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THE GROUPS
**uya* AND **üge*
IN MONGOL
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by
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Almost half a century ago G. J. RAMSTEDT published his comparative phonology of Script Mongol and Khalkha.¹ This was the beginning of a new era of the history of Mongol studies and it was RAMSTEDT who became the founder of Mongol linguistics.

In this remarkable work he discusses, among other subjects, Khalkha-Mongol long vowels developing from the groups **aya*, **ayu*, and so on but he says little about the group **uya*. He states that **oya* has produced the long vowel *ō* and corroborates this with the examples Mo.² *toya* > Kh.³ *t'ō* «number» and Mo. *doloyan* > Kh. *doḷōy* «seven» and remarks incidentally that it might be better to read, in endings, not *oya* (*öge*) but *uya* (*üge*).⁴

VLADIMIRCOV, in his comparative grammar, discusses the group *uya* thoroughly and points out that the latter issues in *ō* in Khalkha but he adds that this occurs only in cases when there is an *o* in the first syllable. In all the other cases there would be **uya* > Kh. *ā*.⁵ In another passage of the same book, in connection with the history of **i* of the first syllable, VLADIMIRCOV says that the Script Mongol **i*, either in the beginning of words or preceded by *č*, *s* ~ *š*, *ʃ*,

¹ G. J. RAMSTEDT. Das Schriftmongolische und die Urganundart phonetisch verglichen. Helsingfors, 1902.

² Script Mongol.

³ Khalkha.

⁴ RAMSTEDT, op.cit., pp. 21, 22.

⁵ Б. Я. Владимирцов. Сравнительная Грамматика Монгольского Письменного Языка и Халхаского Наречия. Введение и Фонетика. Ленинград, 1929, p. 197.

and followed by **u* or **ü* in the second or even in the third syllable, becomes, in Khalkha as well as in many other Mongol languages, not *u* or *ü* which would be expected but *o* and *ö*. Yet this occurs only in cases when **č* > Kh. *t'š*, **s* ~ **š* > Kh. *š*, and **j* > Kh. *ɲž* otherwise **i* develops into *u* and *ü*. The explanation of this phenomenon is that the anticipated vowels *u* and *ü* following **i* were pronounced as wider vowels *o* and *ö*.¹

Thus VLADIMIRCOV lays down the following rules:

1. The group **uya* following a syllable with *o* becomes *ō*; in all remaining positions, *ā*.

2. The vowel **i*, whether initial or preceded by *č*, *s* ~ *š*, *j* becomes *o* before *u* of the second or third syllable; in the remaining positions it becomes *u* before *u* of the second or third syllable.

Now if we take into account all the cases we can state the following:

1. The group **uya* always becomes *ō* in Khalkha, independently of the vocalism of the first syllable, and becomes *ā* only when **u* belongs to the stem and **ya* to a suffix.

2. The vowel **i* of the first syllable becomes *o* only before *ō* < **uya* independently of what consonant precedes **i*. In other words, **uya* of the non-first syllables transforms **i* of the first syllable into *o*.

3. Moreover the group **uya* transforms into *o* not only **i* but also other vowels.

Prior to try proving these rules it is necessary to remember that Mongol orthography, though usually reflecting the ancient pronunciation more or less exactly, nevertheless has undergone various changes under the influence of the colloquial language. In one of his best works VLADIMIRCOV, when discussing the history of the Mongol language and establishing three main periods within it, points out that beside the classical language there existed numerous so-called literary dialects representing a written language reflecting, in various parts of the Mongol linguistic world, various

¹ VLADIMIRCOV, op.cit., p. 181.

influences by the local colloquial dialects.¹ To this we may add that even the classical language did not remain in its orthography free from colloquial influence and Script Mongol vocalism especially often reflects the influence of the spoken language and, in such cases, does not tell much about the ancient pronunciation. The latter can be reconstructed only by comparing Mongol forms with those of related languages, Turkic, Manchu, and Tungus, or sometimes, those of the most conservative Mongol dialects such as Dagur and Moghol, and the data of colloquial Mongolian dictionaries of the XIII. and XIV. centuries.

Let us take, for example, Mo. 2196² *čoqor* »bigarré, tigré» often written *čooqur* or *čoyoqur*. Mongolists usually transcribe this as *čouqur* and reconduct to **čobqur*.³ In spoken languages its correspondences display a long *ō* in the first syllable: Kh. 294⁴ *t'sōχar* »dapple», Ord.⁵ *tš'ōχor* »moucheté, tacheté», Kalm. 431⁶ *tsōχur* »bunt, fleckig». On the basis of the comparison of Mongol languages this word can be reconstructed as **čoyuqur* or **coβ(u)qur* and this is what VLADIMIROV does.⁷ Yet the Turkic languages contradict this as there the vowel of the first syllable is *u* and that of the second. is *a*: cf. Čayatai *čubar* »eisengraues Pferd», Čayatai *čibar*, Tüm. *čibar* id., Qazaq *šibar* »bunt»⁸, Özbek *čipor*

¹ Б. Я. Владимирцовъ. Монгольскій Сборникъ Разказовъ изъ Раңсатантра. Петроградъ, 1921, pp. 41, 52.

² Script Mongol: Joseph Étienne KOWALEWSKI. Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français. Kazan, 1844—1849.

³ Владимирцов. Сравнительная Грамматика, pp. 255, 415.

⁴ А. Р. Ринчина. Краткий Монгольско-Русский Словарь. ОГИЗ. Москва, 1947. We replace RINČINE's transcription with that of RAMSTEDT.

⁵ Ordos: Antoine MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M. Dictionnaire Ordos. Peking, 1941—1944.

⁶ G. J. RAMSTEDT. Kalmückisches Wörterbuch. Helsinki, 1935.

⁷ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 255.

⁸ RADLOFF, Wörterbuch III, pp. 2185, 2153; IV, p. 1062. I am very much obliged to my friend, Professor Karl H. MENGES, Columbia University, for these and all the other citations of Turkic forms. Not having at my disposal Radloff's dictionary I could quote these forms only from memory. But the

(= *čäpâr*),¹ Özbek *čupâr*² »чубарый», i.e. »dapple». Consequently, Mo. *čoqor* < **čooqur* derives from **čubâqur*. This example is important in that respect that it proves the origin of Kh. *ō* < **uβa*.

Thus Kh. *ō* derives not only from **oβa* (or **oγa*) as RAMSTEDT and, after him, VLADIMIR COV believe, but also from **uβa* without any influence by the preceding syllable (as here there is no such syllable which could influence it) and we can show that the development **uβa* or **uγa* > *ō* is a regular one.

Another example is Mo. 876 *qoγosun* »le vide, vide» = SH 66³ *ho'osun* »leer», Kh. R. 267 *χōsγ* »empty, poor», Ord. 361 *χōson* »vide», Ord. 360 *χōro-* »devenir sec à la superficie», Kalm. 192 *χōsγ* »leer, arm», Monguor 169⁴ *χōdzɛn* »vide, desert, inhabité», Monguor 168 *χō-* »devenir sec, se dessechir, tarir», Mog.⁵ *quani* »trocknet». The Moghol *quani* is of great importance as its stem *qua-* derives from **quβà-*, i.e. from a form with *u* in the first syllable and *a* in the second syllable while the group **oγa* which in most Mongol language, also becomes *ō* has become *oa* in Moghol: cf. Mog. *toa* »number» SH 150 *to'a* »Zahl», SH 151 *to'o* »Zahl», Monguor 424 *t'ōr* »nombre, calcul», Kh. R. 206 *to'ō* »number».⁶

Thus the Moghol language distinguishes between **uβa* (**uγa*) and **oβa* (**oγa*): the former becomes *ua* and the latter *oa*. This development is attested in the Mongol-Turkic-Arabic dictionary

vocalism of these forms is of great importance and to avoid mistakes I asked Professor Menges to check them for me. This he did with his usual willingness.

¹ QORI-NIJĀZI and BOROVKOV, Dictionary of the Özbek language, p. 521 (MENGES).

² Rusca-özbekçə Tola Səzlik. Taşkent-Qazan, 1934.

³ Secret History: ERICH HAENISCH. Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an. (Yüan-Ch'ao Pi-Shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Leipzig, 1939.

⁴ A. de Smedt, C.I.C.M. et A. Mostaert, C.I.C.M. Le Dialecte Monguor Parlé par les Mongols du Kansou Occidental. III^e Partie. Dictionnaire Monguor-Français. Pei-p'ing, 1933.

⁵ Moghol: G. J. RAMSTEDT. Mogholica. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan, JSFOu XXIII, 4.

⁶ Cf. RAMSTEDT, SU, p. 21; VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 214.

Muqaddimatu-l-adab, an important source for a Mongol dialect of the XIV. century¹: cf. *quasun* »dry, empty». On the basis of Mog. *quani* and the corresponding form attested in the dictionary cited above it can be stated that **uγa* has become *ō* in most colloquial languages.² To this we may add that in Ancient Mongol the alternation *γ* (*g*) // *b* existed³ and in the spoken Mongol languages of today numerous forms are still preserved with **b* of the Oirat type *dewl* < **dēbel* »coat», parallel with contracted forms of the Khalkha type *dēl* < **degēl* »coat». With consideration of this alternation we can compare Kh. *χōsy* = Mo. *qoγosun* < **quyasun* »empty» with Kh. *χᠠᠸᠠᠨᠬᠡ* = Mo. *qubaqai* »dry» (frequently as epitheton of dry bones of a skeleton) and this, in its turn, with Mo. *quu-a* < **quβà* »pale, isabel», SH 64 *hō'ai* »weisslich, grau», Ord. 347 *χō* »jaune pâle, fauve clair», Ma. 285⁴ *quwa* »light-yellow» = Turk. Telengit *quba* »pale», Altai *qubayai* »pale, light», Yakut *kubarχai* »pale».⁵

Thus both Kh. *t'sōχor* »dapple» and *χōsy* »empty» derive from forms with **uγa*. Consequently, it would be wrong to transcribe Mo. *čoyoqur* and *qoγosun* as *čoyuqur* and *qoγusun*: the vowel of the second syllable is not **u* but *o* < **a*.

In the above quoted article I tried to explain how such forms as Mo. *qoγosun* came into existence. On the basis of the form *jirqo-an* »six» attested in the ᠮPhags-pa script I came to the conclusion that the vowel *u* of the group **uγa* had long ago developed, under the influence of the syllable *γa* into *o*, that, in other words, **quyasun* had first become **qoγasun* > *qoγosun* and the latter become Kh. *χōsy*.

The numeral *jiryuyan* »six» (a compound of **jir* »two» cf. SH 90

¹ Н. Н. Поппе. Монгольский Словарь Мукаддимат ал-Адаб. Москва-Ленинград, 1938.

² N. POPPE. Die Sprache der Mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi. *Asia Major-Neue Folge*. I. Jahrgang 1944. I Heft, p. 100.

³ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 203.

⁴ Иванъ Захаровъ. Полный Маньчжурско-Русскій Словарь. Санктпетербургъ, 1875.

⁵ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 210.

ǰirin »zwei, beide«, a feminine form, Tungus *džur* »two«, Ma. *ǰuve* »two«, and Ma. 1010 *ǰuru* »pair« + **ǰu*, root of Mo. *ǰurban* »three«, *ǰučin* »thirty«, and so on, + suffix *-ǰan*) and analogical forms developed first into **ǰirǰoǰan* > **ǰirǰoǰon* > **ǰirǰōn* and the latter became in Monguor *ǰzirǰōn*, Buriat-Alar *ǰorgōn*, Buriat-Ekhirit *ǰorgōn* »six«. ¹ The high antiquity of this development **uǰa* > **oǰo* is evident from both the ḥPhags-pa script (*ǰirgo'an*) and the SH (*ǰirho'an*).

As the history of the group **uǰa*, after the said, has become clear everything said by VLADIMIROV about the labializing influence of the secondary *o* of the first syllable ² is to be rejected. On the contrary, the latter developed under the influence of *ō* < **oǰa* < **uǰa* of the non-first syllables. This can be shown on the following examples.

Mo. *ǰiluya* »reins« = Kh. R. 93 *ǰžolō*, Buriat-Alar *žolō*, Ekhirit *yołō* id. = Turk. Özbek 166 *ǰiləv* < **ǰilay* »reins»; *ǰiluya* > *ǰiloǰa* > *ǰiloǰo* > *ǰilō* > Kh. *ǰžolō*.

Mo. **sirǰuǰalǰin* > Mo. Kow. 1530 *sirǰolǰin* »fourmi«, Kh. R. 320 *šorgōlvžǰi* »ant«, Ord. 628 *šorgōlvžǰi* »fourmi«, Kalm. 365. *šoryvldžǰn* »Ameise«; cf. Mo. *sirǰu-* »ramper à travers, se glisser en rampant, passer à travers«, SH 142 *širǰuǰu* »sich einbohren, hineinzwängen«, Kh. R. 321 *šurgv-* »пролезать«, Ord. 628 *šurgu-* »se glisser dans un fourré de saules des dunes et s'y cacher«, Kalm. 367 *šurǰvǰv* »sich verstecken, eindringen«.

The last example is particularly interesting as here Kh. *ō* appears where there was **uǰa* while in the verb *sirǰu-* the vowel **i* of the first syllable has developed into *u* and not *o*. This indicates that, contrary to VLADIMIROV, *o* can not be explained as a result of the influence of the initial *š*, but is a product of *ō* < **uǰa* of the next syllables.

Kh. *šorgōlvžǰi* < **sirǰuǰalǰin* is also interesting in another respect as, in consequence of the development **uǰa* > *ō* and the assimilation of **i* of the first syllable ¹ to the vowel *ō*, this word has lost its

¹ POPPE, op.cit., p. 101.

² VLADIMIROV, op.cit., pp. 181, 197.

connection with Kh. *šurgv-* < **siryu-* »to crawl into». Something similar happened to the following words: Mo. *ᠵᠣᠭᠣᠭ* < **ᠵᠣᠭᠠᠭ*, Mo. Kow. 2375 *ᠵᠣᠭᠣᠭ* »amusement, plaisir, promenade, le manger, un mets», Mo. Kow. 2376 *ᠵᠣᠭᠣᠯᠠ-* »manger et boire», Kh.R. 104 *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭ* »meal», *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠣ-* »to taste, to eat» (a polite expression), Ord. 207 *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭ* *ᠵᠢᠷᠢᠮᠠᠰ*, *ᠵᠣᠭᠣᠯᠠ-* »manger ou boire, jouir de»; Mo. 2373 *ᠵᠣᠭᠠ* »amusement, récréation, un passe-temps», Mo. 2374 *ᠵᠣᠭᠠᠯᠠ-* »se divertir, s'amuser, se réjouir, se promener», Kh.R. 108 *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠠ* »festival, entertainment, a walk», Kh. *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠠᠲᠢᠰᠣᠪ-* »to take a walk, to be cheerful», Buriat-Alar *ᠵᠣᠭᠠ* »conversation», *ᠵᠣᠭᠠᠯ-* »to chat, to talk». Here again Kh. *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭ* »meal» and *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠠ* »promenade» have separated phonetically in consequence of a similar process. We may add that VLADIMIROV does compare Mo. *ᠵᠣᠭᠠ* and *ᠵᠣᠭᠣᠭ* and even quotes Turkic equivalents, Koman *yuban-* »to be cheerful», Telengit *yōq* »consolation», and so on, yet he does not draw any conclusions.²

A detailed scrutiny of all similar cases would lead us too far and, therefore, I confine myself to a few etymologies.

Mo. 336 *oono* ~ *oona* < **uyana* »un bouc sauvage des steppes», Kalm. 292 *ōn°* »wilde Geiss, Antilopenbock», Ord. 513 *ōno* »le mâle de la gazelle», cf. Ma. 122 *onon* »козел, самец дикой сернь»; cf. Mo. *uᠷulᠵa* < **uᠷalᠵa*, Kh. 228 *uᠭᠤᠯᠳᠤᠰᠣ* »a wild mountain ram», Ord. 725 *uᠭᠠᠯᠳᠢ* »argali», Kalm. 447 *uᠭᠤᠯᠰᠣ* »wilder Schafbock», Ma. 147 *uᠷulᠵa* ~ *uᠷulᠵi* »mountain buck», cf. Turkic -Altai *uqulᠵa* id. < Mongol, cf. the name of the town Kulja < *uqulᠵa* »Buck»: here again we see *ō* in the contracted form (**uᠷāna*) and *uᠭᠤ* in the uncontracted form (**uᠷalᠵa*).

Another particularly interesting etymology is Mo. *ᠵᠤᠯᠠᠢ* »vertex, crown of the head», Kh.R. 108 *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠤᠯᠠᠢ* id., Ord. 217 *ᠳᠵ᠋ᠳ᠋ᠭᠤᠯᠠᠢ* »grande fontanelle», Kalm. 479 *zulā* »Fontanelle» < **ᠵulai*; cf. Mo. **ᠵuluya* ~ **ᠵiluya* > *ᠵoluya* »temples», Buriat-Alar *ᠵᠣᠯᠣ* id., Ma. 995 *ᠵolo* »skull, cranium»; this is one more proof that, before **uya*, the vowel of the first syllable becomes *o* while it remains *u* before **ai*.

¹ Called by RAMSTEDT »Brechung», i.e. »breaking».

² VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 210.

It was stated above that $o < *u\gamma$ of the second syllable transforms the vowel $*i$ of the first syllable into o . Yet some already cited examples demonstrate that $*u\gamma > \bar{o}$ has also transformed u of the first syllable into o , e.g. $*\check{y}ul\gamma a > \text{Kh. } d\check{z}o\check{l}\bar{o}$ »temples». And it is important to point out that this occurs even in Script Mongol, for instance Mo. 2034 *muqur* »mousse, emoussé, sans cornes», SH 111 *muhular* »hornlos, ungehörnt, Stumpfhorn», Kh.R 131 *muxxvr* »blunt at its end», Ord. 474 *muxur* »obtus, emoussé, fond, cul-de-sac», Monguor 244 *muqur* »en cul-de-sac, déconcerté» $< *m\acute{u}qur$; Mo. 2032 *moqyā-*, Kh.R. 128 *moχō-* »to blunt», Ord. 466 *moχō-* »mettre à quia, réduire au silence», Monguor 239 *moqordur* »mousse, émoussé, sans pointe» $< *muqyā-$.

Mo. 352 *ungyasun* $< *n\acute{u}ngyasun$ »la laine des brebis», *ungyaril* »cotton de saule, chatons des arbres», SH 120 *nunghasu* »Schafwolle», H 164 *unghasun* »Wolle, Haar», Kh.R. 232 *unq.ṽs* »wool», Ord. 736 *unq.asu* »poils, laine, moisissure», Monguor 472 *unquse* »vesse» = Ma. 240 *nungyari* »soft wool, down» $< *n\acute{u}ngyaril$; Mo. 676 *noyosun* $< *nuyasun < *nu\eta'asun$ »laine», Mo. 681 *noyolur* $< *nuy\grave{a}layur$ »le duvet des oiseaux», Kh.R. 144 *nōs* »wool», Ord. 497 *nōs* »laine», Ord. 496 *nōlūr* ($\sim n\acute{u}l\acute{u}r$) »duvet laineux», Kalm. 279 *nōsṽ* »Wolle, Hauthaar», Buriat-Alar *nōhṽṽ* »hair»: *unq.asun* $< *n\acute{u}ngasun > *nuy\grave{a}sun > noyosun$.¹

Mo. *boroyan* $< *buruyan$ »rain», Kh.R. 34 *borō* »rain», Ord. 81 *borōn* »pluie», Buriat-Alar *borōṽ* »drizzle», Kalm. 51 *borān* »Unwetter, Sturm mit Regen od. Schnee; Regenwetter», Monguor 36 *Burōn* »petite pluie continue, pluvieux» = ? Ma. 510 *bono* »hail» = Turkic Čayatai *burayan*, Osmanlı *buran* »blizzard», cf. Osmanlı *buran* »turning», cf. *bur-* »to turn».²

Yet $*u\gamma > \bar{o}$ transforms into o not only the vowel $*u$ of the first syllable but also the vowel $*a$.

It is known that the vowels of the roots of the numerals 2—9 coincide with those of the tens, e.g. *qoyar* »two» and *qorin* »twenty»,

¹ As to the alternation $*\eta \sim *γ$ vide: VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 250—251.

² Checked by MENGES.

dörben «four» and *döčün* «forty», and so on. The only exception is *doluyan* «seven» and *dalan* «seventy».¹ It is obvious that *doluyan* and *dalan* are related words but what is the matter with their vocalism? In view of the above stated case this can be explained: Mo. *doloyan* «seven», SH 37 *dolo'an* id., Kh.R. 70 *doḷō* id., Ord. 150 *doḷō*, Kalm. 94 *dolān*, Monguor 59 *doḷō* ~ *doḷōn* id. have developed from **doloyan* < **doluyan* < **daluyan*. Another example of *o* < **a* is Mo. *doluya-* «to lick», Kh. *doḷō-*, Ord. 150 *doḷō-* «lécher», Kalm. 94 *dolā-* «lecken», Buriat-Alar *doḷō-* id., Monguor 59 *dōli-* «lécher» where *doloya-* < **doluya-* < **daluya-* = Turkic *yala-* < **dala-* «to lick».²

One more example is Mo. 728 *qangsiyar* «partie supérieure du nez, racine du nez», Ord. 336 *ḡanšār* «nez», Kalm. 167 *ḡanšār* «Nase, Schnabel», Monguor 157 *ḡānšar* «ligne proéminente, levée, berme, arête, tertre» < **qanšiyar* ~ **qanšuyar* > **qanšoyar* > **qongsiyar* > Mo. 874 *qongsiyar* «nez, bec», Kh.R. 266 *ḡonšōr* «snout», Ord. 355 *ḡonšōr* «museau, bec, groin», Buriat-Alar *ḡonšōr*, Kalm. 186 *ḡonšār* «Schnabel, lange Nase».

In all the cited cases and in many others the original vowel of the first syllable is preserved when there is no **uγa* yielding a long vowel in the dialects. Yet when **uγa* yields *ō* the vowel of the first syllable, independently of its original sound, also becomes *o*.

It was stated above that **uγa* becomes *ā* only in such cases when **u* belongs to the stem and **γa* to a suffix, e.g. Kh. *yāwāt* < **yabuyad*. Though there are dialects in which even in such cases **uγa* becomes *ō*, independently of what the vowel of the first syllable is. Such a dialect is the Tsonḡol of the Buriat language³

¹ About Mongolian numerals: G. J. RAMSTEDT. Über die Zahlwörter der Altaischen Sprachen. *JSFOu*. XXIV, I; Н. ПОПЕ. Монгольские Числительные. Языковые Проблемы по Числительным. Сборник Статей. Т. I. Ленинград. 1927,

² About the correspondence Mo. *d* = Turkic *y*; Z. GOMBocz. Zur Lautgeschichte der Altaischen Sprachen. *KSz*. XIII, 1912—1913, pp. 1—37; N. POPPE. Altaiisch und Urtürkisch. *Ungarische Jahrbücher*. VI, 1926, pp. 94 ss.

³ The Tsonḡol Buriat speak a dialect transitional between Buriat and

cf. *yawōt* < **yabuyad* »after going», *χavōt* < **qaduyad* »after mowing»
arōr < **aruβār* »along the northern slope», and so on.

Another peculiar phenomenon can be observed in the Western Buriat dialects. There occurs in the first syllable of certain words a secondary *o* when the second syllable contains the vowel **u* and the third syllable is **a*, in words of the following type: (Consonant +) vowel + consonant + uncontracted **uya*, e.g. Buriat-Alar *χotog.v* < **qituya* »knife», Buriat-Alar *oδog.vη* < **uduyan* »a female shaman», and so on. This shows that even an uncontracted group **uya* can transform the vowel of the first syllable into *o*.

These phenomena have not attracted the attention of the Mongolists and, therefore, numerous misconceptions found their place in works on Mongol languages. In particular, we find many mistakes in transcription of certain words, such as *qoyusun* »empty», *čouqur* or *čoyuqur* »dapple», and so on where there is in the second syllable a secondary *o* < **a* but not **u*. Thus the above observations are of practical interest.

The group **üge* was, on the contrary, understood exactly by Mongolists and it is known that in Khalkha this becomes *ā* (in suffixes *ē*).¹ Therefore it is not necessary to discuss this development here. Yet as **öge*, too, becomes Kh. *ā*, the groups **üge* and **öge* are sometimes confused. Thus VLADIMIRCOV writes Mo. *böge* »shaman» = Kh. *bā* is.² yet this is not *böge* but *büge*: cf. Turkic Uigur *bügü* »wise»; instead of Mo. *üge-* »to putrefy» he writes *öge*:³ cf. Buriat-Tsongol *ū-* < **ü-* »to putrefy»⁴, Mo. *ü-* id., Mo. *ügeri* »matter, pus» = Kalm. 304 *ōr* »Eiter».

Similarly to **uya* this group exerts its labializing influence upon the vowel of the first syllable and transforms it into *ö*: Mo. *čilüge*

Khalkha. They inhabit the region of the Selenga valley, around the Lake Gusinoe (in Buriat: *qalū't'vīη nūr*) and between the rivers Selenga and Khilok (in Buriat: *χolg.v*).

¹ RAMSTEDT, SU, p. 21; VLADIMIRCOV, op.cit., p. 197.

² VLADIMIRCOV, op.cit., p. 195.

³ VLADIMIRCOV, op.cit., p. 235.

⁴ The vowels of monosyllabic words (with an open syllable) are always long.

»crack; leisure» = Kh. *ʼšölō* id.; Mo. *irügel* < **qirüger* »benediction», ḥPhags-pa *hiru.er* »prayer», Monguor 402 *šürō-* »formuler des souhaits de bonheur», Kh. *yörāl* »benediction», Ord. 539 *öröl* »prière, vœux», Kalm. 220 *yörēl* »Glückwunsch, Segen», Buriat-Ekhirit *örör* »benediction» = Ma. 1058 *firu-* »to conjure» = Korean *pil-da* »to pray, to request».

The vowel **e*, too, changes into *ö*: Mo. *ergüge* »palace, tent of a prince» = Kh. *örgö* id., cf. Mo. *ergü-* »to lift, to erect»¹; Mo. *ene* »this», Kh. *enə* id. but Kh.R. 166 *önö* »now, today», Ord. 534 *önö* »aujourd'hui» < **önöge* < **önüge* < **enüge* »this same».

Finally, similarly to *o* < **u* before **u*ya, there is *ö* < **ü* before **ü*e; Mo. *dürü-* »to put into», Kh.R. 81 *dur-* »to put a sabre into the sheath, to immerse», Ord. 172 *duru-* »plonger dans», Kalm. 105 *dür-* »hineinstecken, verhehlen» but Mo. *dürüge* »stirrup», Kh.R. 174 *dörö* id., Ord. 157 *dörö* »étrier», Kalm. 99 *dörē* »Steigbügel» = Turkic Özbek 782² *üzüñgi* < **yüzüñgi* < **düreñgi* »stirrup».

Mo. *ürlüge* ~ *üglüge* »morning», Kh.R. 162 *öglö* id., Ord. 528 *öglö* »matin», Kalm. 300 *örlē* »bei Sonnenaufgang», cf. Mo. *ür* »morning twilight, dawn», Kh.R. 248 *ūr* id., Buriat *ūr* id.

These examples permit the correction of one of the misconceptions of Mongol grammars.

It is known that there is a defective verb **bü-* »to be». The following forms of this verb are known: praesens perfecti *bülüge*, nomen futuri *bükü* (*büküi*, plur. *bükün*), and converbum prae-parativum *bürün*. Beside this verb there is, according to the grammars, another, also defective, verb *bö-* used only in the following forms: converbum conditionale *bögesü*, converbum perfecti *böged*, and converbum terminale *bögetele*.³ In certain grammars these are not considered as two different verbs but as two stems of one and the same verb: *bü-* and *bö-*.⁴

¹ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 153.

² Rusca-özbekçä Tola Sazlik.

³ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., pp. 164, 203.

⁴ Louis Hambis. Grammaire de la Langue Mongole Écrite. (Première Partie). Paris, 1946, p. 61.

The author of these lines was always a little puzzled about the coexistence of these two verbs *bü-* and *bō-* and, therefore, united them in his grammar and discussed them as one verb.¹ Yet he must admit that he did it in a wrong manner, choosing of the variants *bü-* and *bō-* the wrong one, i.e. *bō-*. In reality there is no verb *bō-* but only *bü-* and the forms *bögesü*, *böged*, and *bögetele* are results of the influence of the syllable *ge* upon the vowel of the first syllable, i.e. *üge* > *ö*. Consequently, the correct transcription is *bügesü büged*, *bügetele*.

The vowel *ö* in these three forms is of early date. In the Secret History the verb *bü-* occurs in the following forms: nomen futuri *bugu* (plur. *bugun*), *bukui* (plur. *bukun*)², converbum praeparativum *burun*³, praesens perfecti *bulegai* ~ *bule'ai* ~ *bule'e*.⁴ But the converbum conditionale *bo'esu*, converbum perfecti *bo'et*, and converbum terminale *bo'etele* have the vowel *o*⁵ in their initial syllables. Similarly, in the ᠬPhags-pa script there is only *bōred* and *bō'esu*, but on the other hand *buguëdur*, *buk'u*, *buk'un*, and *burun*.⁶ It is to be noticed that the Script Mongolian form *bölüge* quoted by

¹ Н. Н. П о п п е. Грамматика Письменно-Монгольского Языка. Москва-Ленинград, 1937, p. 133.

² HAENISCH, op.cit., p. 20. In this transliteration of the Chinese transcription *bugu* and so on must be understood either as *bügü* or *bugu*, i.e. the vowel is a front one. It is to be noticed that the ᠬPhags-pa script, too, renders front vowels frequently with characters for back vowels. Therefore it is not impossible that *ü* and *ö* in Middle Mongol were not *ü*, *ö* but vowels occupying the place between *ü* and *u*, *ö* and *o* similarly to the Khalkha *u* and *o*. In our opinion HAENISCH is right when he does not try to substitute *ü* or *ö* for the sounds of the Chinese transcription as his manner of transliteration leaves more freedom to the Mongolists in their attempts to establish the pronunciation of the symbols concerned. To this we may add that the author of these lines came to this conclusion during a conversation with the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT who seems to share this opinion.

³ HAENISCH, op.cit., p. 23.

⁴ HAENISCH, op.cit., p. 21.

⁵ See note 44.

⁶ Н. Н. П о п п е. Квадратная Письменность. Москва-Ленинград, 1941, p. 147.

VLADIMIROV¹ contradicts the data of the Secret History and the ᠮPhagspa script, which was pointed out by PAUL PELLIOT: »M.VI. s'étonne un peu que dans JA, 1920, I, 180 j'aie toujours écrit *bülä'ä* et non *bölä'ä*; la raison en est simple; je reproduis là la transcription des transpositeurs chinois du XIV^e siècle qui écrivent toujours *bö'äsü*, *bö'ätälä* mais *bülä'ä* (M.VI. se trompe donc en disant que *bölä'ä* se rencontre dans le texte mongol de l'Histoire Secrète du moins au point de vue des transpositeurs du XIV^e siècle).² We may add that the form *böle'e* is even impossible as, according to the rules of the historical phonology of Mongol languages, *böle'e* would have become in Khalkha and other languages *bölē* yet we find only Kh. *bilē*, Ord. *bēlē*, Buriat *bēlē*, and so on < **büle'e*. It is known that **ö* never becomes *i* in colloquial Mongol but **ü* does; cf. Mo. *büsire* ~ *bisire* »to be devout» = Kh. *biššir* id., Mo. **bütügei* > *bitügei* (prohibitive particle) = Kh. *bi't'agī* id., and so on, which was known to VLADIMIROV³ who, contradicting himself, reconstructs *bilē* as **bölüge*.⁴

Thus the form *bölüge* as not existing must be rejected and *ö* in *böged*, *bögesü*, and *bögetele* must be considered as a secondary one deriving from *ü* under the influence of the syllable *ge*.

It is to be hoped that the misunderstanding regarding the verb *bü-* will be removed and a more exact transcription of words with labial vowels in the first syllable before *ya* or *ge* and the groups *uya* and *üge* will be accepted.

¹ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 203.

² T'oung Pao. Vol. XXVIII, 1931, pp. 231—232. Cf. FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES. The Expression *Dur-a Qočarukajū* in the Letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 11. 1948, p. 455, n. 21.

³ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 175.

⁴ VLADIMIROV, op.cit., p. 203.