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Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages

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Citation

Nugteren, H. (2011, December 7). *Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages*. *LOT dissertation series*. Utrecht : LOT, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18188>

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Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18188>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006

e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: Möngün Taiga (Tuva) by Elisabetta Ragagnin.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-070-6
NUR 616

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Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P. F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College van Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 7 december 2011
klokke 11:15

door

Hans Nugteren
geboren te Rotterdam
in 1968

Promotiecommissie:

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PREFACE

This study will investigate the phonology of the peripheral Mongolic languages of the Chinese provinces Qinghai and Gansu from a comparative historical viewpoint.

The Qinghai-Gansu languages comprise Eastern Yugur (Shira Yugur) and the Shirongol languages. The latter can be subdivided in a Monguor branch, consisting of Mongghul and Mangghuer, and a Baoanic branch, consisting of Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang (Santa).

The Qinghai-Gansu languages area are increasingly well-described. They have also been the subject of studies in language contact, mostly in the context of the Amdo or Qinghai-Gansu *Sprachbund*.

However, the phonology of these languages is not simply converging with (Northwest Mandarin) Chinese and (Amdo) Tibetan. Even the developments triggered by these neighbouring languages are not predictable. For instance, new Chinese-inspired restrictions on final consonants are implemented differently in Mangghuer, Kangjia and Dongxiang. Other developments, such as accent-related vowel loss and aspiration phenomena in the consonants, are regional without being induced by Chinese or Tibetan.

The present work will examine the relationship between the Qinghai-Gansu languages and Common Mongolic. It provides an overview of the phonological developments of the Qinghai-Gansu languages, comparing them to the reconstructed ancestral language. At the same time it will investigate the archaic features that can be found in these languages, in order to improve the Common Mongolic reconstructions of individual lexemes. Many word shapes in the Qinghai-Gansu languages differ considerably from their counterparts in the better-known central Mongolic languages. Determining which of these deviating features are recent adoptions and which are preserved old features is a central task of this study.

This project was originally started in 1993, and it should have been completed well within the 20th century. Due to an ever increasing amount of available publications, it was only after the decision to limit the number of issues, languages, and lexemes to be investigated, that it became possible to bring it to completion.

The phonetic development of the Mongolic lexemes in the Qinghai-Gansu languages has become the core subject, with the focus on underived noun and verb stems (the former also including pronouns and numerals). The phonetic development of suffixes and that of irregular paradigms, like those of the personal pronouns, are not discussed. The material is still so abundant that not all Mongolic lexemes that survive in one or more QG languages could have been listed and discussed here.

The other peripheral languages Dagur and Moghol play a supplementary role. The central languages and the Middle Mongol sources are cited for the sake of comparison, but their developments are not systematically discussed. The discussion of non-Mongolic evidence and Altaic cognates have been kept to a minimum. This study thus mainly deals with the diversification of Mongolic in the historical (recorded) period.

The peripheral Mongolic languages first came to my attention in the informal Altaic study sessions in the book-laden office of my teacher Ane H. Nauta, several

years before the start of the research presented here. My friend and frequent co-author Marti Roos was also a participant in these sessions. Paul Tjon Sie Fat stood at the cradle of our joint publishing career by translating parts of the Yugur volumes of the '*jianzhi* series'. He was instrumental in eliminating our fear of Chinese characters. With Ane and Marti I have maintained a virtual Altaic department through the years, regardless of changes in employment and location. I thank them for our innumerable discussions on Turkic and Mongolic phonology and etymology. I want to thank Marti in particular for patiently reading through all chapters.

To Frits Kortlandt, the supervisor of this thesis, I am grateful for for keeping the faith in the project, and for his speedy corrections and suggestions.

Our traveling Altaic research group was occasionally joined by Maarten Korpershoek, another Leiden Altaicist. I have enjoyed cooperating with him in the fields of Turkic and Dutch.

I am grateful to Uwe Bläsing for discussions on etymology and society at large, and for procuring rare publications.

Elisabetta Ragagnin kindly provided a photograph for the cover. I thank her for this and for various Siberian exchanges through the years. It is my pleasure to thank my former colleagues in Frankfurt, my second academic home, Marcel Erdal, Irina Nevskaya and Monika Rind-Pawłowski for discussions, turcological and otherwise.

I should also thank my colleagues in Papendrecht for providing me with another pleasant work environment, where I gained a deeper understanding and appreciation of my native language.

Finally I would like to thank all friends, relatives and colleagues who never tired of periodically inquiring after my progress. I would like to thank my aunt for giving me my first etymological dictionary several decades ago. I thank my cousin Jaco and my friend Joris for providing valuable links with the normal world, and viewing my academic activities with alternating amusement and bemusement.

Most of all I want to express my gratitude to my parents. They did not object to my peculiar choice of academic pursuit, and they supported me through the years until I finally handed in the final chapter.

Hans Nugteren - Dordrecht, June 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages

CM	Common Mongolic
CT	Common Turkic
PM	Proto Mongolic
WM	Written (Literary) Mongol
MMo	Middle Mongol
SH	Secret History (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
HY	Hua-Yi Yiyu (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
ZY	Zhiyuan Yiyu (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
Ph	Middle Mongol in ‘Phags-pa script
Muq	Muqaddimat al-Adab (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
IM	Ibn Muhanna (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
IV	‘Istanbul Vocabulary’ (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
LV	‘Leiden Vocabulary’ (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
RH	Rasulid Hexaglot (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
QG	Qīnghǎi-Gānsù Languages: Eastern Yugur and Shirongol
BaoD	Dahejia (or Jishishan) Baoan
BaoDt	Datong dialect of Dahejia Baoan
BaoGm	Gomar dialect of Tongren Baoan
BaoGt	Ganhetan subdialect of Dahejia Baoan
BaoJ	Jishishan subdialect of Dahejia Baoan according to Li
BaoÑ	Ñantoq subdialect of Tongren Baoan
BaoX	Xiazhuang (Orkor) dialect of Tongren Baoan
Brg	‘Old’ Bargu dialect of Buriat
Bur	Buriat
Dag	Dagur (usually Butkha dialect)
Dgx	Dongxiang (usually Suonanba dialect)
DgxL	Longquan dialect of Dongxiang
EYu, EYugur	Eastern Yugur
EYuQ	Qinglong dialect of Eastern Yugur
Kalm	Kalmuck
Kgj	Kangjia
Kh	Khalkha
Kmg	Khamnigan
Mgr	Monguor (both languages)
MgrH	Mongghul = Huzhu Monguor
MgrM	Mangghuer = Minhe Monguor (includes Sanchuan)
Mog	Moghol
MogM	Mangut dialect of Moghol
MogMr	Marda dialect of Moghol
Ord	Ordos

Sources and Authors

B	Bökh [BaoD]; Bolčuluu [EYu]
BC	Bökh & Chen [BaoX]; Bökh & Čoyijungjab [Dgx]
BJ	Bolčuluu & Jalsan [EYu]
BL	Bökh & Liú [Bao]
C	Čeremisov [Bur]; Čenggeltei [MgrH, MgrM]
CN	Chen Naixiong [BaoN, BaoGm, BaoGt]
D	Dob [Chakhar]
DS	Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Stuart, et al. [MgrM]
E	Enkhbat [Dag]
EDPT	Clauson 1972
F	Fairy tales: Chen, Li, Lü, et al. [MgrM]
H	Haenisch [MMo]; Hangin [Kh]
Her	Hermanns [EYu]
I	Iwamura [Mog (Zirni)]
J	Janhunnen [Kmg]; Junast [EYu, MgrH, MgrM]
JL	Junast & Li [MgrM]
K	Kowalewski [WM]
L	Lessing [WM]; Li [MgrH]; Li [Bao]; Ligeti [MMo, Mog]; Liú [Dgx]
LC	Luvсанденев & Cedendamba [Kh, WM]
M	Mostaert [MMo; Ord]; Muniev [Kalm]
MC	Ma & Chen [Dgx]
NK	Namcarai & Khaserdeni [Dag]
P	Poppe [CM; MMo; Dag]; Potanin [EYu, MgrH, MgrM, Bao, Dgx]
R	Ramstedt [Kalm]
S	Sečenčogt [Kgj]; Sun [all languages]
SM	de Smedt & Mostaert [MgrH]
T	Todaeva [Dag, EYu, MgrH, MgrM, Bao, Dgx], Tömörtogoo [precl.]
TMEN	Doerfer 1963-1975
W	Weiers [Mog]
X	Khasbaatar [MgrH]
Z	Zhòng [Dag]; Zhōng [various QG languages]

Other

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative; according
adj.	adjective
caus.	causative
dat.	dative(-locative)
dim.	diminutive
gen.	genitive
intr.	intransitive
lgs.	languages

loc.	locative
obs.	obsolete/obsolescent
pass.	passive
pl.	plural
precl.	preclassical
tr.	transitive

TERMS

Groups of languages:

central Mongolic	Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat-Kalmuck, Buriat, Khamnigan
peripheral Mongolic	Non-central languages: Dagur, Eastern Yugur, Shirongol, Moghol
Shirongol	Mongghul, Mangghuer, Baoan, Kangjia, Dongxiang
Baoanic	subgroup of Shirongol, consisting of Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang
Monguoric	subgroup of Shirongol, consisting of Mongghul and Mangghuer
Dongxiang	= Santa
Baoan	= Bonan
Sanchuan	= (a variety of) Mangghuer

Collective names for CM phones:

double vowels	*aa, *ee, etc
complex vowels	*ei, *au, etc
‘back’ vowels	*a, *i, *o, *u (harmonic class)
‘front’ vowels	*e, *i, *ö, *ü (harmonic class)
high vowels	*i, *i, *u, *ü. In the context of QG languages, also ə
non-high vowels	collective name for low *a, and mid *e, *o, *ö
strong consonants	(*p,) *t, *č, *k, *s/š, *h
weak consonants	*b, *d, *j, *g, *m, *n, *ŋ, *l, *r, *y (and vocalic onset (?))

NON-STANDARD SYMBOLS

?	etymological identity uncertain
č ʃ š ž	palato-alveolars (= IPA [tʃʰ tʃ ʃ ʒ])
c ɟ	apicals (= IPA [tʰ tʰ])
ć ǰ ś ź	alveo-palatals (= IPA [tʰ tʰ ɕ ʒ])
ɕ ʑ ʑ ʑ	retroflexes (= IPA [tʂʰ tʂ ʂ ʐ])
ǧ	weak uvular plosive (= IPA [q])
ǧ	voiced uvular fricative (= IPA [ɣ])
χ	voiceless palatal fricative ‘ich-laut’ (= IPA [ç])

