Common Mongolian affricate *č was a palato-alveolar
affricate (roughly = English ch). We shall discuss it first at the be-
ginning of stems.

In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian it is always č.
It remains as tš (= č) in Dagur where it is strongly aspirated as in
most of the remaining Mongolian languages. At the beginning of
words it occurs with an aspirated recursion (i.e., it is t's) in Dagur and
it has an *aspirated recursion and incursion in the middle of words
(i.e., it is tš'). In Dagur it is often palatalized, i.e., it is š, particularly
before the vowel i. At the beginning of many words it has become š
in Dagur. This development occurs also in the dialects of Durbut
Beise, Gorlos, and Jostu.

The affricate *č remains as such also in Mogol and in Urdu. At
the beginning of words the second syllable of which begins with a
strong or voiceless consonant and the initial syllable of which is
short, the consonant *č results in dž in Urdu.

In Urat and Chakhar it is tš. In Kharchin it remains tš only be-
fore *i, but before all the other vowels (i.e., before *a, *o, *u, etc.)
it has become an apico-alveolar tš.

In Oirat and Kalmuck it remains tš before *i but results in ts
before all the remaining vowels. An exception is the dialect of the
Kalmucks living in the area called Chornyie Zemli (*The Black Soils)
near the Caspian Sea in the former Kalmuck Republic, where tš
remains in all positions.

In Khalkha tš remains before *i but it has become ts in all other
positions. Exceptions are, however, the numerous cases in which *i has become u in consequence of the *breaking: there *č has also become w and not tš. In South Khalkha dialects (Gobi dialects) tš and ts become dš and dr respectively in the same positions in which sonorization takes place in Urdu.

The development of the affricate *č before *i into ts in Khalkha occurs before the vowel *u of the following syllable, e.g., Kh. tsus < *čisun 'blood', or in cases in which the vowel *i < *i of the initial syllable was followed immediately by *q or *γ, e.g., Kh. tśān < *čiyan 'on that side', Kh. tsuχχai < *čiql < *čiql 'anger', etc. It is possible that *i followed by a deep velar consonant remained as i longer than in other positions and did not palatalize the initial *č.

In Monguor the affricate *č has become a strongly palatalized tš which occurs before i. Between tš and vowels other than i an intermediate i is inserted (e.g., tšiā). When followed by another vowel without the i glide the consonant *č becomes an apico-alveolar tš (= Chinese tsh) in Monguor, but before t the pronunciation ts prevails over tš.

In the Tsongol and Sartul dialects of the Buriat language the affricate *č remains tš before *i but develops into ts before other vowels. In all remaining Buriat dialects *č has become s before *i, while it is s before all remaining vowels. In Aga the consonant s is often pronounced as an interdental spirant ş (= English voiceless th in thing). In Khori, Barguzin, Unga, Bokhan, Alar, and Ekhirit dialects the consonant *č has resulted in s before *i and in s before all other vowels.

Summarizing, we may show the developments of the initial *č in the following table:

(A) Before *i:  
Mo., MMO. č,  
Dagur (a) tš ~ čš,  
(b) š ~ š,  
Monguor čš,  

(B) Before other vowels:  
č,  
tš ~ čš,  
čš, ts, tš,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Connection</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mogol</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdus</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dš before a short vowel</td>
<td>tš (as in the case A), followed by a strong consonant,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakhar and</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urat</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kharchin</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Khalkha</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ts before *i &gt; u,</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Khalkha</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ts before *i &gt; u),</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dš (ds before *i &gt; u)</td>
<td>ds in the same position, as *č &gt; dš in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the same position</td>
<td>in the same position, as *č &gt; dš in</td>
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<td></td>
<td>in Urdus,</td>
<td>Urdus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bur.Tsongol and</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sartul</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.Aga</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The remaining</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Buriat dialects</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td>tš</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A)

(a) Mo. čilaun 'stone', MMO. (SH) čila’un ~ (P) čila’un, Dag. tšolő, Urd., Khar. tšilů, Urat tšulů, Durbut Beise šolő, Jostu šulů, Kh. tšulů, Ts.B tšulů, BB šulů, AgaB šulů, Kalm. tšolů id.

Mo. čisun 'blood', MMO. (SH, Mu.) čisun, Dag. tšos, Mong. tsođu, 
Urd. džus, Khar. tšus, NKh. tšus, South Kh. džus, Ts.B tšoso, BB šužu, AgaB, Al.B šuhan, Mog. tšusun, Kalm. tšus id.

(b) Mo., MMO. (SH, Mu.) či 'you', Dag. ši (gen. šii, acc. šanq, etc.), Mong. či, Urd., Khar., Urat, Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B tši, AgaB, 
Al.B ši, Durbut Beise, Gorlos, Jostu ši, Mog. tši, Kalm. tši id.

Mo. čimügen 'marrow', MMO. (Mu.) čimegen, Dag. kůmųg ~ kümųg 'leg bone', Mong. čimuγe 'arm', Urd. tšömögů 'marrow', Kh. tšimaga, Al.B sęmęγę, Kalm. tšimųγ 'marrow'.
Mo. čiraj 'face', MMO. (SH, Mu.) čiraj, Dag. šaraj, Mong. širi, 
Urd. šarā, Durbut Beise širāj, Kh. šarān ~ šarān, BB šarān, Al.B šar, Kalm. tšir id.

(B)

Mo. čayan < *čayan 'white', MMO. (SH) ča'yan ~ (P) ča'yan, 
Dag. čiyān, Mong. čiğīn, Urd. čiğān, Urait čiğān, Khar. čiğān, 
Durbut Beise sağān, Jostu şagān, Kh. şagān, Ts.B šagān, AgaB şagān, ALB şagān, Kalm. tşayān id.

Mo. časun 'snow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) časun, Dag. čaš, Mong. čiğese, 
Mog. tšosun, Urd. dāšu, Urait, Ch. čas, Khar. čassvu, Durbut Beise sas, 
NKh. tšasu, SouthKh. dzasu, AgaB dahan, BB sahu, Al.B sahan, 
Kalm. tšas id.

56. The final *č of a syllable or a word long ago developed into 
d (t) ~ s, but there are traces of *č in Middle Mongolian:

Mo. eske- < *eske- 'to cut', MMO. (SH, H) eke- ~ (Mu.) këke- 
id., Mog. etshiná 'he cuts', Mong. dege-, Urd. eske-, Kh. esgh- 'to cut'.

Mo. ös 'hatred' = Turk. ęč id.

The consonant *č in intervocalic position or between a consonant 
and a vowel has developed analogically to *č in the initial position. 
The only difference is that in Urdus and Gobi Khalkha the sonorization 
(*č > dč) does not take place. In Mongol sonorization of *č 
occurs also in the middle of words. This occurs in cases in which 
the ancient initial weak consonant becomes a strong one.

Before *i the consonant *č remains tš (or š in other languages) 
(a) and before a vowel other than *i it results in ts (or in Buriat s) (b). 

(a) Mo. ačijan 'load', MMO. (SH) ač'jan ~ (Mu.) ač'jan id., Mong. 
atsän 'load'.

Mo. oči- < *odi- 'to go away', Dag. tši-, Mong. šži-, Urd. 
ši-, Kh. otš-, ALB ošo-id.

Mo. kūčin ~ kūčün 'strength', MMO. (SH) gūčün ~ (P) k'ūčün ~ 
(Mu.) kūčin, Dag. k'ulši, Mong. kudži, Urd. gušī, NKh. gušši, 
ALB ḡušš, Kalm. kütš id.

—not Poppe
Mo. bičiq 'letter, writing', MMO. (SH, Mu.) bišik ~ (P) bičiq, Dag. bitiq < Ma. bitze, Mong. puďšig, Urd. bitšik, Jostu, Aru Khorchin, Durbut Beise, Gorlos bišik, Kh. bitšik, Al.B bējk, Mog. bitšik, Kalm. bišiq id.

(b) Mo. quča- 'to bark', MMO. (SH, Mu.) quča-, Mong. xudźwa-, Urd. quša-, NKh. xusw-, SKh. qušw-, BB xusw-, ALB xusa-, Mog. quššanā 'he barks', Kalm. xusw- 'to bark'.
Mo. saču- 'to strew, to sow', MMO. (SH) saču-, Mong. sadźi-, Urd. džatšu- id., Aru Khorchin satšir- ~ sadźir- ~ satš- 'to be flown by the wind, to perish', Kh. sats- 'to strew', ALB sasa- < *čazu- < *saču-, Kalm. tsats- id.

To conclude this section we may add that Common Mongolian *č both at the beginning and in the middle of words originated from two different consonants. It developed either from the Common Altaic *č or from the Common Altaic *i before *i or *č:
Mo. čoogur 'motley, spotted' derived from CM *čušačur = Turk. čobar id.
Mo. quča 'ram' < CMo *quča = Turk. qoč id.
Mo. čilayun 'stone, rock' < CM *čilayun < Pre-Mongolian *šilayun = Korean tol, Chuvash šul < *tal, Turk. taš < *tal id.
Mo. bičiq 'letter' < *bitig = Turk. (Uig.) bitig, Ma. bitze id.

*ʒ

57. The Common Mongolian affricate *ʒ is the weak correlate to the strong affricate *č. In some cases it has originated from Common Altaic *d before *i (or *č), in other cases it is a direct continuation of Common Altaic *ʒ.

Where *ʒ developed from *d under the influence of the vowel *i (< *i or *č) there is still an alternation d ~ ʒ in Written Mongolian, and the further developments of the consonants *d and *ʒ still alternate in colloquial Mongolian languages.

Here are a few examples of Common Mongolian *ʒ < Common Altaic *d at the beginning (a) and in the middle of stems (b):

(a) Urd. dšulā 'verte-x', Kalm. zulā id. < *ʒulā, Al.B kolō <
*ʒiluya, Mo. ʒiluya 'sinciput' < *diluya = Tungus (Barguzin) dil 'head', Ma. ʒolo < *ʒiluya < *diluya 'cranium'.

Urd. ʒasa- 'to repair, to arrange', Mo. ʒasa- < *dasa- id. = Ma. ʒasa- 'to repair, to govern' = Turk. jasa- 'to arrange, to make'.

In a few cases there is still an alternation of initial ʒ ~ d, e.g., Mo. doiy ~ ʒoliy 'redemption, ransom', Urd. dʒoliq 'a doll or a mannequin replacing a sick person and clad in the latter's cloth, which is supposed to take the evil upon itself and thus relieve the sick person; a sort of scape-goat', Kh. dzoliq id. = Ma. ʒoli- 'to redeem' < Mongolian.

(b) Mo. aʒiriya 'stallion', Urd. aʒirqa id. < *adīrya = Tungus (Solon) adīrya ~ adigga < Pre-Mongolian = Turk. adır | aýır, Yakut aýir id.

Mo. eʃen < *eʃin < *eṣin 'master, lord', Al.B eʃen id. = Turk. (Orkhon, Uig.) iʃi, Chagatai iʃi id.

58. The Common Mongolian *ʒ, independently of its origin, has resulted in the following sounds at the beginning of stems:

Normal developments

(a) Before *i:

Mo., MMO. ʒ, ʒ, 
Dag. dʒ, dʒ ~ dʒ, 
Mong. dʒ, dʒ, 

Urd., Urat dʒ, dʒ, 
Khar. dʒ, dz, 
Kh. dʒ, dz, 
Ts.B, Sart.B dz, dz, 
BB dz, z, 
Kh.B ʒ, z, 
AgaB ʒ, ʒ, 
Al.B ʒ, z,

(b) Before other vowels:

Mo., MMO. ʒ, ʒ, 
Dag. dʒ, dʒ ~ dʒ, 
Mong. dʒ, dʒ, 

Urd., Urat dʒ, dʒ, 
Khar. dʒ, dz, 
Kh. dʒ, dz, 
Ts.B, Sart.B dz, dz, 
BB dz, z, 
Kh.B ʒ, z, 
AgaB ʒ, ʒ, 
Al.B ʒ, z,
Ekh.B ֳ,  z.
Mog. ḏ, ḏ, ḏ,
Kalm. ḏ, ḏ,
(a) Mo. ūy ʻambl̄er, Dag. ḏ, Mong. ḏoro, Urd., Ch.,
 ḏoro id.
Mo. ūy ʻrein, MMO. (SH) ū, Urd. ḏ, Khar., Kh.
 ḏ, Kalm. ḏ id.
(b) Mo. ḏyf- ʻto chew, MMO. (Mu.) ḏyf-, Mong. ḏfd, Urd. ḏfd, Khar. ḏfd, Kh. ḏfd, Al.B ḏfd, Mog. ḏfd ḏfd- ʻhe chews, Kalm. ḏfd ḏfd- ʻto chew.
Mo. ḏngn ʻneedle, MMO. (SH) ḏng ʻ(Mu.) ḏng, Mong. ḏng, Urd. ḏng, Khar. ḏng, Kh. ḏng, Ts.B ḏng, BB ḏng, Al.B ḏng, Ekh.B ḏng, Mog. ḏng, Kalm. ḏng id.
Mo. ūy ʻinterval, space between two objects, MMO. (SH) ūy ʻ(Mu.) ūy, Dag. ūy, Mong. ūy ʻbetween, in the middle, Urd. ūy, Khar. ūy, Kh. ūy, Al.B ūy, Mog. ūy ūy ʻmiddle, Kalm. ūy ʻbetween.
Mo. ūy ʻdream, MMO. (Mu.) ūy id., Dag. ūy ʻto dream, Mong. ūy ʻdream, Urd. ūy, Khar. ūy, Kh. ūy, Al.B ūy id., Mog. ūy ūy ʻhe dreams, Kalm. ūy ʻdream.
(c) In Mongour the initial *û has resulted in an apico-alveolar strong affricate ū in a few words. In still fewer cases it is ū, while the normal development is ḏ.
Mong. ū ʻto lose = Mo. ū ʻa, MMO. (SH, Mu.) ū ʻa, Urd. ūy ʻa ʻto be lost, to get lost, Kh. ū ʻa, Kalm. ū ʻa id.
Mong. ū ʻbe in good shape = Mo. ūk ʻ* ʻa, MMO. (SH) ūk ʻ(Mu.) ʻa, Urd. ū ʻa ʻto suit, to fit, Kh. ū ʻa.
'to suit, to be appropriate', Al.B zooso- id., Mog. dsooyalyaná 'he causes to do' ( = Mo. žokujalya- 'to cause to establish'), Kalm. zook- 'to suit, to befit'.

Mong. ḫuurguó 'a valley with a river in the middle' = MMO- (SH) žolle 'current, stream', Ekh.B suulxe 'the middle of a river, the deepest part in the river', Ekh.B narin suulxe 'the upper course of the Lena River, the Lena River in its upper part' (verbatim 'the narrow stream').

Mong. ḫalgi- 'to swallow' = Mo. žalgi-, MMO. (SH) žalgi- ~ (Mu.) žalgi-, Dag. ḫalgi-, Urd. ḫalgi-, Kh. ḫalgi-, Al.B zalja-, Kalm. zalxa- id.

59. An anomalous development is that of *ẑ into dz (a) instead of dẑ (#) before the vowel *i (i̯).

The breakings of the vowel *i (< *i or *i) occurred sometimes prior to the period when *ẑ > dz before vowels other than *i. In other words, when *ẑ > dz the vowel *i already had become another vowel. The development *ẑ > dz (a) occurs also before *i < *i followed by a deep velar consonant (*q or *γ), similar to the development *ĉ > ts (§ 55).

Mo. žiruyan 'six', MMO. (SH, P) žiro' an, Dag. džirgõ, Mong. džirgõn, Al.B žorgõn, Ekh.B jorgõn id. (normally from žiruyan < žiruyan); Urd. džurgõ, Khar. ḫururgõn, Kh. ḫurgõ, BB surgõ, AgaB ḫurgõn, Kh.B surgõn, Kalm. survõn id. (normally from žiruyan < žiruyan).

Mo. živasun 'fish', MMO. (SH) živasun id., (Mu.) ḫivasuni (acc.), Dag. dživas, Mong. džiagashe, Urd. ḫivasu, Khar. ḫiagas, Kh. ḫiagas, BB zagåku, Al.B zagahan, Kalm. sayvoy id.

60. Another anomalous development of the initial consonant *ẑ is that into n. This may be a result of the nasalizing effect of the consonant *n closing the initial syllable.


61. We proceed to the Common Mongolian consonant *ẑ in the middle of words.
The affractive *∫ did not occur at the end of syllables or stems. In many cases it is a secondary sound having resulted from *d before *i or *i.

The vowel *i in non-initial syllables is often assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable. Consequently, the consonant *∫ may be followed by a vowel other than i, although the vowel concerned is a further development of *i. In accordance with this the consonant *∫ results in Khalkha in ds and in Buriat and Kalmuck in z and not in d∫ (or z respectively) as one would expect.

In Khalkha and the Tsongol and Sartul dialects of Buriat, *∫ on the boundary between the short initial and the short second syllable has become d∫ before *i or dds before a vowel other than *i.

The affractive *∫ in the middle of stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Original Form</th>
<th>Alternation 1</th>
<th>Alternation 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo., MMMo.</td>
<td>∫</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td>d∫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td>d∫ ~ d∫</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td>d∫ before a secondary i</td>
<td>d∫ after s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>d∫ ~ dd∫</td>
<td>d∫ ~ dds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AgaB</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.B, Al.B, Ekh.B</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td></td>
<td>d∫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>d∫</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) CM a∫irya < *adirga (cf. Solon adirga, Turk. adiyir) 'stallion', Mo. a∫irya, MMMo. (SH, Mu.) a∫irya, Urd. ad∫arga, Kh. ad∫arga < *a∫arya < *a∫irya, Al.B azarga, Kalm. aarya id.

CM *ge∫ige < *ge∫ige 'plait, tress', Mo. ge∫ige id., MMMo. (SH) ge∫ige 'rear-guard', Dag. ge∫ig 'plait', Urd. ge∫ige, Kh. ged∫ige id. ~ CM *gedergū, Mo. gedergi 'back, backwards', MMMo. (SH) gedergū, Mong. gidergi, Urd. gedergen, Kh. ged∫ergo, Kalm. ged∫go id.
CM *güžige < *güdige (cf. Tungus Csartněn guđiŋä, Solon guđęgę 'stomach, belly') 'stomach', Mo. güženge < *güžige < *güdige, MMO. (Mu.) güžētē 'having a stomach', Dag. guđē 'intestines', Mong. guđēč 'stomach', Urd. guđē id., Kh. guđē id., Kalm. güžen 'stomach of a cow'; cf. Al.B guđęqeq < *güdesēn 'intestines'.

(b) CM *piştayur ~ piştayur (cf. Ma. fişuri), Mo. iştayur 'root, origin', MMO. (SH, P) hış'ur id. ~ (Mu.) hıș'uri (acc.), Dag. odšur, Mong. adšür, Urd. idšür, Kh. jodšür, Al.B ušür, Kalm. jöstür id.

CM *oşayai, Mo. oşayaj 'penis', MMO. oşaqaj, Mong. őqogų ~ őqogų, Urd. oksog, Kh. odəqeq, Al.B osoğa, Kalm. oxę́ id.

CM *yaşar, Mo. yaşar 'land, country, place', MMO. (SH) yaşar ~ (P, Mu.) qaşar, Dag. gadjir, Mong. gadjšür, Urd. gaddar, Kh. gaddavar, BB qaşar, Al.B qaşar, Mong. yadšar, Kalm. qaş id.

CM *üşê-, Mo. üșe- 'to see', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) üșe-, Dag. udši-, Mong. udši-, Urd. udši-, Kh. uddaw, Al.B ws- id., Mong. uđšanā 'he sees', Kalm. wš- 'to see'.

CM *olja, Mo. olja 'prey, booty', MMO. (SH) olja id. ~ (Mu.) olja 'prisoner of war', Mong. urđi, Urd. ols, Kh. oldan, Al.B also, Kalm. ols 'prey, booty, income, gain'.

*s

62. The Common Mongolian spirant *s results in different sounds not only in different languages but frequently also in different positions in one and the same language.

(A) At the beginning of stems, before vowels other than *i (< *i and *i) the Common Mongolian spirant *s has developed into the following sounds:

Mo., MMO., Mong., Dag., Mog., Kalm. | s
Urd., Khar., Ch., Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B | s, h

(a) Mo. sara 'moon, month', MMO. (SH, Mu.) sara ~ (P) sara, Dag. sar, Mong., Urd. sara, Ch., Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B sara, Kalm. sara, Kh.B, Al.B kara id.
Mo. *sajin < *sayin 'good, healthy, well', MMO. (SH, P) sajin
～(Mu.) sajin id., Dag. saijan 'beautiful', Mong. sön 'well, healthy,
good', Urd. sán, Ch., Kh., Ts.B sáŋ, AgaB ḥán, Al.B ḥaŋ id., Mog.
sön 'correct', Kalm. sán 'well, healthy, good'.

Mo. sere- < *seri- 'to awaken', MMO. (SH) seri- 'to perceive, to
notice' ～(Mu.) seri- 'to awaken', Dag. seri-, Mong. seri-, Urd. sere-, Ch., Kh., Ts.B sēr-, BB, Al.B ḥirī- id., Mog. serānā 'he awakens',
Kalm. ser- 'to awaken'.

Mo. sumun 'arrow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) sumun, Dag. somo, Mong.
sūn, Urd. sumun, Kh. sūn, Ts.B sōn, BB hōm, Al.B hōm, Kalm.
sūn id.

Mo. segūl 'tail, end', MMO. (SH, Mu.) seūl, Dag. segīl, Mong.
sūr, Urd., Ch., Kh., Ts.B sūl, BB, AgaB, Al.B hūl, Mog. sūl, Kalm. sūl id.

(b) An exception is Kh. sīn < *sōni 'night' = Mo. sōni, MMO.
(SH) sūni, Dag. sūnī, Mong. sōnī, Urd. sōnī, BB hūnī, AgaB hūnī,
Al.B hūnī, Mog. sūnī, Kalm. sō id.

The consonant *s in intervocalic position, before vowels other
than *i (or *i) results in the following sounds:
Mo., MMO., Dag. s,
Mong. (a) s in words beginning with a weak consonant,
(b) dz in words beginning with a strong con-
sonant or after a liquid consonant,
Urd. s,
Durbut Beise t with the following vowel dropped in the case (b),
Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B s,
SS on the boundary between the initial and
the second syllable (provided that both are short),
BB, AgaB, Kh.B,
Al.B, Ekh.B h,
Mog., Kalm. s.

(a) Mo. jasun 'bone', MMO. (SH, Mu.) jasun, Dag. jas, Mong.
jäsə, UrD. jasu, Kh. jas ː jassə, BB jah, AgaB jahan, Mog. jösun,
Kalm. jasə id.

Mo. nasun 'age', MMo. (SH) nasutu 'at an age of . . . ' ː (Mu.)
nasun 'age', Dag. nas 'life year', Mong. næg 'age', UrD. nasu, Kh.,
Ts.B nasə, Al.B nahə, Kalm. næg 'age'.

Mo. dabasun 'salt', MMo. (Mu.) dabasun, Mong. dabsə, UrD.
dabasun, Kalm. dawəŋ id.

(b) Mo., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) usun 'water', Dag. os, Mong. fudeu,

Mo. ustun 'hair', MMo. (SH, IM) hästun ː (SH, Mu.) ustun, Dag.
usu, Mong. fudeg, UrD. usu, Kh. us ː ussa, BB uhə, Mog.
usu, Kalm. ustə id.

Mo. möstun ː möstun ː *möstun 'ice', MMo. (SH, Mu.) möstun,
Dag. mejə, Mong. mordeg, UrD. mösu, Kh. mës, BB məku, Kh.B
mukhep, Al.B məkēŋ, Kalm. mösp id.

Mo. čısun 'blood', MMo. (SH) čıșu, Dag. čos, Mong. čedsu, UrD.
düsə, Durbut Beise şət, Kh. təwu ː təssə, Ts.B təso, Al.B suhan,
Kalm. təswə id.

64. The spirant *s in final position, at the end of syllables or
words, results in the following sounds:
Mo., MMo. ː s,
Dag. ː r (which disappears before ı),
Mong. ː s (with a paragogic vowel at the end of words),
UrD. ː s,
Durbut Beise t,
Kh. ː s,
Ts.B, Sart.B and all Buriat dialects d ː t,
Mog. ː s (the plural suffix -s > -x, however),
Kalm. ː s.

Mo. bos- 'to rise, to get up', MMo. (SH, Mu.) bos-, Dag. bos- ː *
bosu-, Mong. bosp-, UrD. bos-, Durbut Beise bot-, Kh. bos-, Ts.B
bod-, Al.B bod- id., Mog. bosuná 'he rises', Kalm. bos- 'to rise'.
Mo. bös 'cotton textile', MMO. (Mu.) bös < Turkic, Dag. burfi 'textile', Mong. bös 'cotton textile', Urd. bös, Kh. bös, BB būd, Al.B būd, Kalm. bös id.

Mo. õs- 'to increase in number', MMO. (SH, Mu.) õs-, Mong. õs-, Urd. õs-, Kh. _THREAD_REMOVED_ - to increase, to make numerous', Al.B õd- 'to increase', Kalm. õs- id.


Mo. emūske- 'to clad', MMO. (SH) emūs- 'to put on', Dag. emūirkə- < *emūr-irkə- 'to clad someone', Mong. mosq- 'to put on' ~ mosqā- 'to clad someone', Urd. ēmūs- 'to put on', Durbut Beise umūs- ~ umūt-, Kh. ēmās-, BB ēmād- 'to put on', Al.B ēmādī- 'to clad someone', Mog. ēmūsukyanā 'he causes to put on', Kalm. ēmūsken- 'to clad someone'.

Mo. -s plur. suff., MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) -s, Dag. deest, Mong. -s, Urd., Kh. -s, Bur. -d ~ -t, Mog. -z, Kalm. -s id.

In Buriat the final *s > d (~ t), when entering the intervocalic position, results in different consonants:

in Bargu Buriat it remains d,
in Tsongol final d becomes s in intervocalic position,
in Alar final d becomes h in intervocalic position,
in Aga and Khorī final d becomes š in intervocalic position before *i.

Tse. B olt 'people' ~ olti (acc.), Al.B ulot ~ ulti id., AgaB ulot ~ ulti id.

65. (B) The initial spirant *s before *i (~ *i) results in most of the Mongolian languages in š (~ sj, etc.).

Mo. š,
MMO. š,
Dag. š ~ š,
Mog. (a) š before i < *i, i.e., in back vocalic stems,
(b) š before i < *i, i.e., in front vocalic stems,
Mong. (c) š before i, ū, and immediately before dž,
(d) š before the remaining vowels and consonants,
Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. š.
(a) Mo. *sira* 'yellow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ṣɪ(ra), Mog. ṣɪ(rə), Mong. ṣirə, Urdu. ṣara, Kh., Kalm. ṣarə, Bur. ṣara id.
Mo. *sivar* 'clay, dirt, mud', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ṣi(bar), Dag. ṣawar, Mong. ṣawar, Urdu. ṣawar, Kh. ṣawor, Bur. ṣabar, Kalm. ṣawer id.
Mo. *sibarun* 'bird', MMO. (SH) ṣibao'un ~ (Mu.) ṣibə'un id., Dag. ṣewo 'falcon, hunting falcon', Mong. ṣu, Urdu. ṣieʉ, Kh. ṣuwa, Al.B ṣuβən, Kalm. ṣuwaun id.
Mo. *siryu* - 'to sneak in', MMO. (SH) ṣiryu- 'to squeeze oneself into something', Mog. *ṣuryun* 'he puts in', Kh. ṣurya- 'to sneak in'.
Mo. *sidun* 'tooth', MMO. (SH) șidū ~ (Mu.) șidūn, Dag. șidə, Mog. șudun, Mong. șṭi, Urdu. șudū, Kh. șud ~ șudda, BB țud, Al.B șudeŋ, Kalm. țudă id.
Mo. *sine* 'new', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) śine ~ (Mu.) śiṇi, Mong. șəni, Urdu. śiṇ, Kh. śiṇa, Bur. śiṇi, Kalm. śina id.
(Mong. *širā*- 'to fry' = Mo. *sira-* , MMO. (SH, Mu.) śira-, Urdu. śara-, Kh. šar-, Bur. šara-, Kalm. šar- id.
Mong. *širun* 'rough, rugged' = Mo. sırūn, MMO. (Mu.) širūn, Urdu. šurūn, Kh., Bur. šurūn, Kalm. šurūn id.
Mong. *sicir* < *siATORY 'a small scale for silver' = Mo. sijähr < *siATORY < Sogdian styor (s'tēɾ) < Greek στήριγμα 'a weight, a stater', Kh. šidəyr, Al.B šeʃər (in folk tales) id.
Mong. *șu*- 'to sweep' = Mo. *sigoɾde-* , MMO. (H) *șiʔəɾ- ~ (Mu.) *șiɾghə* 'broom', Urdu. şarđe- 'to sweep', Kh. šurdo- id.
66. The spirant *s* in the middle of stems has developed before *i
(< *i & *i), in general, in the same manner as at the beginning of stems. A final *s of a syllable before the syllable *qi or *ki becomes also š; in other words, the vowel *i (*i) has transformed *s into š over the head of *q or *k. The consonant *s closing a syllable becomes ř in Dagur, however.

(A) The consonant *s before *i (*i or *i) in the middle of stems results in the following sounds:

Mo.  s,
MMo.  š,
Dag.  (a) š,
(b) sometimes s, when the immediately following vowel *i has already become another vowel prior to the beginning of the development *s > š,
Mong.  š before i or ũ,
š before other vowels,
Urd.  š,
Kh., Ts.B.  š,
Sart.B  š,
§§ on the boundary between the initial and second syllable when both are short,
Remaining Buriat dialects š,
Mog.  š,
Kalm.  š.

(a) Mo. busu ~ Pre-Clas. Mo. busi 'another', MMO. (SH, P) bušš ~ (IM) busi ~ (Mu.) bišš, Dag. bišš, Mong. bušš, Urd. bišš, Kh. bišš, AgaB bešš, Mog. bišš, Kalm. bišš id.
Mo. dōši 'anvil', MMO. (Mu.) dōši ~ (IM) dōši, Mong. dōš, Urd. dōšš, Kh. dōšš, Kalm. dōšš id.
Mo. doyysi < *doyysi 'down', MMO. (SH) doryšš ~ (Mu.) dorašš, Mong. doroš, Urd. dōš ~ dōšš, Kh. dōšš, Bur. dōšo, Mog. dōšš, Kalm. dorāšš id.
Mo. aysyi 'character', Dag. ašš, Urd. ašš, Kh. ašš, AgaB ašš, Kalm. ašš id.
Mo. bisire ~ Pre-Clas. Mo. būsire- 'to respect', MMO. (SH, P)
bišire-, Mong. šūrič-, Urđ. bišire-, Kh. biššir-, AgaB ḍešer-, Kalm. ḍeř- id.

(b) Mo. gesigün 'branch', MMo. (SH) gesi'ut 'branches' ~ (P) k'esi'ün 'branch', Dag. gesū, Urđ. gāšū, Kh. gešū, AgaB geškū, Kalm. gešūn id.

(B) The consonant *s before the syllable *ki:
Mo. š,
MMo. š (in cases of *s < *č Mu. has č),
Dag. r,
Mong. š,
Urđ., Kh., Bur., Kalm. š.

Mo. ayški < *ayusgi 'lungs', MMo. (SH) a'usgi ~ (Mu.) a'uski,
Dag. ayrki, Mong. öšgi, Urđ. ušgi ~ ušči, Khar. օսկ, Kh. ušg, BB աշկ, Al.B աշկ, Kalm. աշկ id.


67. The final *s of stems does not change into š before the vowel *i of a suffix, but remains s. In Buriat the final *s has become d. The latter becomes s before *i in Tsongol; it becomes h in Alar, but results in š in Aga. The final *s has developed into r in Dagur and it remains r also when entering the intervocalic position.

Mo. ulsši 'the people' (accusative of ulša), MMo. (SH) ulši, Dag. olori (nom. is olor), Urđ. ulšši, Kh. ulšš, Ts.B olos (nom. is olod ~ olt), AgaB ulšš (nom. is ult), Al.B ulahi ~ ulšši (nom. is ult), Kalm. ulšš (nom. is ulšš) id.

68. In Written Mongolian the consonant š occurs also before vowels other than *i. It is doubtful that the consonant š is always a primary consonant. It is possible that the vowel immediately following the consonant in question is of secondary origin and has developed from *i. On the other hand, many stems with š followed by a vowel other than i may be borrowings from other languages, e.g., Mo. šatu 'stair' < Turkic šatu id.; Mo. šoy 'joke' < Turkic (cf. Altai, Telengit, etc.) šog 'villainy, meanness', etc.
The Consonant *j

69. The palatal (mediolinguial) consonant j (\(\approx\) German \(\ddot{u}\), English \(\mathfrak{u}\)) as a general rule remains as such.

At the beginning of stems the correspondence is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo., MMO.</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>(a) j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) (\ddot{u}) before *i (mainly in the Tsitsikar dialect),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>(a) j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Zero (disappears) but transforms the vowel of the initial syllable into i,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) (\ddot{u}) immediately before a consonant when the vowel of the initial syllable disappears,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd., Kh., Bur.</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>(a) j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) disappears with no trace,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>(a) j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) disappears but transforms the vowel e into i, i.e., <em>je- &gt; i-.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(b) Dag. jıke < *jeke < *jeke 'big' = Mo. jke, MMO. (SH, Mu.) jke ~ (P) jeke, Mong. sge, Shera Yögur iške < *šike < *jeke, Shir. (Tš.) jufe ~ (S) šuko, Urd. ixce, Kh. ijxə, Bur. jeg, Mog. ikə ~ əkə, Kalm. əkə id. |

Dag. šiləsu 'thread' < Ma. ilarsu 'threelfold' (i.e., made of three). Dag. šille ~ əldə 'floor' < Solon əldə id. |

(c) Mong. idə- 'to be tired, to be exhausted' = Mo. jada- 'to
be unable', MMo. (SH, Mu.) jada-, Dag. jada- 'to be unable, to be poor', Urd. jada-, Kh. jaddo-, Bur. jada-, Kalm. jad' - 'to be unable'.

Kalm. ik 'big' = Mo., MMo. jeke, Dag. šiğê, Mong. şge, Urd. içxe, Kh. içxe, Bur. içxe, Mog. ıgà 'ekà id.

(d) Mong. şge 'big' (cf. b & c).

Mong. šen 'nine' = Mo. jisün 'jesün, MMo. (SH) jesün (Mu.) jisün, Dag. jise, Urd. juseu 'jisu, Kh. jussa, Bur. juhên, Kalm. jisp id.

(e) Mog. amarszj 'something' 'jamarsâ id. = Mo. jambar 'which' + -sa as in Turkic närşâ 'something' < nā 'what' + ārsâ 'if he is', MMo. jambar, Kh. jamar 'which'.

Mog. ortiná 'he goes away' = MMo. (Mu.) orči- 'to go away' ≈ (SH) jörči- id. ≈ (P) jörč'i- id.

70. A rare development, little known in Modern Mongolian, is that of the initial *j into ʒ (dē) in quite few words in West Middle Mongolian as represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab (a) and the alternation j ≈ n in a few words in spoken Mongolian (b).

(a) Mu. žara 'to hasten, to hurry' = Mo. jayara-, SH ja'ara-, Dag. ja'ara-, Urd. ja'ara-, Kh. jār-, Bur. jār-, Kalm. jär- id.

Mu. žara 'wound' = Mo. jara, SH jara, Mong. jāra, Urd. jara, Kh. jarv, Bur. jara, Kalm. jarw id.

(b) Urd. janči- 'to beat', Kalm. janči- ≈ džanči- id. = Al.B nanča- id. = Mo. janči-, MMo. (Mu.) janči-, Kh. dzanči- id.

71. The spirant *j is also preserved in intervocalic position. It is long in Khalkha between two short vowels belonging to the first two syllables. The general tendency is that *j transforms the second vowel (i.e., the vowel immediately following the consonant *j) into *i so that the group *aja becomes aji etc. (A). A further development common to many Mongolian languages is that the groups *aja, *ojo < *oja, etc. become diphthongs, i.e., *aja > aj ≈ áe, etc. (B). Another general feature is that the groups *ija, *iye, etc. (< *iya, *içe respectively) become long vowels (ä, è respectively). While in some languages the consonant preceding the group concerned is palatalized, it is not in other languages (C). There are particular developments in single languages or words (D).
(A) The intervocalic *i* is preserved when neither vowel is *i*. The consonant *j* transforms the vowel immediately following into a secondary *i*, however.

Mo. bajan 'rich', MMO. (Mu.) bajan, Dag. bajin, Mong. bajan, Urd. bajan, Kh. bajin, Bur. bajan, Kalm. baj i. 

Mo. najan 'eighty', MMO. (SH, Mu.) najan, Dag. naji, Mong. najan, Urd. naja, Kh. naji, Bur. najan, Kalm. naj i.

Mo. nojan 'prince, nobleman', MMO. (SH, Mu.) nojan ~ (P) nojad 'commanders, chieftains', Mong. nojän 'mandarin', Urd. nojon, Kh. nojyn, Bur. nojon, Kalm. noj y 'prince'.

Mo. uja- 'to bind', MMO. (SH, Mu.) huja-, Mong. fuja-, Urd. uja-, Kh. ujj, Al.B uja-, Kalm. uj o- id.

Mo. guja 'hip, femur', MMO. (SH, Mu.) guja, Dag. gujâ, Urd. gujâ, Kh. gujî, Kalm. guj o- id.

Mo. qaja- 'to throw', Urd. qaja-, Kh. qajî-, Bur. qaja-, Kalm. qaj o- id.

Mo. tajay 'cane, staff', MMO. (Mu.) tajaq, Mong. tiaq, Urd. tajak, Aru Khor. tajik, Kh. taji, Kalm. taj o- id.

Mo. bajas- 'to be glad, to rejoice', MMO. (SH, Mu.) bajas-, Dag. bajir 'glad, joyful', Mong. bişeg- 'to rejoice', Urd. bajas-, Kh. bajirb-, Bur. bajarla-, Kalm. baj o- id.

Mo. ojo- ~ *oja- 'to sew', MMO. (Mu.) oja-, Dag. oji- ~ oj-, Mong. jö-, Urd. oj-, Kh. ojj-, Bur. ojo- id., Mog. oina 'he sews', Kalm. uj o- 'to sew'.

(B) Mo. aju- 'to be afraid, to fear', MMO. (SH) aj u- id. ~ (Mu.) aj- in ajba 'he was scared', Dag. ajdav ~ ajirdav 'terrible' (~ *aju-yadaq*), Mong. aji-, Urd. až, Kh. aţ, Al.B aţ 'to be afraid', Mog. aţa 'he is scared', Kalm. aţ 'to be afraid'.

Mo. gujû- 'to ask, to beg, to request', MMO. (SH) guju- ~ (Mu.) guj-, Dag. guj-, Mong. gujrâ-, Urd. guj-, Kh. guj-, Bur. gujâ-, Kalm. gu- id.

(C) Mo. qanijdun 'cough', Dag. xanëdu- 'to cough', Mong. xanâdu 'cough', Urd. xanâdu, Kh. xanâdo, Bur. xanâdan, Kalm. xanâd o- id.

Mo. kerije 'crow', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ker'en, Mong. kerie, Urd. kerë, Kh. xërë, Bur. xëtë, Kalm. kerë id.
(D) As stated above there are irregular developments. One of them is the relatively frequent disappearance of *j and contraction of the vowels into one long vowel. This occurs in Kalmuck and Monguor (a). Another, very rare phenomenon is the development *ŋ > n in Monguor (b).

(a) Mo. ajaya 'bowl, cup', MMO. (SH) ajaya ~ (Mu.) ajaqa, Dag. ajaga, Mong. jäga, Urd. ajaqa, Kh. ajinqa, Bur. ajaga, Kalm. ā́j id.

Mo. nju- 'to beg', MMO. (SH) njju- ~ (Mu.) njj-, Dag. njd-, Mong. njël-, Urd. jij-, Kh. nj-, Bur. njja-, Kalm. nj- id.

The following example, however, does not belong to this category, because here the forms with ñ versus *oja in other languages are developments of *oja. In other words, these are parallel forms:

Mo. gojar 'two', MMO. (SH, Mu.) gojar, Dag. xoijir, Urd. xoijor, Kh. xoijir, Al.B. AgaB xoijor, Mog. xoijor, Kalm. xoij id. = Mong. gőr, Shera Yügur gur, Kachug-Buriat ńor id.: gojar < *gojar \* *gojar > ńor etc.

(b) Mo. saja 'just now, right now, not long ago, recently', MMO (SH) saji, Dag. saijmalki 'immediately, as soon as', Mong. sana 'scarcely, just now', Urd. saja, Kh. sajj, Bur. haja, Kalm. sà 'recently'.

The Velar Consonants

72. Common Mongolian possessed the following velar consonants: *q and *γ (deep-velar or post-velar) and *k, *g, and *ŋ (velar or, perhaps, post-mediopalatal). The deep-velar consonants occurred only in back vocalic stems, while the consonants *k and *g occurred only in front vocalic stems. The nasal consonant *ŋ occurred in back- and front vocalic stems. The latter was similar to English n before g, e.g., in song.

*q

The deep-velar strong stop *q occurs at the beginning of stems and in intervocalic position. It occurs also after consonants, but it does not occur at the end of syllables or words.

9 — Poppe
This consonant was still a stop in Middle Mongolian, while at the present time it is a velar voiceless spirant (χ) in most of the Mongolian languages.

The initial consonant *q results in different sounds before *i and before vowels other than *i.

(A) The consonant *q at the beginning of words before vowels other than *i:

CM, Mo., MMo., Mog. q.

Dag. χ.

Mong. (a) q 1. when the initial syllable is closed by the consonant *d or the second syllable begins with *d, *η, *j or *s before *i < *i; 2. in monosyllabic stems ending in *η,

(b) χ in all other cases,

Urd. and Kh. South (c) q when the second syllable begins with a strong stop (*t, *q) or affricate (*t) or a voiceless spirant (s, ʃ); when the initial syllable is closed by the consonant n, η or m, the development *q > q does not take place, although all the other conditions remain the same; when the syllable is closed by a consonant other than n, η or m the development *q > q takes place,

(d) χ in all remaining positions,

Kh. North, Bur., Kalm. χ.

(a) Mo. *gadayar ~ qažayar 'bridle', MMo. (SH) qada'ar ~ (Mu.) qadar, Mong. qadar, Dag. zudūla, Mong. qadar 'bridle' ~ qažayar 'bit of a bridle', Urd. šadūr, Kh. xad-zar, Bur., Kalm. xazar 'bridle'.

Mo. qađa 'rock', MMo. (SH) qada, Dag. xad ~ xada, Mong. qadā, Urd. xada, Kh. xaddan, Bur. xada, Kalm. xadə id.

Mo. qudal 'lie, falsehood', MMo. (SH, Mu.) qudal, Mong. qudol, Mong. qudar, Urd. xudal, Kh. xuddul, Bur. xudal, Kalm. xudə id.

Mo. qurdun 'quick', MMo. (SH) yurdun ~ (Mu.) qurdun, Mong. qurdun, Mong. qurdun, Kh. xurdon, Ts.B xorton, Al.B xurdan, Kalm. xurdn id.

Mo qonžijasun < *qondiysun 'posterior' ~ qondolaj < *qonda-
laį 'hip', MMO. (SH) qonjijasun 'posterior', Mong. guändʒiásę id.,
Urd. žondolę 'croup, crupper' (of a horse), Kh. žondolę id., Al.B
žonžóhoj 'posterior', Kalm. žondżoş 'the joint between the hips',
zondolę 'hip'.

Mo. qojar 'two', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) qojar, Mog. qojör, Dag. qojir
≈ qojir, Mong. qör < *qovar, Urd. qojor, Kh. qojir, Bur. qojor,
Kalm. qojır id.

(b) Mo. qalayun 'hot', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qala'ün, Mog. qalın ≈
qaloun, Mong. zalön, Urd. zalún, Kh. zalın, Bur. zalın, Kalm.
zalın id.

Mo. qabar ≈ qamar < *qanjar 'nose' (cf. Mo. qanpjar 'snout'),
MMO. (SH, Mu.) qabar, Mog. qabar, Dag. zamar, Mong. zauər,
Urd. zamar, Kh. żamur, Bur. żamur, Kalm. żamır 'nose'.

Mo. qułusun 'reed, bamboo', MMO. (Mu.) qułusun, Mong. zulusz,
Urd. zulusu, Kh. zulus, Ts.B žolosu, Al.B žulahan, Kalm. žulsı id.

Mo. qola 'far', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qola, Mog. qolö, Dag. żola, Mong.
zulo, Urd. żolo, Kh. żołó, Bur. żolo, Kalm. żolı id.

Mo. qojina 'after, behind', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) qojina ≈ (Mu.)
qujina, Dag. qajın, Mong. qojıno, Urd. qojıno, Kh. qojıno, Al.B qójıno,
Kalm. qojııı id.

(c) Mo. qataşu 'hard', MMO. (Mu.) qata'u, Dag. xatö, Mong. xadın,

Mo. qadar 'cheek', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qadar, Mong. xadžür, Urd.
qatır, Kh. North xatır, Bur. xazar, Kalm. xatır id.

Mo. qača 'ram', MMO. (Mu.) qača ≈ guča, Mong. xudžü, Urd.
guţa, Kh. North xutə, Bur. xusa, Kalm. xutę id.

Mo. qača- 'to bark', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qača- id., Mog. quţšanä 'he
xusə-, Kalm. xutə- id.

(d) Mo. qara 'black', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qara, Mog. qarð, Dag. xara
≈ xar, Mong., Urd., Bur. xara, Kh., Kalm. xaro id.

Mo. qabar 'spring', Dag. xaur, Urd. xauər, Kh. xaur, Kalm.
xauer id.

Mo. qonin 'sheep', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qoını, Mog. qonin, Dag. xonı,
Mong., Urd. xoni, Kh., BB xonı, Al.B xonın, Kalm. xın id.
73. (B) The post-velar (deep-velar) stop *q before *i has developed in another way.

The consonant *q before *i developed into a post-mediopalatal k. This occurred at an early date and was connected with the development of the back vowel *i into the front vowel i. In other words, the syllables *qi and *ki ultimately converged. An analogic process was that of the transformation of the syllable *qi into gi which will be discussed later.

The syllable *qi existed in Common Mongolian and continued to exist in Ancient Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian. The development *qi > ki started in Middle Mongolian. In old manuscripts written in Pre-classical Mongolian (as late as in the XIV century) forms with qi both at the beginning of words and in the middle still occurred, although in many words the syllable qi was replaced by ki. In the language of the ḡP'ags-pa script no words with qi at the beginning are attested, but in other Middle Mongolian sources there are many forms with *qi which is written as qi (a), although there are also many forms with ki < *qi (b). In the language of the Secret History, for instance, qi has become ki consistently. At the present time Mogol is the only known spoken language which has preserved the syllable qi.

In languages in which *g and *k are still distinguished the syllable *qi > ki is preserved as ki, while *q has become χ in other positions.

The syllable *qi has developed into q in Monguor: *qi > *qi > *ki > *ki > q in i. In other languages or dialects, which are still explored insufficiently, *qi > ki has become t'i, e.g., in Shironol. In Buriat, namely in the Alar dialect, *q before *i is preserved as t only in the pronunciation of the older generation (in 1928 people pronouncing t were forty or older) and is replaced by s in the speech of the younger generation. In the Bokhan dialect it is f ~ t, in the dialects of Unga, Nizhneudinsk, and in Ekhirit spoken on the island of Ol'khor it is t.

In Dagur, Urdu, and Kalmuck *q before *i has become k. In Khalkha and in the dialects Tsongol, Sartul, Aga, Khor, Barguzin, and in Bargu-Buriat the consonant *q before *i is represented by a χ no different from the developments in other positions. It is usually palatalized in Buriat, however.
The consonant *q before *i at the beginning of stems:

CM, AM *q,  
Mo. q (in the XIV century),  
k (in more recent sources),  
MMo.: Mu. q,  
P k',  
SH k,  
Mog. q,  
Dag. k,  
Mong.  
Urd.  
Kh., BB  
AgaB, Kh.B  
Al.B  
Bokh.B  
Ekh.B (O'khon) t,  
Nizhn., Unga t,  
Kalm. k.

In stems in which the vowel *i < *i became another vowel long ago (i.e., where the ‘breaking’ of *i took place before the developments in question) the consonant  still remains unpalatalized in Burjat. The same occurs also in stems in which progressive palatalization took place instead of the regressive palatalization.

Mo. qiljasun (XIV cent.) ~ kilyasun 'hair', MMO. (Mu.) qilyasun ~ (SH) kilyasun, Mog. qilyasun, Urd. kilgasu 'horsehair', Kh.  (~  in the language of the older generation),  
Bokh.B ~ t,  
Ekh.B (O'khon) t,  
Nizhn., Unga t,  
Kalm. k.

Mo. qimusun (XIV cent.) ~ kimusun 'nail, claw', MMO. (Mu.) qimusun ~ (SH) kimusu ~ (Yi yu) tumusu, Mog. qimsun, Mong. rimdege, Golong  thimsu, Shiron gol tshumisu, Dag. kiimiti, Urd. xumusu, Kh. xumus, BB zumuku, Al.B sumahan, UngaB, Ekh.B (O'kh.) tumahan, Bokh.B sumahan ~ tumahan, Kalm. xumus id.

Mo. qirya- (XIV cent.) ~ kirya- 'to cut hair, to trim', MMO. (Mu.) qirya- ~ (SH) kirya- id., Mog. qiryan 'he cuts hair', Mong.  'to cut hair', Urd. kirga-, Kh. xarg-, Kalm. kiry- id.
Mo. qituya (XIV cent.) ~ kituya 'knife', MMO. (Mu.) qituya ~
(SH) kituyaj, Mog. qitqi < *qituyaj, Mong. šidoguo, Shironogol
šitogo ~ šitogo, Kh. žutogq, Al.B žologo id.
Mo. *qiyursun ~ kiyursun 'nit', Mong. širdsg 'eggs of lice', Urd.
gürsu 'nit', Kh. žürsv, Kh.B žürhan, Al.B šürhan, Bokh.B šürhan ~
šürhan, Kalm. žürsq 'nit'.

74. The cases of sonorization of the initial *q in Urdu and in
Gobi Khalkha before a syllable beginning with a strong stop or
affricate (or with a voiceless spirant), with the exception of cases in
which the initial syllable is closed by n, ŋ or m, may be of ancient or
recent origin. There is no way to determine this. The sonorization of
the initial *q in Middle Mongolian, on the other hand, is ancient.
The latter phenomenon is of a different origin. The initial *γ in some
Mongolian languages is voiceless (i.e., it is ɣ) and almost does not
differ from k (= q). A consequence of this was the frequent confusion
of the initial *q and *γ in Middle Mongolian sources. The following
examples have been taken from the dictionary Muqaddimah al-Adab:

γačari 'his cheeks' ~ qačar 'cheek',
γalbuya ~ qalbuya 'spoon',
♀ yaqača'ulba 'he separated (someone)' ~ qaqačaba 'he separated',
γịžar 'frontier, edge' ~ qịžar id.,
yonin ~ qonin 'sheep',
yora ~ qora 'poison',
yoraqaj ~ qorayaj 'worm',
yuča ~ quča 'ram',
yuqaldugu ~ qudaldugu 'to sell',
yuqurut 'cheese' ~ IM qurud 'whey, buttermilk'.

75. In Common Mongolian *q already alternated with Zero at
the beginning of certain words. Thus, pairs of words with *q- and
with no consonant at the beginning appeared. Therefore, sometimes
parallel forms occur in one and the same language, namely forms with
*q- and with no consonant at the beginning. Sometimes a stem has
the consonant *q at the beginning in one language, while in another
language it occurs with no *q-.

Mo. qituya (XIV cent.) ~ kituya 'knife', MMO. (Mu.) qituya ~
(SH) *kituyai, Mdg. qitiq, Mong. qidogo, Kh. qutuy, Al.B chozgo id. \( \sim *utuy \sim *utuya > \) Urd. \( \text{utaga}, \) Kalm. \( \text{ut}^\gamma \gamma \sim \text{ut}^\gamma \alpha \text{id.} \)

Mo. qarbin 'the fat in the abdomen of animals, abdominal grease',
MmMo. (SH) qarbisu 'placenta', Urd. charwini 'fat of the abdomen',
Kh. charwey, Al.B arban, Kalm. charwey \( \sim \) ăreyn 'abdominal fat'.

The examples are not numerous. It is possible that this was not a
phonetic alternation, but the result of a mutual influence of phonetically and, perhaps, semantically similar words, e.g., qarbin 'abdominal fat' and arbin 'plentiful'. There is, however, another explanation, which might be more convincing.

The forms with no initial \( q \) may originally have been forms of
the women's language. It is known that the women of some Mongolian tribes even in recent times were not allowed to use certain words. Instead, they used synonyms or they modified the words concerned phonetically. Thus, the Kalmuck women used special substitute words for expressions used in men's speech. On the other hand, the Darkhats in the region of lake Kosogol in Outer Mongolia modified certain words phonetically. The forms lacking their initial \( *q \) could be such phonetic modifications. This is, of course, only a hypothesis.

76. As stated above, the consonant \( *q \) does not occur at the end of syllables or stems. It is very usual in intervocalic position and after a consonant and before a vowel.

The medial \( *q \) developed in different manners before \( *i \) and before other vowels.

(A) Common Mongolian \( *q \) before vowels other than \( *i \):

- CM, AM \( *q \),
- Mo. \( q \),
- MmMo.: Mu. \( q \sim \gamma \),
- P \( q \),
- SH \( q \),
- Mog. \( q \),
- Dag. \( \gamma \) but after a consonant \( *q > \chi \),
- Mong. \( (a) \chi \) 1. on the boundary between the initial and the
second syllable in words not containing strong consonants or weak stops;
2. immediately after a long vowel;
3. immediately after a nasal consonant,

(b) \( \gamma \)
on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable in words in which the initial consonant is either a strong one in origin or a secondary strong consonant originating from *\( \gamma \), *\( g \), *\( b \) or *\( d \); immediately after a voiceless spirant or a liquid consonant,

Urd.
Onniut, Jostu \( \gamma \) (the examples are not numerous),
Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B \( \chi \); between two short vowels on the boundary between the initial and the second syllable, it is \( \chi \),
Kalm. \( \chi \).

(a) Mo. \( \text{miqaq} \) 'meat', MMO. (Mu.) \( \text{miqaq} \), Dag., \( \text{m Bav} \), Mog. \( \text{miq} \), Mong., Urd. \( \text{mzvz} \), Kh. \( \text{mzvz} \), Al.B \( \text{mzvz} \), Kalm. \( \text{mzvz} \) id.
Mo. \( \text{m Noq} \) 'dog', MMO. (Mu.) \( \text{Noq} \) \( \sim \) (IM) \( \text{Noq} \), Dag. \( \text{Noq} \),
Mog. \( \text{Noq} \), Mong. \( \text{Noq} \), Urd. \( \text{Noq} \), Kh. \( \text{Noq} \), Al.B \( \text{Noq} \), Kalm. \( D \)
\( \text{Noq} \), Kalm. \( T \) \( \text{Noq} \) id.
Mo. \( \text{daq} \) 'fur coat', Mong. \( \text{d\text{" aq}} \) 'an ancient garment of Monguor women', Urd. \( \text{d\text{" aq}} \), Kh. \( \text{d\text{" aq}} \), Bur., Kalm. \( \text{d\text{" aq}} \) 'a short fur coat'.
Mo. \( \text{lq} \) 'bottle', Mong. \( \text{lq} \), Urd. \( \text{lq} \), Kh., Kalm. \( \text{lq} \) id.
(b) Mo. \( \text{mq} \) 'hog, pig', MMO. (Mu.) \( \text{mq} \), Dag. \( \text{qic} \),
Mog. \( \text{qic} \), Mong. \( \text{qic} \), Urd. \( \text{qic} \), Kh. \( \text{qic} \), Al.B \( \text{qic} \), Kalm. \( T \) \( \text{qic} \) id.
Mo. \( \text{saq} \) 'beard', MMO. (Mu.) \( \text{saq} \), Dag. \( \text{saq} \) id.,
Mog. \( \text{saq} \) 'the lower jaw' (Mog. \( \text{saq} \) 'beard' is a Turkic loanword),
Mog. \( \text{saq} \) 'beard, moustache', Urd. \( \text{saq} \), Jostu \( \text{saq} \), Kh. \( \text{saq} \), BB
\( \text{haq} \), Al.B \( \text{haq} \), Kalm. \( \text{haq} \) 'beard'.
Mo. \( \text{oc} \) \( < ^{\text{hoq}} \) \( < ^{\text{hoqar}} \) 'short', MMO. (IM) \( \text{hoq} \),
Mog. \( \text{uq} \), Mong. \( \text{uq} \), Shirongol \( \text{zur} \), Kh. \( \text{zur} \), Bur. \( \text{oxor} \) id.,
Bur. \( \text{oxor} \) 'having no tail', Kalm. \( \text{ox} \) 'short'.
Mo. \( \text{z} \) 'edge, collar', MMO. (Mu.) \( \text{z} \), Mong. \( \text{d\text{" aq}} \) 'collar'.
Urd. dšaqa id., Onniut dšaqa 'frontier', Kh. dšašqıı 'edge, frontier, collar', Bur., Kalm. zacıı id.

Mo. toqom < *toqm 'a piece of felt put under the saddle', MMo. (IM) toqom, Mong. tguun, Urd. doqom, Kh. toqom, Bur. toqom, Kalm. toqum id.

Mo. torgi 'elbow', Mog. torgi, Mong. torgi, Urd. doxıı, Kh. toqıı, Al. B toqonok, Kalm. T toxi id.

77. (B) The deep-velar stop *q before *i in the middle of stems developed similarly to its developments at the beginning of words. It has also resulted in k in the same languages mentioned before, but in the languages in which intervocalic *q has developed into γ or 9 the strong velar stop *q has become g before *i. In Monguor it has become a weak affricate ḏf.

The deep-velar stop *q before *i has resulted in the following sounds in medial position:

CM, AM *q,
Mo. q (pre-classical),
  k (in recent documents),
MMo.: Mu. q,
P q and k',
SH k,
Mog. k,
Dag. g (between vowels),
  k (after a consonant, but sometimes also in intervocalic position),
Mong. (a) ḏf,
  (b) g (before i < *i, rarely before other developments of *i),
  (c) q (before *i > vowel other than i),
  k (after a long vowel),
Urd. k (in intervocalic position χhχ),
Kh. χ,
  χχ (on the boundary of the initial and second syllable, provided that both are short),
Al. B i.
(a) Mo. cachirm < *cājīrmā 'wild iris, flower-de-Luce', Dag. tskilag, Mong.  şikārmā, Urd.  dsākirmak, Kh. tsāxqīldok, Kalm. tsaklīng id.

Mo. gaktīy 'a kind of partridge', Mong. gašlāq, Urd. gakl id.
Mo. gakiru- 'to expectorate, to clear the throat', Mong.  chadjirā- 'to make a sound with the throat', Urd. gakira-, Kh.  hajri-, 'to expectorate'.

(b) Mo. saki < *saqī- 'to watch, to protect', MMO. (Mu.) saqība 'he protected' ~ (P) saqīb'īn 'those protecting, those who protect' ~ (SH) saki- 'to protect', Dag.  saqi- id., Mong. saqi-, Urd. saki-, Kh. săxqī-, Kh.B haji-, Kalm. săkī- 'to protect'.

Mo. soki- 'to be appropriate, to befit', MMO. (Mu.) āqī- id. ~ (P) āqījaqu 'to establish', Mog. dsoyālyndā < *joqijāływa- 'to cause to make', Mong. šugu- 'to be appropriate, to befit', Urd. dsoxqī- id., Kh. dsoxqī- id., Al.B sooš-bē < *joqīs įqej 'unfit, indecent', Kalm. sōk- 'to suit, to befit'.

Mo. soki- 'to beat', MMO. (SH) ăkī-, Mong. šugu- 'to pick (birds with their beak), to peck', Urd. dsoxqī- 'to beat', Kh. tsoxqī-, Kh.B sooš-, BB soxqī-, Al.B sooš-, Kalm. tsoxqī- id.

Mo. bokir 'cripple', Mong. bogôdi 'hobbling along, clopin-clopant', Urd. boxqīr, Kh. boxqīr 'lame, cripple, disabled', Kalm. bokr id.

Mo. takīja < *tajiya 'hen', MMO. (Mu.) tajiya ~ (Leyden Glossary) tayawut < *tayyut 'hens' ~ (P) tak'īja 'hen' ~ (SH) takīja < *tajiya, Mong. tajī < *tajiya (cf. Turk.: Uig. taqīya), Urd. dakā, Kh. tajīa, BB tajī, Al.B tājī, Kalm. tajā id.

Mo. čikin < *čiqin 'ears', MMO. (Mu.) čiqin ~ (SH) čikin, Dag. čiqué, Mog. čikin ~ tēkīn < *čiqin < *čiqin, Mong. čiqi, Urd. dšxqī, Kh. tšxqī, Uig.  tšxqī, Kalm. tšqī id.

Mo. ayuški < *ayusqī 'lungs', MMO. (Mu.) ańški, Dag. ańrki, Mong. őşgī, Urd. ńški, Kh. ńšg, Al.B ńšp, Kalm. ńškı id.

Mo. muški- < *muški- < *muşqī- 'to twist', MMO. (1M) mućiba 'he squeezed' (this translation given in the original is wrong and it
should be 'he twisted'), Dag. morki-, Mong. muaggi- 'to twist', Urd. muški-, Kh. mušqi-, Al.B mušga-, Kalm. muški- 'to turn, to rotate, to suffer from convulsions, to have spasms'.

(c) Mo. dayaki 'lumpy fur, hair which has become a lump', Mong. dākir, Urd. dāxi, Kh. dāxi, Al.B dāsa, Kalm. dāko ~ dāko id.

\*k

78. The post-mediopalatal \*k, i.e., the front \*k, occurred only in words with front vowels. Later on, when \*q before \*i > i converged with \*k, this consonant occurred also in stems with back vowels.

The consonant \*k did not occur at the end of syllables or words.

The consonant \*k remains a stop in Middle Mongolian (k in Moslem sources and in the Secret History, k' in ṭP'ags-pa script) and in a number of languages spoken at the present time, namely in Dagur, Mogol, Monguor, Urdus, Kalmuck, and in the Buriat dialect spoken in the Nizhneudinsk region.

The consonant \*k has resulted in g in Urdus and in the Gobi dialect of Khalkha in words with the second syllable beginning with a strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant. The sonorization probably began in Middle Mongolian, because in the Secret History and in the language of the ṭP'ags-pa script the development \*k > g at the beginning of words does occur. However, while in Urdus the sonorization is a result of the influence of the consonant of the following syllable (a sort of dissimilation: strong — strong becomes weak — strong), in Middle Mongolian and in a few words in Dagur the sonorization is a result of other causes which remain obscure. It is possible, however, that in Middle Mongolian this was not a sonorization at all, but a confusion of \*k with the initial \*g which was voiceless and might have been mistaken for k. In other words, this may be confusion in orthography.

It might be useful to dwell a bit longer on the orthographic confusion of \*k and \*g in ancient sources.

The Arabic script of the Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian
does not distinguish between \( k \) and \( g \). Therefore, these sources cannot be taken into consideration.

SH gebe- 'to lie down' = Mo. kebe-, Dag. kert-, Mong. kidj-, Urd. gebe-, Kh. cheeta-, Kalm. kevt- id.

SH gejit 'house', P geji 'dwelling' = Mo. kejid 'lamasery' (in the XIV century 'dwelling'), Urd. kid 'lamasery', Kh. xid, Kalm. kid id.

SH gonjile 'blanket, coverlet' = Mong. guändžiliún, Urd. kundžil, Kh. xündžil, Alb. xündžil, Kalm. kundžil id.

SH gedöl- 'to move', Mong. gudola- id. = Mo. kódel-, Urd. kódo-, Kh. xóddal-, Kalm. kódl- id.

SH, H guün 'person, man' = Mo. kümün, P kuün, Dag. ků, Mong. kun, Urd. kun, Kh. xůn, Bur. xuń ~ xůn, Kalm. kűn ~ kůn id.

There are many more words beginning with \( g \) in the Secret History, which correspond to forms with \( k \) in Written Mongolian:

gonór 'discontent' = Mo. kónóger.

gůrur 'a small container made of leather' = Kalm. kúr 'a leather sack for liquids'.

gůčun 'strength' = Mo. kúčun.

gůźům 'neck' = Mo. kůźůmün.

gůle 'to wait' = Dag. kułda- id., Mo. kůle 'to indulge'.

gürün 'wheel' = Mo. kürün.

gür 'fence' = Mo. kürjen.

gūrejen 'son-in-law' = Mo. kürjen.

gür 'to arrive' = Mo. kür.

gūse 'to desire' = Mo. kūse.

gůürge 'drum' = Mo. kůürge.

In Dagur there are only a few words beginning with \( g < *k \).
The Dagur form gêl- 'to say, to speak' = Mo. kele-, Kh. xel-, *kele- id. from kelen 'tongue, language' = Dag. kefl, is probably due to the influence by the verbal stem *ge- 'to say' = Kh. ge- id. < *geme- ~ *keme- (vide infra).

79. Here we shall discuss the developments of the initial consonant *\( k \) before vowels other than *\( i \).
CM, AM $^*k$, 
Mo. $k$, 
MMo.: SH $k$ and (in consequence of confusion) $g$, 
P $k'$ and (rarely) $g$, 
Dag. $k$, 
Mong. 
(a) $g$ in monosyllabic words with an open syllable; also before $^*d$, $^*z$, and $^*g$. 
(b) $k$ when the second syllable begins with a primary strong consonant ($^*k$, $^*q$, $^*q$) which has become a weak consonant (i.e., $g$, $d$, $d$ respectively) or $^*s > dz$, 
when the second syllable begins with $s$ and in all cases with the exception of those under (a), 
Urd., Gobi Kh. (c) $g$ at the beginning of stems the initial syllable of which (always short) is closed by a voiceless spirant or the second syllable of which begins with a strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant; exceptions are stems with their initial syllable closed by $^*n$ or $^*m$, 
Urd. (d) $k$ in the remaining cases, 
Gobi Kh. (d) $x$ in the remaining cases, 
North Kh. $x$, 
West Kh. $^*x$, 
Nizhn.B $k$, 
Other Bur. dialects $x$, 
Mog. and Kalm. $k$.

(a) Mo. ködel- 'to move', MMo. (SH) gődől-, Mong. gudől-, Urd. ködől-, Kh. 袷شددل-, Al.B 袷addItem1, Kalm. ködil- id.
Mo. küzü 'incense', Dag. kudši, Mong. gudši, Urd. kudši, Kh. 袷شددی, Kalm. küdši id.
Mo. küzügün 'neck', MMo. (SH) gůžüün, Dag. kudšű, Mong. gudši, Urd. kudšű, Mog. kudšűn, Kalm. küzűn id.
(b) Mo. köke 'blue', MMo. (SH) kőkő, Dag. kůkš, Mong. kuguo, Urd. gůxš, Kh. 袷 chmod, Al.B 袷monds, Mog. kůká, Kalm. kök' id.
Mo. kötel - 'to lead', MMO. (SH) kööl 'a reserve horse' (which is led by the bridle when one rides a horse), Mong. kudoli - 'to lead', Urd. gōttol-, Kh. ĝitil-, Kalm. kö öl- 'to lead'.

Mo. kičün < *kičin 'strength', MMO. (SH) gūčün ~ (P) k'ičün, Dag. kuvči, Mong. kudči, Urd. gütči, Kh. ĝutši, Al.B ḡusγ, Kalm. kūtš id.

Mo. kūsi- 'to cool off, to grow numb', Mong. kweseg- id., Urd. gošūn 'stiff', gošō- 'to become stiff, to stiffen', Kh. ĝušūr- 'to grow numb'.

(c) Mo. keseg 'piece', MMO. (SH) keseg, Mong. 'kidzag, Urd. gesek, Gobi Kh. gessak, North Kh. ĝessak, Al.B ĝēgk, Kalm. keseg id.

Mo. kōkōn < *kōken 'breast', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kōken, Mong. kūguo, Urd. goxχa, North Kh. ĝoxχa, Mog. kōká, Kalm. kōkā id.

(d) Mo. kelen 'tongue, language', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kelen, Dag. kēlī, Mong. kilī, Urd. kele, Kh. ĝiella, Al.B ğilēŋ, Mog. kelén, Kalm. kelē id.

Mo. kur- 'to reach', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kūr-, Dag. kūr-, Mong. kŏr-, Urd. kūr-, Kh., Bur. ĝur- id., Mog. kūrunā 'he reaches, he arrives', Kalm. kūr- 'to reach'.

60. Before *i the consonant *k at the beginning of words results in ɬ in Monguor in all cases with the exception of monosyllabic words. In the Alar dialect of the Buriat language *k before *i (and also before a secondary i) becomes ʃ, in Bokhan ʃ ~ ɬ, in the Ekhirít dialect spoken on the island of Ol’khon it is ɬ. In all remaining dialects of the Buriat language and also in all remaining Mongolian languages the consonant *k before *i develops in the same manner as before vowels other than *i.

Mo. kī- < CM *kī- < *qi- 'to do, to put' (cf. Turk. qīl- 'to do, to make'), MMO. (SH, Mu.) kī- ~ (P) k’i-, Dag. kī-, Mong. ĝi-, Urd. kī-, Kh. ĝi-, Bur. ĝi- id., Mog. kenā 'he does', Kalm. ke- (this monosyllabic stem with *k < *q is an example of irregular development and it does not have ʃ in Alar Buriat but ɚ which is due to the development *i > ɬ).

Mo. kiruge 'saw', MMO. (SH) kirū'e ~ (Mu.) kirō, Mong. tīrū, Urd. kōrō, Kh. ĝōrō, Kalm. kōrē id.
Mo. kirbesün 'trimming', Mong. širič 'edge', Kalm. kirwes 'clippings, scraps, everything remaining after something is cut'.

AM *kiți 'dry dung', AL.B ši id., Bokh.B ši ~ ši id. (cf. Turk.: Yakut kii < *kiț < *kiț id.).

Mo. kej 'wind, air', kej- 'to fly in the wind', MMO. (SH) kej 'wind', kej- 'to fly in the wind' ~ (Mu.) kej 'wind', kej-be 'he flew in the wind, it was flown by the wind', Dag. keiț 'wind', Mong. kii 'wind', Urd. ki 'air', Kh. čii 'air', čii- 'to be flown by the wind', AL.B śițe- 'to be flown by the wind', Mog. kej 'wind, air', Mog. kej-dana 'it blows', Kalm. kis- 'to be flown in the wind'.

81. The consonant *k occurs also in the middle of words, but it never occurs at the end of a syllable.

Here the developments are the same as at the beginning of words in Written Mongolian, Mogol, Urdus, Khalkha, Buriait, and in Kal-muck. Before *i the intervocalic consonant *k develops in the languages mentioned in the same manner as an initial *k before *i.

In Middle Mongolian, namely in the language of the Secret History and in the hP'ags-pa script, the intervocalic *k results in ą in many stena. It is difficult to establish definite rules, because this sonorization is not systematic.

In the language of the hP'ags-pa script the suffix of the Nomen futuri occurs with the consonant ą instead of k, cf. P -gū in bügūé-dür 'during the sojourn', but on the other hand, bükii 'being'; P -gū in iūkūi 'he will die', SH -gū in irebū 'to come', Mo. -kū, Dag. -gū, Mog. -ku and -kūj, Mong. -gū, Urd. -ču, Kh. -ča, etc.

The examples from the Secret History show that this is a result of a confusion of k and ą rather than a result of a phonetic development:

SH bōgūtür ~ bōkōtūr 'bent, with a hump' = Mo. bōkōtūr id.
SH heregej 'thumb' = Mo. erekej, Kh. ěřį id.
SH kegūl 'tuft of hair' = Mo. kōkūl, Urd. gūxul, Kh. čiχčal, Kalm. kōlš id.
SH seguiul 'to raise, to lift' = Mo. seku-, Urd. sōz-, Kh. sīχča-id.

In Dagur intervocalic *k, in words beginning with *q > h > Zero or any strong stop or affricate or voiceless spirant and also after
consonants, results in \( k \) (a); \( k \) after \( l \) or \( r \) (b); in all remaining cases \( ^*k \) results in \( g \) in Dagur (c).

In Monguor \( ^*k \) on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable results in \( g \) when the word concerned begins with a strong stop (either a primary or secondary one), a strong affricate, or a voiceless spirant, and also immediately after \( ^*s \) or a liquid (c). In all remaining cases \( ^*k \) remains as \( k \) in Monguor (d). Before \( ^*i \) it sometimes becomes \( d^f \) in Monguor (e).

- CM, AM: \( ^*k \)
- Mo.: \( k \)
- MMO.: SH: \( k \) (sometimes also \( g \))
- P: \( k' \) (in a few words \( k \); in the suffix of Nom. fut. \( g \))
- Dag.: (a) \( k \) between the vowel of the initial and the second syllable in words beginning with \( ^*p > h > \) Zero or in words beginning with any strong stop or affricate,
  
  (b) \( k \) after the consonant \( l \) or \( r < \) any consonant closing the initial syllable,
  
  (c) \( g \) in words beginning with a vowel or a weak consonant (or a voiced consonant, particularly nasal),

- Mong.: (a) \( g \) on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable in words beginning with any primary strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant,
  
  (b) \( g \) immediately after \( s \) or a liquid consonant,
  
  (c) \( g \) in words beginning with any primary weak consonant which has now become a strong consonant. [Note: The examples under (c) refer to Dagur in the first place, but they illustrate also rule (b) for Monguor and in this case they are marked with (b)],
  
  (d) \( k \) when the word concerned begins with a nasal,
  
  (e) \( d^f \) before \( ^*i \),

- Urd.: \( k \).
Kh. West \(b\chi\),
Kh. North \(\chi\), between two short vowels \(\chi\).
BB, AgaB, Kh.B \(\chi\).
Al.B \(\chi\), but \(\ddot{e}\) before *\(\ddot{i}\),
Bokh.B \(\chi\), but \(\ddot{e} \sim \dddot{t}\) before *\(\ddot{i}\),
Ekh.B (O’k’hon) \(\chi\), but \(\dddot{t}\) before *\(\dddot{i}\),
Mog., Kalm. \(k\).

(a) Mo. üker ‘cow, ox’, MMO. (SH) hùker, Dag. udkur, Mong. fuguur, Urdu. ukr, Kh. wuxur, Bur. ukr, Mog. ukr, Kalm. ükr id.
Mo. kùke ‘blue’, MMO. (SH, Mu.) kùke, Dag. kùke, Mong. kùguo,
Urdu. gōxō, Kh. xûgu, Al.B xûë, Mog. kùkà, Kalm. kùk\(3\) id.
Mo. keukən ‘child’, MMO. (SH) keükən id.; Dag. keyke ‘son,
child’, Mong. kugán ‘infant, boy’, Urdu. kùkən, Kh. xùkən ‘girl’,
BB, AgaB xùgu (a rare case of sonorization in Burjat), Mog. kùkùkù
Mo. sûke ‘axe’, MMO. (SH, Mu.) sûkj, Mong. sogo, Urdu. sukö,
Kh. sùkù, Al.B hùxô, Kalm. sûk\(4\) id.
AM *nike > Mo. nigen (a rare case of sonorization) ‘one’, MMO.
(SH, Mu.) niken \(\sim\) (P) niken, Dag. nêk, Mong. nige (an anomalous
development), Urdu. nege, Kh. négì, Bur. négë, Mog. nikan, Kalm.
négë id. (These anomalous developments make this an example
partly belonging to group c).

(b) Mo. ayùkì < *ayusqì ‘lungs’, MMO. (Mu.) a\(\ddot{e}\)kì, Dag. ayùkì,
Mong. ayù, Urdu. a\(\ddot{e}\)kì, Al.B a\(\ddot{e}\)za, Kalm. a\(\ddot{e}\kì) id.
Mo. berke ‘difficult’, Dag. berke, Mong. pierce, Urdu. berk\(\ddot{e}\), Kh.
bèrk\(\ddot{e}\), Bur. bèrk\(\ddot{e}\) id.
Mo. tûlkì ‘to push’, Dag. twlkì, Mong. turgu-, Urdu. dułkì-, Kh.
twłk\(\ddot{e}\), Al.B twłsë- id., Mog. twłkənà ‘he pushes’, Kalm. tûlk\(\ddot{e}^{-}
‘to push’.

(c) Mo. bûkûlì ‘complete’, Dag. buqil, Mong. pûgil (a), Urdu.
bûk\(\dot{u}lì\), Kh. bux\(\ddot{x}l\), Kalm. bûk\(\ddot{u}l\) id.
Mo. jëke ‘big, much, very, greatly’, MMO. (SH, Mu.) jëke \(\sim\) (P)
jëke (but not jëkë), Dag. jiye \(\sim jiç\), Mong. jëge (b), Urdu. jëxe, Kh.
jj\(\ddot{x}x\), Bur. jëçë, Mog. ikâ \(\sim ikâ), Kalm. ik\(3\) id.

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Mo. ükû- 'to die', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ükû- ~ (P) ük'û-, Dag. ugwur-, Mong. ūgu- (a), Urd. w*xw-, Kh. ʁxʁx-, Bur. uxe- id., Mog. ukwand 'he dies', Kalm. ük'd- 'to die'.

Mo. žirüken 'heart', MMO. (SH) žirüge ~ (Mu.) žirüken, Dag. ðswurwgu, Mong. dzıerge (b), Urd. ðswurw*xe, Kh. ðswurxe ~ ðswrag, Bur. žwːrxe, Mog. dzürká, Kalm. žırke id.

Mo. degereki 'upper', MMO. (Mu.) dörekí, Dag. döregí, Mong. döregu (b), Urd. döre'xi, Kh. döřxi, Al.B döše, Kalm. deʁk' id.

Mo. eke 'mother', MMO. (SH) eke, Dag. ege ~ eg ~ ej, Urd. x*xe, Kh. ēţţe, Bur. ēţe, Kalm. eke id.

(d) Mo. nökör < *nökör 'friend', MMO. (SH) nökör ~ (Mu.) nökör id., Dag. nugu'ur 'husband', Mong. nokuor 'friend, mate, Urd. nȫk*ör id., Kh. niiχxor 'friend, mate, husband', Kh.B nux̂er 'comrade', Kalm. nök' 'mate, husband'.

AM *ebüken > Mo. ebügen (a rare case of sonorization) 'old man', MMO. (SH) ebügen, Dag. ēyke < *ebüke 'elder brother of the mother, husband of the elder sister of the father', Urd. ööögi 'grandfather, father's father', ööögi'n 'old man', Kh. тẹяг 'grandfather', тẹяг 'old man', Kh.B учээег 'old man', Al.B ēb'iğin, Kalm. öögi id.

Mo. nekej 'a sheep skin, hide of a sheep', MMO. (SH, Mu.) nekej, Mong. niki 'skin of a sheep or goat', Urd. ne*xi, Kh. neći, Kh.B neğê, Kalm. neıt id.

Mo. neke- 'to weave', MMO. (SH, Mu.) neke-, Mong. niki-, Urd. ne*xe-, Kh. ńeţţe-, Kalm. nek't- id.

Mo. nükê 'hole, opening, MMO. (SH) nukel- 'to make holes' ~ (Mu.) nüken 'hole', Dag. ngwug, Mong. nokuo, Urd. nu*xe, Kh. nw̃x̃e, Al.B nw*xē, Kalm. nük' id.

(e) Mo. ȯkin 'girl, virgin', Dag. ugi'n, Mong. ńudźin, Kh.B uźi'n id., Al.B uʒinbũt < *ȯkin kōbegid 'children' ('girl and boys').

*y

82. The deep-velar consonant *γ (or *γ) occurred only in stems with back vowels. After *i had converged with *i, the ancient syllable *γi became gi.
The consonant *γ occurred at the beginning of words, in the middle (intervocally, after another consonant, and at the end of syllables), and in final position.

The consonant *γ exists in spoken languages in intervocalic position only in cases where it has not disappeared (vide §§ 32—36).

The consonant *γ was rather voiceless (but weak) in Middle Mongolian both in initial and intervocalic position. In the Secret History, in the ḠP'ag-s-pa script, and in Moslem sources it was transcribed with the letter or character for q, in other words, it was treated as a strong consonant.

(A) The consonant *γ at the beginning of stems, before vowels other than *i, has resulted in the following consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CM, AM</td>
<td>*γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO: SH, P</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>γ or q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong. (a)</td>
<td>χ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong. (b)</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd., Kh.</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>γ or q (as in Mu.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Mo. qaqa'i 'pig', MMO. (SH) qaqa'i ~ (Mu.) yaqa'i, Dag. gay, Mong. ḡaqē, Urd. ḡaqā, Kh. ḡaqeq, Al.B ḡaqā, Mog. yọqe, Kalm.T ḡaqā id.

Mo. yuĉin 'thirty', MMO. (SH, Mu.) quĉin ~ (Mu.) yuĉin, Dag. ɣuĉi, Mong. ḡodĉi, Urd. ɣutţi, Kh. ɣutşi, Al.B ɣuṣan, Kalm. ɣutşi id.

Mo. yaqča-yar 'alone, single', MMO. (SH) qaqa'är ~ (Mu.) yaqča-yar, Dag. ḡantći 'lonely, single, alone', Urd. qaqtšār, Kh. qantsār, Al.B ɣansārā 'alone', Kalm. qaḵsō 'single.'
(b) Mo. γαρ 'arm, hand', MMO. (SH, Mu.) γαρ ~ (Mu.) γορ, Dag. γαρί, Mong., Urd., Kh., Al.B γαρ, Mog. γαρ, Kalm. γαр id.
   Mo. γαλ 'fire', MMO. (SH, Mu.) γαλ ~ (Mu.) γαλ, Dag. γαλι, Mong. γαλ, Urd., Kh., Bur. γαλ, Mog. γαλ, Kalm. γαλ id.
   Mo. γασιγι 'bitter', MMO. (SH) γασιγι ~ (Mu.) γασιγι id., Mong. γασιγι, Urd. γασιγι, Kh., Al.B γασιγι id., Mog. γασιγι 'salt, salty', Kalm. γασιγι 'bitter'.
   Mo. γογοσον < *γογοσον 'wild onion', MMO. (H) γογοσον, Dag. γογοσον, Mong. γογοσον < *γογοσον, Urd. γογοσον, Kh. γογοσον < *γογοσον, Bur. γογοσον, Kalm. γογοσον id.
   Mo. γυγε 'to beg', MMO. (SH) γυγε ~ (Mu.) γυγε 'he begged'; Dag. γογε 'to beg', Mong. γογε 'to mendicate, to beg', Urd. γυγε, Kh. γυγε, Kalm. γυγε 'to beg'.
   Mo. γυγι 'femur, hip', MMO. (SH) γυγι ~ (Mu.) γυγι, Dag. γογι, Urd. γυγι, Kh. γυγι, Al.B γυγι, Mog. γυγι, Kalm. γυγι id.
   Mo. γορβαν 'three', MMO. (SH, P) γορβαν ~ (Mu.) γορβαν, Dag. γορβαν, Mong. γορβαν, Urd. γορβαν, Kh. γορβαν, Al.B γορβαν, Mog. γορβαν, Kalm. γορβαν ~ γορβαν id.

83. (B) Before υ, which began to develop into i at an early date, the deep-velar voiced consonant *γ developed into γ in most of the Mongolian languages, thus converging with *γ. Through palatalization it became ʝ in Buriat and ʝ in Mongoor.

   Before *i the consonant *γ at the beginning of words results in the following sounds:

   CM, AM  *γ,
   Mo.  γ only in the pre-classical language,
   g after the XIV century,
   MMO.: SH  g,
   Mu.  γ ~ g,
   Dag.  g,
   Mong. ɬ,
   Urd., Kh.  g,
   Bur.  i,
   Mog. no examples available,
   Kalm.  g.
CM *ɣiyɣašul > Mo. *ɣurγul 'peasant' (cf. Turkic qırayuul),
Mong. ɣirγu, Urd., Kh., Bur. ɣurγul, Kalm. ɣorγul id. This is an irre-
gular development in consequence of the *breaking* of *i < *i.
Mo. gušyar < *ɣilšyar 'bright, resplendent', Mo. gilba- < *ɣilba-
'to glitter', Urd. gilba- id., Kh. ɣilšgor 'resplendent', ɣilšu < *ɣil-
šuya id., ɣilšu- 'to glitter', ALB jilšyar ~ jilšagar < *ɣilšyar id.,
Kalm. gilš id.

84. Where *ɣ in the middle of words was preserved it was so
voiceless in Middle Mongolian that it was confused with q in script.
In the ḤP'ags-pa script there is only one letter for q and ɣ. In Moelem
sources *ɣ in the middle of words and even in intervocalic position
is frequently rendered with the letter for q. Before vowels other
than *i the consonant *ɣ has become q in Dagur, ḡ in Monguor, ɣ
in Urduš, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, while it is ɣ in Mogol.
Sometimes it results in ɣ in Buriat and Kalmuck.

(A) The consonant *ɣ before vowels other than *i:
CM, AM *ɣ ~ *q.
Mo. γ,
MMo.: SH ġ,
P q,
Mu. q ~ γ,
Dag. q,
Mong. q,
Urd., Kh. q,
Bur. q, sometimes ɣ,
Mog. γ and q,
Kalm. γ or g, but sometimes also ɣ.
Mo. daya- 'to follow', MMo. (SH) daqa-, Dag., Mong., Urd. daqa-, Kh. daγu-, Bur., Kalm. daɣu- id.
Mo. doylan < *doyyan 'limping', MMo. (Mu.) doqalan, Mong.
dog̪lan, Urd. doq̪lom, Kh. dog̪lon, Bur. doq̪lon, Kalm. doq̪l̪n id.
Mo. ajaya 'bowl', MMo. (SH, Mu.) aj̪aqa, Dag., Urd. aj̪aqa, Kh.
aj̪aq, Kalm. aj̪eq id.
Mo. qayala- 'to split, to plough', MMo. (SH, Mu.) qaqa- id.,
Dag. ɣaɣar- 'to be torn', qaγ̪l̪o- 'to open', Mong. ɣaγ̪li- 'to break',
Urd. χαχαλ-, Kh. χαχαλ-, Bur. χαχαλ- id., Mog. qagalaná 'he cuts',
Kalm. χαχαλ- 'to split'.
Mo. udagen 'shamaness', Dag. jadagan < *idayan 'shaman', Urd.
udagan 'midwife', Khar. wadgan id., Kh. uddoγγ 'shamaness', Al.B
odoγγ < *idayan id., Kalm. udγγ 'witch'.
Mo. nomoyodqa 'to tame' ~ nomoγγan (under the influence of the
diminutive suffix -γγan 'tame', MMO. (Mu.) nomoyan ~ nomoγγan id.,
Dag. nomyoγγan, Urd. nomyoγγan, Kh. nomyoγγan, AgaB nomyoγγan, Kalm.
nomoγγan ~ nomoγγan 'peaceful, tame'.
Mo. žirγγay 'six', MMO. (P) žirγγoγγ, Dag. džirγγoγγ, Mong. džirγγoγγ,
Urd. dżurgγ, Kh. dżurgγ, Al.B jöγγ, Kalm. surγγ id.
86. (B) Before *i, in intervocalic position, the consonant *γ in
many cases resulted in *j. This already occurred in Common Mongol.
ian. Where it remained (particularly after *l, *r, *m, and *ŋ) it
developed in the following manner:
CM, AM *γ,
Mo. *γ only in the pre-classical language,
      *γ in the classical language,
MMMo.: SH *γ,
      *g,
      *g,
Dag. *γ,
Mong. *g and in rare cases dż,
Urd., Kh. *γ,
Bur. *γ with the preceding consonant palatalized, i.e., *lg
      > ły, *ry > ły, *ŋy > ńy,
Mog. *γ,
Kalm. *γ.
Mo. uγγya < *γγya- 'to wash', MMO. (SH) wγγya- ~ (Mu.) wygγγ-
γγ id., Mong. γγudaγγ-, Urd. γγudaγγ-, Kh. γγγγ, Bur. γγγγ (an anomalous
development due to the assimilation of the vowel *i in the second
syllable, i.e., γγγγ < *γγγγγγ < *γγγγ) id., Mog. γγγγγ 'he washes',
Kalm. γγγγ 'to wash'.
Mo. ḡuγγi- 'to make noise', ḡuγγian 'noise', Urd. tśuγγi- 'to quar-
rel', Kh. tśuγγi- 'to shout', tśuγγγγγ 'noise, shouting', Bur. sūγγ 'to
make noise', šūγγγ 'noise', Kalm. tśuγγ-'to make noise'.
Mo. žalgi- < *žalyi- 'to swallow, to devour', MMo. (SH) žalgi- ~ (Mu.) žalri-, Dag. džalgi-, Mong. thīrgi-, Urd. dżalgi-, Kh. dzalγi-, ALB zalja-, Kalm. zälγ- id.

Mo. orγil- < *orγiI- 'to boil', Mong. ẹlēi<- < *orγi- < *orγil-, Kh. orγil-, Ts.B or γil- , ALB orγil- id.

Mo. bugiria- 'to spring' (water, well), Mong. pūdžīrā- 'to come out with force', Urd. bulgīla- 'to spring', Kh. burγi- 'to rise' (smoke, dust), Ts.B borγiI- 'to spring'.

Mo. žangi < *žanγi 'knot', žangilaya < *žangilaya id., MMo. (Mu.) žanγi 'knot', Mong. džiγiidi- 'to make a knot', Urd. dżangilā 'knot', Kh. dzangoγi id., dzangoγ- 'to make a knot, to get mixed up, to entangle oneself', Bur. saŋa 'knot', Kalm. zangoγ id.

86. The consonant *γ at the end of a syllable or a stem usually results in g and before a voiceless spirant or a strong consonant it becomes k. In Dagur it results in r in final position, but when the stem concerned already has an r, it becomes l (dissimilation).

Mo. gūtuy 'holiness, good luck', MMo. (P) gūtug 'luck', gūtuγan 'the saints' ~ gūtuγajγi 'holy', Dag. xotur 'luck' (Ma. xuturi is a loan word < *gur), Mong. xudugtu 'a khutukhtu, i.e., a reincarnation of a Buddhist saint', Urd. gūtuγtu id., Kh. xutok 'holiness', Ts.B xotokto 'a khutukhtu', Kalm. xutug 'holiness'.

Mo. gudūq 'well, spring', MMo. (Mu.) gudug, Dag. xodir, Urd. xudūq, Kh. xuddok, Ts.B xoddok, Kalm. xudug id.

Mo. saygass 'dishevelled, tousled', MMo. (SH) saylayar, Dag. sarsagar id., Mong. saγg- 'to dishevel', Urd. saγā-, Kh. saγγ- id., saγgγor 'fluffy', Kalm. saγγor 'dense-haired, fluffy'.

Mo. ajiydaγu 'one who is to be feared', Dag. ajirduγ id.

87. The velar (post-mediopalatal) *g occurred only with front vowels. At the beginning of words it has resulted in the following consonants:

Before vowels other than *i: Before *i:
CM, AM *g. *g.
Mo. *g. g.
MMo.: SH g (seldom k), g.
P g (seldom k'), g.
Dag., Mong. (a) *k* when the initial consonant of the second syllable is a primary strong stop or affricate,

(b) *g* in all remaining cases, no examples known,

Urd., Kh. *g*,
Bur. *g*,
Mog. *g* (seldom *k*),
Kalm. *g*,

(a) Mo. *gjuče*- 'to overtake', MMO. (SH) *gjuče*-, Dag. *kwitki*-,
Mong. *kwičči*- 'to be complete, to complete, to finish', Urd. *gwičči*-,
Kh. *gwičča*-, Bur. *gwičča*- 'to overtake', Kalm. *gwičča*- 'to meet, to run into, to come across'.

Mo. *getul*- 'to cross a river or any water', MMO. (SH) *ketül*-,

(b) Mo. *ger* 'yurt, tent, Mongolian house', MMO. (SH, Mu.) *ger*,

*gesan*, Kalm. *gesęn* id.

Mo. *gemem* ~ *keme*- 'to say, to speak', MMO. (SH) *ke'e*- ~ *(k)e'e*- id.,
Kalm. *ge*- 'to say'.

*gilen* 'white, bright'.

88. The consonant *g* in the middle of words results in the following consonants:

Before vowels other than *i*:
CM, AM *g*,
Mo. *g*,
MMO.: SH *g*,
P *g*,
Dag. (a) *g*,
(b) *k*,
Mong. *g*,

Before *i*:
*g*,
*g*,
*g*,
no examples known,
*g*,
*k*,
*g*,

Urd., 1
Bur.
Mog., 1
(a) *bugaad*
Mo.
*nimgen*
Mo.
*bergen*

gen, cf
Mo

Mo

Kh. *ti*
Mo
Kh. *u*
Mo

with 1
develo
Mong.

*webei*
Mo

gö 'no'
Mong.

Mo

*zargi*
Mo

Dag.

*erga*

(b)

*M
*wehr

*ürğld.*

89
Urd., Kh. 9.
Bur. 9.
Mog., Kalm. 9.

(a) Mo. bügüde 'all', MMO. (SH, Mu.) bügüde, Urd. buğude, Kh. buğuda, Bur. buqde, Kalm. büqde id.

Mo. ningen 'thin', MMO. (Mu.) ningen, Mong. niangin, Urd. ningen, Kh. ningen, Bur. niemegi, Kalm. ningi id.

Mo. berigen 'wife of the elder brother', MMO. (SH) berigen ~ berigen, Dag. beqigen, Mong. biergin, Urd. borgen, Kh. borgon < *berigen, cf. Mo. beri = Mog. beji 'daughter-in-law', Kalm. bergy id.

Mo. čimügen 'marrow, a big bone containing marrow', Dag. čimug 'the leg-bone', Mong. čimuge 'arm', Urd. čomogo 'marrow', Kh. čomog, Al.B semegji, Kalm. čimog 'a big bone'.

Mo. үге 'word', MMO. (SH) үге ~ (P) үге, Mong. үге, Urd. uge, Kh. үге, Bur. uge, Kalm. үге id.

Mo. үге ~ үгеүү 'not, not existing', MMO. (SH) үгеүү 'without, with no, not having' ~ (P) үгеүү id., Dag. ugeji (an anomalous development, w < *g under the influence of the rounded vowel), Mong. uguu ~ uguu 'absent, not', Urd., Kh. ugu, Kh.B ugei, Al.B ugei (anomalous development), Mong. ugei, Kalm. ugu ~ ugu ~ gû 'not'.

Mo. emegen 'old woman', MMO. (SH) emege, Dag. emeg 'wife', Mong. mugan 'old woman', Urd. emegen, Kh. emeg, Kalm. emeg id.

Mo. ergi 'steep bank of a river', MMO. (SH) ergi, Dag. ergi, Mong. xergi < *hergi, Urd. ergi, Kh. erga ~ erga, Al.B erje, Kalm. erga id.

Mo. ergi ~ xergi ~ qergi - 'to turn', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hergi-, Dag. ergi-, Mong. xergi-, Urd. ergi-, Kh. ergi-, Bur. erje-, Kalm. erga- id.

(b) Mo. ḏg 'to give', MMO. (SH, P) ḏg-, Dag. ḏg ~ ḏk-, Mong. ḏguo-, Urd. ḏg-, Kh. ḏg-, Kh.B ḏg-, Al.B ḏg- id., Mog. ḏgumna 'he gives', Kalm. ḏg 'to give'.

Mo. үргүлж 'always, permanently', MMO. (SH) үргүлж, Dag. үргүлж, Urd. үргүлдə, Kh. үргүлдə, Bur. үргүлдə, Kalm. үргүлж id.

69. The consonant *ŋ closing a syllable has become r in Dagur.
It is a voiceless g (i.e., c) in the remaining languages and alternates with an unaspirated k.

Mo. ḟuq 'direction', MMs. (SH, P) ḟuq, Dag. Ḳuṟūr, Mong. ḟuq (if this is not a loan from Turkic ḟuq ~ Ḟuq 'side'), Urd. ḟuq, Kh. ḟuq, Bur. ḟuq, Kalm. ḟuq id.

Mo. ḳuṟī- 'to blast, to burn strongly, to develop', MMs. (Mu.) ḳuṟī-, Dag. ḳurī-ī 'to be in a flourishing condition', Urd. ḳuṟī-, Kh. ḳuṟī-ī 'to develop', Al.B ḳuṟī-ī 'to increase' (fire), Kalm. ḳuṟī-ī 'to blast, to prosper, to develop'.

Mo. ḫuq-ī - 'to flow up, to rise', MMs. (SH) ḫuq-, Dag. ḫuq-, 'to rise', Urd. ḫuq-, Kh. ḫuq-, Bur. ḫuq-, Kalm. ḫuq-ī id.

Mo. ḥuq-ī - 'to pass, to die', MMs. (SH) ḥuq-ī - 'to pass' (time) ~ (Mu.) ḥuq-ī -, Dag. ḥuq-ī -, Mong. ḥuq-ī - 'to pass', Urd. ḥuq-ī - 'to die', Kh. ḥuq-ī - 'to die'.

90. A rare phenomenon is the development *g > r before *l in Written Mongolian and in spoken languages in the word:

Mo. ṣečq 'flower' + -q > ṣečq - ṣečq 'garden', Kh. ṣečq 'flower' — ṣečq - ṣečq 'garden', Bur. ṣečq 'flower' — ṣečq 'garden'.

The opposite, i.e., *r > g under the influence of l (*ri > gi) is found in:

Mo. ṣoḷq < *ṣulq-ī - 'in the morning, at dawn, to-morrow', Urd. ṣuḷq 'to-morrow, in the morning', Kh. ṣuḷq, AgaB ṣuḷq ~ ṣuḷq id., Kalm. ṣoḷq 'to-morrow', cf. Mo. ṣu, Kh. ṣu, Bur. ṣu 'dawn'.

The Liquids

91. Common Mongolian had two liquids, namely *l and *r. The former has at the present time two variants: a dull and back lateral of the Russian type (as in mams ‘stick’) or the English l in all, hall or itself, and another one of the French type (in le, elle) or German (in legen or Elle).

The front variant occurs only with front vowels and also before ṣ, ṭ, and ḍ, while the back variant (in precise transcription l or l)
occurs only with back vowels. In Buriat and Dagur there is also a palatalized \( l \) of the Russian type (\( л \) in хлеб or \( м \) in большие).

The consonant \( r \) is produced with the tip of the tongue and is strongly rolled.

\[ *l \]

92. The lateral consonant \( *l \) probably did not occur at the beginning of words in Common Mongolian or even in Common Altaic. It occurs in obvious loan words and in a small number of onomatopoeias. Thus, for instance, the Common Mongolian word \( *luq \) (Mo. \( luq \)) 'dragon' is an obvious loan from Chinese (\(<\) lung), cf. also CM \( *huysa \) (Mo. \( huusa \) or the artificial archaized form \( layusa \)) 'mule' (\(<\) Chinese lo-tsa). These loans are of recent date. As for the ancient loan words, the initial \( *l \) has become \( n \) in them:

- Mo. nojan 'prince, lord’, MMO. (SH, Mu.) nojan id. \( \sim (P) nojad \) 'commanders', Mong. nojon 'mandarin, prince', Urd. nojon 'prince', Kh. nojın, Bur. nojın, Kalm. noju id. \(< *nojan < *lojan < Chinese lao ye 'master', cf. South Korean loja > noja 'Sir'.

- Mo. način \( \sim lačin \) 'falcon for hunting', Kh. natšyq, Al.B našan, Kalm. našq id. \(< *natin < *lašin, cf. Turkic lačin 'falcon', South. Korean la-tjen > North Korean nažen 'Latin' and 'a special kind of hunting falcon' \(< latin 'Latin' (i.e., a Latin bird).

While the initial \( *l \) has become \( n \) and still alternates with \( l \) at the present time, the primary \( *n \) has also developed into \( l \) in some special cases as we shall see later.

Thus, the primary \( *l \)-can be found in words now beginning with \( n \). As stated above, the consonant \( *l \) already was \( n \) in Common Mongolian. Therefore, there were no words beginning with \( l \) in Common Mongolian.

93. The consonant \( *l \) in the middle of words has resulted in the following sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CM, AM</td>
<td>( *l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo., MMO.</td>
<td>( l )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a nasal: n before a dental consonant; m before a labial consonant,

(b) l before i or i', ə, ə; l in the remaining positions,

Mong. (a) a nasal: n between vowels when there is an r in the word concerned, or at the end of a syllable (but not at the end of a word) before a dental consonant; ñ before a velar consonant; m before a labial consonant,

(b) l between vowels,

(c) r at the end of syllables or words,

Urd.

Kh. l, with back vowels, l with front vowels (l! and ll between two short vowels constituting the first two syllables),

Bur.

Meg., Kalm. l.

(Note: instead of l or ll only l and ll respectively will be written in all examples.)

(a) Mo. kôlôsun < *kôlersün 'perspiration', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kôlôsun, Mong. kuonordz, Urd. kôlôsu, Kh. χολυς, Al.B χολυς, Kalm. κολψ id.


Mo. nilbusun ~ nilmusun 'tear', MMO. (SH, Mu.) nilbusun, Dag. nimbos, Mong. numpudz, Urd. nilmus, Kh. nilmus, Al.B nilmohon, Mog. nilbusun, Kalm. nilmus id.

Mo. qulki ~ quluyu 'cerumen, ear-wax', Mong. χολγο, Urd. χολγο, Kh. χολγο, Al.B χολγο, Kalm. χολγο id.

Mo. ölôs- < *ölê- 'to be hungry', MMO. (SH, Mu.) öles-, Dag. unsu- < *uulu- < *uless-, Mong. losé-, Urd. öles-, Kh. ülims-, Al.B ildê- id., Mog. ulâtlâna 'he is hungry', Kalm. öls- 'to be hungry'.

(b) Mo. ala- 'to kill', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ala-, Dag. ala-, Mong., Urd. ala-, Kh. aliv-, Bur. ala-, Mog. olaná 'he kills', Kalm. al- 'to kill'.

Mo.

Urd. o,

Dag. ə

Mong. "parat",

bely 'r

Mo. bulen

(c) alaná

Mo.

Kh. a

Mo.

Urd. 'step'

Mong.

'boot'

Mo. gar, ı

M

kwar,

M 'to do

Kh. c

M ḟalat: ḟalat: 9

occur
disay

M Dag.

sun.

M
Mo. dalu 'scapula', MMO. (SH, Mu.) dalu, Mong. dālī 'shoulder',
Urd. dalu 'scapula', Kh. dālū, Al.B dala, Mog. dūlu, Kalm. dālū id.
Mo. belen 'ready', MMO. (SH, Mu.) belen id., Dag. bēlek̡- 'to pre-
pare', Mong. bielēn 'ready', Urd. belen, Kh. belon, Bur. beļen, Kalm.
belon 'ready'.
Mo. buliǰen 'lukewarm', Dag. bēlān 'warm', Mong. bieliān, Urd.
būlēn, Kh. būlēn, Bur. būlēn, Kalm. būlēn id.

(c) Mo. altan 'gold', MMO. (SH, Mu.) altan ~ (P) altan id., Dag.
altan 'golden', Mong. xardam, Santa anta, Urd. alta, Kh. alta, Bur.
altaŋ, Kalm. altāŋ 'gold'.
Mo. alda 'fathom', MMO. (SH, Mu.) alda, Mong. ardā, Urd. alda,
Kh. aldu, Bur. alda, Kalm. aldu id.
Mo. alqu- 'to step', MMO. (Mu.) alqu- id., Mong. argu 'step',
Urd. alqum 'step', Kh. alqum id., Al.B alq̱a- 'to step', Kalm. alq̱a'
'step'.
Mo. olja 'booty', MMO. (SH) olja id. (Mu. olja 'prisoner of war'),
Mong. urǨi 'booty', Urd. oldō, Kh. oldān, Al.B olo, Kalm. oḻō'
'booty'.
Mo. yal 'fire', MMO. (SH, Mu.) yal ~ (Mu.) gai, Dag. gai̱ī, Mong.
gar, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. gar, Mog. ɣal id.
Mo. köl 'foot', MMO. (SH, Mu.) köl, Dag. kui̱l ~ kuãli̱, Mong.
kuur, Urd. kāl, Kh. xöl, Al.B xōl, Kalm. kūl id.
Mo. delgen- 'to spread', MMO. (SH, Mu.) delge- id., Dag. delγer-
'to develop' (intr.), Mong. dieren- 'to unwrap, to unfold', Urd. delge-
Kh. delγi̱n, Al.B delγi̱, Kalm. delγi̱- id.
Mo. žalgi- < žalgi- 'to swallow', MMO. (SH) žalgi- ~ (Mu.)
zaļa, Kalm. zalγi̱- id.

94. In Common Mongolian in a few words the alternation r ~ l
occurred. In Written Mongolian and in modern languages r ~ l
disappears before the ending ~sun.
Mo. čayalsun ~ čayarsun > čayasun 'paper', MMO. (SH) ča'alun,
Dag. tsás, Mong. čiđač, Urd. təsů, Kh. tsōs, Bur. sərhan < *ćayars-
sun, Kalm. tsəșid.
Mo. wul ~ wurl 'native, original' (< uyul, cf. Turk. oyul 'son'),
Urd. āl 'original', Kh. āl 'original, the given one, the one concerned', Kalm. āl id.

Mo. ṣujiči 'mendicant, beggar', MMO. (Mu.) ṣujiči id., Mong. gučha- 'to beg', Urd. gučhati 'beggar', Kh. gučhači ~ gučhanči ~ gučhati 'beggar', Al.B gurumči, Kalm. gurči id.

95. The disappearance of the consonant *l before other consonants is not very frequent. It occurs mainly before *s but also in other positions.

Mo. mōsūn < *mōsūn < *mōsūn 'ice', MMO. (SH, Mu.) mōsūn, Dag. meğ, Mong. morgoe, Urd. mōsū, Kh. mēs, Al.B mulēhēng, Kh.B mulēhēng, Kalm. mēš id.

Mo. kūlēn ~ kūlēn < *kūlēn 'navel', Mong. kūlē, Urd. kūs, Kh. kūs, Al.B kūshēng, Kalm. kış id.

Mo. mojilsun 'bird-cherry tree', MMO. (SH) mojilsun, Dag. mojilči, Kh. mōčl ~ mōčs < *mojilsun, Al.B mōhōng, Kalm. mēl id.

Mo. kimusun 'finger nail', MMO. (SH) kimul, Kh. čumos, Al.B čumahēng id.

Mo. talbi- 'to put, to release, to free', MMO. (SH, Mu.) talbi-, Dag. talbci- ~ taevi- 'to put', Mong. ṭe-, Urd. tavi-, Kh. tave-, Al.B talbi-, Mog. talinči 'he puts', Kalm. tāve- 'to put'.

Mo./desktop? < *delbik 'fan', MMO. (Mu.) delbikči 'fan' (verbatim 'a thing to fan oneself'), Dag. delbikči 'fan', Urd., Kh. deovē, Bur. apač, Kalm. deoč id.

Mo. ajilči 'guest, visitor', Kh. ačči, Al.B dāsān id., from Mo. ajil 'yurt, nomad dwelling', Kh. āčl, Bur. āl id.

The disappearance of *l or the development *l > j has passed through a stage of strong palatalization: *l > *j.

Mo. gulur ~ gulur 'flour', MMO. (Mu.) gulur, Dag. gưr, Mong. guir, Urd. gulhur, Kh. gŭlhr ~ gưr il, BB gurul, Mog. yulur, Kalm. gurič id.

96. The metathesis of l and r occurs frequently.

Mo. gulur ~ gulur 'flour', Kh. gŭlhr ~ gưr il id.

Mo. kūrčelte 'until one reaches, till, until', Kalm. kürč id.

Mo. kerulen 'the river Kerulen', MMO. (SH) kelūrench, Kh. ˌxer-ˌləŋ id.
Mo. arčiyur ～ arčiyul 'kerchief, towel', Urdu. allšür, Kh. allšur, Al.B aršul id.

Mo. oltip 'island', Kh. oltipk, Al.B oltipk < *ortaliy, cf. Turk. orta 'middle' + suffix -tq.

Mo. uruyul 'lips', MMO. (Mu.) hurül, Dag. orul ～ orul, Urdu. urul, Kh. urul, Al.B urul, Mog. uhr, Kalm. urlj id.

97. The consonant *l of a suffix becomes n when the final consonant of the stem is a nasal, i.e., *m or *ŋ. The consonant ŋ in its turn is dissimilated by n ～ *l of the suffix and becomes g (or q). This affects the group Nasal + l of any origin.

Mo. emme- ～ emle- 'to cure, to treat (with medicine)' from em 'medicine', MMO. (Mu.) emlebe 'he treated', Urdu. emne- 'to treat', Kh. ëmnə-, Bur. emne-, Kalm. emnə- id.

Mo. emlig (ancient and rare) ～ emneg (usual) 'an untrained horse' ～ elmeg id., MMO. (Mu.) emlik, Urdu. elmek, Kh. ëmnok, Bur. emliik, Kalm. emneg id.

Mo. samla- ～ samna- 'to comb', MMO. (Mu.) samna-, Mong. samla-, Urdu. samna-, Kh. samna-, Bur. hamna-, Kalm. samna- id.

Mo. anla- 'to hunt', Urdu. âyna-, Kh. ayna-, Al.B aqana-, Kalm. aynə- id.

Mo. omniyud < *oŋliyud (from on < Chinese wang 'king' + suffix -liy + plural suff. -ad) the name of a Mongolian tribe in Inner Mongolia ('those belonging to the Wang'), Urdu. oṃnūṭ, Kh. oṃnūṭ id.

Mo. tanqlaj 'palate', MMO. (Mu.) tanqlaj, Dag. tanña, Mong. tānli, Urdu. taŋnā, Kh. taŋnə ～ tagnə, Kalm. taŋnā id.

Mo. manqlaj 'front, vanguard', MMO. (SH) manqlaj ～ (Mu.) manqlaj, Dag. manqil 'forehead', Mong. māŋli, Urdu. mainā, Kh. maine ～ 'forehead, vanguard, progressive' (～maril < Mo.), Al.B mālā 'forehead', Kalm.D mainā, Kalm:T maina 'forehead'.

98. The consonant l is sometimes of a secondary origin. When a word begins with the consonant m, the nasal *n at the juncture between the initial and second syllable becomes l. This occurs in single words almost in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. manayar < *manayar 'to-morrow', Mo. marylṣi < *manayarsi id., MMO. (SH) manaqar ～ (Mu.) manaqār ～ manayār, Mong.
malan < *manan (cf. Mo. manan 'fog') id., Urd. margatu < *manayartu 'to-morrow', Kh. marqat < *manayarzi id., Al.B marqada, Ekhh.B malagair 'the day to-morrow', Kalm. manqir 'to-morrow'; this word is related etymologically to Mo. manan 'fog'.

99. The development of *l into n does not have anything in common with the development *n > l. These two developments occur in different positions.

The consonant *l becomes n only when *l immediately follows a nasal consonant. In other words, the groups *ml and *nl become mn and n inserted between the consonant and the nasal.

The consonant *n results in l only in syllables immediately following a syllable with m at its beginning, i.e., it becomes l in syllables immediately following the syllables ma, me, etc. Sometimes also the consonant n closing a syllable with m results in l (vide § 105 c).

100. The consonant *r did not occur at the beginning of words. Loan words beginning with r prefix a prothetic vowel:

Mo. rastjan 'rasayana, nectar', Dag. arskan 'mineral spring, curative mineral water', Urd. arayshan id., Kh. arskan id., Bur. arskan 'medicinal water', Kalm. arshn id. < Sanskrit rasayana 'nectar'.

(A) In the middle and at the end of words the consonant *r results in r in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. boro < *bora 'grey', MMO. (SH) boro < (Mu.) bora, Dag. bor in boryxor the name of a shamanist ghost ('the grey-moteley'), Mong. bor, Urd. boro, Kh. bora, Bur. boro id., Mog. bor 'dark-yellow', Kalm. bore 'grey'.

Mo. arban < harban < *pardan 'ten', MMO. (SH, P, Mu.) harban, Dag. arba < Dag. Ivanovsky harba, Mong. yaran, Urd. aurea, Kh. aurea, Bur. arban, Kalm. aurep id.

Mo. yar 'hand', MMO. (SH, Mu.) yar, Dag. gari, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. gar, Mog. qar id.

(B) When there is another *r in the same word, dissimilation takes
place and the consonant *r of the suffix becomes l, while sometimes metathesis (r → l > l → r) occurs.

Suff. -ra/ -re: Mo. qarala- 'to be black' (cf. köke-re- 'to be blue'), Mong. zarla- (cf. negörö- 'to be green'), Urd. zara-, Kh. zarol-, Bur. zarala-, Kalm. zarl- id.

The postposition -rä < uruyu < *huruyu < *furuyu 'down': Mo. yool uruyu 'down the river', MMO. (SH) huru' 'down stream' 〜(Mu.) hurū 'down', Mong. furu 'down; along', Urd. rā 〜 lā, Kh. rā 〜 lā (cf. wūrū 'towards the water' but mori-lā 'towards the horse'), Kalm. ṭā ṭā.


Mo. iruyar < *hiruyar < *piruyar 'bottom', MMO. (SH) hiru'ar 〜(Mu.) hirū 〜 (Mu.) hirūr, Urd. ṭūl < *ṭūr, Kh. ğūrū, Al.B āṭūr, Kalm. ğūrūl id.

Mo. kereğür 'quarrel', MMO. (SH, Mu.) kereğür 〜(SH) kereğūl, Mong. kerū, Urd. kerū, Kh. żerū, Ekh.B żerūr, Kalm. żerūl id.

Mo. arçiğür 'kerchief, towel' (from arći- 'to cleanse, to sweep'), MMO. (Mu.) arćiğür id., Mong. ḋadžir 'a piece of cloth for winding around the head', Urd. altūṣīr, Kh. altūṣīr, Al.B arūtū, Kalm. āltūṣūl 〜 altūṣür 'kerchief, towel, rag'.

101. The dissimilation r → r → l (or l → r) leads to the development of final consonants of syllables or words in Dagur into l in stems in which there is already an r. It is already known that the final consonants of syllables have resulted in r in Dagur. Here, in words in which there is already an r, the final consonant of a syllable results in l. This is a consequence of the dissimilation in question.


Dag. toqaral < *toray < *torbaray 'dust' = Mo. toyaray < *tobaray, cf. Mo. tobaray 'dust', Kalm. tōrūn tōrū 'flying dust, dust moving behind a carriage or a horse'.

102. Sometimes the consonant *r at the end of a syllable is dropped. This occurs before the consonants *l, *č, *š or *s.
In Buriat and Kalmuck *r disappears before *t, *č, and *ž. In Mongqor the consonant *r changes its place (metathesis) or it becomes ʒ when the initial vowel disappears. The disappearance of the consonant *r occurs also before other consonants in all Mongolian languages. Final *r disappears very often before the suffix -sun in Written Mongolian and in all spoken languages.

Mo. urtu 'long', MMO. (SH, Mu.) urtu, Dag. orto, Mong. ʃudur, Urd. urtu, Kh. urtu, BB urtu, Kh.B, Al.B uta, Mog. urtu, Kalm. urtu id.

Mo. kürči ɨre- 'to arrive', Dag. kurtšir-, Kh. ʃurtšir-, Bur. ʃurši ɨr-, Kalm. kurtš ɨr- id.

Mo. oʃirat- 'to approach', Dag. əʃiŋ-, Kh. ərtə- id.

Mo. ʃarə ɨre- 'to come out', Dag. galsir-, Al.B ɡaʃ-ɨrə 'he came out'.

Mo. orki- 'to throw away, to cast', Al.B oʃit ʃ oʃit 'throw away' (imperative 2nd p. plur.).

Mo. əɾte 'early', MMO. (SH, Mu.) əɾte, Dag. əɾte, Mong. şdie, Urd. əɾte, Kh. əɾta, Al.B əɾtə, Kalm. əɾta id.

Mo. əɾbaʃ 'barley', MMO. (Mu.) əɾbaʃ, Mong. šbê 'spelt', Urd. arəd 'barley', Kh. arəd, Al.B arəd, Kalm. arəd id.

Mo. umara- ʃumara- 'to forget', MMO. (SH) umarta- ʃumara- (Mu.) marta-, Dag. marta-, Mong. muʃda-, Urd. marta-, Kh. marta-, Bur. marta-, Kalm. marta id.

Mo. tugso < ʃuʃar-sun 'dust, earth', cf. Mo. tugar-ay 'earth'.

Mo. əɾər 'self', cf. Mo. əɾəɾ-sed < əɾəɾ-suʃd ʃ oɾesud 'selves'.

Mo. jesuʃ < ʃer-sun 'nine', cf. Mo. jere ʃenin 'ninety'.

The Nasals

103. Common Mongolian had the nasal consonants *m, *n, and *ŋ. The labial nasal *m has been discussed above together with the other labial consonants. In this chapter the nasals *n and *ŋ will be discussed.
The Common Mongolian consonant *n has resulted in different sounds at the beginning and in the middle of words.

(A) At the beginning of words the consonant *n remains n, as a general rule, in all Mongolian languages (a). In certain cases *n is of secondary origin, being a further development of an ancient *l. On the other hand, initial l is sometimes a further development of a former *n. The development *n > l occurs mainly as a result of dissimilation, when there is a nasal in the second syllable. In other words, n — Nasal results in l — Nasal. This occurs in Dagur, Mong-guor, and sometimes in other languages. The development *n > l is not confined, however, to cases in which there is a nasal at the beginning of the second syllable, but it occurs also in other positions (b).

(a) CM *naran 'sun' (cf. Korean nal 'day'), Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.), Mog. naron, Dag. nar, Mong., Urd. nara, Kh. nara, Al.B naran, Kalm. nary id.

CM *nayur 'lake', Mo. nayur, MMo. (SH) na'ur, Dag. nayr, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. nur id.


CM *nayad- 'to play', Mo. nayadum 'play', MMo. (Mu.) nādun, Dag. nād, Mong. nādin, Urd. nādum, Kh. nādum, Al.B nādan, Kalm. nādṛ ∼ nādy id.


CM *nuyturuyu 'partridge', Mo. nuyturuu, Mong. łagtor, Urd. nuyturā 'Syrhaptes paradoxus', Kh. nuqtorā 'partridge'.

CM *numun 'bow', Mo., MMO. (SH, Mu.) numun, Dog. num, Mong. ēmu, Urd. nimm, Kh. num, ALB nemo, Kalm. num id.

CM *nomin 'mole', Mo. nomīn, Mong. ēmēn, Urd. sooqoor numun, Kh. sūkqor nūm, Kalm. sūkqī nūm id.

CM *novta, Mo. novto < *novta 'halter', MMO. (Mu.) novta, Mong. noqdo, Durbut Beise, Garlos, Jostu loqto, Urd. noqto, Kh. noqto, ALB noqto, Kalm. noqtol id.

Mo. nom < Sogdian *nom (nem) < Greek νόμος 'religious law, doctrine, dharma', Mong. luom 'religion', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. nom 'religious book, teaching'.

104. (B) In the middle of words the nasal consonant *n is preserved as n in general (a).

After *u of the initial syllable, when closing the latter, *n alternates with m (b).

Immediately after a syllable containing the nasal m, i.e., immediately after ma, me, mu, etc., the consonant *n often becomes l (c).

In consequence of palatalization the consonant *n results in ŋ or disappears in Kalmuck (d).

(a) Mo. ene 'this', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ene, Dog. enē, Mong. nie, Urd. ene, Kh. ēnə, Bur. enq, Mog. ena, Kalm. en id.

Mo., MMO. (SH, Mu.) una-'to fall down', Dog. wogana-, Mong. unā-, Urd. una-, Kh. un-, Ts.B una- id., Mog. unūnā 'he falls', Kalm. unūnā 'to fall'.

Mo., MMO. (SH, Mu.) unu-'to ride', Dog. ono-, Mong. funi-, Urd. unu-, Kh. un-, Ts.B ono-, ALB una- id., Mog. uminā 'he rides', Kalm. uminā 'to ride'.

Mo. oni < *coni < *goni 'the notch of an arrow', MMO. (Mu.) oni, Dog. onī, Urd. oni, Kh. oun, ALB ono, Kalm. on id.

Mo., MMO (Mu.) sana- 'to think', Dog. sana-, Mong., Urd. sana-, Kh. sana-, ALB hana-, Kalm. san id.

Mo. sonus- < *sonas- 'to hear', MMO. (SH) sonos- ~ (Mu.) sonas-, Dog. sonas-, Mong. sonus-, Urd. sonas-, Kh. sonas- id., Mog. sonus- sona 'he hears', Kalm. sonas- 'to hear'.

(b) 'to ext
vagante
'to slav
Mo
undō
thirsty
unde
unfo
10
(c)
mele<
< *m
Mo
(SH)
lan<
'to-m
Ekh.1
'to-m
M
Dag.
ALB
M
< *h
der,
M
'from
Kalm

(')
gonin
sonin
sūn
sūn
(b) Mo. unta- ～unta- 'to sleep', MMO. (SH) unta- id., untaara- 'to extinguish' ～(Mu.) unta- 'to sleep', unturna- 'to extinguish', Dag. *unqanta- 'to sleep', Mong. *ntar ≤ 'to sleep' < *untaara-, Urd. unta- 'to sleep', Kh. unta-, Bur. unta-, Kalm. unta- id.

Mo. umdayan 'drink, beverage', umdaya- 'to be thirsty', Mog. undō 'beverage', Mong. ndase- 'to be thirsty', Urd. undā- 'to be thirsty', Kh. undo 'beverage' ～umdāxoln 'thirst, thirsty', Bur. unda 'beverage' (cf. unda ˈʃiːm 'a milk drink'), Kalm. undya ～ unda 'drink, beverage', undā- 'to be thirsty'.

106. Particular developments are n > l (c) and n > j (d).

(c) Mo. menkej > melekej 'frog', MMO. (Mu.) menkej, Urd. meleği, Kh. melçi, BB melyı, Kalm. melye < *melekej (metathesis) < *melekej < *menkej id.

Mo. manayar 'to-morrow', Mo. marya < *manayarsi id., MMO. (SH) manaqar ～(Mu.) manaqar ～manayar, Mong. malan < *malan < *manan (cf. Mo. manan 'fog'), Urd. margātu < *manayartu 'to-morrow', Kh. margāți < *manayarsi id., Al.B margāda id., Ekh.B maraqar < *manayar 'to-morrow', Kalm. manqar < *manayur 'to-morrow'; cf. Mo. manan 'fog', Kh. manan id.

Mo. minaya ～milaya 'lash', MMO. (SH) mina'a ～(Mu.) minā, Dag. minā, Urd. milk < *minaya, Durbut Beise mila, Kh. mina, Al.B minā, Kalm. malā id.

Mo. mōndōr < *mōnder 'hail', MMO. (Mu.) mōndōr, Dag. muwind < *mwind < *mōnder id., Urd. mōndōr, Kh.B munder, Kalm. mōnd id.

Mo. emüne 'in front, before', MMO. (SH, Mu.) emüne, Dag. empel 'front', Dag. Ivanovsky emene, Urd. ömēnu, Kh. ömana, Al.B ömēn, Kalm. ömn id.

(d) Mo. qonin 'sheep' (cf. Orkhon Turk. qon), MMO. (SH, Mu.) qonin, Dag. xońi, Mong., Urd. xoni, Kh. xońi, Al.B xońi, Mog. qonin, Kalm. xońi ～xoń < *qojin < *qonin id.

Mo. söni 'night', MMO. (SH) söni ～(Mu.) söni, Dag. sünī, Mong. soni, Urd. söni, Kh. sońa, Kh.B huńi, Al.B hūni, Mog. suń, Kalm. sön < *sōjin < *sönin id.

106. A rare phenomenon is the appearance of a redundant n
at the beginning or in the middle words, a phenomenon called 'munnation' by Ramstedt.

(a) At the beginning of words n appears only in a few words.

Al.B nastol 'table' < Russian стол, has probably originated from Russian на стол 'on the table'. Thus this is not a phonetic development.

Kh.B nädān, Mo. in Khor-Buriat spelling niidān 'a shamaness', Mo. udyan ∼ udyan, Kh. udōq, Al.B odōq id.

Al.B ni'man < *miyana 'goat' = Mo. miyana, MMO. (SH) ima'at 'goats' ∼ (Mu.) ima'an 'goat', Mong. inā, Urd., Kh. jamā, Kh.B jamān, Kalm. jamān 'goat'.

Mong. nigung 'to do in this manner' = Urd. 奭*xe ∼ š*e xe, Kh. 奭* xe, Al.B 奭* xe, Kalm. 奭 ∼ 奭 id.

Urd. nēy ∼ 奭 'the solar heat, a hot place exposed to sunshine' = Mo. 奭 id, Kh. 奭 < *ege- 'to warm, to bake', Kalm. èlls 'solar heat'.

Urd. nü'tēs ∼ ëltēs 'heat' = Mo. ëltē, Kh. ëltē, Kalm. ëltē ∼ ëltē id.

Urd. nültēs ëltēs ëltēs 'frost resistant' = Kh. ëltēs ëltēs id.

Mong. nuntu 'he sleeps' = Mo. unta-, Kh. untu- 'to sleep'.

(b) In the middle a redundant n appears at the end of the initial syllable before *t in *nuntu:

Mo. (preclassical) nuntu 'camping place, homeland', MMO. (SH) nuntu, Mong. nontog, Mog. nuntu id. = Mo. nuntu, Dag. nōtq, Urd. nutuk, Kh. nūtq, Ts.B nōtq, Kalm. nūtq id.

107. The final *n of stems and words has developed in different ways. The Mongolian languages are classified into two main groups from the point of view of the development of the final *n: in one group the final *n of nouns has disappeared, while in the other group it is preserved, e.g., Urd. usu 'water' = Kalm. usū id. Besides, in some languages the final *n remains n, while in other languages it has become η and converged with *η, e.g., Bur. whan 'water' = Kalm. usū id.

The general rule is that the final *n of nouns disappears before derivative suffixes, e.g., Mo. modun 'tree' + suff. -či - mođuči 'carpenter'; Mo. nojan 'prince' + suff. -la- - nojala- 'to rule', etc.

Because (nojan) nomen e.g., in On the before the Seas In is not a language remain 3. & 4. missing.

1. Nomini Gen. a Dat. -I Ablativ Instrum Comit

2. to the Nomini Gen. Dat.- Ablativ Instrum Comit

3. not a comit:

Tsom.
disappearance of *n before derivative suffixes is an old phenomenon, because in the Secret History there are such forms as nojala- 'to rule' (nojan 'prince'), usula- 'to water' (usun 'water'), etc. The same phenomenon occurs also in the most conservative spoken languages, e.g., in Mogol in which we find qurdulana 'he runs' (qurdun 'quick') etc. On the other hand, in Middle Mongolian n still existed in many words before the plural suffix -d, e.g., qonindi (accusative) 'the sheep' in the Secret History etc., while Written Mongolian has only qonid-i id.

In declension the final n is stable in some languages, while it is not in other languages. From this point of view the Mongolian languages can be classified into four groups: 1. into such in which n remains in all cases, 2. into such in which n is missing in all cases, 3. & 4. into such in which the consonant is present in some cases and missing in other cases.

1. Middle Mongolian (e.g., Muqaddimat al-Adab) and Mogol:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Mu.</th>
<th>Mog.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>usun 'water'</td>
<td>morin 'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. and Acc.</td>
<td>usuni</td>
<td>morini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Loc.</td>
<td>usundu</td>
<td>morindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>usunásu</td>
<td>morínásu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>usunár ~ usuniár</td>
<td>morinár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>usuniárła</td>
<td>morinlej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The second group has no n in any case form. Dagur belongs to this group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Mu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>oso 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. and Acc.</td>
<td>osi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Loc.</td>
<td>osd ~ ost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>osás ~ osös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>osár ~ osör</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>ost</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. In the languages of the third category the consonant n does not appear in the nominative, accusative, instrumental, and in the comitative II. These languages are Urdus, Urat, Kharchin, Khalkha, Tsongol-Buriat, Sartul-Buriat, and Bargu-Buriat.
4. The languages of the fourth group omit the consonant *n only in the accusative, instrumental, and comitative II. These languages are the remaining dialects of the Buriat language (Aga, Khor, Alar, Bokhan, Barguzin, Ekhirit) and Kalmuck:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alar-Buriat</th>
<th>Kalmuck (Torgut)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>modon</td>
<td>modñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>modoni</td>
<td>modnä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accus.</td>
<td>modo</td>
<td>modö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Loc.</td>
<td>modondo</td>
<td>modñö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>modonhö</td>
<td>modnöö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>modór</td>
<td>modär</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com. I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>modñlã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com. II</td>
<td>modóñóñ</td>
<td>modñöñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108. In cases in which the final consonant *n is preserved in all Mongolian languages it has developed into a velar ṣh in some of them, while it remains n in other languages. This occurs in nouns serving as attributes, i.e., those acting like Indo-European adjectives, in adjectival numerals, and in certain substantive nouns (A).

On the other hand, the final n is present in some languages and missing in others (B).
(A) The final *n preserved in all Mongolian languages:

- Mo., MMO. n, n,
- Dagur η, Zero,
- Monguor n, Zero,
- Urdu n, Zero,
- Durb. Beise, Jostu n, Zero,
- Gorlos, Aru Khorchin n, Zero,
- Kharchin n, Zero,
- Urat, Khalkha, Chakhar η, Zero,
- Tsongol, Sartul η, Zero,
- Remaining Buriaat dial. η, η,
- Mogol, Kalmuck n, n.

(A) Mo. ezen 'master', MMO. (SH, Mu.) ezen, Dag. edën, Urdu edén, Kh. ēdzēŋ, Al.B ēžëŋ, Mog. edēn, Kalm. eŋ id.

Mo. qurdun 'quick', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qurdun, Mong. qurduŋ, Urdu xurduŋ, Kh. xurduŋ, Ts.B xorduŋ, Al.B xurduŋ, Mog. qurdun, Kalm. xurdŋ id.

Mo. on 'year', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hon, Dag. ṣη, Dag. Ivanovsky ħon, Mong. ṣan, Urdu on, Kh., Barguzin on, Kalm. on id.

Mo. ulayan 'red', MMO. (SH) hul'an ~ (Mu.) hulân, Dag. ulân, Mong. fulân, Urdu ulân, Kh. ulân, Al.B ulân, Mog. ulôn, Kalm. ulân id.

(B) Mo. morin 'horse', MMO. (SH, Mu.) morin, Dag. mori, Mong. mori, Urdu mori, Ch. mōri, Kh. mōri, Al.B mōriŋ, Mog. morin, Kalm. D mōry, Kalm. Buzawa mōry id.

Mo. čisun 'blood', MMO. (SH, Mu.) čisun, Dag. tso, Mong. tsedn, Urdu ċişu, Kh. tsus, Al.B šuhaŋ, Mog. tšesun, Kalm. tšesŋ id.

Mo. qulusun 'reed', MMO. (SH, Mu.) qulusun, Mong. čulduŋ, Urdu čulus, Kh. čulus, Al.B čulahan, Ts.B čoloso, Kalm. čulsŋ id.

Mo. odun 'star', MMO. (SH, Mu.) hodun, Dag. oddo ~ od, Mong. fōdi, Urdu udū, Kh. oddo, Al.B odon, Kalm. odŋ id.
109. The disappearance of the final *n of the stem in the nominative case has resulted in a great confusion in declension. By analogy with the stems having their *n restored in some oblique cases (genitive, dative-locative, and ablative) but not having it in the nominative case, many words which never had a final *n behave as if they belonged to the former category, i.e., as if their stems ended in *n alternating with Zero. For instance, the Khalkha words șil 'glass', șilo 'mountain', and many others have a regular (and historically justified) declension with no *n at the end of their stems:

Genitive șiln, șiln
Dative-Locative șildo, șildū
Ablative șilūs, șilūs

Sometimes they are declined, however, in a manner as if their stems ended in *n ~ Zero:

Genitive șiln, șiln
Dative-Locative șilūnda, șilūnda
Ablative șilūn, șilūn

This is due to the influence of such stems as Kh. maddo ~ moddon: nom. maddo, gen. moddoni, dat.-loc. moddondu, abl. moddonūs.

On the other hand, when the final consonant *n has not disappeared in Khalkha, it has resulted in *n; in other words, it has converged with *ŋ. The declension of stems ending in *ŋ differs considerably from that of stems ending in *n, e.g., Kh. dsovlong < *dʒοβαλάŋ 'suffering', gen. dsovlongin, instr. dsovlongör, etc. By analogy with stems ending in *ŋ other stems which do not end in *ŋ but in *n are declined as if they were stems ending in *ŋ, e.g., Khalkha xaton < *qatun 'wife of a prince', gen. xatoni (normal) ~ xatonoŋ (by analogy), Barguzin-Buriat och < *on 'year', gen. onoŋ (regular) ~ ongōe (by analogy), etc.

*ŋ

110. The velar nasal *ŋ occurs only at the end of syllables and words. In the middle of words it occurs mainly before the consonants *q, *k, *γ, and *y.
It remains η in all Mongolian languages. It has converged with *n at the end of words in Dagur, Khalkha, Uarat, and Buriat.

(A) Mo. an 'game, wild animals', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. an id.
Mo. en 'the width of a cloth or textile', Mong. ān, Urd., Kh. en, Bur. en, Kalm. en id.
Mo. anqan 'beginning', MMO. (SH) anqa urida 'original, formerly',
Mong. ān 'beginning', Urd. anqan, Kh. anqan, Bur. anqan, Kalm. anqan id.
Mo. manqus 'a legendary monster', MMO. (SH) manqus 'dragon'
~ (SH) manqut name of a tribe, Dag. manqë 'monster', Mong. man-qûdəz 'an anthropophagous evil being in tales, ogre', Urd. manqus id., Kh. manqus id., Bur. manqut 'Russian', Al.B manqûdûz 'a legendary evil being', Mog. manqut the Mangut tribe, Kalm. manqûdz 'Tatar'.

(B) Before n (<*n or *!) the consonant *η frequently develops into ɣ or q. This always occurs in Khalkha and Buriat.
Mo. manqalj 'forehead', MMO. (SH) manqalj ~ (Mu.) manqalj,
Dag. manqil, Mong. mûnli, Urd. maññi < *manqalj, Kh. maññi < *mañalj, Kalm.T maññá < *manqalj id.
Mo. anla- ~ anqa- 'to hunt', Kh. agna-, Al.B agana- id.

(C) Before j < *γ (before *i) the consonant *η results in ɣ in Buriat.
Mo. jaññilaya 'knot', MMO. (Mu.) jañqi id., Mong. diängxid~'to become a knot', Urd. diängxid- id., Kh. dənqijâ 'knot', Bur. sanjalâ < *jaññilaya, Kalm. sângá id.

(D) In the middle of a few words *η disappears in Buriat.
Mo. jañqa 'pipe' < Chinese, Mong. xānsâ, Kh. qaŋș, Kh.B gâhan id.
Mo. manqalj 'forehead', Kh. maññi, Kalm. T maññá, Al.B maññá id.
PART TWO: MORPHOLOGY

Introductory remarks

111. The Mongolian languages spoken at the present time have inherited their morphologic features from Common Mongolian. The latter preserved numerous elements of its morphology from Common Altaic. Thus the morphologic system of the Mongolian languages is ancient and conservative.

When we compare the grammatical forms of modern Mongolian languages with those of Written or Middle Mongolian, we find that many of them are further phonetic developments of ancient forms. Therefore, such forms are of no interest to us and their discussion should be a chapter of historic or comparative phonology. On the other hand, there are numerous forms which are not simple phonetic variants of ancient forms. Very often they are creations by analogy or they are very ancient but have survived only in a few languages.

Forms which are nothing but phonetic developments of ancient forms found in Written Mongolian will not be discussed here. They are mostly derivative forms, such as nouns derived from verbs or verbs derived from other parts of speech. They are of no interest to us.

There are, however, forms of great interest from the morphologic point of view. These are the plural forms, declension, pronouns, numerals, and the conjugation. Here we shall find much more than mere phonetic variants of the same forms.

112. The Mongolian languages morphologically resemble one another greatly. This is so, because they have preserved many more ancient features inherited from Common Mongolian than, for instance, English has preserved of its Germanic heritage. However, the Mon-
The Mongolian languages are not completely uniform from the point of view of morphology. When we take such a morphologic category as the plural, we find that Monguor has preserved only one plural form of all the Common Mongolian plural forms, namely that with the suffix -s, and has developed a special form of its own (in -sgi). Dagur has preserved only one Mongolian plural form and this is with the suffix -n-d, and it has also another form, borrowed from Tungus (with the suffix -sul). Other languages have many more forms and they have developed compound suffixes such as -sud, -dud, etc. (e.g., Urdus, Khalkha, etc.).

We shall also see that the declension is not uniform. Thus, some languages have developed a special nominative form (e.g., Khalkha moddo 'tree' versus stem moddo-), while in other languages the nominative does not differ from the stem (e.g., Kalmuck moda both stem and nominative 'tree'). In some languages the genitive and the accusative have converged, while other languages distinguish between these forms.

We shall see that some Mongolian languages have a different conjugation in which there are special forms for each person (e.g., Buriat jabanab 'I walk', jabanas 'thou walkest', jaban 'he walks', etc.), while in other languages there is only one form for all persons (e.g., Khalkha jawov 'I walk', 'thou walkest', etc.).

These few examples are sufficient to demonstrate that the Mongolian languages are not quite uniform from the point of view of their grammar, although in this respect they differ from each other to a lesser extent than they do phonetically.

In the following chapters the plural forms, declension, numerals, pronouns, and the conjugation will be discussed.
Plural

113. Common Altaic had several plural suffixes. Some of them were suffixes of collective nouns. Other suffixes were, perhaps, class denominators, i.e., they indicated groups of people or objects regarded as belonging to the same category.

The plural suffixes may be classified, from the formal point of view, into simple and compound suffixes. The simple suffixes appear in two forms: without any additional element and with an additional element. The latter is a connective vowel or an element filling the hiatus, etc. There are compound suffixes of two kinds: ancient compound suffixes which existed in Common Mongolian or in some Ancient Mongolian dialects, and new compound suffixes which have appeared only in a few Modern Mongolian languages.

Simple suffixes: -*n, -*l, -*s, and -*d.

Compound suffixes:

(a) ancient suffixes: -*cel, -*cu₂, -*nar, and -*nad;
(b) new suffixes: -*sud, -*dud, -*nu₂udud, -*narud.

The suffixes -*n, -*s, and -*d were inherited from Common Altaic in which they might have been variants of one suffix, occurring in different positions. The alternation -*s and -*d can be still traced in Mongolian (vide § 54).

In modern languages there are compound suffixes consisting of two suffixes still occurring separately. These suffixes cannot be traced in Middle Mongolian, because they are products of recent development.

Suffix -*n

114. The suffix -*n was taken by stems ending in -*i and the diphthongs with *i. This plural suffix still exists in a few Mongolian languages.
In pre-classical Written Mongolian the nomen actoris ending in -yei takes this suffix, e.g., sing. jabuye'i 'going' — plur. jabuyein 'those going'. The nomen futuri ending in -quj has the plural form ending in -quj, e.g., sing. surquj 'asking' — plur. surqujn 'those asking'.

In classical Mongolian the suffix -n occurs as the plural ending of professional names, e.g., ügledbüričin 'workers' from the sing. ügledbüriči. In Written Mongolian the plural of nouns ending in -taj has still the ending -tan, e.g., morilaj 'equestrians' from morilaj 'one who has a horse'. In old Written Mongolian texts such forms as qulayaj 'thieves' from qulayaj 'thief', noqaj 'dogs' from noqaj 'dog', etc. occur. In Written Mongolian the form gergen 'wife' from gergen id. is still used. The form gergen was originally a plural but it has become a singular semantically, in the same manner as Khalkha exxonor 'woman' morphologically is a plural form of exxe 'mother'.

In Middle Mongolian forms in -n derived from singular forms ending in i and j were numerous. They were the only regular plural forms of the stems concerned, e.g., SH noqaj 'dogs' (sing. noqaj), dutai 'those insufficient ones, those lacking' (sing. dutai'i), üge'ün — a plural form from üge'ai 'not having'; čerbi — a plural of čerbi (a title), etc.; cf. P élčin 'messengers' (sing. élči), jabuquj 'those going' (sing. jabuquj), etc.; cf. H qulayaj 'thieves' (sing. qulayaj), ma'ün 'evil ones' (sing. ma'aij), etc. In Mugaddimát al-Adab such forms do not occur, probably because the plural in -n had already disappeared in West Middle Mongolian.

The plural suffix -*n is still preserved in Urdu in tribal names, the primary stems of which end in -*π, e.g., gaxan from *γαπάγ 'hag'.

In Khalkha professional names with the suffix -gájlı have a plural in -*n, e.g., čăddalmartlıq 'the workers' (sing. čăddalmartlı). In the remaining Mongolian languages, i.e., in Dagur, Monguar, Buriat, Mogol, and Kalmuck the plural suffix -*n occurs only as an element of fossilized compound suffixes. The plural suffix -*n occurs as a fossilized element in the following suffixes:

Bur. -taj in moritaj 'equestrians' (sing. moritaj < *morilaj), Kalm. erđmontaj 'those possessing virtues, virtuous people' (sing. erđmontaj).
Kh. -γτογ < -γτυν suff. of the benedictive, e.g., σιγτογ 'please sit down!' (originally used in reference to many people), cf. sing. -γτυγ
> Bur. -γτι, e.g., ḥügти 'please sit down!' (originally a polite singular form), etc.

It is doubtful that there has been a plural suffix -*αν in Middle Mongolian, although in the Secret History the form de'elen 'garments' does occur. The latter is, in my opinion, a plural in -*n from *de'elej, cf. Mo. degelej 'waistcoat', derived from degel 'robe, coat'.

**Suffix -*l**

115. The Altaic suffix -*l still exists in Tungus but it is no longer productive in Turkic or Mongolian. It is possible that the primary plural suffix -*l still existed in Common Mongolian and even in Middle Mongolian. In the Secret History the interesting form daba'ul 'mountain passes' (sing. daba'an) occurs which is an unmistakable plural form. Other examples are less certain, e.g., kimul 'finger nails' versus kimusun 'nail'. It is possible that kimul is not a plural form at all and kimusun has developed from *kimulsun (like Mo. láyasun 'paper' < *layalsun etc.).


**Suffix -*s**

116. The suffix -*s occurred in Common Mongolian. In Written Mongolian it is taken by stems ending in vowels and in ḫ-diphthongs (with the final ḫ dropped). The latter stems originally took the plural suffix -*n, but later on -* replaced the suffix -n by analogy to forms derived from stems ending in vowels other than i or ḫ. Cf. Mo. ayulas 'mountains' (ayula), eres 'men' (ere), noqas 'dogs' (noqai), erdensis 'jewels' (erdenis), etc.

This suffix is also common in Middle Mongolian. In the Secret
History numerous forms with -s occur, e.g., emestū 'having wives', eres 'men', a'ulas 'mountains', etc.; cf. H tanyas 'seals', saras 'months', jekes 'great people'; P üles 'deeds', daruqada 'to the chieftains'; Mu. quras 'rains', üges 'words', hildūs 'swords', etc.

In Mongguor the only extant plural suffix is -s or -sgi. The former occurs only in the dative and ablative. The suffix -sgi probably consists of -*s (suffix of the plural) and -gi < -*ki as in Mo. endeki 'being here', usundaki 'aquatic, being in the water', etc.

In Mogol -*s has resulted in -s ~ -z, e.g., tákāz 'bucks', tαχτας 'boards', ṣānāz 'combs', etc.

In Dagur the suffix -*s does not occur.

In Urdus, Khalkha, and Kalmuck the suffix -s is widespread: cf. Urd. emes 'women' (cf. the unusual form edās 'masters' from edāin), Kh. ubs 'mountains', eres 'men', Kalm. zalüs 'young men', tšon'ės 'wolves', noz'ės 'dogs', etc.

In Buriat final -s always results in d ~ t and, therefore, the suffix -*s has become -d ~ -t, e.g., Al.B tαsūt 'hens', ḫret 'men'. In Buriat -*s has converged with the plural suffix -*d which has also become -d ~ -t.

The suffix -*s is taken by stems ending in consonants in Urdus. In this case the suffix has a connective vowel, e.g., dojonqūs 'curses, maledictions', ḫidānūs 'we', ḫodnūs 'these'; cf. Kh. and Kh.B tanūs 'you' (impolite).

Suffix -*d

117. There was an alternation of the final consonants *d and *s in Common Mongolian, e.g., *nayad- ~ *nayas- 'to play', *ebēd- ~ *ebes- 'to be ill', *ded ~ *des 'the second, the following one', etc. The suffix -*d ~ -*s differentiated at an early date. While the plural suffix -*s was taken by stems ending in vowels and, exceptionally, also by stems ending in consonants (in which case a connective vowel appeared), the suffix -*d was reserved only for stems ending in consonants.

In Written Mongolian -d is taken by a few stems ending in vowels, e.g., busud 'the others' from busu 'other'. This is probably due to
analogy. This suffix is generally taken by stems ending in n, l, and r. In pre-classical Written Mongolian the final n of the stem was still preserved and not dropped before the suffix -d, as became the rule in classical Mongolian, e.g., Mo. morid 'horses' (sing. morin), yazjad 'countries' (sing. yazjar), tusemed 'officials' (sing. tusemel). The final syllable (suffix) -sun is also dropped in Mo., e.g., nuyud 'ducks' (sing. nuysun).

In Middle Mongolian stems ending in n sometimes still preserve it, e.g., SH goniinda'an 'his own sheep' & gonia 'sheep' (accusative), qand 'wives', etc.; cf. H nojand 'officers', Mu. zatundun ~ zatundin 'of the wives'.

However, in Middle Mongolian the final n began to disappear before -d. Thus in the SH already such forms occur as baraysad 'unhappy ones' (sing. baraysan), cf. P mud 'they' (sing. mun), H siba'ud 'birds' (sibauun), P nojad 'princes' (sing. nojan), Mu. jabuyad 'pedestrians' (sing. jabuyan), xatut 'wives', siba'ut 'birds', etc.

The final sun, r, and l disappear before -d in MMO., e.g., SH elet 'sands' (sing. elesin), singot 'falcons' (sing. singor); H temût 'irons' (sing. temûr), anžat 'ploughs' (sing. anžasun), tüşmet 'officials' (sing. (tüşmel); Mu. qizia't 'frontiers' (sing. qizår), etc.

In Mongor the suffix -*d does not occur. In Dagur all final consonants and, consequently, also *d result in r. Therefore, the plural suffix -*d taken by the stems ending in *n has become -r in Dagur, e.g., emguêr 'women' (sing. emguê = Mo. eme kümün).

In Mogol -*d results in -t, e.g., mori-t 'horses', temõ-t 'camels' (from morin, temõn respectively).

In Urdu, Khalkha, and Buriat -*d results in -d ~ t. In Kal- muck -*d > -n. In Buriat -*d has converged with -*s.

118. After final consonants other than n, l, and r the plural suffix is -ud in Written Mongolian. This is the same suffix -*d with the connective vowel -u.

The suffix -ud occurs both in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian, cf. Mu. bayut 'ties' from bay, P sinšiŋyûd 'Taoist monks' from sinšiŋ < Chinese sien-shang. In MMO. the final *γ / *g of the stem disappears before -ud, e.g., SH ţarli'ut 'orders' (sing. ţarity),
P ajima’udun ‘of the aimak subdivisions’ (sing. ajimq), čeri’udun ‘of the soldiers’ (sing. čerig), etc. In West Middle Mongolian this did not occur, e.g., bayut ‘ties’. Evidently a stabilisation of the final y occurred later on by analogy to all the other forms of such words.

In spoken Mongolian languages the disappearance of the final *γ / *γ occurs only in fossilized forms, particularly in tribal names, e.g., onγιt ‘Ongnigut’ < *onγiy-un ‘people belonging to a wang (i.e., a prince)’ or Buriat čaγt ‘khans’ < *qayalin-un from *qayan.

In Mongguor and Dagur -*ud does not occur. In Mogol -*ud results in -üt, e.g., bišiγüt ‘letters’ (from bišik). In Urdu and Khalkha -*ud > -ūd ~ -ūt.

In Buriat -üt is very common, e.g., ALB ulaćt ‘people’ from ulat < *ulas, Ts.B buraćt ‘Buriats’ from burat.

In Kalmuck -*ud results in -ūd.

The suffix -*d with the connective vowel already occurred in Common Mongolian.

119. In spoken Mongolian languages plural suffixes may combine and compound suffixes appear. The latter consist of the primary suffixes -s (or -*d) and -*ud, the compound suffixes being -sūd and -dūd, cf. Urdu gosūt ‘towns’ (sing. gote), moridūd ~ moridūt ‘horses’ (sing. mor); Kh. erosūt ‘men’ (sing. ēro); Kh.B nojodūt ‘princes’ (sing. nojoŋ); ALB burūhät ‘calves’ (sing. burū); Kalm. čidūd ‘khans’ (sing. čán), zalėsio ‘young people’ (sing. zale), etc.

120. In pre-classical Written Mongolian the suffix -ud was also taken by stems ending in a vowel. In this case a *Hiatusiliger (-γ / -γ-) appears between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix -ud, e.g., čayayčiγud ‘white mares’ from čayayčin. In Middle Mongolian such forms were common, e.g., SH quγγuγčiγut ‘brown female animals’, alayčiγut ‘motley female animals’.

It seems that these plural forms were used mostly (or exclusively?) in reference to female beings.

Suffix -*nuγud

121. In Written Mongolian stems ending in l, n, ŋ, and r take the plural suffix -nuγud. This is a compound suffix consisting of
the suffix -\(\text{r}\)ud discussed in § 120 added to \(n\) (with the connective vowel -\(u\)). In other words -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud < -\(n\) -\(u\)-\(\text{r}\)ud in which \(n\) originally belonged to the stem from which it was erroneously detached and joined the suffix. This \(n\) belonged to stems of the type *qayan 'khan'. By analogy to such stems it appeared also in other words. The suffix -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud consists of -\(\text{r}\)ud (§ 120) added to the final \(n\) of a stem.

The suffix -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud is old. It already occurred in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in SH yainnu'ut 'fires', P maقارن 'the Mahārājas', mandalnu'udī 'the maṇḍala' (accusative), purqanu'udun 'of the Buddhās', etc.

In Mogol -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud > -\(n\)ūt, e.g., noqenīt 'dogs', yadārnu't 'countries', etc. Dagur does not have this suffix.

The suffix -\(\text{n}\)ūd ~ -\(n\)ūt occurs in Urdu, Khalkha, and Buriait, i.e., in all languages spoken in Outer and Inner Mongolia and in Eastern Siberia, e.g., Urd. xaranūt 'black ones', Kh. qalnūt 'fires', Alar Buriait garmūt 'hands'.

In Kalmuck -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud has become -\(\text{m}\)ūd, its \(\text{m}\) being due to analogy with the suffix -\(\text{m}\)ad as in ayomoo 'senior, authorities'.

In Buriait -\(\text{n}\)ūt < -\(\text{n}\)\(\text{r}\)ud joins the other suffix -\(\text{t}\)ūt < -\(\text{u}\)\(\text{d}\) and both of them together become the compound suffix -\(\text{n}\)ūt < -\(\text{n}\)uhūd < -\(\text{n}\)udūd, e.g., ALB ēzinhūt 'women' from ēzi 'old woman'.

S u f f i x -\(\text{t}\)ud

122. The suffix -\(\text{t}\)ud consists of the primary suffix -\(\text{t}\)ī and the plural suffix -\(\text{r}\)ud (vide § 120), the element -\(\text{t}\)ī being a derivation suffix, namely a suffix of professional names (e.g., modu-\(\text{t}\)ī 'carpenter' from modun 'wood'). The plural suffix -\(\text{r}\)ud is added to -\(\text{t}\)ī.

Mo. has -\(\text{t}\)ud, e.g., žal\(\text{r}\)uvuđ 'youth, young people, the young generation' from žal\(\text{r}\)uv 'young'; Urd. and Kh. -\(\text{t}\)ūt, Bur. -\(\text{t}\)ūt, Kal. -\(\text{t}\)ūd.

The suffix -\(\text{t}\)ud alternates with -\(\text{t}\)ul (vide § 115).

S u f f i x -\(\text{n}\)ar

123. The suffix -\(\text{n}\)ar is taken by stems ending in a vowel and denoting people and anthropomorphous beings such as gods and
spirits. It occurs in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Dagur, Urdu, Buriat, and Kalmuck.

Mo. *aqanar* 'the elder brothers', MMO. (P) *bodhisviđnarun* 'of the Bodhisattvas', (H) *de'unr* 'the younger brothers', Dag. *deγner* id., Urd. *bagśinar* 'the teachers', Kh. *dūnir* 'the younger brothers', Al.B *bīner* 'the shamans', Kalm. *dānir* 'the younger brothers'.

The suffix -*nar* already existed in Common Mongolian. The elements of which it consists were already petrified in Common Mongolian and did not occur there as suffixes, but Common Altaic had a plural suffix -*r* > Tungus -*r*, and in Tungus there is a compound plural suffix -*nahal* ~ -*nasal* < -*na* and -*sal* the latter being a «living» plural suffix in Tungus.

The suffix -*nar* joins other plural suffixes. Thus compound suffixes arise, e.g., Urd. and Bur. -*narut* < -*nar* + -*ud*, e.g., Urd. and Bur. *lananarut* 'lamas'; cf. also Kalm. -*prmūn* < -*nar* + -*mūn* (vide § 121), e.g., *mandēνarmūn* 'novices' from *mandēν*.

124. In Middle Mongolian and some Buriat dialects the plural suffix -*nad* occurs. The latter is a compound and consists of the suffix -*nar* (vide § 123) and the plural suffix -*d* (vide § 117), before which the final *r* has disappeared in the same manner as in Mo. *yažad* 'countries, places' from *yažar* 'country, place', Mo. (pre-class.) *mōd* 'ways, roads' from *mōr* 'way, road', *siŋqo* 'falcons' from *siŋgor* 'falcon', etc.

The suffix -*nad* is rare. It occurs only in the text of the Secret History and in the Ekhirit dialect of the Buriat language: cf. SH *berined* 'the daughters-in-law' (from *beri*), Ekh.B *ayanad* 'the elder brothers'; cf. also the Ekhirit clan names *abaganad* (from *abağa* 'paternal uncle'), *seğėnd*, *emxėnd*, etc.

125. There are rare suffixes borrowed from other languages. Such a suffix is Dagur -*sul* < Solon, and Middle Mongolian -*lar* (in Muqaddimat al-Adab) < Turkic.

The results will be summarized in the following tables.
(A) The simple plural suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co. Altaic</th>
<th>-<em>n</em></th>
<th>-<em>t</em></th>
<th>-<em>s</em></th>
<th>-<em>d</em></th>
<th>-*y-*u-<em>d</em></th>
<th>-*n-u-y-u-<em>d</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co. Mo.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>t</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*y-*u-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*n-u-y-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*u-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*y-*u-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*n-u-y-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>l</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*u-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*n-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-*u-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-*n-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-<em>r</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>t</em></td>
<td>-*u-*t</td>
<td>-*n-u-*t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-<em>y</em></td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-*u-*t</td>
<td>-*n-u-*t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-<em>t</em></td>
<td>-<em>t</em></td>
<td>-*u-*t</td>
<td>-*n-u-*t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>t</em></td>
<td>-*u-*t</td>
<td>-*n-u-*t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-<em>s</em></td>
<td>-<em>D</em></td>
<td>-*u-*D</td>
<td>-*m-u-*D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) The ancient compound plural suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Co. Altaic</th>
<th>-<em>t</em></th>
<th>-<em>r</em></th>
<th>-<em>d</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co. Mo.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-<em>n</em></td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-<em>d</em></td>
<td>-<em>n</em>-u-<em>d</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(C) The new compound suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Co. Mo.</th>
<th>-*s &amp; -*ud</th>
<th>-*d &amp; -*ud</th>
<th>-*nuyud &amp; -*ud</th>
<th>-*nar &amp; -*ud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>-süt</td>
<td>-düt</td>
<td></td>
<td>-narüt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>-süt</td>
<td>-düt</td>
<td></td>
<td>-narüt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alar-Buriat</td>
<td>-hüt</td>
<td>-hüt</td>
<td>-nhüt</td>
<td>-narüt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsongol-Buriat</td>
<td></td>
<td>-süt</td>
<td></td>
<td>-narüt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td>-sød</td>
<td>-død</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nød ~ -nemød</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension

Nominative

126. Common Mongolian did not have a special nominative ending. In most Mongolian languages the subject form of a declinable part of speech, with the exception of certain pronouns, does not have a form making it different from the stem. The nominal stem coincides with the subject form, i.e., with what we call nominative. In this respect the Mongolian languages do not differ from Turkic or Manchu-Tungus.

Some Mongolian languages, however, have in one particular instance, i.e., the stems ending in *n, a nominative case differing from the stem.

In Common Mongolian, Ancient Mongolian, Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian stems ending in n preserve their final n in the nominative and in all remaining cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Mongolian</th>
<th>Middle Mongolian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>modun 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>modunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Loc.</td>
<td>modundur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>moduni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>modunâča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>modunijar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>modunlůya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At an early date, probably in Ancient Mongolian, nouns ending in *n* occurred without the case ending, when serving as direct complements. Instead, they dropped their final consonant *n*, e.g., Mo. *usu*, MMo. (Mu.; P) *usu* 'water' (in the meaning of an accusative), (SH) *günesü* 'provisions' (cf. Mo. *kinesün* 'provisions'), etc.

The final consonant *n* disappears facultatively in Written Mongolian in the instrumental and sometimes also in the accusative, with the effect that the stems concerned have two different declensions. They are either declined like stems ending in a consonant or like stems ending in a vowel:

**Written Mongolian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>modun</em> 'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><em>modunu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.-Loc.</td>
<td><em>modundur</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td><em>moduni</em> or <em>moduji</em> or <em>modu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>modunača</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td><em>modunijar</em> or <em>modubar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td><em>moduniluya</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns expressing inanimate objects occurred in speech much more frequently in the role of direct complements than in that of syntactic subjects. This resulted in the suffixless oblique case form (the so-called *Casus indefinitus*) being generalized and replacing the former subject forms ending in *n*, e.g., *modu* 'tree', *usu* 'water', *čilayu* 'rock, stone', etc.

The result was that in some Mongolian languages a new form of the syntactic subject (i.e., a new form of the nominative case) arose which in the languages concerned has converged with the suffixless form of the direct complement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td><em>usu</em> 'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td><em>usu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td><em>usu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td><em>usu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, nouns denoting people retain their -*n in the nominative case in all Mongolian languages, because these nouns serve as syntactic subjects as frequently as they occur in the role of direct complements, e.g., Kh. īsagan < *ebügen 'old man', čān 'khan', nojųn 'prince', Urd. yahun 'lady, queen', nojon 'prince', etc.

127. Nouns serving as attributes retain their final nasal in all Mongolian languages, e.g., Kh. moddoj 'wooden', tsuln 'made of stone', Urd. alam 'golden', etc.

By analogy to such forms attributive forms (a sort of adjectives) of words arose which never had had a final *n, e.g., Kh. gallon 'fiery, pertaining to the fire', sillon 'made of glass', etc. In Written Mongolian these stems are yal 'fire' and šil 'glass'. The attributive forms or adjectives, as they are called sometimes, are a result of analogy:

Kh. moddo 'wood': moddoj 'wooden' = yal 'fire': gallon 'fiery'.

Genitive and Accusative

128. These two case forms will be discussed together, because they have converged in some Mongolian languages.

In Common Mongolian these two case forms were distinguished the same as in Written Mongolian.

The Common Altaic genitive suffix was -*n: Korean -*n, Tungus -n < -*n + the ending -qi < -*ki = Mo. -ki in endeki 'being here, belonging to this place'; Ancient Turkic -n < -*n. After a final vowel the suffix -*n was used, but between a final consonant of the stem and the suffix -*n a connective vowel was inserted. The latter was -u/--u/ ~ *i/--i- in Common Altaic.

The connective vowel and the suffix -*n developed into -*an and -in in Korean; -iη/-iη in Turkic; in Pre-Mongolian it became
-*un and the latter lost its final n when the stem ended in n, e.g., *yarun 'of the hand' from *yar 'hand' and *modunu < *modunun 'of the tree' from *modun 'tree'. In Pre-Mongolian the genitive of stems ending in consonants (including *n) appeared also in another form, i.e., with the connective vowel -*i-/-*i-. In other words, not only the form *yarun 'of the hand' existed, but also the form *yarin 'of the hand' was possible. Besides *modunu < *modunun 'of the tree' also the form *moduni < *modunin 'of the tree' existed. The suffix -*in / -*in was generalized and -*n, which had been used on stems ending in vowels, disappeared and gave way to -*in, i.e., instead of *agan 'of the elder brother' (from *aga) the new form *aqa-in > *aqa-j-in 'of the elder brother' arose, cf. also *ekte-in > eke-j-in 'of the mother'.

Thus, Pre-Mongolian had the following paradigms:

(a) *aga-n 'of the elder brother',
(b) *yar-u-n ~ *yar-i-n 'of the hand',
(c) *modun-u-n ~ *modun-i-n > *modun-u ~ *modun-i 'of the tree'.

In Common Mongolian some changes occurred. Forms derived from stems ending in *n lost the final *n of the genitive suffix. Consequently, in Common Mongolian such forms as *modunun no longer existed. They had already developed into *modunu ~ *moduni. In other words, in the declension of stems ending in n only the connective vowel of the former suffix remained and replaced the original suffix.

Stems ending in vowels ceased to form genitives with the suffix -*n as such. This was, probably, the result of the trend to differentiate such genitive forms as *aga-n 'of the elder brother' and the nominative forms ending in *n, e.g., uran 'skillful person', *paran 'person', nojan 'prince', qayan 'khan', etc. The result of this process was the replacement of the suffix -*n with the secondary suffix -*in / -*in which was taken by stems ending in vowels. The hiatus between the final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the suffix was filled with the consonant -j-.

Thus, the above paradigms developed in Common Mongolian as follows:
(a) *aqa- in 'of the elder brother',
(b) *yar-u-n ~ *yar-i-n 'of the hand',
(c) *modun-u ~ *modun-i 'of the tree'.

129. The forms mentioned at the end of the preceding section became the basis for the present forms of the genitive case in Middle Mongolian and in the languages spoken at the present time.

In Middle Mongolian the same suffixes -jin, -un ~ -in, and -u ~ -i existed. The suffix -jin was used after final vowels; -un ~ -in was taken by stems ending in consonants other than n; -u ~ -i was used after the final n of the stem, the latter being frequently geminated in the language as represented in the Secret History and in the Hua-i i-yu. After final i-diphthongs the suffix was -n.

In Written Mongolian of the pre-classical period the genitive suffixes were -jin, -un, -u ~ -i. In the classical language the suffix -i did not occur.

In Urdu the genitive is formed in the following manner:
(a) After a final short vowel the suffix is -in < -*in (= Mo. -jin);
(b) after a final consonant other than n the suffix is also -in < -*in (= Mo. un);
(c) after a final long vowel the suffix is -in with -y inserted to fill the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is -yin;
(d) after a final i-diphthong the suffix is -n (= MMo. -n);
(e) after a final stable n (i.e., n which does not disappear in any case form) the suffix is -i < -*i < -*in (= Mo. -u);
(f) after an unstable n (which is dropped in the nominative and in some other cases) the ending is -n, i.e., the genitive does not differ from the stem ending in n. To this we should add that the genitive ending n in Urdu is not the primary Pre-Mongolian genitive suffix -*n but belongs to the stem. Thus Urdu mudun 'of the tree, of the wood' formally (morphologically) corresponds to Khalkha mod-dn 'wooden'.

In Khalkha the genitive is formed in the following manner:
(a) after a final short vowel or after a consonant other than n the suffix is -in < -*in < -*in (= Mo. -jin and -un);
(b) after a final long vowel (except i) the suffix is -η with -η filling the hiatus, i.e., the ending is -ηη;  
(c) after a final i (of any origin) or an old i-diphthong the ending is -η < -n (= MMo. -n);  
(d) after a final n (stable or unstable) the suffix is -i < -i (= pre-classical Mo. -i, Mo. -u).

In East Buriat the picture is more or less the same as in Urdu and Khaikha. In Bargu Buriat the genitive endings are:  
(a) -ηη < -in < -ηin (＝ Mo. -jin) after final short vowels, e.g., axηηηη 'of the elder brother' = Mo. aqajin id.;  
(b) -i not only after a final n but also after any final consonant (＝ Mo. -u, pre-classical Mo. -i and Mo. -un);  
(c) -η < -ηn after i or i-diphthongs (＝ MMo. -n).

The new official Buriat orthography based on the East Buriat dialects (Khor, Aga) renders the genitive forms in the following manner:  
(a) after a vowel the suffix is -η (with the consonant before the suffix palatalized when the original final vowel of the stem is i, e.g., xariη 'of the stranger' from xari 'stranger');  
(b) -η after i and diphthongs;  
(c) the suffix -η = (＝ Mo. -u) used after a final n of the stem was given the adjectival ending -ηi (cf. Mo. manuqaj < *manuyaj 'ours', tanuqaj < *tanuyaj 'yours', etc.). In other words, the suffix concerned is a further development of -ηiyaj and the latter has developed regularly into -ai, cf. Bur. whanaj 'of the water' (＝ Mo. usnu, *usnuayaj). The suffix -ai is added to stems ending in n and, by analogy, also to stems ending in any consonant, its correspondence being -d or -e in Buriat dialects. The suffix -ai was generalized and is taken now also by stems ending in long vowels, the element -η appearing, which fills the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is -ηai (in dialects -ηηe ∼ -ηηu).

The genitive in Kalmuck is the same as in East Buriat:  
(a) after a final consonant of the stem (any consonant, including n) the suffix is -a < -aej / -ei;
(b) after consonants other than \( n \) the suffix may be \( -in \); the latter is also taken by stems ending in a short vowel;

(c) after a long vowel of the stem the suffix is the same as in the case (a), but here it is given the element \(-\gamma\) to fill the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is \( -\gamma a / -\gamma e \) or \( -\gamma i n \);

(d) after old \(-\gamma\)-diphthongs the suffix is \( -n \).

130. The West Buriat dialects have not been mentioned above, because they display a few peculiar developments of the genitive forms.

The genitive is formed in these dialects in the following manner:

(a) stems ending in a consonant have the genitive suffix \(-i\) or \(-i\).
The latter alternates with \(-a < -\alpha i / -\delta < -\varepsilon i\); stems ending in a long vowel of non-diphthongal origin take the same suffix but with \(-\gamma\) or \(-\gamma\) respectively, the ending being \(-\gamma a / -\gamma e\) or \(-\gamma i\);

(b) stems ending in a short vowel take the suffix \(-\eta\);

(c) stems ending in a former diphthong (which in the dialects concerned has developed into \( a, e, u \)) take the suffix \(-\eta < -\gamma n\).

The suffix \(-i \sim -i\) deserves particular attention, because in West Buriat it is also the accusative suffix: Al.B \(-\sim -\tilde{i}\) from stems ending in consonants except \( n; -\tilde{i}\) from stems ending in long vowels. Besides, in Alar Buriat also the accusative suffix \(-\tilde{ij}\) is found which is taken by stems ending in a short vowel. Thus, in Al.B \( \omega x e r i \) (from \( \omega x e r \) 'ox') is both genitive and accusative, the same as \( \tilde{c}i\tilde{l}a \) 'the foot, of the foot', \( bula\tilde{i} \) 'the well, of the well' (nominative is \( bulaq \) 'well'), etc.

A difference is noticeable in stems ending in \( n \), because they retain their final \( n \) in the genitive case, but they drop it in the accusative, e.g., \( gal\tilde{a}n\) 'of the goose' (nom. \( gal\tilde{a}n \) 'goose') and \( gal\tilde{a}ji \) 'the goose' (accusative).

131. The accusative suffix in Pre-Mongolian (and in Pre-Turkic) was \(-\gamma i / -\gamma i\) on stems ending in vowels. On stems ending in consonants the same suffix was used, but there it had the connective vowel \(-\tilde{i} / -\tilde{i}\). Thus, the Pre-Mongolian suffix was there \(-\tilde{i}y\tilde{i} / -\tilde{i}y\tilde{i}\). In Ancient Turkic (e.g., Orkhon Turkic of the VIII century) the suffix was \(-\gamma \gamma / -\gamma g\) (on stems ending in a vowel) and \(-\gamma y / -\gamma g\)
(on stems ending in a consonant). In the pronominal declension Ancient Turkic had the suffix -i / -i. It is not quite clear whether the latter was an independent suffix or a phonetic development of the former.

In some of the dialects of Common Mongolian -gi, according to the general rules, developed into -ji, while *igi developed into -iji > -i. The new suffixes -ji and -i became the basis for the Written Mongolian accusative suffixes -ji (after final vowels) and -i (after final consonants). In Middle Mongolian they still remained as -ji and -i. In Modern Mongolian the following takes place:

In Urdu the suffixes are -ig ~ -i after final consonants or short vowels; after final diphthongs or long vowels the same suffixes occur with -g, i.e., the suffixes are -gig ~ -gi.

In Khalkha the suffix is -ig after final consonants or short vowels, and -g after a final long vowel or a diphthong.

In Kalmuck the situation is the same as in Khalkha.

In East Buriat dialects, the suffixes are -iji (after a final short vowel or a consonant) and -ji (after historical diphthongs or long vowels).

In West Buriat dialects, in particular in Alar, the suffix is -i (or in very fine transcription -a with the final consonant of the stem palatalized) after all consonants except n, thus converging with the genitive suffix. In rare cases the suffix is -aji ~ -a. The latter, too, has converged with the genitive suffix. Stems ending in a long vowel have an accusative form in -ji, thus converging with the genitive form in -ji. After final short vowels the accusative suffix is -jii.

132. We have seen that in the West Buriat dialects the genitive in certain paradigms has converged with the accusative.

In proceeding to the Monguor language we may state that the genitive and accusative have completely converged in all words. Their common suffix is -ni. The element n in this suffix is the result of an erroneous etymological analysis of such genitive forms as *quruyun-i > *quruyu-ni 'of the finger'. In other words, the element n has appeared by analogy with stems which originally ended in n.

Sometimes the suffix of both cases (genitive and accusative)
is simply -n. The latter is a further abbreviation of the suffix -ni. Here the suffix -n does not contain anything of the ancient suffixes concerned, because n originally belonged to the stem.

A complete convergence of the genitive and accusative forms has taken place in Dagur. The final n of the stem has disappeared in all cases, even in the dative-locative and ablative. The genitive-accusative suffix is -i in Dagur. After final diphthongs and long vowels the suffix is -ji, e.g., sūnī 'the night' and 'of the night', kūjī 'the person' and 'of the person', etc.

A complete convergence is also found in Mogol in which, contrary to the previous example, the final n is preserved in all cases. The suffix of the genitive and accusative in Mogol is -i, e.g., tšinūi 'of the wolf' and 'the wolf', ḥovī 'of the earth' and 'the earth', etc.

Before summarizing the results of the discussion of the genitive and accusative it should be remarked that the Mongolian languages are not the only languages in the world in which the accusative and the genitive have converged. This phenomenon also occurs in Slavic. In Russian, in particular, the accusative of nouns denoting living beings is the same as the genitive. A confusion and misunderstandings arising from their convergence is impossible, because in Mongolian the accusative is governed only by verbs, while the genitive is governed only by nouns. Thus, their syntactic difference prevents them from being confused and makes them semantically different.

The convergence of the genitive and accusative is probably old. It already had occurred in Middle Mongolian and in pre-classical Written Mongolian (cf. the suff. -i of the gen. and acc.). This convergence was supported by the following circumstances. The genitive and accusative with the personal possessive endings of the 1st person of the singular and the 3rd person have converged in many Mongolian languages, cf. Urđ. 3rd. p. -in of the genitive (<-*i + ni) and accusative (<-*iy + ni), e.g., čānī 'of his khan' and 'his khan'. The same is found in Khalkha, cf. -imīn (<-*iy + min) and -in (<*iy + ni) of the genitive and also of the accusative (<*iy + min and <*iy + ni). Kalmuck has the same, cf. -im (<*in + m and
-*tq + m) of both the genitive and accusative with the possessive ending of the first person, and -in (<-*t in + n and -*tg + n) of the genitive and accusative with the possessive ending of the third person.

The convergence of the genitive and accusative has occurred in the reflexive-possessive declension in Written Mongolian. There the genitive and the accusative have the same ending -juwán / -jügen.

133. To summarize the above observations the results will be shown in the following table:

**Notes: Genitive**

1. After consonants other than n.
2. After n.
3. After final short vowels.
4. After final long vowels.
5. After final diphthongs.

**Accusative**

1. After final short vowels.
2. After long vowels.

**Table of Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>After vowels</th>
<th>After consonants</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>After vowels</th>
<th>After consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Mo.</td>
<td>-*n</td>
<td>-*u-n ~ -*t-n</td>
<td>-*gi</td>
<td>-*i-gi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co.Mo.</td>
<td>-*jın</td>
<td>-*un ~ -*in (1)</td>
<td>-*gi ~ -*ji</td>
<td>-*igi &gt; -*i-ji &gt; -i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-*jin</td>
<td>-*un (1)</td>
<td>-ji ~ pre-cl. -*gi (2)</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>-*jin</td>
<td>-*un ~ -*in (1)</td>
<td>-*ji (4)</td>
<td>-*i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-*in (3)</td>
<td>-*in (1) i-i (2)</td>
<td>-ig ~ -i (1)</td>
<td>-ig ~ -i (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-*η (3)</td>
<td>-*η (1) i-i (2)</td>
<td>-ig (1) -η (2)</td>
<td>-i-g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-*in (3)</td>
<td>-*η (1) i (2)</td>
<td>-i-i (1) i-j (2)</td>
<td>-i-g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EastB</td>
<td>-*η (3)</td>
<td>-*η (1) i-i (2)</td>
<td>-ji-i (1) i-j (2)</td>
<td>-i-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WestB.</td>
<td>-*η i-i ~ -*η i-i (1)</td>
<td>i-i (1) i-j (2)</td>
<td>-i-i (1) i-j (2)</td>
<td>-i-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>(after long vowels -ji)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dative-Locative

134. Common Mongolian had several suffixes to denote the syntactic relations which are indicated by the dative-locative at the present time.

The basis of the modern dative-locative forms is a form with a derivation suffix. The dative-locative forms were originally a kind of locative adjectives, belonging to the vocabulary rather than grammar.

All dative-locative suffixes are common to all Altaic languages.

One of the suffixes is -*da / -*de. The suffix -*da still exists in the Mongolian languages and serves to form the dative-locative, answering the questions *to whom*, *to what place*, and *where*.

It corresponds to the Manchu dative-locative suffix -de and the Turkic suffix -da which in Modern Turkish forms the locative case, but formerly had also other functions, namely those of the ablative and partitive.

In classical Written Mongolian the dative-locative suffix -da does not occur. It still occurs in Written Mongolian as an ending of adverbs such as urtuda 'long time', nasuda 'always' (from nasu 'life'), ende 'here', tende 'there', ónide 'long ago', etc. It occurs also in the reflexive-possessive declension, cf. Mo. -dayan (with -yan ~ -ban, the reflexive-possessive ending) which is the common dative-locative in this declension.

In pre-classical Written Mongolian dative-locative forms in -da occurred frequently, e.g., otačid-ta 'to the physicians', činada 'to thee', etc.

Dative-locative forms in -da occurred frequently in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the Secret History, in the Hua-i i-yü, in the ḤP'ags-pa inscriptions, in the dictionary Muqaddimah al-Adab, etc., e.g., SH nada 'to me', ol'žigede 'on the front seat of a carriage', etc.; P daruqada 'to the chieftains', šīnede 'at the time of the new moon', etc.; Mu. širūda 'into the earth', ajlede 'to the work', etc.

In Modern Mongolian the consonant of the dative-locative suffix is d only when the stem ends in a vowel, diphthong, or in the con-
sonants \( n, \eta, m \) or \( l \). In the remaining cases the consonant is \( t \). The alternation \( d \sim t \) depending on the final sound of the stem is relatively new. In the language of the ḫP`ags-pa inscriptions the suffix -\( \text{da} \) always has \( d \), e.g., darugasda 'to the chieftains', nojadda 'to the princes', etc., while -\( ta \) never occurs. In the language of the Secret History we find a number of forms with \( t \) (as a general rule, on stems ending in \( ^*d, ^*y, ^*g, ^*s \), and \( ^*d \)), e.g., merkitte 'to the Merkits' (name of a tribe). In the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab forms in -\( \text{da} \) are rare and, as far as it is known, no forms with -\( ta \) occur at all. In modern pronunciation of Written Mongolian the initial consonant of the dative-locative suffix is \( d \) after vowels, \( n, \eta, m \), and \( l \). After the remaining consonants the initial consonant of the suffix is \( t \).

In the living Mongolian languages the following is found. In Mongor and in Mogol no such suffix exists. In Dagur the suffix is -\( \text{da} / -ta \) (i.e., with \( d \sim t \)), but in the reflexive-possessive declension the suffix consonant is always \( d \), i.e., the suffix is -\( \text{d} \text{amul} \sim -\text{d} \text{m} \text{ul} \). In Urdus this suffix does not occur in the simple declension, but it occurs in the reflexive-possessive declension in which the suffix is -\( \text{d} \text{an} / -\text{t} \text{an} \), i.e., with \( t \) after all consonants except \( l, m, n \), and \( s \). In Khalkha the suffix is -\( \text{d} \text{a} / -\text{to} \) (it is -\( \text{d} \text{a} / -\text{to} \) in the reflexive-possessive declension), in Buriat -\( \text{d} \text{a} / -\text{ta} \) (and -\( \text{d} \text{a} / -\text{t} \text{a} \) in the reflexive-possessive declension), in Kalmuck -\( \text{d} \text{a} / -\text{to} \) (and -\( \text{d} \text{an} / -\text{t} \text{an} \) in the refl.-poss. decl.).

135. Common Altaic had another suffix which slightly differed from the suffix discussed above. This suffix was -\( \text{du} \). The latter occurs in Written Mongolian as a derivation suffix, e.g., amidu 'living', emünedu 'southern' (cf. emüne 'in front'), dootoydu 'inner', yadayadu 'outer' (cf. Kh. gadá 'outside'), etc. The forms in -\( ^*\text{du} \) probably served as denominal nouns (nomina adjectiva) answering the question 'being where?'.

The suffix -\( \text{du} \) is found in Tungus. There it serves as a dative suffix. It occurs also in Written Mongolian influenced by the colloquial languages, e.g., agadu 'to the elder brother'.

The suffix -\( \text{du} \) does not occur as a dative-locative ending in classical Written Mongolian and in East Middle Mongolian (SH, H, P),
but it occurs quite frequently in West Middle Mongolian as represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab, e.g., amandu 'in the mouth', yartu 'on the hand', etc. It occurs there as -du / -tu, the latter form appearing after final consonants other than n, n, l, and m.

The suffix -du occurs in Monguor as -du, always having the consonant d. There it serves as a dative suffix. The final m of the stem becomes n before the suffix, while the final d of the stem becomes r. The final n of the stem does not reappear in this form, cf. moridu 'to the horse' (mori, cf. Mo. morin), luondu 'to the prayer' (luom), tshidardu 'to the Chinese' (tshidad), etc.

The dative-locative suffix is -du in Mogol, but there the consonant of the suffix alternates with t, e.g., morindu 'to the horse', but yoqtu 'to the earth'. It is to be noted that the vowel of the suffix is u in the reflexive-possessive declension both in Mogol and Monguor, e.g., Mong. moridunâ 'to his own horse', Mog. bôbêdunâ 'to his own father'.

In Urdu the dative-locative suffix is -du / -tu, but in the reflexive-possessive declension it is -dân / -tân (probably < *da-yân / *ta-yân).

136. The dative-locative suffix is -dur in Written Mongolian. The consonant of the suffix alternates with t. It is d after final vowels, diphthongs, n, n, l, and m, while it is t after the remaining final consonants. The situation is the same as in the case of the suffixes -da / -ta and -du / -tu, cf. -da: -ta = -du: -tu = -dur: -tur.

The suffix -dur occurs in Middle Mongolian. In the Secret History it is -dur after final vowels, diphthongs, n, and l, otherwise the suffix is -tur. On the other hand, the suffix is always -dur in the ḫl’ags-pa script, e.g., ǰarlıqdur 'in the edict', gejiddur 'in the dwellings', etc. It occurs in the language as represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab in two alternating forms with -dur / -tur, e.g., hondur 'for a year', erêdur 'to the man', but ǰaqdur 'at the time', and ǰerêsdur 'to the men'.

The suffix -dur does not occur as a dative-locative suffix in Colloquial Mongolian. It is a typical Written Mongolian suffix. The element -du- in -dur is identical with the dative-locative suffix -du.
(§ 135) to which the element -r has been added. The latter is an ancient directive suffix and is found in the prative suffix -yur (vide § 147). Thus, -dur is a compound suffix like Tungus -dulā (-du + -ā) and similar suffixes.

The other form of this suffix, i.e., -tur which has always t, occurs in such Written Mongolian adverbs as Mo. sajītur 'well' (from sajīn 'good') etc.

137. Written Mongolian has another dative-locative form which ends in -a, e.g., γaḻara 'in the country', edūre 'on the day', tana 'to you', etc. The suffix -a occurs only on stems ending in consonants and diphthongs with i, e.g., pre-classical Mo. taulaja 'to the hare'. Its peculiar trait is that it does not occur in the reflexive-possessive declension. This suffix was used largely in pre-classical Written Mongolian but is less common in classical Written Mongolian or in modern Written Mongolian.

The suffix -a occurred in Middle Mongolian. As for the mutual relations of MMo. -da and -a, it seems that -a was used only after consonants, while after vowels -da served as dative-locative suffix.

The suffix -a existed in Common Altaic. Its Tungus correspondence is the partitive suffix -a, and in Turkic the dative was -a in the pronominal declension.

The suffix -a serves to form the dative in Written Mongolian. It occurs also as an element in various petrified suffixes, e.g., in the suffix of the Converbum finale -ra in which the element r is the ending of a verbal noun (e.g., amur 'rest' from amu- 'to rest'), cf. Mo. jābara 'in order to go', užere 'in order to see', abura 'in order to take', etc.

It occurs also as an element of the Buriat suffix -χajā, semantically corresponding to Mo. -ra, e.g., jabāxajā 'in order to go', which is a dative in -*a of the Nomen futuri in -*qaj. Khalkha has -χā = Bur. -χajā, e.g., Kh. ḵawynā 'in order to go'.

The suffix -a occurs also in numerous adverbs, e.g., Mo. ilan-qaj-a 'particularly' (originally 'in particular'), tūrge 'quickly', etc.

138. Monguor has a locative form ending in -re, e.g. širīrē 'on the table' from širīē = Mo. sirege 'table'. It has always the vowel e.
This locative is a typical Monguor form. The suffix is a further development of *degere 'on, above'. Thus, it has developed from a postposition, like Burjat inessive, e.g., Bur. modonsō < *modun *dqñya 'in the woods'.

139. To summarize the results of the above discussion the dative-locative suffixes will be shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix -da</th>
<th>Suffix -du</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo. -da / -ta pre-cl. dat-loc. cl. adverbs cl. -da-yan</td>
<td>-du / -tu cl. as adject. -dur / -tur cl. &lt; -*du-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO. P -da</td>
<td>-dur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH -da / -ta</td>
<td>-dur / -tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu. -da / -ta</td>
<td>-dur / -tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. -da / -ta *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-du refl.-poss. -danā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-dān / -tān refl.-poss. -du / -tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. -do / -tɔ</td>
<td>-du / -tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-du / -tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm. -do / -tɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oir.</td>
<td>-dān / -tān refl.-poss. -du / -tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suff. -*a:
Mo., MMO. -*a,
Kh., Bur. -*a in -χa, -χuŋa.

It is improbable that -*da, -*du, -*dur, and -*a had the same functions. On the basis of other Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungus) it can be assumed that -*da was an old locative suffix, while -*du was a dative suffix. The suffix -*dur existed only in Mongolian. It has developed from -*du and a directive suffix -*r. The suffix -*a was probably an Altaic illative suffix. Later on, the difference between -*da and -*du, -*dur and -*a became less clear and already in Middle Mongolian -da, -a, and -dur were interchangeable.
Ablative

140. The most ancient ablative suffix was *ca. Its Manchu equivalent is -či. The suffix *ca was still used in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., morincca 'from the horse'. In classical Written Mongolian it is found in the pronouns egünčče 'from this' and tegünčče 'from that'.

The primary suffix -ca is not mentioned in the grammars of Written Mongolian.

The only living Mongolian language which still preserves the suffix -ca is Monguor. There the suffix is daa < *taa, e.g., moridza 'from the horse', ndadza 'from me', etc.

141. The ablative suffix is -ca in classical Written Mongolian. It is the only regular ablative suffix there, and the forms egünčče 'from this' and tegünčče 'from that' are exceptionals.

The suffix -ca < *tca occurs also in Middle Mongolian, cf. SH -tca / -tce, P -tca / -tce, but it does not occur in West Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the language represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab. There the suffix is -asa / -ase, i.e., the consonant is not č but s. This is an exceptional development of the ancient affricate *č. The same development *č > s is found in this suffix in all the colloquial Mongolian languages except Monguor. The ablative suffixes are in the colloquial Mongolian languages as follows:

- Dag. -as / -æs,
- Urd. -as (-æs, -øs, -øs),
- Kh. -as (-æs, -øs, -øs),
- BB -āha / -æha < *āsa / *æse,
- Ts.B -ās (-æs, -øs, -øs),
- Aga, Kh.B, Al., Ekh. -hã (-hê, -hô, -hõ),
- Mog. -āsa / -āsa,
- Kalm. -as / -æs.

The suffix -ača / -čce is a compound suffix. It consists of the primary ablative suffix -ca added to the dative-locative suffix -a / -e. Compound case suffixes occur in all Altaic languages. The present Turkic ablative suffixes -dan and -din consist of the locative
suffix -\(^*\)da and an element -\(^*\)n. In Tungus the ablative is formed with the suffix -\(^*\)duk. The latter consists of the dative suffix -\(^*\)du and an element -k which is found in the case form ending in -\(^*\)lak, the element -\(^*\)l\(\) being an old locative suffix.

142. Another compound ablative suffix is -\(^*\)da\(\)a / -\(^*\)de\(\)e. The latter consists of the locative suffix -\(^*\)da and the ablative suffix -\(^*\)\(\)a. This compound suffix is old.

It does not occur in classical Written Mongolian, but it occurs in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., morinda\(\)a 'from the horse'. Numerous forms ending in -\(^*\)da\(\)a occur in East Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the Secret History and in the \(h\)Pags\(\)pa inscriptions. They do not occur, however, in West Middle Mongolian.

In Modern Mongolian this ablative form is common, but only few words take it. In Monguor there is no locative in -\(^*\)da, and therefore, no ablative in -\(^*\)da\(\)a occurs either. There is, however, a locative in -\(^*\)re and this suffix is also found in the Monguor ablative in -\(^*\)red\(\)a, e.g., morire\(\)a 'from the horse'.

In Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck the suffix -\(^*\)da\(\)a occurs in a few words, e.g., Kh. gert\(\)a, Bur. gert\(\)n\(h\), Kalm. gert\(\)s 'from the house'. These forms have actually become adverbs.

Instrumental

143. The Common Mongolian instrumental suffix is -\(^*\)\(\)bar \(\approx\) -\(^*\)yar. Its further development is Mo. -\(^*\)bar (after final vowels of the stem) and -\(^*\)ijar \(\approx\) -\(^*\)i\(\)bar (after final consonants), e.g., durab\(\)a 'by desire', yari\(\)bar 'with the hand'. The suffix -\(^*\)yar still occurs as an ending of adverbs, e.g., Mo. yay\(\)c\(\)yar 'lonely, alone' from yay\(\)\(\)a 'single', in the convertenum ob\(\)temporale suffix -\(^*\)say\(\)ar \(\approx\) -\(^*\)san (nomen perfecti) + -\(^*\)\(\)ar (instr.), which in pre-classical Written Mongolian was often written -\(^*\)say\(\)ar. The suffix -\(^*\)yar / -\(^*\)per is also found in bugude\(\)e 'all together' (from bugude 'all') and by analogy also in cede\(\)e 'these' and tedee\(\)e 'those' (from ede and te\(\)de respectively), etc.

In Middle Mongolian the instrumental suffix is -\(^*\)ar \(\approx\) -\(^*\)yar in
the language of the hP'ags-pa script and it alternates with -ijar. In the Secret History -'ar < -*yar < -*bar > -bar ~ -ba'ar and -ijar are found. The instrumental form ima'ari < *imayari from *i 'he' has an i at the end. The latter is the fossilized stem *i of the pronoun which serves as a possessive ending (cf. Turkic benim 'my' from ben 'I' and -m possessive ending).

In the dictionary Muqaddimah al-Adab the instrumental suffixes are -ärv ~ -ärv / -ärv.

In Mogol it is -ärv / -är with the initial vowel of this suffix dropped when the stem ends in a long vowel, e.g., tšinö from tšinö 'wolf'.

In Monguor the suffix is -ra < -*ärv; in Urdu, Khalkha, and Buriat the suffix is -är / -ärv (~ -är / -ärv in Urdu and -ärv in Kh. and Bur.).

Kalmuck has the suffix -ärv / -ärv.

144. Stems ending in n alternating with Zero drop their n in the instrumental case. In Khalkha and Buriat there are two instrumental forms. One keeps its n, the other form drops it, e.g., morinöör and moröör from mori 'horse'. The former serves as a comitative and means 'together with the horse'. The latter form serves as an instrumental and means 'by means of the horse'.

The instrumental suffix joins the comitative suffix in Colloquial Mongolian. This compound form occurred also in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., qatun'üyabar 'together with the queen' from qatun 'queen' (comitative suffix -lüya + instr. suff. -bar). In West Buriat dialects there is a form in -lår < -*lüyabar which is found in the pronominal declension, e.g., namalår 'with me'. It occurred, however, in old Buriat in all declensions and such forms as tengtilär 'together with the Heavon' occur in shamanist songs and in Buriat epics.

In Khalkha the suffix -lår occurs only in the successive converb suffix -zplår (< -*qu nomen futuri + -lår).

In Kalmuck there is a suffix -lår only in the possessive declensions, e.g., emglerü 'together with his (ejus) old woman' and emglerá 'together with his own (suas) old woman'. The latter form occurs also in Urdu, e.g., bagšilårán 'together with his own (suus) teacher'.
In the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* forms in -lår occur, but there we find also another form which occurs nowhere else. This is the reverse combination of the instrumental and comitative suffixes, i.e., -ārlā, e.g., mallār ‘with the property’, emelērēn ‘together with his own (sū) wife’ (with the suffix -lår < -*luya + -βar) and nādev
nārlā ‘with the play’, usunī ārlā ‘with water’, hodunī ārlā ‘with the star’, etc. (with the suff. -ār + -lā < -*luya).

Comitative

145. The comitative answering the question *together with whom*? was formed in Common Mongolian with the suffix -*luya* which is, probably, a compound suffix. It corresponds to Turkic *-līy* of the adjectives expressing the idea of *having what?, e.g., attīy ‘having a horse*.

According to the general phonetic rules -*luya* should have resulted in -lō in Modern Mongolian, but when becoming part of the declension system, the comitative form appeared, analogically to all the other case forms, with the suffix -lā / -lē and, in some languages having the labial attraction, also with -lō / -lē.

Not all Mongolian languages have the primary suffix -*luya*. From the point of view of the formation of the comitative case the Mongolian languages can be classified into two groups. One group has the ancient suffix -*luya* ~ -*luyaj* (A). The other group has a comitative form which is a further development of the compound comitative-instrumental form (B).

The former group (A) can be subdivided into -*luya*- languages and into -*luyaj*-languages.

(A) The primary comitative form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) -*luya</th>
<th>(b) -*luyaj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-luya / -ługe,</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>-ba’a / -ba’e,</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>-lā / -lē,</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mong. -la, -le < -*laya.
Mog. —
Urd. -là / -lē (-lā / -lō), —
Kalm. — -lā / -le.

(B) The compound comitative form:
Mo. (pre-class.) -layabar / -lāgeber,
MMo.: 
Mu. -lār / -lēr and -lārlā,
Urd. -lārān / -lēren in the refl.-poss. decl.,
Bur. -lār / -lēr (-lōr / -lōr),
Kalm. -lārān / -lērān with the poss. suff. of the 3rd person,

In some Mongolian languages the comitative in -laya or its developments do not exist. Such languages are Khalkha (where it is found only in the suffix of the converbum successivum) and Dagur.

146. The Modern Mongolian languages prefer another comitative form. This is the form in -*tāj / -*tej.

This suffix is a derivation suffix, e.g., morīnaj 'one who has a horse' from morin 'horse'. The plural of such nouns ends in -tan, e.g., moridan 'those having horses, horsemen'. This suffix is widespread in all Mongolian languages and tends to replace the old comitative suffix -*laya.

In classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian forms in -taj are not comitative forms. It may be assumed that the forms in -taj developed into comitative forms much later, probably in Modern Mongolian. The forms in -taj serve as comitative forms in most of the Modern Mongolian languages.

Dag. -tej as the only comitative form,
Mong. -dē besides -la,
Urd. -tā / -tē, -tā besides -tā.
Kh. -teč / -tē as the only comitative form,
Bur. -teč ~ -tā, etc. has almost replaced the old suff. -tā,
Kalm. -tā / -tē besides -tā.
Prolative

147. A few Mongolian languages possess a special prolative case answering the question 'in what direction?'.

In Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in most spoken languages there is no such case form. Only a few prolative adverbs are found which are the only surviving forms, e.g., Kh. döyür 'along the bottom', Bur. degür 'over, along the top', etc.

The only language in which the prolative is still a living form is Kalmuck. There this form serves as the directive case.

The suffix is -yur / -gür. It is a compound suffix and, probably, consists of the directive element *r (which is also found in the dative suffix -dur, vide § 139) added to the suffix -yun / -gün which is found in Middle Mongolian in adverbs, e.g., dege'ün 'on, above', dotora'un 'within', etc.

(a) As prolative:
   Mo. -yur / -gür (cf. degegür 'along the top'),
   Dag. -ur / -ür with -y / -y, e.g., döyür 'along the bottom',
   Urd., Kh., Bur. -ür / -ür, cf. Bur. degür 'over, along the top'.

(b) As directive:
   Kalm. -ür / -ür, cf. galür 'towards the fire', usmür 'to the water',
   emgynür 'in the direction of the old woman'.

Directive

148. This is also a rare case form. Its suffix -ru still occurs in Written Mongolian in a few adverbs, e.g., inaru 'this side, prior to', činaru 'that direction, after', etc. Suff. -ru < *uru (s. § 100).

This form is unknown in Dagur, Mongol, Kalmuck, and Mogol.

Mo. -ru,
Urd. -ru ~ -lū, e.g., ologru 'in the direction of the Olog banner',
Kh. - ru ~ -lū (the latter used after r), e.g., modorū 'towards the woods',
Bur. -ru ~ -lū (the latter after r), e.g., udorū 'towards the water',
modorū 'towards the horse'.

Terminative

149. The terminative case shows the height of an object, e.g., knee-dep. It is a rare case and few words occur in it. Therefore, this almost fossilized case form may be regarded as an adverb.

Common Mongolian had the suffix -*ča < Common Altaic -*ča. Its developments are as follows:

Mo. -ča, -čaya, e.g., ebüügčeye 'on a level with the knees',
MMo.: Mu. -ča, e.g., čišua 'till blood' (i.e., 'until blood came'),
Urd. -tč < -*čaj, e.g., owodokšča 'on a level with the knees',
Kh. -tsa / -tsē, -tsa, e.g., owodokšč id.,
Bur. -sā / -sē, e.g., erjissē 'on a level with the bank',
Kalm. -ṭṣā, e.g., owodokšča 'on a level with the knees'.

This form does not occur in Mongguor, Dagur, and Mogol.

Secondary Case Forms

150. Nouns take case suffixes and may be joined by postpositions. The latter may be assimilated by the nouns concerned and they are affected by the rules of vowel harmony. In this manner new forms arise which sometimes can be regarded as new case forms.

The word *degere = Mo. degere 'top, on, above' has become dēre in Urdu, dēro in Khalkha. It has almost developed into a new case form in Urdu. There it joins the genitive form and forms, together with the latter, the compound form -indār, e.g., nastuindār 'at the old man' < *nasuujin degere; manādār 'at us' < manaj < *manuuvaj + dār < *degere 'on', etc. The postposition *degere has become an ending in Buriat, too, cf. the verbal form jabazadār 'as soon as he went' < *jabuqu degere.

In Mongguor *degere has become a locative suffix, e.g., morire 'on the horse'.

Specific Buriat case forms are the inessive and the elative. The elative is an ablative form of the inessive. The inessive has the ending
-sō which does not comply with the rules of vocalic harmony. The ending -sō is an abbreviation of dosō ≈ zosō ≈ *dočaya ≈ *dotaya 'within', cf. Mo. dotoyadu 'inner', Kh. dotōdo id., cf. the analogous form Mo. yadayadu 'outer', Kh. gadā 'outside', Bur. gadi id. The forms in -sō are very numerous, e.g., Bur. uhansō 'in the water, into the water, gersō 'in the house, into the house', amansō 'in the mouth, into the mouth', etc. The ablative of such forms ends in -sōhō, e.g., uhansōhō 'from within of the water', gersōhō 'out of the house'.

Another case formed from the inessive is the prolatative in -sōyūr, e.g., uhansōyūr 'under the water' (not standing under the water but moving under the water along the bottom).

These are secondary case forms. Some of them can be formed (with the suffixes discussed above) from primary case forms. Thus the so-called double declension arises.

* The Double Declension

151. It has been stated above that the ancient ablative suffix -ča has joined the dative-locative suffix -a and this combination has resulted in the Written Mongolian ablative suffix -ača. Likewise in Modern Mongolian some case forms may obtain additional suffixes of other cases. The result is the so-called double declension, i.e., forms containing two case suffixes at the same time.

The double declension is widespread in some modern Mongolian languages. Two case forms may obtain suffixes of other cases in most languages spoken at the present time. These are the genitive and the comitative.

In Kalmuck all case forms may be derived from the genitive form. In Urdu only the locative and the directive suffix is added to the genitive forms. In Buriat the locative and the ablative can be formed on the basis of the genitive.

The comitative form serves as the stem of all oblique cases in Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck.
1. Kalmuck compound case forms based on the genitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive Suffix</th>
<th>Compound forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-inā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-āgin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Locative forms based on the genitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive suffixes</th>
<th>Compound locative-genitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n (⁻η)</td>
<td>-ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in (⁻ιη)</td>
<td>-indu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ādu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Directive and ablative forms based on the genitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive suffixes</th>
<th>Genitive-directive</th>
<th>Genitive-ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Buriat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n (⁻η)</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in (⁻ιη)</td>
<td>-inā</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ālā</td>
<td>-āhā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Compound case forms based on the comitative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>-p'ēγ</td>
<td>-p'ēdō</td>
<td>-p'ēg</td>
<td>-p'ēγūs</td>
<td>-p'ēγūr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-p'ētē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buriat</td>
<td>-tāγ</td>
<td>-tādō</td>
<td>-tāγ</td>
<td>-tāγūs</td>
<td>-tāγūr</td>
<td>-tāsō</td>
<td>-tātē</td>
<td>-tātā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td>-tāγin</td>
<td>-tādō</td>
<td>-tāγ</td>
<td>-tāγūs</td>
<td>-tāγūr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-tātā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns

152. The pronouns are more or less uniform in all Mongolian languages. They differ from one another mainly phonetically. Therefore, discussion of the pronouns is rather a subject of comparative phonology. However, in a few instances the differences are not due to phonetic developments.

Personal Pronouns

153. A characteristic feature of the personal pronouns is that the stems of the oblique cases are not the same as in the nominative case.

The personal pronoun of the 1st person of the singular is *bi. The oblique cases are formed from two different stems. One of them is Common Mongolian *min- which was originally front vocalic, but became back vocalic by analogy. The other stem is *nama.

The Mongolian languages display a great variety of stems of this pronoun.

The nominative form is bi in all Mongolian languages with the exception of Monguor (*bi > bu). In Dagur the vowel i is long (bi ~ bi) and both in Dagur and Buriat the consonant is palatalized (bi).

The Common Mongolian genitive forms were *minu ~ *mini. In Written Mongolian only minu is found, but in Middle Mongolian minu ~ mini occur, cf. SH, H, and Mu. minu ~ Mu. mini. In the colloquial languages only developments of the form *mini have survived, cf. Dag._mini (as substantive mini 'mine'), Mong. muni, Urd. mini, Kh. mini, Bur. meñi ~ meñi, Kalm. miny ~ minē.

The dative-locative forms are very different in all Mongolian languages. The Common Mongolian form was *namadur, but at an early date the latter developed into *nadur, i.e., the syllable ma was
dropped. It is possible that the form *n*adu(r) already existed in Common Mongolian. The primary dative-locative suffix was -*du*, but it occurred with the directive element -*r* which probably was optional.

The stem *nama* occurs with the dative-locative suffix -*a* in the Middle Mongolian document Hua-i i-yü, cf. there nama. In Written Mongolian the dative-locative form occurs with the syllable -ma dropped, the form in question being n*adur* 'to me'. In Middle Mongolian the usual form is n*ada* ~ n*adur* in the Secret History and n*adu* in Muqaddimiat al-Adab. The stem *nama* is found in Buriat n*amda* and in Kalmuck n*ando* < *namda*. The latter development is found in Mogol (cf. n*anda* 'to me'), while Dagur has n*amda* alternating with n*ada*. In Urdu the dative-locative is n*amdu* by analogy to the accusative n*am*ā.

The dative-locative forms are so different in various Mongolian languages that the picture is very confusing. Therefore the forms in question will be shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo. <em>nамаду(r)</em></td>
<td><em>наду(r)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>n<em>adur</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo. (H) nama</td>
<td>(SH) n<em>adur</em> ~ n<em>ada</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mu.) n<em>adu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. n<em>amda</em></td>
<td>n<em>ada</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>n<em>dā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog. n<em>anda</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd. n<em>амду</em></td>
<td>n<em>ada</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>n<em>ando</em> ~ n<em>adedo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur. n<em>amda</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm. n<em>ando</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Middle Mongolian form *nama occurring in the work entitled Hua-i i-yū is the only surviving form with the suffix -a, i.e., *nama is a dative-locative form in -a from the stem *nasa (*nasa-a > nama).

Monguor has also a special locative form munire with -(e)degre 'on, above' put at the end of the genitive form.

The stem *nama is found in several oblique case forms. This stem has lost the syllable -ma- at an early date. In Written Mongolian the dative-locative form is only nadur. In the ablative Written Mongolian has one form derived from the stem *nama and another one derived from the stem *nada, the latter being an old dative-locative. This phenomenon is found in Middle Mongolian where the dative-locative is nada ~ nadu ~ nadur and the ablative is nadasa. In Dagur only the dative-locative has nada, while all the remaining oblique cases are derived from *nama.

Monguor has in all oblique cases, except the genitive, the stem ndā < *nada.

In Mogol the accusative has taken the place of the genitive, while the dative-locative is nanda < *namda < *namada.

In Urdus the accusative has become the stem for the dative-locative and instrumental. However, parallel forms based on nada exist: dative-locative nada < *nada, ablative nadas, instrumental nadär.

In Khalkha the stem is naddo in all cases except the genitive (mini) and the accusative (nampēg). In the dative-locative form the syllable -do (⇐ -da, suffix of the locative) is doubled, cf. naddo < *naddu (both -da and -du are locative suffixes).

In Buriat the stem is nama in all oblique cases, except the genitive.

Kalmuck has namā in the accusative, but the dative-locative is nando < *nandu < *namdu < *namadu. The secondary stem nan has been generalized and appears now in the ablative, instrumental, and comitative.

The origin of the stem *nama is not quite clear. It is possible that -ma- is the same element as in Mo. jayuma 'something', MMo. jama id., etc. and *na is identical with Korean na 'I' as Ramstedt believes. On the other hand, in Muqaddimat al-Adab the accusative
form *mination and the ablative form *nidada occur. If they are not
due to an error of the author of that old dictionary, *nana may be
explained as a development of *nima < *mima. In this case the
following scheme can be established:

Nominative bi
Genitive stem min < *bin
In the remaining cases stem nama < *nima < *mima < *bima.
In conclusion the accusative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative
forms will be shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>*naminga</td>
<td>*naminga</td>
<td>*namyara</td>
<td>*namu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>naminga</td>
<td>naminga-</td>
<td>nambara</td>
<td>namu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nada-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>SH naminga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>naminga-</td>
<td>mu. nadasa-</td>
<td>mu. natala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mininga</td>
<td>nidasa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>naminga?</td>
<td>nambas</td>
<td>namar</td>
<td>namt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>ninda</td>
<td>ndasas</td>
<td>ndara</td>
<td>ndala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>naminga</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>nambag-</td>
<td>nadas</td>
<td>nambagar-</td>
<td>natala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nama</td>
<td></td>
<td>natala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>nambeg-</td>
<td>nadas</td>
<td>nadar</td>
<td>nadala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nambeg-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nadala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>naminga-</td>
<td>namha</td>
<td>namar</td>
<td>namlaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>namtaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>nambag-</td>
<td>nanas</td>
<td>nanar</td>
<td>nanlaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nambag-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
154. The Common Mongolian pronoun *či 'thou' resulted from a Pre-Mongolian *ti. Its declension is more regular than that of *bi 'I'.

The genitive forms go back to *čini ~ *čini in all Mongolian languages. The Mongor locative form is based on the genitive form.

The remaining oblique cases are formed from *čima in most Mongolian languages. In Mongor the dative has converged with the accusative (both are čimi) and this form has become the stem for all the other oblique cases except the genitive and the locative.

In Mogol the stem of all oblique cases is the same as in the genitive, i.e., čin-.

The declension of *či 'thou' is demonstrated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>CMo.</th>
<th>Mo.</th>
<th>MMO.</th>
<th>Dag.</th>
<th>Mong.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>*či</td>
<td>či</td>
<td>či</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>či</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>*čini ~</td>
<td>činu</td>
<td>činu ~</td>
<td>šini</td>
<td>čini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>*čimadur(r)</td>
<td>čimadur</td>
<td>čimadur(r) ~</td>
<td>šanda</td>
<td>šinire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>šinre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>*čimajî</td>
<td>čimajî</td>
<td>čimajî</td>
<td>šamài</td>
<td>šimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>*čimak</td>
<td>čimak</td>
<td>čimak</td>
<td>šamà</td>
<td>šimbsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>*čimakar</td>
<td>čimakar</td>
<td>čimakar</td>
<td>šamôr</td>
<td>šimbra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>*čimayu</td>
<td>čimayu</td>
<td>čimalà</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>šimila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>t̢i</td>
<td>t̢i</td>
<td>t̢i</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>t̢i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>= acc.</td>
<td>t̢ini</td>
<td>t̢ini</td>
<td>šči ~</td>
<td>t̢inš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>tšamadu</td>
<td>tšamodo</td>
<td>šamda</td>
<td>tšamdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tšini</td>
<td>tšamag ~</td>
<td>tšamaj ~</td>
<td>šamaj</td>
<td>tšamag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tšinäsø</td>
<td>tšamås</td>
<td>tšamås</td>
<td>šamå</td>
<td>tšamås</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>tšinâr</td>
<td>tšamâr</td>
<td>tšamâr</td>
<td>šamâr</td>
<td>tšamâr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>tšinâl</td>
<td>tšamat</td>
<td>tšamat</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tšamat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
155. The pronoun of the third person of the singular was *i in Common Mongolian. The stem of the genitive was *in- and in all the remaining oblique cases the stem was *ima-. This pronoun has disappeared. Its nominative does not occur in any document. In pre-classical Mongolian, however, it served as a possessive suffix, e.g., iregsendur-i 'when he came'. It served also as a kind of article.

The genitive forms of the personal pronouns served as indicators of the possessor of an object, i.e., they served as possessive pronouns. They occupied the place before the word concerned, e.g., Mo. minu baysi 'my teacher', but they were also put after the noun concerned, e.g., qayan minu 'my khan'. The genitive of *i, i.e., the form inu (and also the genitive of the pronoun of the third person of the plural anu) occupies the place after a noun, e.g., Mo. baysi inu 'his teacher', but in pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian it was still put before the noun concerned. When it occupied the place after a noun it lost its stress and in Modern Mongolian languages it ultimately became a suffix: *inu | *ini > -ni > -n, etc. (possessive suffix of the third person).

The oblique cases of *i disappeared except the genitive, but in pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (except the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab) numerous oblique case forms derived from the stem *ima occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Common Mongolian</th>
<th>Written Mongolian (pre-classical)</th>
<th>Middle Mongolian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>-i (suffix)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>*inu</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>inu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.-L.</td>
<td>*imadu(r)</td>
<td>imadur</td>
<td>SH imada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>*imaji</td>
<td>imaji</td>
<td>SH imaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>*imaga</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*imadaga</td>
<td>imadaga</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>*ima'ar</td>
<td>imayari</td>
<td>SH ima'ari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>*imaluya</td>
<td>imaluya</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: inu is the only form surviving in classical Written Mongolian.

The instrumental form was imayari in Written Mongolian and ima'ari in Middle Mongolian. The final -i is the possessive suffix which resulted from the nominative *i 'he'.
The only spoken language still preserving this pronoun is Dagur. The Tsitsikar dialect of the Dagur language still has *i > *η > *η 'in he', genitive isi. No other case forms are used there any longer.

156. Common Mongolian had two pronouns of the first person of the plural. One was an exclusive form (*ba) and the other was an inclusive pronoun (*bida). The stems of the oblique cases were *man and *bidan respectively.

The declension of these pronouns was normal. Only few languages still distinguish between the exclusive and inclusive pronoun (i.e., *we without the listeners and *we comprising also the listeners). In some languages the oblique cases of the exclusive pronoun have taken the place of the oblique cases of the inclusive pronoun.

Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Monguor, Khalkha, and Kalmuck have a full declension of both exclusive and inclusive pronouns, while Dagur has a full declension of the exclusive pronoun and only the nominative and the genitive of the inclusive pronoun. Mogol has only the nominative of the latter. Urdus resembles Dagur in this respect. It has only the nominative and the genitive of the inclusive pronoun. Buriat has only the nominative of the inclusive pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Common Mongolian</th>
<th>Written Mongolian</th>
<th>Middle Mongolian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>*ba</td>
<td>*bida</td>
<td>ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>*manu</td>
<td>*bidanu</td>
<td>manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*mana</td>
<td>*bidana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*mandur</td>
<td>*bidandur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>*mani</td>
<td>*bidani</td>
<td>mani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>*manača</td>
<td>*bidanača</td>
<td>manača</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>*manišar</td>
<td>*bidanišar</td>
<td>manišar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*manluya</td>
<td>*bidanluya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*mantai</td>
<td>*bidantai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the third table the extant forms of the incomplete declension systems in Dagur, Urdu, Buriat, and Mogol will be shown.
Before we proceed to the discussion of the forms given in these tables it should be remarked that the genitive forms Kh. man<sup>u</sup>, Bur. man, and Kalm. man are possessive pronouns in origin (§ 159).

The general conclusion is that the nominative *ba exists only in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Dagur, while in Mogol it exists only as an ending of verbal forms (~-u). In all the remaining Mongolian languages the nominative form *ba does not occur. Only in the dialect of the Santa (Tao ho hien) there is the form ma-tā < *ba-tān 'we'. Instead of *ba the nominative is *bida in all the remaining Mongolian languages. In Dagur, Mongguor, Mogol, Urdu, and in some Khalkha dialects *bida is still a back vocalic form, while in Buriat, Kalmuck, and the remaining Khalkha dialects it has become front vocalic.

It should be added that in Mogol, Urdu, and Khalkha two nominative forms of the pronoun *bida exist: the primary *bida and secondary plural forms of the latter. These are Mogol bidāt (with the plural suffix -t), Urdu bidānī or bidanās, and Khalkha bida-nor, biddonīt ~ biddonīt, and biddonās 'we'.

The stem of the oblique cases of *ba is man. The declension is regular in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Dagur, Mogol (although not all forms are found in Mogol materials), Urdu, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck. Even in such languages which do not distinguish between the exclusive and inclusive forms in the nominative case, the oblique case forms of both pronouns still exist, except Buriat where the nominative is only bêda, but all the oblique cases are based on man, while bêda, man, manda, etc. are used on all occasions, no matter whether the speakers mean only themselves or include also the listeners.

In Dagur bīda has only a genitive. The same is found in Urdu, because the distinction between the exclusive and inclusive pronoun is necessary only on a few occasions.

Burjat has no oblique case forms of the pronoun bêde < *bida.

Mongguor occupies a peculiar position. The form buda 'we' (incl.) has developed from *bida. The form budasgi has the nominal plural suffix -sgi. The declension of budasgi is normal. The exclusive forms
are derived from the stems *ndä, *ndäs or *ndäsqr. The latter two forms have the plural suffix -s or -sqr respectively. The stem ndä is a cross between *nada (locative of *bi 'I') and the locative *manda (nominative *bə). Thus ndä < *nada × *manda.

In Kalmuck the bare stem man occurs in such expressions as man döruley 'the four of us' (accusative).

157. The pronoun of the second person of the plural was *ta in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was *tan. The same is found in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian.

Dagur has tā (stem tán), Mongor has ta and tasgi, Mogol to (and tot or tod with the plural suffix -d), Ur dus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck have ta (stem tan).

Mongor has two parallel forms ta and tasgi. The latter is formed with the plural suffix -sgi. The genitive is formed from the stem tan or tasgi. The dative and ablative are formed from tas or tasgi, but the instrumental is formed only from the stem tasgi.

In Mogol the oblique cases are formed from ton, e.g., genitive toni, instrumental tonär, etc.

In Urdu, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck the oblique cases are formed from tan.

Ur dus has parallel forms tānär, tamūs, and tanūt. In Khalkha tā means the same as German Sie, i.e., it is a polite address of one person. The form tānär means in Khalkha 'you' (many persons), i.e., this is a plural corresponding to German ihr. In Buriat besides tā 'you' the Khor dialect has also the form tamūs 'you' which is used in a derogatory sense. In Ekhirit the form tānad is found. All these forms are declined according to the general rules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>ta, tasgi</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem of the oblique cases</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>tān</td>
<td>tan, tasgi</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the table on p. 218 only the nominative form and the stem of the pronoun of the second person of the plural have been given.

158. The pronoun of the third person of the plural was *a in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was *an. Only the genitive is preserved in Written Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian (in the Secret History and Hua-i i-yü) the genitive anu, the dative-locative andur, and the accusative ani occur.

None of these forms occur in spoken Mongolian.

**Possessive Pronouns**

159. Common Mongolian did not have special possessive pronouns. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns took the endings -*γai / -*gej or -*qi / -*ki and thus possessive pronouns of the English type mine, thine, etc. arose.

### 1st p. of the sing.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Mongolian</td>
<td>*minū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian</td>
<td>minū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Mongolian</td>
<td>minū ~ mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagur</td>
<td>mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monguor</td>
<td>mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdus</td>
<td>mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buriat</td>
<td>meñi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd p. of the sing.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Mongolian</td>
<td>*činū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian</td>
<td>činū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Mongolian</td>
<td>*manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian</td>
<td>manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Mongolian</td>
<td>manu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagur</td>
<td>man'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monguor</td>
<td>ndāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>mani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burjat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st p. of the plur. incl.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Mongolian</td>
<td>*bidanu</td>
<td>*bidanuyaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian</td>
<td>bidanu</td>
<td>bidanuyaj &lt; *bidanuyaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Mongolian</td>
<td>bidanu</td>
<td>bidanu'aj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagur</td>
<td>b'udni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monguor</td>
<td>budasgini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>bidani</td>
<td>bidanizí &lt; *bidaniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>b'udni</td>
<td>b'udnizí &lt; *bidaniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burjat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td></td>
<td>bidynê, bidynêkí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2nd p. of the plur.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Mongolian *tanu</td>
<td>*tanuyaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian tanu</td>
<td>tanu&lt;aj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Mongolian tanu</td>
<td>tanu&lt;aj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagur</td>
<td>tan&lt;ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongor</td>
<td>tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdus</td>
<td>tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalkha</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buriat</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmuck</td>
<td>tan ~ tan&lt;ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that the original genitive forms of the pronouns *ba and *ta have disappeared in Khalkha and Buriat. Their genitive forms are possessive pronouns in origin (cf. p. 217).

In Urdus the primary genitive forms are preserved (man<aj, tan<aj), but they are used with the possessive pronouns man<ad and tan<ad indiscriminately.

The secondary possessive forms are Urd. man<aj, Kh. man<aj, and Bur. man<aj (tan<aj, tan<aj, tan<aj) which have developed from *manuyaj (and *tanuyaj respectively) to which the suffix -*qi / -*ki was added.

**Personal Possessive Endings**

160. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns were put before or after the noun to which they referred. In the latter position they lost their stress, became enclitics, and ultimately became endings, e.g., *aqa čini > Khalkha ažxobyn 'thy elder brother'.

The personal possessive endings resulting from the genitive forms of the personal pronouns are shown in the table on p. 222.

The only true suffix is that of the third person -ni < *inu. The ending -ni already existed in Middle Mongolian. It occurs also in all spoken languages.

161. The possessive endings are added to the case suffixes. This process is mechanical in some cases, but in other cases it is not and
the case suffixes undergo certain changes when taking the possessive endings.

We shall discuss each case separately. In the genitive the final *n of the genitive suffix disappears in Urdu, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, when it is followed by a possessive ending with a nasal consonant at its beginning. Such endings are those of the first and third person. In the accusative the case suffix drops its final *g before all possessive endings in Urdu, Khalkha, and Kalmuck. This results in the conversion of the genitive and accusative forms of many nouns, which may be the cause of the confusion of these two cases in some Mongolian languages.

The table on p. 223 will show the genitive and accusative forms with the personal possessive endings.

162. In the dative-locative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative the possessive endings are added to the case suffixes more or less mechanically.

In Dagur the possessive ending of the third person is connected with all case suffixes mentioned here by a long vowel i.

In Buriat dialects, e.g., in Alar, the possessive ending of the third person is connected with the case suffixes ending in a consonant by a long i, e.g., instr. -iri. This testifies to the fact that the possessive ending of the third person has really developed from an independent word (*ini = Mo. inu).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genitive and accusative suffixes</th>
<th>Genitive and accusative suffixes with possessive endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st p. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vide table of declension p. 198</td>
<td>+ mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>+(j)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd. gen. -ina</td>
<td>-imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -i, acc. -ig</td>
<td>-imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -n</td>
<td>-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. gen. -ių</td>
<td>-imn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -i, acc. -ig</td>
<td>-imn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -n, acc. -g</td>
<td>-mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur. gen. -iŋ, -i</td>
<td>-im(ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -a</td>
<td>-ām(ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -ŋ</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. -įji</td>
<td>-iįmni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. -įjį</td>
<td>-įmni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm. gen. -iń</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -ą</td>
<td>-ām(ą)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. -n</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc. -įg</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the dative-locative case the vowel is i in all possessive forms in Buriat, not only in the form of the third person, e.g., ąxədı̂nini 'to my elder brother'. This is due to analogy.

In Buriat the consonant m of the possessive endings -mći and -mnā is dropped after final consonants of the case suffixes.

The case forms with the personal possessive endings are shown in the following table (s. p. 224).
### Dative-locative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>1st p.s.</th>
<th>1st p.pl.</th>
<th>2nd p.s.</th>
<th>2nd p.pl.</th>
<th>3d p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-damání</td>
<td>-dašíí</td>
<td>-dataání</td>
<td>-dií</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>-dumání</td>
<td>-dustín</td>
<td>-dutan</td>
<td>-dun(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-dv</td>
<td>-domání</td>
<td>-dotšíí</td>
<td>-dotun</td>
<td>-don</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-dimání</td>
<td>-diš(ní)</td>
<td>-dítan</td>
<td>-dií</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-dv</td>
<td>-dán</td>
<td>-dášší</td>
<td>-dáty</td>
<td>-dón</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ablative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>1st p.s.</th>
<th>1st p.pl.</th>
<th>2nd p.s.</th>
<th>2nd p.pl.</th>
<th>3d p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-ás</td>
<td>-ásmání</td>
<td>-ásšíí</td>
<td>-ástání</td>
<td>-ásín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-ás</td>
<td>-ásmin</td>
<td>-ástén</td>
<td>-ástan</td>
<td>-ásan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-ás</td>
<td>-ásmání</td>
<td>-ástén</td>
<td>-ástan</td>
<td>-ásan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-há</td>
<td>-hámání</td>
<td>-hás(hí)</td>
<td>-hásná</td>
<td>-hán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-ás</td>
<td>-áspén</td>
<td>-ástíí</td>
<td>-ástý</td>
<td>-ásíí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Instrumental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>1st p.s.</th>
<th>1st p.pl.</th>
<th>2nd p.s.</th>
<th>2nd p.pl.</th>
<th>3d p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-ár</td>
<td>-árání</td>
<td>-áršíí</td>
<td>-ártání</td>
<td>-árií</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-ár</td>
<td>-ármin</td>
<td>-ártín</td>
<td>-ártan</td>
<td>-áran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-ár</td>
<td>-ármin</td>
<td>-ártín</td>
<td>-ártan</td>
<td>-áran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-ár</td>
<td>-árín</td>
<td>-árín</td>
<td>-ártan</td>
<td>-árií</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-ár</td>
<td>-árín</td>
<td>-árín</td>
<td>-árín</td>
<td>-áríí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Comitative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>1st p.s.</th>
<th>1st p.pl.</th>
<th>2nd p.s.</th>
<th>2nd p.pl.</th>
<th>3d p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-tū</td>
<td>-túrníí</td>
<td>-túsmín</td>
<td>-túšúí</td>
<td>-túšíí</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-tú</td>
<td>-túmin</td>
<td>-túšín</td>
<td>-tútan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-tú</td>
<td>-túmin</td>
<td>-túšín</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-témání</td>
<td>-tésíí</td>
<td>-tésná</td>
<td>-tén</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-tú</td>
<td>-túmání</td>
<td>-túšíí</td>
<td>-túšíí</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-lú</td>
<td>-lášná</td>
<td>-lášíí</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-lú</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Monguor has only the possessive ending of the third person. The case suffixes with the possessive ending are:

- Dative (-du) : -duni
- Locative (-re) : -remi
- Ablative (-dsu) : -dauni
- Instrumental (-ra) : -suni
- Comitative (-la) : -suni

**Demonstrative Pronouns**

163. The demonstrative pronouns have nominative forms different from the stems of the oblique cases.

Common Mongolian had the demonstrative pronouns *ene 'this', *tere 'that', *ede 'these', and *tede 'those'.

The nominative case forms and the stems were as follows:

- Nominative *ene       *tere
- Stem        *egün      *tegun.

The declension is regular in general.

The roots of these pronouns are *e and *te. The nominative forms consist of the elements *e-n-e and *te-r-e. The stems consist of the elements *e-gün and *te-gün.

The final e in ene and tere is a deictic element. The element -n- occurs in all pronouns, e.g., personal (*mi-n-u, *ši-n-u, *i-n-u) and interrogative pronouns (*ja-n 'what?', *ke-n 'who?', etc.).

The element -r- in te-r-e cannot be explained by the facts of Mongolian linguistics alone. It occurs, however, as an element in the demonstrative pronouns in Manchu-Tungus languages, cf. Ma. ere 'this', Tung. (Solon) eri 'this', and Ma. tere 'that', Tung. (Solon) tari 'that' (Solon plur. gür 'these' and tahir 'those').

The roots *e and *te occur in Written Mongolian edüd 'so much, not yet', Middle Mongolian (Secret History) eši'e < *edige 'as yet', Mo. ele 'this, this same', ende 'here', tedüj 'that much', težijede < *tedige-de 'then', tene 'there' (with the same element -n- in ende.

--- Poppe
and tende), MMO. (SH) teli 'that thing' (cf. SH keli 'when?' and kezije < *kedige 'when?', kedüj 'how much?').

The stems *egün and *tegun are derived with -*gün (-*yun) which is found in Mo. jayun 'what?' (cf. jambar < *janber 'what, which?', MMO. jama 'thing'), Mo. jayuma < *jayun be 'thing', *kegu < *kegun be 'something', Al.B jümeg jümeg < *jégüme kegüme < *jégun be kegün be 'anything', cf. Urd. jumu kumu 'thing', Dag. jük < *juk < *jegü ke 'what?'.

164. A great variety of declension stems are found in spoken Mongolian languages. Many secondary analogical forms have appeared.

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### *ene 'this*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td><em>ene</em></td>
<td><em>ene</em></td>
<td>SH, Mu. <em>ene</em></td>
<td>ene</td>
<td><em>nie</em></td>
<td><em>ená</em></td>
<td>ená</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Declension stems</strong></td>
<td><em>enén</em></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mu. <em>énén</em></td>
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### *egün*<br>Mu. ün (?)

| *egün* | — | — | — | — | — | ün | ün | ün | ün |

| — | — | — | — | — | — | enün | enün | — | enün |

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### *te & *tere*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td><em>te</em></td>
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| **Declension stems** | *ten* | — | tie | ten | — | — | — | — | — |
| **stems** | *tegün* | *tegün* | te*ün* | — | — | ün | ün | — | — |

| — | — | — | — | — | — | terün | terün | — | terün |

| — | — | tere | — | — | — | teren | teren | — | teren |
The tables show that Common Mongolian had the oblique case stems *enēn (Mu., Dag., Mong., Mog., Kh., and Buriat, in the latter with the lengthening of the vowel by analogy) and *eɡūn (Mo., MMr., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.). The stem *eɡūn (> Urd., Kh. enūn, Kalm. enūn) is a cross between *enēn and *eɡūn. This is, probably, a new form.

The original and the shortest form of the demonstrative pronoun 'that' was *te (Mong. and Mog.). An analogical form *e should have existed, but this does not occur. The other, longer form of the pronoun in question is *terē which is common (Mo., MMr., Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.).

The stem of the oblique case forms is *ten (Mong., Mog., Bur., in the latter with a long ĕ by analogy). The usual stem is *teɡūn (Mo., MMr., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm.). There is also the form *terɡūn, a cross between *teɡūn and *terēn.

165. The plural forms of *ene and *tere were *ede and *tede in Common Mongolian.

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<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Declension stems</strong></td>
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</table>

In Mongol the plural forms are based on the nominative of the singular. The plural ending is -sgi, the forms in question being niesgi 'these' and tiessgi 'those'. In other words, the plural is formed according to the nominal pattern.

In Mogol the plural stems are formed with the suffix -d from the nominative forms of the singular. The plural forms are enät 'these' and ted 'those'.
The stems *edeɣun (>
Bur. ɣdūn) and *tedeɣun (>
Bur. tɣdūn) are a result of contamination, a kind of cross: *eden × *egun and *teden × *tegun.

The roots *e and *te are found in Mo. ele, Kh. ēllo 'this', *eli 'this thing' and *telā > MMo. telī 'that thing' (formed like MMo. kelī 'when?'), in the demonstrative verbs *eji- and *teji- 'to do in this manner' and 'to do in that manner' (cf. Kh. enga- < *en-go- and tego- < *te-go- 'to do in this manner' and 'to do in that manner' respectively), in the adverbs ende 'here and tende 'there', etc.

The demonstrative pronouns Mo. ejimū 'such as this' and tejimū 'such as that' are in origin verbal nouns of the demonstrative verbs eji- 'to do in this manner' and teji- 'to do in that manner'. This verbal noun in -m(u) has become the Praeens imperfecti in Written Mongolian (§ 205—206).

The roots *e and *te can also be found in Mo. edūj 'not yet' and Mo. edūj 'so much' (like kedūj 'how much?'). Cf. also Mo. ejijede < *edijede 'always' and tejijede < *tebijede 'then'. Most of these forms occur in the spoken languages in which they have developed according to the general phonetic rules.

166. The stems *eden and *teden occur with the ending -ger, cf. Mo. edeger 'these' and tedeger 'those'. The ending is the same as in biugideger 'all', yayyayar 'alone', qotolayar 'entirely, everybody, in all places', etc. It is the old instrumental suffix. The forms edeger and tedeger have acquired their suffix by analogy. The element -de in ede 'these' and tede 'those' consists of the plural suffix -d taken by stems ending in n. Thus ede and tede are plural forms of *en and *ten. The final vowel e in ede and tede is the same deictic element as in ene 'this' and tere 'that'.

The stems eden and teden occur in various Mongolian languages with the usual plural suffixes added pleonastically:

Urdu edenũ, edenũs; tedenũ, tedenũs; Kh. ẽdẽnũr, tẽdẽnũr.

The Buriat stems ɣdūn and tɣdūn are due to analogy: ɣdẽ × *egun and tɣdẽ × *tegũn.
Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

167. Common Mongolian had the following pronouns: *ken 'who', *ke 'what', *kegüme 'something'; *jan 'what kind', *jayun 'what', and *jama 'something'.

The pronoun *ken 'who' is declined regularly. Its plural is *ked. There is also an adverb *ker 'how'. The endings are here *n, *d, and *r (cf. *en-e 'this', *ed-e 'these', and *ter-e 'that').

The pronoun *ken is found in all languages: CMo. *ken (pl. *ked), Mo. ken (ked), MMO. ken (pl. ket), Dag. ken, Mong. kün, Mog. ken, Urd. ken, Kh., Bur. ken, Kalm. ken.

The secondary stem *kegüin has the suffix -gün (/γun) which is found in Mo. jaγun 'what' and in the stems eγun (stem of *ene 'this') and teγun (stem of *ere 'that'). cf. *ken : *kegüin = *jan : *jayun. The form *kegüme < *kegüin be is the original form of Burjat Alar xýyme 'something' which occurs in the expression jýume xýume < *jegüme kegüme; cf. also Kalm. kün < *kegüin, Urd. kum in jumu kumēn 'his own belongings' (accusative).

The root *ke is found in Middle Mongolian keλi 'when' derived in the same manner as telλi (in SH) 'that thing' and Mo. ali 'which?'. It can be followed in Mo. kedui 'how much?' (sing.) and kedün 'how many?' (plural), Mo. keζije < *ke dzije 'when?'.

*ke 'what' occurred in Middle Mongolian only in connection with *jayu, cf. MMO. jaγu ke, in SH jaγu ke 'whatsoever', P jaγu k'edi (acc. plur.) id., Dag. jãγke < *jegü ke 'what?'.

By analogy with *jayun 'what?' and *jayuma 'something', Mongor kama 'no matter what kind' is derived. The form *jambar, Bur. jamar 'what?' served as a pattern for Bur. χεμερ 'what?' in the expression Al.B jamar χεμερ 'what?', cf. also Dag. kemere 'what?' (refers to people), also Dag. εimer 'such as this' and τειμερ 'such as that'.

168. The root *ja is found in *jan; cf. MMO. (Mu.) jan 'what kind?'. By adding the particle *be the form *jama < *jam be < *jan be was created (unless -ma in jama is the same as -ma-
in na-ma-ji 'me', ëi-ma-ji 'thee', i-ma-ji 'him'). We find *jama in MMO. (Mu.) jama 'something', Mong. jama, Mog. jema.

Written Mongolian has the pronoun jambar < *jan ber 'what sort of, what kind'; cf. MMO. (SH) jambar, Dag. jamar, Mong. jamar 'what sort' (cf. also Mong. amar 'what kind of' derived form *a, cf. Mo. ali 'which?', Kalm. aï 'where?'; the relation of ali to amar is the same as that of keli 'when?' to *kemær > Bur. ɣemær 'what kind?'), cf. also Mog. jemär 'how?', Urdu. jamar 'what kind?', Kh. jamar, Bur. jamar, Kalm. jamärɣ 'what kind?' (the Kalmuck form is a contamination of *jamar and the instrumental case of the possessive declension -ärɣ).

There is also the stem *jayun with the suffix -un (as e-gün, te-gün, *ke-gün, etc.), cf. Mo. jayun 'what', MMO. (SH) ja'un 'what, what kind?' (cf. also the feminine form ja'ûn in SH), Dag. jô < *jayun (cf. the parallel form jô < *jejûn), Urdu. jûn 'what kind?', Kh. jû 'what' and jûn 'what kind'.

Parallel front vocalic forms are Urdu. jû < *jejû and Dag. jô 'what?'. These parallel forms have front vowels due to the consonant i.

Buriat has jûn and Kalm. has jûn 'what?'.

169. A peculiar feature of the Mongolian languages is the interrogative verb 'to act in what manner?' or 'to do what?' This verb is derived from the root *ja. Common Mongolian had *jaya-, *jejî- < *jaji-, and *jeki-.

CMo. *jeki-
Mo. jeki-
MMO. jeki-

In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian the verb jeki- occurs only in the form of the Converbum modale.

The stem *jaya- (in *jayagî- 'to act in what manner') has a complete conjugation in Written Mongolian. Many forms of this verb occur also in Urdu, cf. there jâzî- 'to do what?'.

The most common interrogative verb is *jaya-, cf. Dag., Mong., Urdu., Kh., Bur. jâ- 'to do what', Kalm. jâ- ~ jayâ- id.

Analogically to eji- 'to do in this manner' and teji- 'to do in that
manner' the verbal stem *ja-j-i- 'to act in what manner' was derived from the root *ja. Under the influence of the initial and medial j and also by analogy to the front vocalic verbs eji- and teji- the stem *ja-j-i- at an early stage became *jej-i-, cf. Mo. jeji-, Kh. i- < *ji- < *jej-i- 'to act in what manner', cf. the Khalkha expression ίση ʃًsə ʃuŋ 'what kind of' and ino jənu 'what should one do'.

Reflexive Pronouns

170. The primary stem is *öben which still exists as Ө (stem Өn) 'oneself' in Dagur. The plural form was *öbed which still existed in Middle Mongolian, cf. SH ө'ed in the form ө'едиен 'themselves'.

Another stem of the reflexive pronoun was *öber with the suffix -*r which we find in te-r-e 'that' etc. This form occurs as öber in Written Mongolian. The latter form occurs also with the suffix -sůn, cf. Mo. öbersůn ~ öbesůn 'oneself', its plural being öbesůd < *öbersůd.

The table on p. 232 will show the developments in the Mongolian languages.

Monguor is omitted from the table, because the Monguor form 淖錫淖 'oneself' is not a regular development. It is the result of contamination of *öben with *öbesůnijen, i.e., *(öbe)n + *(öbe)sůnijen > *nsůnijen > ndzɨn + á.

Reflexive-possessive Suffix

171. The reflexive-possessive suffix indicates that the object in question belongs to the actor. It has the same meaning as Latin sūns or Russian svoi.

The reflexive-possessive suffix has developed from the reflexive-possessive pronoun *öben added to the end of a noun in the same manner as the genitive forms of the personal pronouns were added to the end of nouns.

The pronoun *öben corresponds to Tungus mën, cf. Tungus of Barguzin mēnekən 'oneself' (with the diminutive suffix -kən), cf. also
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>*ößen</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>ën / ëη</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | *ößer     | öber / öberijen| öer ~ ör / Mu. ören | wēr / —        | öår / örñini  | ör / örñ     | ör / örñ | ör / örñ | — / evørn  
|      |            |                |                |                |                                | ~ erwên  |      |      |      |
|      | *ößersün  | öber(r)sün / öbersüben | SH öessün / öessünijen | —              | öe / löön | ösan / ëssan | Ts. ëssán / ëssan | Al. ëhôn / — | — |
| Pl.  | *ößed     | —              | —              | —              | —    | —    | —   | Al. ëd / ëðë | —    |
|      | *ößer + pl. suffix | —       | —              | —              | —    | —    | —   | —    | —    |
|      | *ößersüd  | öber(r)süd / öbersüdijen | SH öessüd / öessüdijen | —              | össüd / össüden | össad / össadë | Ts. össäd | — |
mēnmi 'myself' = Korean mōm < *mēn 'body, person'. The suffix
*ben has developed from the reflexive pronoun *ōben > Dag. ẽñ
'self'.

It is important to state that in Mongolian traditional pronunciation
of Written Mongolian the suffix in question is always -bên, even after back vocalic stems. But in Middle Mongolian the
reflexive-possessive suffix already complied with the rules of vowel
harmony.

172. The reflexive-possessive suffix was a pronoun in Pre-Mong-
golian. There it was *ōben. In Common Mongolian it was already a
suffix. There it was *ben after final vowels of the stem and -*içen
after final consonants. The development of this suffix is shown
below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After final vowels</th>
<th>After final consonants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common-Mongolian</td>
<td>*ben</td>
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<tr>
<td>Written Mongolian</td>
<td>-ban / -ben</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Mongolian</td>
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<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>-ba'an / -be'en</td>
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<td>-'an / -'en</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>-ban / -ben</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-'an / -'en</td>
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<td>Mu.</td>
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<td>-ān / -ēn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Dagur               | -āmal / -ēmel         |
Monguor             | -nā                    |
Mogol               | -ān / -ān              |
Urdus               | -ān / -ēn              |
Khalkha             | -ä(ŋ) / -ē(ŋ)          |
Buriat              | -ã / -ẽ               |
Kalmuck             | -ān / -ēn              |

In Khalkha and Buriat the suffix occurs in four forms, i.e., with
the vocalism ã, ẽ, ō, and ŕ according to the rules of vowel harmony
and labial attraction.
In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian this suffix occurred in two forms, one after final vowels and another one after final consonants. Written Mongolian -ian has developed from -*i̯an*. Vowel harmony is optional in this suffix in Written Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian, at least in its western dialects, the suffix already has become a real suffix complying with the vowel harmony rules. The suffix is -ân / -ên in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab, i.e., it is the same as in Mogol, Urdus, Kalmuck, and almost the same as in Khalkha and Buriat.

The reflexive-possessive suffix is -âmal / -êmêl or -âmul / -êmul in Dagur. This is an interesting development. The initial long vowel of the suffix is due to the influence of the pronoun ên < *öben 'self'. Thus -âmal has developed from *öben × -*öben > -*men > -*mun > -*mul, etc.

173. The reflexive-possessive suffix was added to the end of the stem with no case suffix. This form served as accusative in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian, cf. H bejeben 'himself' (literally 'his own body'), sabasijan 'their own containers'.

In Muqaddimat al-Adab the suffix -ân / -jân immediately at the end of the stem serves as the accusative and genitive ending in the reflexive possessive declension.

Dagur has -âmal / -êmêl or -âmul / -êmul in the accusative and genitive. Mogol has -jân / -i̯jân. Monguor has -nâ in these two cases, etc.

The genitive and accusative forms are shown in the following table. We shall see that these cases have completely or partly converged in a number of languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-juyan / -yàgen</td>
<td>-ban / -i̯jan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or = genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>-ju’an / -jü’en</td>
<td>-ba’an / -i̯jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>-(i)u’an</td>
<td>-ban / -i̯jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ân / -jân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or = gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>= genitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dag.  -āmul / -ēmul  = genitive
       -āmal / -ēmel  
Mong.  -nā  = genitive
Mog.   -jān / -i jān  = genitive
Urd.   ḥinān  -iğān
       -ginān  -ğān
       -nān  -ğān
       -ān (1)  = genitive (-ān)
       -ān (2)  = genitive (-ān) (the final n of the
              stem is dropped in the acc.)
Kh.    -iṣā(ŋ)  -ā(ŋ)  ~ -iğā(ŋ)
       -iṣā(ŋ)  -ā(ŋ)
       -iṣā(ŋ)  -ğā(ŋ)
Bur.   Al.  -jā, -gā, -ā  = genitive (stems ending in n
             preserve it in the genitive but
             drop it in the accusative)
       Khor. -iŋgā  -ā, -jā
              -eŋgā
       -ŋgā  -ğā
Kalm.  -inān  -ān, -iğān
       -āyān.

Examples:

Mo.  aqaban 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), aqajuyan (same and
     genitive).

MMo. (SH)  rkejü‘en 'one's own mother' (acc. and gen.), ko‘ünbe‘en
     'one's own son' (acc.); (H)  uridusu‘an 'of one's own ancestors' (gen.),
     beje and bejeju‘en 'himself, his own body' (acc.), sabasijan 'one's
     own containers' (acc.); (Mu.)  šidünēn 'one's own teeth' (acc.), nū’ūrān
     'one's own face' (acc.), čiqiyān 'one's own ears' (acc.), andajān 'of
     one's own friend' (gen.)

Dag.  ǳešgèmul 'one's own food' (acc. and gen.), aüşāmal 'one's
     own coffin' (acc. and gen.).
Mong. üvenū 'one's own father' (gen.), čoninā 'one's own sheep' (acc.).

Mog. bōbojān 'one's own father' (acc. and gen.), kōnuñijān 'one's own son' (acc. and gen.).

Urd. bagšiğān 'of one's own teacher' (gen.) — bagšiğān 'one's own teacher' (acc.), dāgiñān 'of one's own chief of federation' (gen.) — dāğān (acc.), dūqšiğān 'of one's own district' (gen.) — dūqšiğān 'one's own district' (acc.), čānān (1) 'of one's own khan' (gen. and acc.), čadānān (2) 'of one's own rock' (gen.) — čadān 'one's own rock' (acc.).

Kh. ax(u)ñxiš(a)(η) 'of one's own elder brother' (gen.) — ax(a)(η) or ax(u)ñxiš(a)(η) 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), morīñiž(a)(η) 'of one's own horse' (gen.) — morī(b)(η) or moriš(a)(η) 'one's own horse' (acc.), noxšen-ša(η) 'of one's own dog' (gen.) — noxšenš(a)(η) 'one's own dog' (acc.).

Alar Bur. ḡeṣjē 'one's own mother' (gen. and acc.), burūgā 'one's own calf' (gen. and acc.), modonō 'of one's own tree' (gen.) — modō or modojō 'one's own tree' (acc.).

Khorī Bur. axiŋqā 'of one's own elder brother' (gen.) — axıŋqā 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), morīnšenqō 'of one's own horse' (gen.) — morıš 'one's own horse' (acc.), noxšenqō 'of one's own dog' (gen.) — noxšenqō 'one's own dog' (acc.).

Kalm. qalınān 'of one's own fire' (gen.) — qalān or qalıvān 'one's own fire' (acc.), usnäyān 'of one's own water' (gen.) — usān or usıyān 'one's own fire' (acc.).

The accusative and genitive are partly distinguished in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian. They have converged in Dagur, Monguor, Mogol, and in the Alar dialect of Buriat (with the exception of stems ending in ʰn in the latter).

These two cases are distinguished well in Urdus, Khalkha, Khorī Buriat, and Kalmuck.

174. The endings of the remaining cases are shown on p. 237.
### Dative-Locative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>*daʃan</th>
<th>*durijan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>-daʃan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-dayan</td>
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<td>-durijan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-da'ran</td>
<td>-durijan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>-da'ran</td>
<td></td>
<td>-durijan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>-da'ran</td>
<td></td>
<td>-durijan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>-dān</td>
<td></td>
<td>-dur'ān</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-dāmul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dunā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-dunān</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>-dān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-dān(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-dān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-dān</td>
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### Ablative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>*daʃan</th>
<th>*aʃaʃan</th>
<th>-ašabān</th>
<th>-ašayaŋ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>-daʃan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ašabān</td>
<td>-ašayaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ašabān ~ ašayaŋ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-aša’an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH H</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-aša’an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-aša’an</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-dānā</td>
<td>-ašāmul~ašābul</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-sajān</td>
<td>-ašajān</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-sajān</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ašā(ŋ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ašā(ŋ)</td>
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<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ašā(ŋ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Al.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-hān</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khor.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-hān</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ašān</td>
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</table>

### Instrumental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>*bariʃan / *iʃariʃan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>-bariʃan / -iʃariʃan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-bariʃan / -iʃariʃan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>Comitative Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Mo.</td>
<td>-luyaban</td>
<td>-luyabarijan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-luyaban</td>
<td>-luyabarijan (pre-cl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>-lu'aban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lärän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-kanā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>-lejān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lärān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lärā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lärän</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comitative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-tājiyan &lt; Colloquial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-tāgān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-pēgāti(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>-tājā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>-tāyān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feminine forms

175. The Mongolian languages do not have a grammatical gender. However, in cases in which it is necessary to indicate that the being concerned is a female special endings are used.

(A) Diminutive forms

(a) Diminutive forms of nouns denote also female beings, i.e., women. The suffix is -qan.

Mo. nojpaqan < *nojoqan 'princess', Kh., Tu.B nojoqan id., Kalm. nojpaqan 'wife of a prince, demoiselle', from Mo. nojan, Kh. nojaj, Kalm. nojaj 'prince'.

Mo. keqken < *keqken 'girl, child', MMO. (SH) keqken 'child', Urd. kuchên 'girl, little boy', Kh. kuchên 'girl, daughter', AgaB kuchên 'girl, child', Kalm. kuchên 'girl, child of a prince', from Mo. keq < *keq, MMO. keq 'son'.

(b) Another diminutive suffix is -qaj / -kej.


(B) Special endings

Special endings are found in proper names of women in Middle Mongolian and in Buriat. Such an ending is -iun / -iun.

SH temülün name of the sister of Temujin, derived from Mo. temür 'iron'.

Kh.B altalaj < *altalun the name of the wife of Altan Khan, main character in an epic story, derived from altaj 'gold'.

Kh.B munguqej qaqa < *mongolun the name of the wife of mungun qaqa, one of the epic heroes, derived from mungun, Mo. mongolun 'silver'.

(C) Colors of female creatures

The suffix -γειν / -γειν is taken by nouns denoting colors when the latter refer to female animals.

Mo. qarayγειν 'black' (e.g., cow), MMO. qarayγειγεid (pl.), cf. Mong. suff. -γεδэй, Urd. xaragэй 'black', Kh. xarγэй, Bur. xarγэγэ, Kalm. xarγэγэ 'black' (cow or another female).

Mo. γαγαγείν 'a female animal with a dark mane and dark tail' (from γαγαγ id. male), Bur. zagaγэγэ id.

These forms serve to indicate the color of female beings, mainly domestic animals, but in the Aga dialect of the Burist language they also serve as proper names of women, e.g., xaraγэγэ Yellow.

It is important to mention that the attributes of inanimate objects sometimes have such forms not only in Middle Mongolian but also in modern Khalkha:

SH alayγειν туγ 'a motley banner', Kh. xarγэγэγэ нумо 'yellow bow', etc.

(D) The suffix -γείν

(a) The suffix -γείν occurs as an ending of words indicating the age of female beings, e.g., Mo. ymanaγείн 'three years old' (cf. yunaγ the same but male), MMO. (SH) ymanaγείн, Urd. gumedэй, Kh. gum∂γγе 'a three years old cow', Al.B gунγэγэ нэγ id., Kalm. gum∂γγе 'three years old'.

(b) This suffix occurs also as an ending of various words referring to women, e.g., Mong. spedэγэγ < *jekeγэγ 'noblewoman', Mo. monγγэγэγ 'a Mongol woman', MMO. (SH) baryγэγэγ yо'а the name of the wife of барγуγэγэγ мөргэγ, etc.

(c) A number of words have attributes with the feminine suffix -γείн in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and spoken Mongolian languages.

In the first place names of languages should be mentioned:

Mo. monγγэγэγ келеγ 'Mongolian language', ujiyγэγэγ келеγ 'Uigur language', etc.

(d) The names of rivers take this suffix, e.g., monγγэγэγ 'the river Mongoljin', Mo. барγуγэγэγ, Bur. барγэγэγэ 'the Barguzin River' (in Transbaikalia), etc.
176. A special numeral referring to women is found in Middle Mongolian. This is SH žirin 'two' (cf. § 180).

In conclusion it should be mentioned that there is also a special plural suffix -*rud which was taken by nouns denoting female beings (§ 120). Certain verbal forms also referred to women as we shall see in the chapter dealing with conjugation.
Numerals

Cardinal Numerals

177. The numerals differ only phonetically from one another in the Mongolian languages. Therefore, the discussion of the numerals is a chapter of comparative phonology rather than of morphology. For this reason here only such numerals will be discussed which display irregular phonetic developments or differ from each other in morphology.

We shall start with the numeral *one*.

178. The numeral *one* was *niken* in Common Mongolian. Perfectly normal developments are AMo. *niken*, MMO. (SH, H, Mu.) *niken*, (P) *nik'en*, Dag. *nik' ~ neke*, Shihongol (Wuyangpu) *nike*, Mogol *nik'am*. In the remaining Mongolian languages the consonant *k* has resulted in *g*, probably by analogy to numerous words ending in *-yan / gen*, e.g., Mo. *uñegen* 'fox', *emegen* 'old woman', etc., cf. Mong. *ni gé*, Urd. *nege*, Kh. *nég*, Bur. *neg* *,* Kalm. *neg* *one*.


Besides this form, there was another form CMO. *qoyar*, i.e., with *-q*-. The form *qoyar* is found in Mo. *qoyor* 'between, in the middle' (cf. Mo. *qoyor dumda* 'in the center'), Mo. *qoyorandu* 'between', Urd. *qaranda*, Kh. *qaranda*, Bur. *qarando*, Kalm. *qarando* 'between'.

The stem *qoyar* still occurs as a numeral in Mongol, in some other dialects spoken in the province of Kansu, and in the Kachug subdialect of the Ekhgit dialect of the Buriat language: cf. Mong.
'gör 'two', San chuan qor, Wuyangpu kor, Pounan gar, Shira Yogur qur, KachugB zör 'two'.

The root *qo (in *qojar 'two', *qorin 'twenty', etc.) is also found in *gos 'pair' and in qosmałjin 'twin' (as in twin-bed, twin-city, etc.), 'belonging to a pair' from *gosman (with the suffix -ljin as in yurbal-ljin 'triangle').

180. Common Mongolian had another numeral *two* which served only to count female living beings. This was *żirin formed in the same manner as *qorin 'twenty'. The primary root is *żi. It is found in the ancient ordinal numeral *żitüger 'second' which is formed in the same manner as Mo. ṣutuyar 'third' and döļger 'fourth' (from *yu and *dö respectively, cf. ṣurban 'three' and dörben 'four') with the suffix -*tuyar. The form żitüger occurs in Written Mongolian and there it means 'the second wife', cf. also Kh. dzöbërχo- 'to be jealous', dzöböl 'jealousy'.

The numeral *żirin occurs in Middle Mongolian (Secret History) as żirin in the following constructions:

orbai soqatai żirin 'Orbai and Soqatai, two (women)' . . .

imaji . . . qo'aqčin żirin 'her and Qo'aqčin, both of them' . . .

börte-ljin qo'aqčin żirin 'Börte-Uljin and Qo'aqčin both of them . . .

qoriżin qatur qu'určin qatur žirin 'Qoriżin qatur and Qu'určin qatur, both of them . . .

żirin ökit 'two daughters'.

It occurs once in connection with the names of two men: żirin elčiten 'having two messengers' and also in the combination żirin kesseč 'two divisions'. The latter example testifies to the fact that żirin was also used in connection with names of inanimate objects, because in Ancient Mongolian many words designating objects had attributes with feminine endings, e.g., monpolžin kelen 'the Mongolian language', sirayčin numun 'a yellow bow', etc.

A parallel form was *żiru(n) > Manchu ğuru 'pair', cf. Dag. dżür ~ džürū 'pair' (< *żiru ~ *żirugü), Mong. džür 'pair' (e.g., Mong. ṣugur nige dżür 'one pair of oxen').

In Written Mongolian żiren occurs, e.g., in the expression żiren
sedkiltü eme 'a woman having two thoughts', i.e., 'a woman floating between two decisions'. The latter example shows that žiren was also used in reference to objects belonging to women.

The stem *žür occurs in Mo. žirmüşin, Bur. Ŝirmepen, Urd. dërmenen 'pregnant'. It should be remarked that 'pregnant' and 'two' are semantically related, cf. Mo. dâbqur 'double' and 'pregnant'. As remarked above, the primary root *ži is found in Mo. žitüger 'the second wife in a bigamous family', cf. Urd. dëtër 'jealous', Mo. žitüge 'competition', Urd. dëtö 'jealousy'.

In conclusion of the section dealing with the numerals *two* it should be mentioned that the numerals in question are of Common Altaic origin, cf. the following correspondences:

*qo, Mo. gojar 'two', gorín 'twenty', goyor 'between', qos 'pair', qosmalzín 'belonging to a pair' = Turk. qos 'pair'.

*ži, MMO. žirin 'two', Mo. žitüger 'the second wife' = Tungus žür 'two', Manchu žiune 'two'.

181. The numerals *three*, *four*, and *five* are phonetically different from each other, otherwise they are the same in all Mongolian languages. Exceptions are *three* and *four* in Mongour in which the final syllables have developed by analogy to those of the numerals *six* and *seven*.

The numerals *three*, *four*, and *five* are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>*γurban</td>
<td>*dörben</td>
<td>*tabun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>γurban</td>
<td>dörben</td>
<td>tabun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>γurban</td>
<td>dörben</td>
<td>tabun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH, H</td>
<td>γurban</td>
<td>dörben</td>
<td>tabun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>qurban</td>
<td>dörben</td>
<td>t'abun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>qurban ~ γurban</td>
<td>dörben</td>
<td>tabun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>yurwa(η)</td>
<td>durwa(η)</td>
<td>taw(η)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>γurün</td>
<td>di'eran</td>
<td>t'āwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>γurbön</td>
<td>durbōn</td>
<td>tabun</td>
</tr>
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<td>Urd.</td>
<td>yurwa</td>
<td>dōwō</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>yurwa(η)</td>
<td>dīrwa(η)</td>
<td>tawu(η)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bur.  
qurban  
Al.  dźrbęń  
taban  

Kalm.  
goryń  
Kh.  dźrbęń  
dörwę  
tawę

When serving as substantive nouns, these numerals do not have a nasal at the end in Dagur, Urduus, and Khalkha. When serving as syntactical attributes, the numerals in question end in " in Dagur and Khalkha, and in Urduus the final vowel becomes nasalized, the numerals concerned being qurban and dörwę.

182. The numeral "six" is an old compound and consists of *źir 'pair, two' and *γn, the root of the numeral 'three' (Mo. yurban 'three', yutuyar 'the third', yun 'three years old', γucin 'thirty', etc.). Common Mongolian had *źiruyan, with the suffix -γan found in a few other numerals. This numeral was borrowed by the Manchu-Tungus languages (cf. Ma. ningun, Tungus niungun 'six'). According to the rules of historic phonology *źiruyan resulted in *źiruyan and the latter became źirγo' an in Middle Mongolian (cf. P źirγo' an). This resulted in źirγo, cf. Al.B ęrgiń, Khkh. B ęrgiń, Dag. ębirgęń, and Mong. dźirγo 'six'.

In the remaining Mongolian languages the phonetic development is irregular and *źiruyan resulted in *źirγan, cf. Kh. deγrγa' (ŋ) 'six'.

Mogol has no original Mongolian numerals higher than "five". The developments of *źiruyan are shown below.

CMo.  *
źiruyan
Mo.  źiruyan
MMo.  
SH  źirγo' an ~ źirγa' an
H  źirγa' an
P  źirγo' an
Mu.  źirγu' an
Dag.  dźirγęń(ŋ)
Mong.  dźirγo
Urdu  dźirγa(n)
Kh.  deγrγa(ŋ)
Bur.
Khor. zurγaŋ
Alar žorgöŋ
Ekhirit jorgöŋ
Kalm. zurγaŋ.

183. The numeral *seven* is derived from the root *dal* (cf. Mo. 
dalun 'seventy') with the suffix *-yan* and the connective vowel *w-. 
The form in question was *daluyan. Under the influence of *-uyan 
the vowel of the initial syllable developed into o according to the 
general rule. The development *daluyan > *doluyan occurred in 
Pre-Mongolian, the Common Mongolian form already being *doluyan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Mongolian</td>
<td><em>daluyan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td><em>doluyan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>doluyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO., H, SH</td>
<td>dolȫn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>dolȫn(η)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>dolȫn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>dolȫn(η)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>dolȫn(η)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>dolȫŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>dolän.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

184. The numerals *eight* and *nine* are regular developments 
of *najim-an 'eight' and *jesün < *jersün 'nine'. 
Mo. najim-an 'eight', Dag. najima(η), Mong. neman, Kh. naem(η), 
Bur. nement, ALB neman, Kalm. nem id.

Mo. jisün ~ jesün < *jersün (cf. jiren ~ jeren 'ninety'), Dag. 
jis(η), Mong. sde’en, Kh. jesse(η), Bur. jukheñ, Kalm. jishe ‘nine’.

185. The numeral *ten* was *garban in Common Mongolian, cf. 
Mo. arban, MMO. (SH, H, P, Mu.) harban, Dag. Tsitsiak zarvan, 
Mong. zarvan ~ zarvan, Shirongol zarban ~ zarvan, Urd. arve, Kh. 
arve(η), Bur. arbeñ, Kalm. arveñ id.

The numerals 11—19 are compound forms and consist of *garban 
'ten' + the unit concerned. These numerals do not show unusual 
developments.
186. The numerals 20, 30, 40, etc. are regular developments of the same basic forms shown below.

The numerals 20—50 have the ending -in, while 60—90 end in -an / -én. These endings, i.e., -in and -an / -én are, probably, the remainder of the numeral *on = Turkic on 'ten'.

The Shiron-gol dialect in Pounan differs from that spoken in Wuyang-pu in that the numeral *twenty is the only surviving Common Mongolian numeral (it is xorun 'twenty'), while all the remaining numerals are composed of units and the word for 'ten':

30: xorun < *yurvan xorban
40: deriyan < *dorben xorban
50: ta'neran < *tabun xorban
60: džirganran < *žiruyan xorban
70: tolonran < *doluyan xorban
80: nižmanran < *najman xorban
90: jesunran < *jersün xorban

This system is probably due to Turkic influence, cf. Turk. sük-sân 'eighty', toqan 'ninety' (from sâkɪs 'eight' + on 'ten', toqaz 'nine' + on 'ten' respectively).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo.</td>
<td>*xorin</td>
<td>*yütin</td>
<td>*dotin</td>
<td>*tabin</td>
<td>*žiran</td>
<td>*džalan</td>
<td>*najan</td>
<td>*jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiron-gol</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wuyang-p)</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shira Y.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>xorin</td>
<td>yütin</td>
<td>dotin</td>
<td>tabin</td>
<td>žiran</td>
<td>džalan</td>
<td>najan</td>
<td>jeren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Alar — 2 Alar — 3 Khori — 4 Ekhirit — 5 Khori
187. The numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' are regular developments in all Mongolian languages:

CMo. *jayun 'hundred', Mo. jayun, MMO. (SH, Mu.) ʒa‘un, Dag. dāu, Mong. dđiuŋ, Urd. dū, Kh. daū, Bur. ṣūq, Kalm. sūn id.

CMo. *miŋyan 'thousand', Mo. miŋyan, MMO. (SH) miŋyan ~ (Mu.) miŋga, Dag. miŋga, Mong. miŋxun, Urd. miŋga, Kh. miŋyaŋ, Bur. miŋyaŋ, Kalm. miŋyaŋ id.

### Ordinal Numerals

188. In Common Mongolian the primary stems (roots) of the numerals *жи 'two', *ну 'three', *дө 'four', and *тал 'five' took the ending -*tuyar ~ -*tuyar. The primary stems of the numerals 6—7 took the ending -*duyar. The latter was generalized and taken by all numerals. Besides, at a later time the ending -*duyar was no longer taken by the primary stems but by the secondary stems enlarged with the suffix -*ban ~ -*yan.

The ordinal numerals are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMo.</th>
<th>Mo.</th>
<th>MMO.</th>
<th>Dag.</th>
<th>Mong.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*teriŋun</td>
<td>*teriŋun</td>
<td>(SH) teri‘un</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>*ded</td>
<td>ngedüger</td>
<td>(H) nikentür</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*noküge</td>
<td>nüküge</td>
<td>(SH) nökö</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*gojduyar</td>
<td>(H) gojduyar</td>
<td>gojtuwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>*jiqüger</td>
<td>*jiqüger</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>*yutayar</td>
<td>*yutayar</td>
<td>(SH) yutar</td>
<td>*gutar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>*döteger</td>
<td>*döteger</td>
<td>(H) düteger</td>
<td>düteger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>*tabayar</td>
<td>*tabayar</td>
<td>(Mu.) tabutar</td>
<td>taqutuwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>*züriyuqayar</td>
<td>*züriyuqayar</td>
<td>(Mu.) züriydar</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>*najimaduyar</td>
<td>*najimaduyar</td>
<td>(Mu.) najimdar</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>*jisidüger</td>
<td>*jisidüger</td>
<td>(Mu.) jisidür</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>*parbaduyar</td>
<td>*parbaduyar</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In many language families the numerals *first* and *second* are special words not necessarily numerals by origin, e.g., Latin unus and primus, duo and secundus. These words were *terigün* 'head, beginning' and *ded* 'the following, the next one' or *nöküge* 'the following' in Common Mongolian.

At an early date, by analogy to other numerals, *nikendüger* and *gojartuyar ~ gojarduyar* were used, cf. MMo. (H) nikentüer 'the first' and (H) gojadu’ar 'the second'.

Beginning with *six* the ordinal numerals were formed with the suffix -*duyar*. By analogy such forms were also derived from yurban 'three', dörben 'four', and tabun 'five', the ordinal forms in question being yurbduyar, dörbedüger, and tabduyar, the final *n* of the stems still being preserved in Middle Mongolian. In modern Mongolian languages the final *n* has disappeared, e.g., Urd. gurwdygär, Kh. gurwdygär 'the third'. In Buriat and Kalmuck the final *n* is also dropped, but the suffix of ordinal numerals is -*daxi* in Buriat and -dokši in Kalmuck. Only in proper names Kalmuck still has the ancient suffix -**tąd** < -*tuyar* / -*tüger*, e.g., jisšt < -*jisügér* 'the ninth'.

The Monguor equivalent of Buriat -*daxi* is -*daregu* < -*da* + *(dege)rek*. The Monguor ordinal suffixes are not of the same origin as the suffixes in other Mongolian languages. The suffix -*dani* is the ending of the reiterative numerals -*ta* with the possessive suffix of the third person. In Monguor the suffix -*dare* is a locative form of a form ending in -*da* < -*ta*.

In Middle Mongolian (in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab) ordinal forms ending in -*tu* occur, e.g., yurbantu 'the third', harbantu 'the tenth', etc. which are shorter than the Written Mongolian forms with the suffix -*tuyar*. The Middle Mongolian suffix (in Muqaddimat al-Adab) is the original one and the forms in -*tu* are more ancient than those ending in -*tuyar*. The Written Mongolian forms with the suffix -*tuyar*, e.g., yutuyar 'the third', contain the same -*tu*. The element -*yar* in -*tuyar* is an instrumental suffix (cf. Mo. yayčayar 'alone'). Thus, Mo. -*tuyar* ~ -*tuyar* < -*tu* (~ -*ta* + *yar*. The Monguor forms ending in -*dareni* are of a similar origin: -*dareni* < -*ta* + loc. suff. -*re* + possessive suffix of the third person.
Other Numeral Forms

189. The iterative (or multiplicative) numerals are formed with the suffix -*la. Mo. and MMo. -/ta / -te; MMo. (Mu.) nikete 'once, one time', Mo. and MMo. (Mu.) gojarta 'twice';
Mong. -da : gõrda 'twice';
Kh., Bur., etc. -to: Kh. gojirto 'twice', Bur. nege'te 'once'.
190. The collective numerals are formed with the suffix -*yulan / -*gulen.
CMo. -*yulan / -*gulen
Mo. -yulan / -gulen
MMo. (SH, Mu.) -'ula / -'ule
Dag. -ööl < -*yulañan (with the reflexive-possessive suff.)
Mong. -lo < -*la with -*u- lost
Urd. -ül
Kh. -ülo
Bur. -úlañ
Kalm. -üly (but xojirg 'two together' by analogy with xojr 'two').
191. The distributive numerals are formed with the suffix -*yal / -*gel. The suffix -*yal is preserved in Middle Mongolian and Dagur in the form MMo. (SH) niži'el and Dag. neβiñ 'by ones', cf. Mong. nižiñadur < *nižigel edär in the expression 'the one day...the other day'. In Written Mongolian and all the remaining spoken languages the suffix is -ged in nižigeñ 'by ones'. This is due to analogy with the forms qosiyan 'by twos', yurbayad 'by threes', etc. The latter forms are plural forms with the plural suffix -d (like Mo. tásimel 'official' - tásimed 'officials' or Al.B tugel 'calf' - tugad 'calves'). The plural forms ending in -*yad > -ül were generalized in Urdus, Khalkha, Burjat, and Kalmuck.

In modern Mongolian languages the forms in -*yad have become approximative numerals, e.g., Kh. arvät 'about ten, approximately ten'.

In general, most Mongolian languages, e.g., Mongor, Urdus, Khalkha, Burjat, and Kalmuck prefer reduplicated cardinal numeral forms, e.g., Kh. qùrəw qùrəw 'by threes'.
Conjugation

General Remarks

192. Common Mongolian had four different groups of verbal forms which had different syntactic functions:

A. Vocative forms expressing demands or requests, more or less corresponding to the imperative and optative in Indo-European languages;

B. Indicative forms serving as predicates of complete sentences;

C. Verbal nouns expressing the idea of a process of action (e.g., *the walking*, i.e., motion) or actor (e.g., *goer* or *writer*, i.e., a person) or characteristics of persons or objects (e.g., *walking* as a characteristic of a person, i.e., *one who walks*). These forms served as subjects, complements, attributes, or as predicates, in the latter case having a copula;

D. Converbs expressing actions modifying or characterizing the main action in a sentence; serving also as circumstantial words indicating the circumstances under which an action takes place, e.g., *while reading*, *when readings*, etc.

193. The ancient system was destroyed at a later time and great changes occurred in the modern Mongolian languages.

First of all, Common Mongolian did not have special forms for each of the three persons of the singular and plural. Thus, *irebe* meant *came* (I, thou, he, we, you, they). Later on personal pronouns were added enclitically to the verbal forms in order to indicate the person acting. This became a common phenomenon in Middle Mongolian, e.g., *irebe bi* 'I came', *irebe ti* 'thou camest', *irebe ba* 'we came', etc. The personal pronouns added enclitically lost their independence and became personal endings, e.g., Bur. *jerebe* 'I came', *jerebeb* 'I shall come', etc.
Although there was no distinction between the persons in the conjugation in Common Mongolian, certain verbal forms occurred, however, in two different variants. One of them referred to male beings, while the other one was used when the actor (and sometimes even the object of the action) was a female being. The distinction between masculine and feminine verbal forms still existed in Middle Mongolian. In the language of the Secret History and that of the ḤPaṅgs-pa script such forms as ögha 'gave' (masculine) and ögbi 'gave' (feminine) still occurred.

Many ancient verbal forms disappeared, e.g., the verbal noun in -i, e.g., Mo. oduj 'the process of going away' (predicative: 'he goes away').

Certain verbal forms changed their meanings and functions, e.g., the verbal noun in -n which became a converb (converbum modale) at an early date. Its plural in -d served as a predicative form in Middle Mongolian but disappeared later on.

In conclusion I should point out that the frequent appearance of the verbal nouns in the role of predicates led to the rise of a series of new indicative forms of nominal origin, which replaced the ancient indicative forms, e.g., Mo. jabuyä 'one who went and is still going' = Bur. jabā 'he went', jabāb 'I went', etc.

**Vocative Forms**

**Imperative**

194. The imperative of the second person referred originally also to the third person (sedb, slet him do) and expressed a strict demand. This form is the bare stem of the verb concerned, e.g., Mo. jabu 'gol', MMo. (Mu.) setkì 'think!', (H) ire 'come!', Dag. sā 'sit down!', Mong. zaytìr 'demand!', Mog. irå 'come!', Urd. ire, Kh. ire, Bur. jerg, Kalm. irō 'come!'

To express a polite request other forms were created at a later date. The vowel of the final syllable of the stem was lengthened or
a long vowel was added to the stem. This form is called the precative, e.g., Kh. ʿōgā 'please give!', Urd. itšē 'please go away!'. To this form pronouns of the second person were added enclitically, e.g., Kh. ʿōgūtš 'please give!' (sing.) and ʿōgā 'please give!' (plural).

In Buriat the vowel of the precative form is i, probably by analogy to the volutative (s. § 197), e.g., Alar sā ʿūgī 'please drink tea!'.

The rudeness of the imperative was lessened also by adding of special particles, e.g., Al.B jere lā 'come!', ošo dā 'go!', Dag. sō dē 'sit down please!', etc.

**Benedictive**

195. The benedictive is a future noun (*nomen futuri*) in origin. The suffix of the future noun was taken by the secondary (passive) stem in -d- ~ -da-. The suffix of the *nomen futuri* of the singular was -quī / -kiжив, that of the plural was -qun / -kün.

The benedictive form in -dqun / -dkün was common in pre-classical Written Mongolian. Later on, probably in Middle Mongolian (in the XIV century), a metathesis occurred and -dqun / -dkün resulted in -ytun / -qτʊn.

The singular form -dqū (with metathesis) is preserved in Buriat, cf. -qτʊ. The meaning of this form is, however, the 2nd person of the plural.

(A) **Singular**

CMO. -*dqū*ī, Bur. -γτί < -*ytūj < -*dquī* (it is a plural in meaning), e.g., Bur. jabaqtī ~ jabaqtuī 'please go!', Mog. -tu (also a plural) < -*ytūj, e.g., iratu 'come!'

(B) **Plural**

CMO. -*dqun*, Mo. (pre-cl.) -dqun > Mo. (cl.) -γτun, Mog. -tunā < -*ytūn-a (vide infra), Kalm. -tŋ < -*ytun, Kh. -qτun ~ -tun, Al.B
-qtaŋ ∼ (rarely) -qtiŋ (contamination of the sing. form -qiŋ by plur. -qtaŋ < -qtun), e.g., Mo. uŋdaqun 'understand!', Mo. unsiytun 'read!', Mog. irātunā 'comel!', Kalm. irīp 'come!', Al.B jabanqan ∼ jabanqtiŋ 'go!'

In Mogol the ending is -tunā < -qtun-a. The final a is possibly an emphatic element, although it might be the ancient dative ending -a, i.e., irātunā < *ireqtiŋe < *ireqkēne 'to the arrivals!'. This latter explanation is possible, because the volutative in -ja is a dative in -a of the verbal noun in -i in all Mongolian languages.

It should be noted that the benedictive does not occur in Mongguor, Dagur, and Urdu.

P r e s c r i p t i v e

196. The prescriptive expresses a request to perform the action concerned sometime in the future. It is called also the imperative of the future.

The prescriptive suffix is -*yaraŋ. It did not occur in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian. This suffix consists of the Altaic suffix -*r of verbal nouns added to the suffix -*yaŋ of the secondary verbal stem. The final -aŋ is a particle, an interjection.

The prescriptive forms are of secondary origin. There was no such form in Common Mongolian or even in Ancient Mongolian.

(a) In Dagur the suffix is -gānē. This form is probably a future noun in -*qu with the particle *ni and an emphasizing particle (interjection) *aŋ, i.e., -gānē < -*qu *ni aŋ. The length of the vowel ā in -gānē is due to analogy. Cf. Dag. onopānē 'ride horse back!' < *unuqu *ni aŋ.

(b) In Khalkha and Buriat the prescriptive form has the suffix -*yaraŋ > Kh. -āršē, Al.B -ārā (2.p.s.), -ārdē or -ārāqti (2.p.pl.). The latter form has appeared by analogy < -ārā × -qiŋ (of the benedictive). Ol’khon Buriat has a form of the 3d person in -ārāk by analogy with the concessive in -kā.
Voluntative

197. The voluntative expresses the desire of the first person to perform an action (let me do!), *let us do!). In classical Written Mongolian it refers only to the first person of the plural, but colloquially it refers to the singular and plural.

The Written Mongolian suffix is -ja, usually spelled as -j-a, i.e., with a written separately.

This form is a dative in -a of the verbal noun in -*i, e.g., oduj 'going', oduj-a or oduj-a 'let us go!' (originally 'towards the going!).

MMo. (SH) has -ja, e.g., čimaji qan bolyaja 'let us proclaim you khan!'.

Dagur has the suffix -já which does not comply with the rules of vocalic harmony, e.g., ukjá 'let me give!'. It is only -ja also in Mong, e.g., awuja 'I want to take!', šdžiša 'we shall come!', etc.

The suffix is -ja in Mogol. The pronouns of the first person of the singular and plural are added enclitically, e.g. irájáwui < *ireje bi 'let me come!', irájav < *ireje ba 'let us come!'.

The voluntative suffix is -iį ~ -įč ~ -ič in Kalmuck, -į ~ -jā in Urdus, and -jā ~ -ji ~ -i ~ -į in Khalkha. In these languages no personal endings are taken by the voluntative forms, but in Burjat personal pronouns are added enclitically, e.g., Al.B jabaįboi 'let us go!', although the voluntative occurs there also with no personal endings, e.g., Al.B jabaį 'let us go!', Ts.B udjiši 'let us see!'...

Urdus has another form of the first person of the singular. The ending is -jan or -jin with a final n which is a short form of the particle of uncertainty ni, cf. Ts.B jawaçañ < *jabaqu ni 'he will probably go'.

Optative

198. There is another form expressing the desire of the first person to perform an action. This form is called the optative by Ramstedt. Its suffix was -*su / *su in Common Mongolian, e.g., orasu 'let me enter!', *ögsu 'let me give!', etc.
In classical Written Mongolian this suffix occurs with the secondary element -γαι / -γη which is also found in the form of the third person in -σουαι (§ -συ-γαι), e.g., ἅρπναγαι 'let him read!'. Examples of the first person are ὑπσίσαγαι 'let me read!', ὅγγαγη 'let me give!', ἰραγεγη 'let me come!', etc.

In the most conservative colloquial Mongolian languages the suffix is -ςσα, i.e., with no secondary element -γαι, e.g., ἅρπνα -ραρα -ραρα in which the final element η ~ ηα (in -ραρα) is due to analogy with the benedictive (in -ταρα). As for the long η in the suffix -ραρα in Mogol it belongs to the secondary verbal stem, i.e., ιραρα < *ιρ-γα-ςσα (η ιραρα by analogy with ιραρα 'come!').

In Dagur the optative form is not found. In Mongor there is a special imperative form in -ση, e.g., ιδηση 'eat, I implore you!' which has developed from a form with the suffix -ςσαγαι, i.e., with the secondary element -γαι.

In Kalmuck the optative of the 1st person has the ending -σω < -ςσι (singular) and -σωδσι < -ςσι (plural) with personal pronouns added enclitically. The same is found in Burjat in which the endings are -σήβ and -σήβδη. This optative of the first person does not occur in Urdu or Khalkha.

199. Only few Mongolian languages have the optative form with the ancient suffix -ςσα. Most languages have forms which go back to the suffix -ςσα augmented by the secondary element -γαι.

This augmented suffix is -σα < -ςσαγαι in Kalmuck. In Burjat this suffix is -σα with personal pronouns added enclitically:

-σαπ < *ςσαγαι ισα -σαβδη < *ςσαγαι ιδησ
-σασ < *ςσαγαι ιεσα -σατ < *ςσαγαι ια
-σα < *ςσαγαι

In Middle Mongolian (Muqaddimat al-Adab), in Urdu, and Khalkha this form occurs with no personal endings (i.e., with no personal pronouns added). The suffix -ςσα < -ςσαγαι is always added to the secondary stem in -γαι but never to the primary stem. The suffix, consequently, is -γαςςσαι > *γαςςσαι > MJo (Mu.) -ιςα, e.g., ὅτιςα 'if they read!', Urdu. -ιςα, Kh. -ιςςε.

In conclusion it should be remarked that the primary suffix -ςσα
referred in pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (e.g., Secret History) to the first person singular and plural, while in classical Mongolian it refers only to the first person singular. In the language of the Secret History it occurs always with the pronoun bi or ba, but it is never followed by bida. Thus it looks as if it occurred only with the exclusive pronoun, while the voluntative in -ja occurs there only with bida. On the other hand, the Mogol voluntative form is -jaw < -*ja ba, i.e., the personal pronoun is exclusive there. Thus, it looks as if no common pattern had existed and the constructions in question appeared more or less independently. May I also point out that in Dagur the first person of the plural in any tense is always an exclusive pronoun of the first person. Cf. § 243.

Concessive

200. Written Mongolian has the suffix -tuva. This form is also called the imperative of the third person. The suffix in question consists of the element -tu which is the most important part of the suffix, while the element -vaj is a secondary addition found also in the optative suffix -suva. The suffix -tuva occurs in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in P -tuqaji in abtuqaji 'let them take!', boltuqaji 'let it be!', Mu. -tuva / -tuge in saqituva 'let him protect!', öktuge 'let him give', etc.

The suffix -tuva occurs in Dagur as -tvā / -tei, Kalmuck has -txa / -tke, Urdu has -taqā / -tugā. It does not occur in Khalkha except in expressions borrowed from Written Mongolian such as mandurgu boluqdu 'long live!' (literally 'let him rise!).

This suffix occurs in the dialect of the Ol’khon Buriats in which it is -taqāk < -*tuva + k < -*gi. The latter (i.e., -gi) is another concessive suffix which will be discussed below. In other words, it is a double concessive form.

201. There is another concessive form with the ancient suffix -*gi < -*gī / -*gi ~ -gī. No such form occurs in Written Mongolian or in Middle Mongolian. It occurs, however, in Mogol (suff. -ge) and

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in Monguor. In the latter it is found in the compound suffix -ragi < -*ragi the element ra of which is the ancient suffix of the prescriptive (vide § 196), e.g., giragi < *kigereigi 'let him do!', dararagi < *dayarayaraigi 'let him shiver with cold'. A similar form is Ol'khon Burjat -ärlik (vide § 196).

In Urdu the suffix -qa' / -ge, in Khalkha and Burjat -q / -g (～-k) ～Kh. -qi ～-qa ～-ge) is found. Kalmuck has -k.

Dubitative

202. The dubitative expresses the concern about an action which may occur contrary to all expectations and cause inconvenience (but suppose he does something!).

The suffix is -*γuži / -*guži or -*γužai / -*gužeq in Common Mongolian. Written Mongolian has -γužai / -γužeq. It is found in Middle Mongolian as -užai (II).

The same dubitative suffix is found in Urdu -ūdā < -*γužai, -ūdān < -*γuži with the particle of doubt *ni).

Its equivalent in Kalmuck is -ūzā / -ūz, in Khalkha -ūdeo (relatively rare).

Burjat has only -*γuži which has resulted in -ūzi to which personal endings are added: -ūzih < -*γuži bi, -ūziš < -*γuži ci, etc. Its meaning is different in Burjat in which this form has become an indefinite future (sometime I shall probably do).

The suffixes -*γužai and -*γuži have developed from the suffix of the deverbal noun -*γu / -*gu to which the particle ža or žai of uncertainty has been added. The suffix -*γu is found in Mo. soytayu 'drunk, intoxicated', qatayu 'hard', etc. The particle ža or žai is found in Mo. bolumuj ža 'he will be probably', cf. MMo. (SH) že, Kalm. zā / ze, Al.B zā 'well, all right'. Thus Mo. iregžeqj originally meant 'the possible arrival' > 'suppose he arrives nevertheless'. Another dubitative form is that in -γu in Urdu in which a is the particle of doubt and -γu = Mo. -γu in soytayu 'intoxicated', cf. Urb. soytayu-guž getše 'be careful, do not become intoxicated'.
Another dubitative form in Urdu is the past tense in -<i>n</i> with the particle <i>da</i>, e.g., <i>un</i><i>maad</i><i>d</i> <i>a</i> 'be careful, do not fall down!', cf. Kalm. -<i>n</i><i>d</i>; ALB past tense, e.g., ALB <i>un</i><i>ba</i><i>š</i> 'be careful, you might fall down' <i>&lt;</i> <i>un</i><i>ba</i><i>a</i> <i>d</i> <i>e</i> 'you have fallen down'.

203. The conclusions reached in the discussion of the vocative forms will be summarized below.

The vocative forms can be classified into two main groups: original vocative forms and those which have developed from verbal nouns.

The first group comprises the imperative, optative, and concessive.

The second group comprises the benedictive, prescriptive, volun-

tative, and dubitative.

The imperative has no suffix (or it has a zero-suffix) and it is the same in CMo., Mo., MMo., Mong., Dag., Mog., Urg., Kh., Kur., and Kalm.

The primary optative suffix was -<i>s</i> in CMo. It occurs as such in pre-clássical Mo., MMo., Mog. (-<i>s</i><i>n</i> <i>u</i> -<i>s</i><i>n</i><i>a</i>), Bur. (-<i>h</i><i>u</i> <i>h</i> <i>u</i>- <i>k</i><i>u</i>, -<i>k</i><i>u</i><i>b</i><i>u</i>, i.e., with personal endings), and in Kalm. (also with personal endings, i.e., -<i>s</i><i>u</i> and -<i>s</i><i>v</i><i>r</i><i>d</i>). The suffix -<i>s</i> occurs with the primary or secondary verbal stem in Mog. (cf. -<i>a</i><i>s</i><i>n</i><i>u</i> where -<i>a</i> <i>&lt;</i> -<i>y</i> <i>a</i>-).

The augmented optative suffix is -<i>sw</i><i>u</i><i>a</i><i>l</i>. This has been generaliza-

ted in Writén Mongolian and is the only optative suffix in classical Writén Mongolian. The suffix -<i>sw</i><i>y</i><i>a</i><i>l</i> occurs in Mong. (<i>s</i><i>a</i>), Bur. (<i>h</i><i>a</i> + personal endings), and in Kalmuck (<i>s</i><i>a</i>). In Middle Mongolian, Khalkha, and in Urdu the suffix is taken by the secondary verbal stem in -<i>y</i> <i>a</i>- the optative suffix being -<i>s</i><i>a</i> in MMo., -<i>s</i><i>a</i> in Urg., and Kh. -<i>s</i><i>a</i><i>g</i>.

The primary concessive suffix was -<i>tu</i>, but in this form it has not survived. It occurs only with the element -<i>y</i><i>a</i>, i.e., the suffix is

The other concessive suffix is -<i>y</i> <i>i</i> / -<i>y</i> <i>g</i>. It occurs alone in Mog. as -<i>y</i> <i>g</i>, Urg. -<i>y</i> <i>g</i>, Kh. -<i>y</i>, Bur. -<i>y</i>, and Kalm. -<i>y</i> / -<i>k</i>. In Mong. it has been added to the suffix of the prescriptive (in -<i>y</i><i>a</i>). A similar form is Ol'khon Buriat -<i>y</i><i>a</i><i>l</i>.
The benefactive is a nomen futuri of the passive stem, i.e., a form in *-qui (plural *-qun) added to the passive stem in *-d-. Thus the suffix was *-duqij (plural *-dqujn) in CMo. The singular form (with metathesis) is found in Buriat (cf. -gti < *-tyuj < *-dquij). Its meaning is that of a plural, however. In pre-classical Mo. and in MMO. the suffix -dqujn still existed (but not *-dquij). In classical Mo. the suffix was already -ytau (metathesis). The suffix -*ytau (i.e., with metathesis) is the basis of the benefactive suffixes in Dag. (-ta), Mog. (-tu or -tuná), Kh. (-tyo or -tun), and Kalm. (-tj). The original plural form is also found in Alar Buriat (-yto or -gini). Mongouor does not have this form and uses, instead, the imperative with sá following it.

The prescriptive is the ancient verbal noun in *-r taken by the secondary verbal stem in -*ya- and followed by a secondary element -*a. Thus the suffix in question is -*yaraj. It is found only in Khalkha (-arya) and Buriat (-arā, -ārā, also -ārāgiti, and -ārāj). We find it also in Mongouor in the suffix of the concessive (-rati).

Dagur uses another form in -qanie, i.e., the suffix of the future noun *-qu with the particle *ni.


The dubitative is in origin a verbal noun in *-yu to which the particle *ja has been added, cf. CMo. -*yuja -yuji, Mo. -yužaj, MMO. -*južaj, Mong. -qudša, Urd. -udša -udša, Kh. -udša, Bur. -uši (+ personal endings, in meaning a future), Kalm. -uša.

Indicative Forms

204. Written Mongolian and the languages spoken presently have several indicative forms which serve as predicates of complete sentences, e.g., Mo. jahubu 'he went'.

Most of the indicative forms have developed from verbal nouns. In other words, such predicates are in origin predicate nouns with a zero copula.
In Ancient Mongolian some forms occurred in two variants. One of them referred to male beings, while the other one was used in reference to female beings. This may be another proof that the forms in question are nouns in origin.

It is impossible to reconstruct the original meaning of the nouns from which the indicative forms have developed, because the forms in question already were indicative forms in Common Mongolian. In Common Altaic they were nouns, however, but nouns with various meanings.

**Praesens imperfecti I**

205. This form is a present and future tense. Originally it was a verbal noun. Its suffix was -m in Common Altaic, e.g., Turkic ölöm 'death' (öl- 'to die'), Mo. nayadum 'play, game' (nayad- 'to play'), Mo. barim 'the grip' (bari- 'to seize'), etc.

In Common Mongolian, Ancient Mongolian, pre-classical Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian forms in -m served as predicates of complete sentences. They were common in the XIII—XIV century and occurred in such documents as the Secret History, Hua-i i-yu, and Muqaddimah al-Adab. This form still occurs in Mongol, e.g., öl mudiöm 'thou knowest', öl fugum 'thou wouldst die'.

In Kalkha the suffix -m occurs only as the mark of the so-called potential (suffix -mdo) which is found also in Kalmuck (-mda) < -m + particle of uncertainty *ja or *jai.

The suffix -m is also found in the Written Mongolian suffix -nam (praesens imperfecti). The latter is a compound suffix consisting of -n (a verbal noun, presently *converbum modale*) and am, the extinct present tense of the verb a- 'to be', e.g., Mo. jahunam < *jabam am 'is going'.

The suffix -nam occurs also in Mogol. There it occurs in addition to the other form in -n (e.g., iran-tši 'you come'), cf. Mog. irənäm bi < *iren am bi 'I come', irənämda < *iren am bida 'we come', irənəntši < *iren am či 'thou comest', irənənto < *iren am ta 'you come'.

The form in -m followed by the form gekule (converbum successi-
vum of the verb *ge- 'to speak, to talk') serves as *converbum successi-
vum (as soon as . . . ), e.g., *užem *gekule 'as soon as he saw' (literally: 'as soon as he said to himself 'I look').

206. The form in *m is little used as a present-future form in Written Mongolian. There another form is common. The suffix is *-mu* in classical Written Mongolian. It is a further development of the same suffix *-m. The final *u* is probably due to analogy with predicative forms such as *ajisu* 'he approaches', *odui* 'he goes away', *bu* 'is', etc.

There is no form in *-mu* in spoken Mongolian languages.

207. A vocalized form of the suffix *-m, i.e., *-ma* occurred in Common Altaic in numerous derivatives, e.g., Turk. *čalma* 'sling, turban' (from *čal- 'to wind around'), Tungus *girkuma* 'pedestrian' (*girku- 'to walk'), etc. At the present time *-ma* occurs in Mongolian as a suffix of the so-called Nomen descriptionis, e.g., Kh. *gāţum* 'astonishing' (from *gāţo- 'to be astonished'), Urd. *andūrama* 'misleading' (from *andūr* - 'to err'), etc.

In Middle Mongolian and in some spoken languages forms in *-ma* still serve as substantive nouns, e.g., Mu. *daqama* 'mentes' from *daqo- 'to follow', Mong. *pūra* 'plaited hair' from *pūru- 'to plait', etc.

The instrumental case of the noun in *-m is what is called Nomen agendi, e.g., Kh. *iddem*er 'edible, something which might be eaten'.

**Praesens Imperfecti II**

208. This form is common in all spoken Mongolian languages. The primary suffix is *-n. It still occurs in numerous deverbal nouns in Written Mongolian, e.g., Mo. *sigen* 'liquid, fluid' (from *singe- 'to be absorbed'). This deverbal noun existed in Common Altaic, e.g., Turk. *būtum* 'complete' (from *būt- 'to end, to be completed'), *aquin* 'current' (from *aq- 'to flow'); Korean (perfect participle) *-n in pon 'seen' (from *poda* 'to see'), *san* 'bought' (from *sə- 'to buy'), etc.

At the present time *-n* is the suffix of the so-called *converbum modale* in Mongolian. It will be discussed below (vide §230).

The vocalized form of the suffix *-n, i.e., *-na* or *-n with the se-
condary element *aj has become the suffix of the present tense. The suffix in question is -*na or -*naj. The relation of -*na to -*n is the same as that of -*ma to -*m (vide § 207).

Written Mongolian does not have the suffix -*na or -*naj but it has -tam -*n + am (vide § 205). The suffix -*na (or -*naj) does not occur in Middle Mongolian either.

Mongor has -*na ~ -ni, e.g., garina ~ garini 'he walks out'.

In Khalkha -*n in -*n (~ -*n, -*n), in Khalkha -*n (~ -*n, -*n, -*n).

Buriat has -*na (~ -ne, -no, etc.) + personal endings, i.e., -nab, -nak, -na, -nabul, -nat, -nai.

Kalmuck has -*n in -*n (~ -*ne) with personal endings.

209. As remarked above the primary suffix -*n occurs only as an ending of the *converb* modal, e.g., Mo. unis 'reading', MMO. (Mu.) ışen 'seeing', Mong. dāran dāran 'freezing' (it is always reduplicated), Dag. (~ *-i) uulson 'not listening', Urd. (~ *-i) meden 'knowing, knowingly', Kh. and Bur. (~ *-i) .JOptionPane 'drinking', etc.

The former nominal character of this form is apparent in Buriat where the *converb* modal (suff. *-i*) has the negative *ugej* taken by nouns, e.g., Bur. xaraj ugi 'not looking'. The nominal character of the form in -*n can be traced in Middle Mongolian, e.g., (H) ąrūn ądâuije 'while he had not arrived' ('prior to his arrival')

In Middle Mongolian (SH and P) the plural of this form ended in -*d* in the same manner as nouns in -*n drop the latter and take -*d*.

The plural form served as a predicate in Middle Mongolian, e.g., (SH) jahb tede 'they go', (P) bida uqad že 'we certainly shall know', etc.

In Mogol the form in -*n is still used as a predicate of a complete sentence, e.g., irâmbi < *irembi 'I come', irântši < *iran či 'thou comest', irândda < *irembida < *irembida 'we come', etc.

At the present time forms in -*n with no additional elements or a copula do not serve as predicates of complete sentences in most Mongolian languages.
210. The suffix of this present form is -ju in Written Mongolian. The form in -ju is a categorical present tense serving as a predicate in conclusions, strict affirmations, and in categorical statements, e.g., Mo. uqqju 'he understands', boluju 'of course, it becomes', etc.

This form was very usual in pre-classical Written Mongolian and occurred frequently in Middle Mongolian, e.g., MMo. (H) eželejü 'he governs', medejü 'he knows', (SH) buju 'is', nerejidajü že či 'thou wilt name', etc.

When referring to female beings this form ended in -ji in the Secret History, e.g., oki qatu ohaži že či 'thou wilt certainly find girls and women'.

211. The present tense in -ju is a form ending in -i to which a predicative element u is added. The primary suffix -i still occurs in a few forms of verbal nouns, e.g., Mo. ajisuj 'approaching' (as a predicate 'he approaches'), oduj 'going away' ('he goes away'), buj 'existence, existing' ('is'), bolaj 'he is, he becomes', etc. The verb bol- occurs also in the form bolaj 'he is'. In pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian more forms ending in -i occurred as predicates, e.g., Mo. komozdej 'it is said'.

Other petrified forms in -i are Mo. yuraj 'exceeding', darajj (Kh. daraj 'immediately' (from daru- 'to press'), Mo. bayuraj 'weak, backward, underdeveloped' (from bayura- 'to become weak, to be in a state of decay, to go down'), etc.

The dative of the verbal noun in -i has become the volutative (in -ja), e.g., Mo. Žabaja 'let us go!' (< 'towards the going').

In spoken Mongolian languages this verbal noun plays no role in the conjugation, although petrified forms of this noun still occur, e.g., Kh. muri 'bent, curved', Bur. balĩ < bulaj 'blind', etc.

The verbal noun in -i occurred in Common Altaic, cf. Turk. qarši 'obstacle, against' (from qarši- 'to resist'), qonšu ~ qonši 'neighbour' (from qonši- 'to spend nights together'), Tungus sulu 'sharp, sharpened' (from sul- 'to sharpen' e.g., a pencil), degi 'bird' (from deg- 'to fly'), Korean nophi 'height' (from noph- 'to be high'), etc.
Praesens Perfecti

212. This form occurs with the suffix -luya / -läge in Written Mongolian and denotes an action witnessed or otherwise known of and, therefore, raising no doubt.

In the preclassical Written Mongolian language the suffix was -luya / -läge or (sometimes) -laya / -leqe. This ancient form has become -lā in some spoken Mongolian languages.

In Middle Mongolian, particularly in the language of the Secret History, the suffix is -la'a ~ -lu'a, e.g., bûle 'was', abula'a 'took', ajisulu'a 'came', etc. In Hua-i i-yû it was -lû'e ~ -le'e on stems with front vowels.

The suffix -luya ~ -laya has developed from the primary suffix -l of verbal nouns, e.g., Mo. ukul 'death' (from ukû 'to die'), tanil 'acquaintance, friend' (from tanî 'to know'), etc. The element -*yaî is a predicative mark and -u- is a connective vowel.

213. This present tense already existed in Common Mongolian and there it had the suffix -*laya which still occurred in pre-classical Written Mongolian. In classical Written Mongolian the suffix is -luya.

This form does not occur in Monguor. In Dagur the suffix is -li, e.g., sôli-bi 'I sat', sôli-bâ 'we sat', udâli-bi 'I saw', etc. The suffix -li has resulted from -lî ~ -lê < -*laî < -*laya.

Mogol has the suffix -lā, e.g., iralâ-bi 'I came', irâlâ-têi 'thou camest', etc.

Urdus and Khalkha have the suffix -lâ / -lê. In Buriat this form occurs only in shamanist and old epic poetry, e.g., jalâlây 'I went', zorâlây 'I saw', etc.

In Kalmuck this form is the most usual past tense, e.g., joulâw 'I went', irîlêy 'we came'.

Præteritum Imperfecti

214. The primary suffix of this form is -*jî (< -*di / -*di) ~ -*jû. This suffix forms in Written Mongolian the imperfective con-

verb (vide § 232). As an ending of an indicative form it occurs in the
spoken languages, cf. Urd. -dži (-tši) and Kh. -dži / -tši. It is possible, however, that the colloquial suffixes are a result of the shortening of the other suffix, i.e., -*žiyaj > Kh. -dšā ∼ -tšā.

The suffix of the praeteritum imperfecti was -žuqaj / -žukāj in pre-classical Written Mongolian. In this form it referred to male beings, but when it referred to female persons it was -*žiyi / -*žigi, e.g., ņgečiŋi 'gave' (to a woman), ažiŋi 'she was', etc.

At a later time the distinction between the masculine and feminine forms was lost. In classical Written Mongolian the suffix changed and became -žuqaj / -žukāj. The only verb still having the suffix -žuqaj(ŋ) is a- 'to be', the form in question being ažuqŋa 'was'.

215. In spoken Mongolian languages this past tense occurs with the following suffixes:
Mong. -dšia, with the predicative element a (probably < -*a), but with negatives it is only -dši, cf. šlidšia 'he became', būdšia 'he descended' (but also sanadši 'he thought').

The Middle Mongolian form -žiŋaj < -*žiyaj is the basis of the Mogol suffix -dže < -*žaj < -*žiyaj, e.g., iradže 'he came', iradžembi 'I came', etc.

Khalkha has -dšā / -tšā, Kalmuck has -dže.

In conclusion it should be remarked that -*di is a Common Altaic suffix, cf. Turk. -d- of the past tense, e.g., al-d-i-m 'I took'.

Praeteritum Perfecti

216. The perfective past tense was formed with the suffix -*ba / -*be in Common Mongolian. In the Written Mongolian language the suffix is -ba / -be or -baŋ / -beŋ. The latter, i.e., -baŋ is an emphatic form. Pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian had a feminine form with the suffix -bi.

Dagur has -be or -we, -beŋ or -weŋ, but the meaning is that of the future, e.g., orsbeŋ-bi 'I shall float', kuurbeŋ-ši 'thou wilt arrive', gaqaran 'it will be torn', dasawaeŋ-ba 'we shall repair', etc. The semantical development of the past into a future tense is known in Mongolian. In Burjat the past tense is used as a form of warning, e.g.,
unabaš 'thou wilt fall down', cf. also Urdu nosāqār nosāaba getşē 'beware of being bitten by dogs!' (literally: 'thou hast been bitten by dogs, be careful'), cf. also Kalmuck irşā < *iřebe žāi 'he might, nevertheless, come'.

Mogol has the suffix -ba ~ -fa ~ -pa which takes personal endings: 1st p.s. -babi or -bōw, 1st p.pl. -bābda or -bōw, 2nd p.s. -bāši, 2nd p.pl. -bato.

Urdu has -w (-b ~ -p) or -we (-bu) or -wā (-bā). The corresponding suffixes are Kh. -w ~ -we ~ -wā, Bur. -ba / -bg, and Kalm. -w ~ -wā ~ -wā.

The Common Mongolian suffix -*ba(i) and the ancient feminine ending -bi have resulted from Common Altaic -*ba / -*bi, cf. Turk. -p (ancient -pan) of the perfective gerund, Manchu -fi of the converb. The primary, unvocalized suffix is -*b which is still found in Mongolian deverbal nouns, e.g., Mo. 'tőšūb 'form', tősūb 'plan', etc.

Summary

217. The most ancient Mongolian indicative forms which may be called primary forms are verbal nouns in origin. We shall see further that even these forms later on were replaced by other verbal nouns which served only as verbal nouns in Written Mongolian or in Middle Mongolian.

CAlt. -*m, CMo. -*n: as a present tense rare in Mo., occurred in MMO., serves as suffix of verbal nouns in Mo., serves as suffix of the present tense in Mongor, occurs in the potential in Khalkha (-mdz) and Kalmuck (-nzā).

It is found as an element constituting the suffix -nam (< n + am from a- 'to be') in Mo. and (with personal endings) in Mogol.

With the secondary element -*n it occurs as a suffix of the præses imperfecti in Mo. and MMO.

CAlt. -*n, CMo. -*n: MMO. -n (pl. -d) as an indicative form, Mo. (pre-cl.) -n (pl. -d) also as an indicative, but only as a verbal noun or converb in cl. Mo. This form does not have a plural in Mon-
mongolian languages spoken presently. In all of them petrified verbal nouns with -n > -η occur, but in all languages (Mo., Mong., Dag., Mog., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.) -n > -η is also a verb ending.

The suff. -n is found in Mo. -nam of the present tense. The same suffix, but with a secondary element, is found in the most usual suffix of the present tense in the spoken languages: Mong. -na ~ -ni, Dag. -na ~ -n (with personal endings), Urd. -nā ~ -nā ~ -n, Kh. -nv ~ -nā, Bur. -na (with personal endings), and Kalm. -nā / -nā (with pers. end.).

CAlt. -*i, CMO. -*i: in Mo. only a few verbs have a present tense in -i. Most forms are petrified verbal nouns. The same is found in Middle Mongolian. No present tense in -*i is found in spoken Mongolian.

An augmented form of the suffix -*i is Mo. -ju, pre-cl. Mo. and MMO. -ju (masc.) and -ji (femin.). This secondary suffix occurs in classical and modern Written Mongolian as an ending of one of the present tense forms. It does not occur, however, in spoken Mongolian.

CAlt. -*i, CMO. -*i and CMO. -*luya(i): the primary suffix -i is found in many verbal nouns in all Mongolian languages. The secondary suffix -*luya(i) forms the praeens perfecti in Mo. -*luya, pre-cl. Mo. -*luya ~ -*luya, MMO. -lu'a ~ -la'a, Dag. -i (with pers. end.), Mog. -lā, Urd. -lā, Kh. -lā, Bur. -lā (with pers. end.), Kalm. -lā (with pers. end.).


CAlt. -*b, -*ba / -*bi, CMO. -ba or -baj (masc.) and -bi (femin.), Mo. -ba / -baj, MMO. -ba / -baj and -bi (femin.), Mong. -ba, Dag. -be ~ -wej (a future tense), Mog. -ba ~ -ja ~ -pa (with person. endings), Urd. -we ~ -wā ~ -wā, Kh. -we ~ -wā ~ -wā, Bur. -ba (with person. end.), Kalm. -we ~ -wā ~ -wā (with personal endings).
Verbal Nouns

218. We have seen that the so-called indicative forms are verbal nouns in origin. However, a number of verbal nouns have been preserved as such.

The verbal nouns (nomina verbalia) serve as subjects, objects (complements), attributes, and predicates. Their functions are much more numerous than those of the participles in the Indo-European languages. The verbal nouns take a copula and in this case they serve as indicative forms or, to be exact, as predicates of complete sentences. The copula can be omitted and in this case a verbal noun alone serves as a predicate of a complete sentence. It will be demonstrated below that new forms, both indicative and converbal forms, have developed from verbal nouns. In general, some Mongolian languages prefer, in the role of finite forms, verbal nouns to the primary indicative forms discussed in the preceding sections.

Nomen Futuri

219. The so-called nomen futuri has the suffix -qu<sub>1</sub>, its plural ending in -qu<sub>n</sub>. In pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (SH, H, P, Mu.) such forms are frequent. In classical Written Mongolian the plural form in -qu<sub>n</sub> was lost and the singular form split into two forms: when used as a substantive noun this form has now the ending -qu<sub>1</sub>, but as an adjective it has the suffix -qu<sub>i</sub>, i.e., Mo. *jiryaqu<sub>1</sub> 'happiness, the process of being happy' but *jiryaqu<sub>i</sub> 'being happy, rejoicing, happy'. The suffix -qu<sub>1</sub> originally referred to females, while -qu<sub>i</sub> was a masculine form.

The suffix -qu<sub>1</sub> has developed into -qu<sub>i</sub> in Mongguor. There it serves as a predicate. The other suffix -qu<sub>i</sub> has resulted in -qu<sub>i</sub>. Mongguor has also a particular form ending in -gu<sub>a</sub> which probably goes back to -qu<sub>n</sub> with an element *a.

Dagur has -γu / -γu<sub>i</sub> or -γ / -γ < -qu<sub>n</sub> and -γu<sub>i</sub> < -qu<sub>i</sub>, e.g., tarzγaγ<sub>i</sub> 'the beating'.

In Mogol both -qu / -ku<sub>i</sub> and -qu<sub>i</sub> / -ku<sub>i</sub> occur.

Urdus has only the form with the suffix -qu > -γu / - γu<sub>i</sub> < -γa<sub>i</sub>,
etc., while the suffix -qu does not occur. The latter does not occur in Khalkha either. Here we find only -χv / $\chi^\varepsilon < -^*qu$. The latter serves as an attribute and predicate.

Burjat has only $\chi^\varepsilon -\chi^\xi (\chi^v - \chi^\varepsilon)$ which serves as an attribute and (with personal endings) predicate. This suffix has developed from $-^*qu / -^*k\varepsilon$. Traces of the suffix $-qu^i$ are found in Burjat. The final verb (in order to...$\varepsilon$) ending in $\chi^\varepsilon / \chi^\varepsilon$ is an ancient dative form in $-qu^i / -k\varepsilon$, the suffix $\chi^\varepsilon$ being a further development of $-qu^i$, e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon / \chi^\varepsilon$ the more one takes' or 'as much as one can take'.

Kalmuck has only the suffix $-qu > \chi v / $\chi^\varepsilon$.

220. The suffix of the noun of the future occurs as an element of a number of secondary forms.

It has become an indicative form of the future tense in Dagur and Burjat and as such it takes personal endings in the form of personal pronouns (nominative): Dag. $-qu (+$ person. end.) > $\chi^\varepsilon$, $\chi^\varepsilon$, etc., e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'thou wilt call', $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'thou wilt be', etc.; Bur. $-qu > \chi \omega (+$ person. end.), e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'I shall walk', $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'thou wilt walk', $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'we shall walk', etc.

221. The nomen futuri with personal possessive endings, which have developed from the genitive forms of personal pronouns, expresses the necessity or the compulsion to act (I must...$\varepsilon$ or I have to...$\varepsilon$).

Dag. $-qu$ $+ $ possess. end. > $\chi^\varepsilon$, e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'we shall go' or 'we must go' (< 'our going').

Bur. $-qu > \chi \omega$ + person. possess. end. $\chi^\varepsilon$, etc., e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'thou must go' or 'thou hast to go'.

Kalm. $-qu > \chi v$ + person. possess. end., e.g., $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'I have to go', $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'thou must go', $\chi^\varepsilon$ 'we have to go', etc.

222. Nomen futuri has also become the basis for a few compound forms.

It has merged with certain forms of the auxiliary verb $a$ - 'to be'.

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One of such forms is the future perfect (*perfectum futuri*), i.e., a past tense in the future. Perfectum futuri has the suffix -γασαν < -\*qu aysan (nomen perfecti of *a- 'to be') in Khalkha, e.g., ayasγαν 'one should have taken' (semantically the same as aγαδ iµαγ < agq̥a jaγ̥ama aysan 'a thing to take it was'). In Buriat -γαγ̥a < -\*qu ays < -\*qu aysan (with personal endings) corresponds, e.g., jabγαδαγ < *jag̥uq̥a aysan bi 'I should have walked', jabγαγ̥aγδ < *jabγuq̥a aysan ci 'thou shouldst have walked' (originally 'thou wast one who had to walk').

223. Some petrified case forms of the nomen futuri have become conversbs.

The dative of the future noun serves as a supine. This form is called *converbum finale*. The suffix is -χā in Khalkha (< -\*qu-a), although it is rare there. Buriat has -γαγδ < -\*qu-γ-a.

The petrified instrumental case of the future noun has become what is called the *converbum finale* or *converbum prolocutivum*. In Dagur the instrumental of the future noun serves as a *converbum successivum*, but sometimes it has also the meaning of the *converbum finale*. The Dagur suffix is -γ̥r < -\*γ̥ar < -\*qu-\*bar, e.g., onγ̥erγ̥γ 'as soon as he mounted the horse', iš̥k̥er 'as soon as he went, sγ̥rγ in order to sit down'.

In Urdu -\*γ̥ar results in -γ̥r and forms the final verb but sometimes also the converbum prolocutivum. In Kalmuck the ending -γ̥r occurs as an ending of the final verb. In Alar Buriat this form occurs with the reflexive possessive suffix, the ending being -γ̥γ̥r. There it forms the final verb. In Khalkha and Buriat the converbum prolocutivum has the ending -γ̥γ̥r < -\*γ̥ < -\*n (conv. modale) + γ̥r < -\*γ̥ < -\*γ̥γ̥ar (from a- 'to be').

The comitative form in -lā < -\*l̥γ̥a or the comitative-instrumental form in -l̥γ̥or < -\*l̥γ̥γ̥ar of the future noun serves as the successive verb meaning 'as soon as . . . or simultaneously with . . .'.

In Mongol -γ̥l̥ < -\*γ̥l̥γ̥a, in Urdu -γ̥γ̥a or -γ̥γ̥or < -\*γ̥γ̥γ̥γ̥ar, in Khalkha -γ̥γ̥γ̥ < -\*γ̥γ̥γ̥γ̥ar, in Buriat -γ̥γ̥γ̥or, and in Kalmuck only -γ̥l̥γ̥or -γ̥γ̥or are endings of the converbum successivum.
A particular form is that ending in - zadār in Alar Buriat, which has originated from -qu + *degere 'on, above', e.g., jaba zadār, 'as soon as he went'. The ending -dār < *degere occurs in Urdus in such forms as nastuindār 'at (the home of) the old man' < *nasutujin degere.

**Nomen Perfecti**

224. The nomen perfecti denotes the process of an action as completed in the past. It serves as a subject (actor or process of an action), attribute (characteristic of someone), object or complement (actor or process of an action), and predicate (= past tense).

The Common Mongolian suffix is *ysan / *gben. It has resulted in the following suffixes in the Mongolian languages:


This verbal noun serves as a predicate and in this function it has become a secondary indicative form in several modern Mongolian languages.


The equivalent form in Kalmuck is *smb, *sgt, *sp, etc., e.g., irsmb 'I have come' = Bur. jerghem 'I came'.

The perfective noun in *ysan of the auxiliary verb *a- 'to be' has merged with the past tense of the same verb *aži and resulted in sandži in Kalmuck: sandži < *aysan aži 'has been'. Together with the copula *aysan a perfective noun has become what is called **perfectum perfecti** in Khalkha the ending of the form in question being -sunṣṃ, e.g., ausunṣṃ 'one should have taken'.
Nomem Imperfecti

225. This form is an imperfective verbal noun, e.g., Mo. jabuya 'one who has gone and is still going'. The Common Mongolian suffix is -*ya / -*ge which has resulted from Common Altaic -*a with -γ / -γ as a Hiatustilger, cf. Turk. -ə in converbs and, with personal endings, as a mark of the present tense, etc.

A Common Mongolian variant of this suffix is -*ya / -*ge. Mo. -γa / -γe, e.g., jabuya 'going', pre-cl. Mo. -γaj (rare), MMo. (SH) -'a ~ -'aj, e.g., bara'aj ədə'uje 'while he had not ended'; (P) -'a, e.g., jabu'aj 'going', (Mu.) -ā, Urd., Kh. -ā, Kalm. (rare and does not occur with negatives) -ā.

Nomem imperfecti acquired the predicative function long ago. In the Secret History there are already forms like bariyda'a bi 'I was taken prisoner', cf. Muqaddimat al-Adab āzē čimaji bi 'I saw thee'. It can be assumed that the nomem imperfecti has become an indicative form in Middle Mongolian. In Burut it has become a simple past tense, with the endings 1st p.s. -āp, 2nd p.s. -āš, etc., e.g., jabāp or jaba 'I went', jereš 'thou comest', etc.

The suffix -*ya / -*ge is found in the so-called perfectum imperfecti as an element in the compound suffix -āsan in Khalkha, e.g., jaca'asan 'went' ('it happened at that time he had gone and was still going') = Bur. -aḥam, -aḥaś, -aḥan, etc.

Nomem Usus

226. Nomen usus expresses an action which occurs repeatedly or frequently. Its suffix is Common Mongolian -*day / -*deg. Originally there were numerous nouns derived from verbs, which had this suffix, e.g., Mo. sirdeg 'a quilt' (from siri- 'to quilt'), Kalm. xustog 'matches' < *xusday < *qusuday from *qusu- 'to scratch'.

Deverbal nouns ending in -*day occur in all Mongolian languages, e.g., Mong. furşudog 'timid' (from furşud-), Dag. šidek 'select, exquisite' (from šili- 'to select, to choose'), Urd. širdek = Kh. širdak, Kalm. širdog 'quilt'.

18 — Poppe
The suffix -day is a common Mongolian-Turkic suffix. It is a noun in -*γ/ -*γ derived from the frequentative verbal stem in -*d- which still occurs in Tungus.

The suffix -day occurs in Mo. (-day), in Urdus (-daḵ), in Kh. (-daḵ), Bur. (-daq), and Kalm. (-daq).

The noun in -*day takes the copula *ayox in Khalkha and Buriat. The resultant form ends in -dagn in Khalkha and in -dagh in (with personal endings) in Buriat, e.g., Kh. sūdagn o 'he used to live', Bur. (Akar) ḫūdagh ‘I used to live’, ḫūdayk ‘thou usedst to live’, etc.

Nomen Actoris

227. The so-called nomen actoris expresses the idea of the person acting and serves as a predicate. The suffix in question is -*γči / -*γči which consists of the suffix of deverbal nouns (-*γ) and the suffix of professional names (-či), e.g., Mo. žiruyči 'painter' from žiruy 'picture' (from žir- 'to draw, to paint'). The primary suffix -či is found in tenči 'blacksmith' from tenči 'iron', qonči 'shepherd' from qonči 'sheep', etc. The primary elements constituting the secondary suffix -*γči are of Common Altaic origin, e.g., Turk. bilg 'intellect' from bii- 'to know', Turk. gojči 'shepherd' from goj 'sheep', etc.

The suffix -*γči occurs in all Mongolian languages: Mo. -γči / -γči, e.g., jabuγči 'goer, one who goes' (pre-cl. plural -γčin), MMo. (SH, H) -γči / -γči and plur. -γčin / -γčin, (P) -γčin / -γčin (plur.), (M.) -γči / -γči (sing.). Mongguor has only -dzin. This suffix does not occur in Datger materials available. Mogol has -γči / -kči, Urdus -γči / -γči (and -γčin), Kh. -γči / -γči, Bur. -γči / -γči.

In Mongguor the form in -dzin is a nomen usus, but with the predicative ending -a it is a finite form, e.g., jucuγčin 'usually dying' but suγčina 'he usually watches'. The final -n in -dzin is not quite clear. It may be a fossilized plural ending (-n).

The form in -γča / -γča also expresses a frequent action in Buriat. Such a function of the nomen actoris is particularly evident from the cases in which it serves as a predicate, e.g., AlB jabγčab 'I usually go', jabγčas 'thou usually goest', etc.
The nomen actoris occurs with the copula *aysan > *haŋ ( + personal endings) in Buriat, e.g., jɑbɑ̱ɡsɑham 'I used to go', jɑbɑ̱ɡsɑhɑ̱s 'thou usedest to go', etc.

Another form of the nomen actoris, not used as an attribute, ends in -γɑ̱ci/-γeçi in Written Mongolian, e.g., ʒɪryuãci 'painter'. In Buriat -γɑ̱ci > γɑ̱. It takes personal endings and serves as a present tense, e.g., jɑbɑ̱sɔb 'I usually go', jɑbɑ̱sɑs 'you usually go' (literally 'thou usually goest'), etc.

Summary

228. The verbal nouns still serving as such in Mongolian languages spoken at the present time are not numerous. They are shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMo. *γuŋj (s. fem.)</td>
<td>*γsan</td>
<td>*γa / *γaj</td>
<td>*day</td>
<td>*γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-cl.Mo. *γuŋ (pl.)</td>
<td>*γsan</td>
<td>-γa ~ γaj</td>
<td>-day</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl.Mo. *γuŋ (subst.)</td>
<td>*γsan</td>
<td>-γa</td>
<td>-day</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl.Mo. *γu (adj.)</td>
<td>*γuŋ (pl.)</td>
<td>*γa ~ γaj</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo. *γuŋ (subst.)</td>
<td>*γsan</td>
<td>*γa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMo. *γu (adj.)</td>
<td>*γuŋ (pl.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong. γu</td>
<td>*dzan</td>
<td>- (conv.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ɗāin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. γuŋ (pred.)</td>
<td>-san</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. *γuŋ (subst.)</td>
<td>-san</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog. *γuŋ</td>
<td>-γoŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog. *γuŋ (adj.)</td>
<td>-γuŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>*γuŋ</td>
<td>-γa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>*γu ~ γa</td>
<td>*san</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-daŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>*γuŋ</td>
<td>-γa</td>
<td>-daŋ</td>
<td>-γeĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>*γuŋ in</td>
<td>*γa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-daŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Kalm. | *γuŋ > *γa | -sq | -a | -daŋ | -
Converbs

229. The converbs express actions characterizing other actions. They express the manner or circumstances in which the action of the finite verb is performed.

Most of the converbs are petrified oblique cases of verbal nouns, although some converbs are verbal forms by origin or nominative case forms of verbal nouns.

Converbum Modale

230. The converbum modale indicates the manner in which an action is performed. Its action characterizes or defines the action of the main verbal form. This converb is the verbal noun in -"n in origin (vide § 208). It occurs with the nominal diminutive suffix -"qan in Khalkha. The verbal noun in -"n has become a converb at an early date. Its plural ends in -d in pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian, but it serves only as an indicative form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-cl. Mo.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>plur. -d (ind. form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. Mo.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>plur. -d (ind. form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong., Urd., Kalm.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag., Kh., Bur.</td>
<td>-η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diminutive form in -χγη occurs only in epic songs in Khalkha, e.g., өдөлөтγөн түрөн "born to rule over . . . ."

231. The modal converb occurs with the negative uγεγ in Buriat. In Khalkha it does not occur with a negative. Instead, the verbal noun in -l takes the negative and replaces the converbum modale, e.g., Kh. medđη "knowing, knowingly" — medδ-d-l-g'i 'not knowing, unconsciously'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>-l, e.g., medel 'knowledge',</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>-r &lt; -η, e.g., asγur 'loan' = Mo. aγσl id.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>-l + uγgγγi serving as a conv. modale,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>-l + uγgγγi id.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aKlm.</td>
<td>-l + uγδ id.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Converbum Imperfecti

232. The converbum imperfecti is a verbal form by origin. The latter serves as a past tense (§ 214—215).

The suffix of the converb is *-jū.

Mg. -jū; after b, s, γ, g, r, d the suffix is *-u
MMo. -jū / -ēu
   -ti / -tī (Mu.)
Mong. -dī
Dag. -dī / -tī
Mog. -dī / -tī
Urd. -dī / -tī
Kh. -dī / -tī
Bur. -za etc. / -sā etc.
Kalm. -dī / -tī.

Converbum Perfecti

233. The perfective converb has the suffix -γad / -ged and is a verbal noun by origin. It still occurs with the nominal negative *ugō in Kalmuck, e.g., irū-ad-ugō 'he has not come yet'. In Written Mongolian (especially in pre-classical) the petrified converbum perfecti of the verb kī- 'to do', i.e., kīged occurred in oblique cases where it served as a summarizing word concluding a group of equal members of a clause. In other words, it occurred with case endings, thus betraying its nominal origin, e.g., allān mōŋūn ēmeq allān sikūd kīgedī ergūjū 'presenting golden and silver adornments and golden umbrellas ...'

The suffix -γad corresponds to Turkic -yač of deverbal nouns. The common Mongolian-Turkic suffix was *-yač.

Mo. -γad / -ged
MMo. *-ađ / -*ed
Mong. does not have this form
Dag. -ār / -ēr (-ār / -*ēr)
Mog. does not occur in the materials available
Urd. -āt / -ēt (-āt, -*ēt)
Kh., Bur. -āt / -ēt (-ōt, -ōh)
Kalm. -ād / -ēd.
Examples: Mo. abuyad 'having taken', MMo. abū'ad, Dag. ayōr, Urd., Kh. awāt, Bur. abāt, Kalm. awād id.

**Converbum Terminale**

234. The terminal converb denotes an action which immediately follows the action of the finite verb. The latter takes place until the action of the converb starts, but sometimes it may take place while the action of the converb takes place. This converb is a dative form in -*a of the deverbal noun in -*tal / -*dal. The suffix of the converb is -*tala.

Mo. -tala / -tele
MMo. (SH, H, Mu.)-tala / -tele
Mong. -delā ~ -devā
Dag. -tal / -tel
Mog. -tala
Urd. -tal etc. ~ -tar etc.
Kh. -tol etc. ~ -tor etc.
Kh.B, AgaB -tar etc.
Kalm. -tā.

In Mongol, Urdu, and Khalkha, besides the suffix -*tala, the parallel suffix -*tara occurs. In East Buriat the latter is the only suffix. The form in -*tala or -*tara does not occur in West Buriat (cf. §235).

In Khalkha the instrumental and ablative of the form in -*tal occur, the suffixes in question being -telār and -telās respectively.

235. In West Buriat dialects the forms in -*tala and -*tara do not occur. Instead, in Alan Buriat a form in -sa < -*tā is used, e.g., Mo. jābuča 'the manner of walking', abuča 'the act of taking', etc. The West Buriat forms in -sa mean so that... e.g., būsa *so that the other stood still'. There is another form ending in -sar < -sār < -*sāfar, an instrumental form of the same ancient noun in -*tā, which serves to express the idea of an action during which the main action takes place, e.g., jabasar 'while he goes'.
236. The final convert verb serves as a supine and means in order to... It is a dative in *-a of the verbal noun in *-r, cf. Mo. amur 'rest, peace' from amu- 'to rest'. The suffix of the verb is -ra. This form occurs only in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Monguor: Mo., MMO. (SH, H), and Mong. -ra.

In the remaining Mongolian languages the dative form in *-a of the nomen futuri is used instead.

**Converbum Praeparativum**

237. This form is an instrumental case of the verbal noun in *-r by origin. The suffix of the verb is -ran. The ending -ran is the same as the Written Mongolian genitive suffix, but here it appears with its other meaning, namely that of the instrumental. In Ancient Turkic and in some other Altaic languages an instrumental form in *-t(r)an occurred. The suffix is the same as the Mongolian genitive suffix. This form has lost its instrumental function in Mongolian, but it has been preserved in this verb.

The preparative convert verb does not occur in spoken languages. It is also rare in Written Mongolian but it occurred frequently in pre-classical Written Mongolian. Its meaning is because of... in consequence of... as... when...

Mo. teden-e morgižü bitirin 'when he bowed before them', MMO. (P) ulus-da’an the’en bolqaran 'because he protects his people', etc.

**Converbum Successivum**

238. The successive convert verb denotes an action which is followed immediately by another action (as soon as...). By origin it is a petrified comitative in *-haya or a comitative-instrumental in *-haya-}ñar of the future noun. This form does not occur in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian.

Mong. -gulā < *-quluya
Dag. -yār < *quljar
Urd. -χulā < -χulaya
-χulār < -χuluyaβar
Kh., Bur. -χulār < -χuluyabar
Kalm. -χulā < -χulyaβ (serves as a conditional).

Converbum Contemporale

239. The converbum contemporale serves to express an action simultaneous with that of the main verb. This form is a petrified Altnaic casus aequatus in -έša of the deverbal noun in -έmav (= Turk. -maaq in varmaq 'to go', vermek 'to give', etc.).

In Written Mongolian the suffix is -maγā. The suffix -mav is found in Mo. qayumav 'fraud, deceit' from qayur- 'to deceive', egedemeg 'sort of sour dough' from egede- 'to become sour', etc.

The contemporal converb occurs in Urdu (maγtša ~ maγtši), Khalkha (msə or its instrumental -msər), Khor Buriat (muyəsa), and in Alar Buriat (msa, instr. -msər).

Converbum Atemporale

240. This converb is by origin an instrumental case of the nomen perfecti ending in -γsan. In classical Written Mongolian the old instrumental form in -γyar / -γer (cf. γaylayar 'alone, single') has disappeared and occurs only in adverbs and in this converb. In preclassical Written Mongolian the suffix -γsabar < -γsəbaβar occurs.

Dagur has -sər (-sər, -sər), Mogol -qəs / -kəs (a dative in -u of the nomen perfecti). Urdu and Khalkha have the suffix -sər (-sər, -sər, etc.), Buriat has -hər (-hər, -hər, -hər), and Kalmuck -sər / -sər.

Converbum Essivum

241. This converb occurs in Buriat. Its suffix is -myā < -myaβ or -myāsv < -myaβi. The final syllable -sv < -ści is the suffix of professional names, e.g., Mo. modučī 'carpenter' from modun 'wood'. The suffix -myaβ occurs as an ending of the so-called nomen cupiditatis
in all Mongolian languages, which serves to express the idea of the ability to perform the action in question, e.g., Mo. surumyaj 'able to learn' from sur- 'to learn'. In Urdu the suffix is -magā, Kh. -magū ~ -myā, Al.B. -myā, Kalm. -myā.

The noun in -myaj serves as a verb only in Buriat, e.g., jabam-gaija 'in the capacity of a goer' or 'as one who goes'.

Convberum Momentanei

242. The convberum momentanei is formed with the suffix -s or -gas and occurs only with the verb ki- < *qi- 'to do' and ge- < *gume- 'to say'.

In Written Mongolian many verbs of the type of nemeski- 'to add a little' occur. They are formed with the suffix -s + ki- 'to do'. Nouns in -s still occur in Mongolian languages, e.g., Mo. šokis < *šoqis 'convenience, befitting, appropriate, decent' from šoki- < *šoqi- 'to suit, to be appropriate'; Mo. ajus 'fear' from aju- 'to be afraid', etc.

Instead of -s also -l or -r occur. The latter are also suffixes of verbal nouns.

Urdus has -s + ge- or -gas + ge-, e.g., tšas gēd 'having glittered' (quickly and only once), godžogos gēd 'rising vertically' (from tša- and godši- respectively). In Khalkha -s + zi- and in ALB -qad ge- occur, e.g., ALB mašeged geš 'smiling'. The suffix -qad has resulted from -gas.

The Conditional Forms

243. The conditional forms are compound forms in most Mongolian languages. They are nominal forms by origin to which particles or petrified conditional forms of an auxiliary verb have been added. The conditional forms are classified into primary and secondary forms.

(A) The primary conditional forms

The primary conditional form ends in -gasu / -gesū. This form occurs in classical Written Mongolian in only one verb, namely bū-
'to be', the form in question being bügesü 'if is, when is'. In pre-classical Written Mongolian forms in -yasu were more common, although they did not occur frequently.

Mo. -yasu / -gesü
MMo. (SH, H, P) -asu / -'esü
Dag. -āsā / -ēsē < *yasuyaj / *gesügei
Mong. -da < *yasuyaj
Bur. -hā / -hē < *sā < *yasuyaj
-ōhā / -ōhā (-ōhā, -ōhā) : -ā (nomen imperfecti) +
hā < *yasuyaj (petrified conditional form of the
verb *a- 'to be').

It should be remarked that only Mo. and MMo. have preserved
the primary suffix -*yasu. In the remaining languages only -*yasu
with the secondary element -yaj occurs. Cf. § 198—199.

(B) The secondary conditional forms

244. The usual conditional form in Written Mongolian is that
ending in -basu.

This form is a past tense in -ba (§ 216) to which the element su
is added. The latter has developed from *yasu, the primary con-
ditional form of the auxiliary verb *a- 'to be'. The suffix -yasu occurs
in Written Mongolian only in bügesü 'if he is'.

Thus, such forms as Mo. jabubasu 'if he goes' have developed
from *jabūba ayasu 'if it be that he went'.

Mo. -basu / -besü
MMo. (P, H) -basu / -besü (rare)
Urd. -uāsu / -ūesu < Mo.
Kalm. -ūās / -ūes (rare).

245. In Mongolian languages spoken at the present time the
conditional form is derived from the past tense in -*ba to which
the particle le ~ ele is added, i.e., the conditional suffix ends in -bala
< -*ba + ele.
This form does not occur in Mo. and MMO.

Urd.  -welā / -welē ~ -wel / -wel
Kh.  -wel / -wel
ALB  -bal / -bēl (with personal endings)
Kalm. -wel.

246. A number of other forms serve as a conditional in various Mongolian languages.

Urdus has the form ending in -ān / -ūn, e.g., bolāā 'if it is possible'. The suffix -ū or -ān has resulted from -yun. We find it in the Burjat converbal form in -ālaj, e.g., barūlaj 'going to seize' from barū 'to seize' which is a comitative form of a verbal noun in -ān < -yun.

Burjat uses syntactic means to express the conditional. The most common syntactic construction is the past imperfective noun (nomen imperfecti), which serves as a past tense in Burjat, to which the particle ɣadā is added, e.g., untā ɣadā 'if he sleeps'. The particle ɣadā was originally a dative-locative form with the reflexive-possessive ending (-dā) of the nomen futuri (in -qu) of the auxiliary verb *a- 'to be', i.e., ɣadā < *agudajan.

In Khalkha the nomen futuri (when the conditional refers to the future) or nomen perfecti (when the action refers to the past) with wol or bol, the abbreviated conditional form of the verb bol- 'to become' is used, i.e., bol < *bolbala, e.g., trəγə wol 'if he comes', trəŋə bol 'if he has come'.

The Concessive Forms

247. The concessive is formed with concessive particles added to various forms.

(a) -*basu ber

Written Mongolian uses the conditional converb with the particle ber.

Monguor has the concessive converb ending in -dza da. Here the particle *da is added to the conditional form in -dza < -*sā < *yasuyaj.
In Buriat the conditional form in -hā < -*yasya'aj with the particle -sê serves as a concessive verb, e.g., andaldahăšnúšê < *andaldyasya'aj činu čigi 'even if thou hast exchanged'.

(b) -ba + ču (či ~ čigi)

In Written Mongolian the concessive verb is formed with the suffix -baču consisting of the suffix of the past tense -ba and the particle ču.

Mo.  -baču / -beču
Mong. -wači < -*baču
Urd.  -wā (= praet. perf.)
     -wāši < -*baču
Kh.  -wāši ~ -wāši < -*ba + či
Kalm. -wāši < -*ba + čigi + *ni.

In Dagur the concessive (a vocative form) in -tça < -*tuya'aj with the particle *ču serves as a concessive, the form in question ending in -tçaši, e.g., sanatçaši 'although he thinks', nērdetçaši 'although it opens'.

246. In general, various verbal nouns with particles (*ču, *čigi) are the most usual substitutes for the concessive verb.

Dag. -ĵči, nomen imperfecti in -*ya + ču.
Kh.  -ĵču ~ -ĵčuš, nomen futuri, e.g., ĵčutš 'no matter how one acts', irĵčuš 'although he will come'.
Kh.  -ĵčiš, nomen perfecti, e.g., irĵčiš 'although he has come'.
Al.B -ašču < -*ya (nom. imperf.) + ŝču < *čigi + bolhô (conditional of bol- 'to become'), e.g., ŝulâšču bolhônnî 'although I shall cry'.
AgaB. -aščišahâ < -*ya (nom. imperf.) + ši < *ču + *ahâ (conditional of *a-'to be'), e.g., jērščišahâ 'although he has come'.
Al.B -ašču > -*yan (nom. perf.) + ŝču < *čigi + bolhô (condit. of bol- 'to become'), e.g., jabahâšču bolhô 'although he went'.


Summary

249. The following forms serve as converses in the Mongolian languages.

Converbum modale: verbal noun in -*n (plur. -*d) > Mo. -n, MMO.

Converbum imperfecti: the indicative past form (past tense) -*ju
> Mo. -*ju / -*u, MMO. -*ju / -*u, Mong. -*ži, Dag. -*ži / -*ži, Mog.
and Urd. -*ži / -*ži, Kh. -*ži / -*ži, Bur. -*ša / -*ša, Kalm. -*š / -*š.

Converbum perfecti: the verbal noun in -*yač > -*yač > Mo.
-yad / -ged, MMO. -*ad, Mong. does not have it (instead, a form in -a
is used), Dag. -*ar, Urd., Kh., Bur. -*ut / -*et (etc.), Kalm. -*əd.

Converbum terminale: an ancient dative form in -*a from the
verbal noun in -tal / -tal > Mo. -tala, MMO. -tala, Mong. -*dərə
Dal. -*dal, Mog. -*tala, Urd. -*tal ~ -*tar, Kh. -*tol ~ -*tor (instr. -*tolər,
abl. -*toləš), Kh.B. -*tar (Al.B. -*sa < -*čə and -*sar < -*sər < -*čəfr
correspond only in meaning), Kalm. -*lə.

Converbum finale: an ancient dative in -*a of the verbal noun
in -*r > Mo., MMO., Mong. -*a.

Converbum praeparativum: an ancient instrumental (= genitive)
in -*un from the verbal noun in -*r > Mo. and MMO. -*un.

Converbum successivum: a comitative in -*həya or a comitative-
instrumental form in -*həyafr derived from the nomen futuri in
-*qu; Mo. and MMO. do not have this form, Mong. -*ulə, Dag. does
not have it (instead, a form in -*ər, i.e., an instr. of the nomen futuri
is used), Urd. -*ulə ~ -*ulər, Kh. and Bur. -*ulər, Kalm. -*ulə.

Converbum contemporale: an ancient form of the casus aequativus
in -*čə of the verbal noun in -*maγ > Mo. -*maγa, Urd. -*maqšə ~
-maqtṣi, Kh. -*msə (~ -*msər, an instr.), Kh.B. -*məgua, Al.B. -*msa
(~ instr. -*msər), Kalm. does not have it.

Converbum abtemporale: an instrumental of the nomen perfecti
 -*yafr > pre-cl. Mo. -*yafr, cl. Mo. -*yafr, MMO. -*yafr, Mog.
-*ə (a dative), Urd., Kh. -*ər, Bur. -*hər, Kalm. -*ər.

Converbum momentanei: noun in -*s + verb ki- 'to do' > Mo.
-ski- (MMo. only the noun in -s is found, Mong. -s, Dag. -s, Mog. -s),
Urd. -s ge- ~ -gas ge-, Kh. -s xi-, Bur. -qad ge-, Kalm. does not have it.

Conditional forms: 1. -*yasu ~ -*yaswaj > Mo. -yuasu (rare),
MMo. -asu, Mong. -dza, Dag. -dâ, Bur. -hâ; 2. -*basu > Mo., MMo.
-basu, Urd. -wâsu (rare), Kh. -wâs (rare), Kalm. -wâs (rare)); 3. -ba
(praeteritum perfecti) with *ele > Urd. -wâlâ; Kh. -wâl, Bur. -bul
(rare), Kalm -wu).

Concessive forms: 1. -*ba (praeteritum perf.) + particle *çu >
Mo. -baçu, Mong. -uaddâa, Urd. simple praect. perf in -wa, Kh. -wust;
2. conditional form + particle > Mo. -basu ber, MMo. -basu ber, Mong.
-dza < -sâ (conditional) + da (particle), Bur. -hâszg; 3. imperative
of the third person in -*tuyaj + particle *çu > Dag. -tjaj; 4. nomen
futuri + particle > Kh. -xuds ~ -xutâ; 5. nomen imperfecti + partic-
icle > Dag. -jëg, Bur. -âszg bolhô, -âsijahâ, -â zadâ; 6. nomen perfecti
+ particle > Kh. -suntâ, Bur. -hunîszg bolhô.

Negative Conjugation

250. The Mongolian languages differ from each other greatly in
the verbal forms with negatives.

Written Mongolian possesses the following negatives occurring
with verbal forms:

(A) The vocative forms occur with the prohibitive particle *bu
which has two vowels in spelling, i.e., buu. It has resulted from the
imperative of the verb *bû- to be'.

Examples: buu wâsî 'do not read!', buu orotuyaj 'he should not
enter!', buu oràja 'let us not enter!', etc.

Middle Mongolian has the same prohibitive particle: SH bu with
imperative forms and the voluntative; H, P, and Mu. bu with imperat-
itive forms.

The prohibitive particle bu has become bi in Monguor. It occurs
only with the imperative forms, e.g., bi aqu 'do not take!', bi aqadâ
'please do not take!'.

Dagur has ba which occurs with the imperative forms and all
vocative forms.
Mogol has bi, e.g., bi ola 'do not kill'.

In Urdu, bū occurs as a loan from Written Mongolian. In Khalkha, bū corresponds to it. There it occurs only with the volutative forms, e.g., bū jawnā 'let us not go'. With other vocative forms bū occurs rarely in Khalkha.

On the other hand, in Buriat, bu is the only negative with all vocative forms including the imperative, e.g., buu jaaqjib- 'let us not go!', buu jaaqgi- 'do not go!' (an order to many persons).

In Written Oirat, *bu / *bū > bū, but in spoken Kalmuck this prohibitive particle does not occur.

251. (B) Another prohibitive particle is *būggej, by origin a concessive in -tūgej from the verb *bū- 'to be'.

In Mo. and MMO. this prohibitive particle does not occur. In Urdu, *būggej has developed into bitūge, in Khalkha bitagi. It occurs with all vocative forms except the forms of the 1st person. Buriat does not have this particle, but in Kalmuck it occurs as bitūkt.

252. The indicative forms in Written Mongolian occur with the negatives ese and lū.

The negative ese is the stem of the verb *ese- 'not to be' = Tungus esi-. This verb is not complete in Mongolian and the only forms still existing are the following:

Nomen futurī ese

Nomen perfecti eseskən

Conv. conditionale esesësi

Conv. successivum eseskule

Conv. concessivum esesbeči

Praeteritum perf. esebē.

Other forms of this verb do not occur.

The negative lū has developed from *lū.

Middle Mongolian has both ese and lū with indicative forms. In the Secret History, ese occurs with the past tense, e.g., ese qožidaba 'did not remain behind'. In Muqaddimat al-Adab the past tense takes also ese, e.g., ese kelebe 'did not say'.

In Monguor, *ese has resulted in se and occurs with the past tense in -*ba and the perfect, e.g., se avužama 'has not taken'.
In Dagur ęs occurs with the indicative forms, e.g., ęs šadan-tā 'you cannot'. It is a rare negative, however.

In Mogol *ęse > sa ~ se ~ sō. In the materials available it occurs with the past indicative form.

Urdus has ęse with the praesens perfecti, e.g., bi ęse kelełū 'did I not say?'.

Khalkha does not have *ęse with indicative forms. In Buriat it does not occur at all. In Kalmuck it is used with all verbal forms except the vocative forms.

253. The negative *üli > Mo. ülū occurs in Written Mongolian with indicative forms. In Middle Mongolian it joins various verbal forms, e.g., SH ülū boljan 'not doing' (conv. modele), H ülū medegde-mūi 'it is not known' (praes. imperf.), P ülū üžen 'not seeing' (conv. modele). In Muqaddimat al-Adab ülū ~ üle occurs with the praesens imperfecti, praeteritum perfecti, nomen actoris, nomen futuri, converbum modele, and in one example also with the concessive.

In one of the Monguor dialects *üli has resulted in li, but in another dialect there is i < *li < *üli (or i may be of another origin). These negatives occur rarely, cf. buđa li ščižem 'we do not go'. The negative li has merged with many verbs, e.g., lūši- 'not to drink', lūši- < *li šči- 'not to become', lūro- 'not to enter', etc. resembling Latin nolo < *ne volo.

In Dagur *üla has resulted in ul and occurs with the present form, the future, and the past.

In Mogol *üli > lu ~ le, but Ramstedt does not tell us what forms occur with this negative.

Urdus has ule ~ ulhū which occurs in interrogation with forms of the present tense, e.g., ondoronū ule ondoronū 'will he survive or will he not?', and also alone, i.e., with no verb, e.g. bi ule gekwa 'I do not say *No!'.

In Khalkha *üli is not used in common speech, but it occurs in folk tales together with ęs (i.e., as double negative), e.g., ęs ul īrēe 'he did not come'.

In Buriat the indicative forms and converses occur with the negative ule ~ uli in epic tales.
In Buriat the indicative forms occur, however, with the negative *üğeš more frequently. The latter negative takes the personal endings, e.g., Alar jabana-bēš 'thou goest not'.

In Kalmuck *ülũ seems to be unknown.

254. The nominal forms of the verb take the negatives ese, ülü, and *üğeš in Written Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian, in Čugaddimat al-Adab the nominal forms take the negative üle or ese, e.g., üle oldag ‘someone who cannot be found’, ülü sonasugči ‘not listening’, ese kürükshen ‘who has not reached’, etc.

Nominal forms of the verb take the negative uguā ~ uguāf < *üğeš in Mongguor. In Dagur all nominal forms of the verb occur with the negative ul, e.g., ul łušequij ‘his own impatience’, ul ología ‘not knowing’.

Urdu, Khalkha, and Buriat have the negative *üğeš with nominal forms.

255. Some converses take the negative ese in Written Mongolian (conv. conditionale, successivum, and concessivum), but other converses (i.e., the remaining ones) take the negative ülü.

In Middle Mongolian ese is used with the conditional verb (P, H, and Mu.), perfective verb (H), and imperfective verb (Mu.). The negative ülü occurs with the modal verb in MMe. (P, H, and Mu.).

In Mongguor the negative se < *ese is taken by the concessive and perfective verb.

In Dagur the converses occur with the negative ul.

Urdu has ul or ese ~ es with the conditional verb. Khalkha has the negative es ~ ésss only with the conditional verb. All converses are, however, replaced by special syntactic constructions in Khalkha: instead of a verb with a negative a verbal noun with the negative uguā to and a verb of an auxiliary verb is used in Khalkha.

In Kalmuck the negative ese occurs with the conditional, imperfective, and modal verb. The perfective verb takes only the negative uguā.

19 — Poppe
256. The negatives are shown in the following tables:

(A) The vocative forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person</th>
<th>The remaining persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.  buu</td>
<td>buu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.  bu</td>
<td>bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.  ?</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.  bū</td>
<td>bū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.  ?</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.  ?</td>
<td>bū &lt; Mo., bitšige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.  bū</td>
<td>bitši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.  bu</td>
<td>bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm. bitške</td>
<td>bitške</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Indicative forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present and Future</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ūlū</td>
<td>*ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>ūlū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>ūlū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>i &lt; ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu.</td>
<td>ūlū ~ ālē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>i &lt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>uli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mog.</td>
<td>lu ~ le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>nom. futuri + ūḡ'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>nom. futuri + ūḡ'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bur.</td>
<td>ugeji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalm.</td>
<td>es</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(C) **Verbal nouns:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Nomen futuri</th>
<th>Nomen actoris</th>
<th>Nomen usus</th>
<th>Nomen imperfecti</th>
<th>Nomen perfecti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMO.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mong.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urd.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh.</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>üēj</td>
<td>ese</td>
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Note: 1 Instead of a converb with a negative a verbal noun with "üēj" and the converb in question of the auxiliary verb is used.
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