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Адрес учредителя: 191186,
г. Санкт-Петербург,
Дворцовая наб., д. 18, лит. А
Адрес редакции: 191186,
г. Санкт-Петербург,
Дворцовая наб., д. 18, лит. А
Тел.: +7 (812) 315-87-28
<http://orientalstudies.ru>
mongolica@orientalstudies.ru
kulgan@inbox.ru
dnosov@mail.ru

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Dalai Zayabaatar
National University of Mongolia

THE LOSS OF THE CONSONANT *-l-* AND SYLLABLE *-la/le-* IN MONGOLIAN

Because of the principle of linguistic economy and assimilation processes between sounds, sounds that have come to distinguish meaning (phonemes) get lost in the course of articulation. Due to the phonetic interdependency or sandhi (the mutual influence of adjacent sounds in a word), phonemes that have lost the morphological function to distinguish meaning in the process of generating and recognizing speech tend to become weakened and elided. In the written monuments of the Mongolian language, there are traces of a similar loss of a weak, voiced, apical, non-labial, lateral, fricative, and resonant *-l-* consonant. The loss of *-l-* under such conditions is called haplology and is represented in many languages.

This article examines the loss/dropping of the consonant *-l-* and the syllable *-la-* / *-le-* in the written monuments of the Mongolian language and identifies its related patterns in Modern Mongolian. In addition to the historical dropping of the sound *-l-* in a situation where there are two consecutive syllables in one word, each of which contains a consonant *-l-*, one of these syllables drops out. In addition, if the reciprocal voice suffix *-ld-* (*-ldu-* / *-ldü-*) occurs after the verb derivation suffix *-la⁴* (*-la* / *-le*), then in speech the unstressed syllable *-la⁴-* also becomes elided. Subsequently, in terms of the morphological surface structure, the suffix *-ld-* is added directly to the noun stem in colloquial speech and, similarly, such irregular formation of verbs is built into the general system of Mongolian word formation. This indicates that, in addition to morphological structures, the meaning and function of morphemes are also analogically influenced by adaptation to speech acts (utterances). Such a phenomenon is observed in the Mongolian language.

Phonetic changes occurring in speech usually do not find their reflection in spelling rules or the orthography of written language. In other words, the limitless possibilities of writing based on spoken pronunciation are limited or standardized by the rules of correct spelling or orthography. Since the Mongolian language is agglutinative, the rules of word formation and morphological principles should be significantly emphasized in orthography. For this reason, the consonant *-l-* and the syllable *-la* / *-le*, which are elided as a result of haplology in speech, should be restored in the dictionary in accordance with the morphological structure.

Key words: the loss of the consonant *-l-*, morphological principle, orthographical system, written sources, Mongolian language.

About the author: DALAI ZAYABAATAR, Ph. D., Prof. Dean/Director, School of Arts and Sciences, National University of Mongolia (14201 P.O. Box-330, Baga toiruu 47, Sukhbaatar district, Ulaanbaatar-46a, Mongolia). ORCID 0000-0003-2640-7661 (zayabaatar@num.edu.mn).

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Due to the principle of linguistic economy and phonetic interdependency, sounds that no longer fulfill the importance of distinguishing meaning are weakened and elided during speech. Researchers [Төмөртоогоо, 1992; Шагдарсүрэн, 1999; Санжаа, г.м., 2008] have observed how the voiced, lateral, fricative *-l-* [ɮ], is dropped in Mongolian.

The consonant *-l-*, which is preceded by the suffix *-sun/-sün* in Proto Mongolian, is mostly weakened and elided in modern Mongolian:

Kha. <i>xums</i>	'nails'	< Mo. <i>kimusu</i>	< * <i>kimulsun</i>
Kha. <i>caas</i>	'paper'	< Mo. <i>čayasu</i>	< * <i>čayalsun</i>
Kha. <i>mös</i>	'ice'	< Mo. <i>mösü</i>	< * <i>mölsün</i>
Kha. <i>saxius</i>	'deity'	< Mo. <i>sakiyusu</i>	< * <i>sakiyulsun</i>
Kha. <i>cös</i>	'gallbladder'	< Mo. <i>sösü</i>	< * <i>sölsün</i>

Tumurtogoo hypothesized that this dropping “may not be due to the influence of adjacent sounds, but might rather be connected to having lost its function to distinguish meaning in the respective words. Or it may be due to the loss of the consonant sequence *-ls-* in the word stem.” [Төмөртоого, 1992. X. 158]. However, Shagdarsüren [Шардарсүрэн, 1999. X. 107] argues “there are many examples of the reverse phenomenon, where the *-sun/-sün* suffix disappeared, but the *-l-* remains in the Khalkha dialect. For example:

- PM. **paryalsun* [Kha.] *argal* ‘cow dung’ >
Mo. *aryal*; Oir. *argasan*
PM. **koryulsun* [Kha.] *xorgol* ‘camel dung’ >
Mo. *qoryul*; Oir. *χorgoson*
PM. **γoduldun* > **γutulsun* [Kha.] *gutal* ‘shoe’ >
Mo. *yutul*; Oir. *gosson... etc.*”

Thus, the phenomenon of dropping the consonant *-l-* seems to vary historically in different dialects of Mongolian. While it is retained in the written sources of Western Middle Mongolian in the words *čalsuči*, *čalsun*, *čalsuni niken ni’ür* of the dictionary of Muqaddimat al-Adab [Понне, 1938. С. 131] and in *sölsün* in the dictionary of Ibn-Muhanna [ibid.: 446], it is partially absent from words such as *čaya:sun* [Bod.20a9], *kimusu* [Bur.26a], *kimusun* [Bod.16a3], *mölsün* [Taq.6a2], {*saqi*}*yu:lsun* [Turf.32:5] in the pre-classical Mongolian written monuments and inscriptions [Tumurtogoo, Cecegdari, 2006].

In general, the loss of *-l-* due to the influence of adjacent sounds is commonly found in the Mongolian, Manchu, Korean and Turkish languages as an areal phenomenon. In Manchu, for example, there is a phenomenon in which word-medial *-l-* of some loan words is omitted due to the influence of adjacent consonants while having lost its function to distinguish morphological and lexical meaning:

- [-lm-] Ma. *umuxun* < Mo. *ölmey*,
Kha. *ölmii* ‘tiptoe’
[-lj-] Ma. *durbejen* < Mo. *dörbeljin*
Kha. *dörvölžin* ‘square’
Ma. *surbejen* < Mo. *surbulji*
Kha. *survalž* ‘source’

- Ma. *urkuji* < Mo. *ürgülji*
Kha. *ürgelž* ‘always’
[Баярсайхан, 2003. X. 3].

Similarly, in Middle Korean, “a morpheme-final */l/* sometimes (but not always) elided before a coronal consonant (*t, c, s, z, n*). This *l*-dropping occurred consistently in verbal inflection. It was also occasionally found in noun compounds. Examples include: *petu-namwo* ‘willow tree’ (*petul* + *namwo*); *to-nim* ‘the respected moon’ (1459 Wörin sökpo 2:51b) (*tol nim*); *swucye* ‘spoon and chopsticks’ (1459 Wörin sökpo 23:74) (*swul* ‘spoon’ *cye* ‘chopsticks’). There were doublets, for example, *atol-nim* ‘respected son’ (1449 Wörin chöngang chi kok 31) and *ato-nim* ‘id.’ (1459 Wörin sökpo 2:1a); *hwal-sal* ‘bow and arrow, arrow’ (1459 Wörin sökpo 10:27) and *hwa-sal* ‘id.’ (1588 Sohak önhae 3:19). But there were fewer such examples of *-l-* dropping in compounds than are found in the Seoul dialect today.” [Lee, Ramsey, 2011. P. 153].

Ömer Demircan [Demircan, 1996. P. 93] mentioned the example of the dropping of the syllable *-li-* in *kilitlemek* > *kitlemek* in Turkish as an example of haplology.

In addition to historical sound dropping in Mongolian, if a syllable containing the consonant *-l-* is repeated in an adjacent position, one syllable is omitted. Sanjaa notes that “one of the same or similar sounds, which is written according to orthography rules, loses its function in the articulatory process and is deleted due to linguistic economy” [Санжаа, г.м., 2008. X. 196]. This applies not only to the consonant *-l-*, but also to the syllable *-la/-le-*:

- emeel-le-lee* saddle-dnv-dir.pst > *emëllē*
‘saddled’
tugal-la-laa calf-dnv-dir.pst > *tugällā*
‘calved’
ažil-la-gaa work-dnv-res.ptcp > *adžālgā*
‘activity’

The notion of “haplology” in linguistics is relevant in explaining the phenomenon of dropping the syllable *-la/-le-* during speech. In general, the analysis of instances of haplology in Mongolian is important for the systematic study of the correct

pronunciation (orthoepy) of the Mongolian for the correct reading and examination of ancient written monuments, and for teaching Mongolian as a foreign language.

Haplology is defined in dictionaries as “the elimination of a syllable during the utterance when two similar or identical syllables or sounds occur consecutively, known as the law of haplology” [Языкознание, 1998. С. 93] or “a special type of dissimilatory loss [that] consists in the loss of a whole syllable before or after a phonetically similar or identical syllable” [Hock, 1991. P. 109]. It is translated in the Mongolian Dictionary of Linguistic Terms as *īzil avia geegdexūi* ‘the omission of identical sounds’ [Төмөртөг, 2004. X. 24] or *davxar avia geegdel, üyeeree ondoošil* ‘the omission of doubled sounds, syllabic dissimilation’ [Энхбат, 2003. X. 108]. This law was first observed in the twentieth century by American linguist Maurice Bloomfield [Edgerton, 1928. P. 196]. The following examples are commonly found in linguistic dictionaries and linguistic lexica [Розенталь, Теленкова, 1985. С. 50; David Crystal, 1997. P. 330] as examples of law of haplology:

Rus. знаменосец	‘flagbearer’	<	
	* <i>знаменноносец</i>		
Rus. трагикомедия	‘tragicomedy’	<	
	* <i>трагикоккомедия</i>		
Rus. розоватый	‘pinkish’	<	
	* <i>розововатый</i>		
Eng. England		<	* <i>Englaland</i>
Lat. nutrix	‘nurse’	<	* <i>nutritrix</i>
Basq. sagardo	‘cider’	<	* <i>sagarrardo</i>

According to the haplological law, there are two main conditions for dropping syllables and sounds:

1. The particular syllable is not stressed;
2. The structure of two syllables is similar.

When we examine words with two consecutive syllables that consist of *-la²-* (*-la/-le-*)¹ in orthographic or monolingual dictionaries of Mongolian [Дамдинсүрэн, Осор, 1983; МХДТТ, 2008;

¹ In Written Mongolian (*Mongol bičig*) and the Middle Mongol language on which it is based, no labial harmony has yet developed, so that vowel harmony only distinguishes between [a] and [e]. Therefore, we used *-la²-* as an abbreviation of *-la-* and *-le-*.

Чоймаа, з.м., 2006], in most cases one of the two consecutive *-l-* is already dropped as a reflection of the haplology law. But in some cases, both syllables remain in written form because the morphological structure is reflected in orthography. Due to this inconsistency, several written variants co-exist in Modern Cyrillic Khalkha Mongolian. For instance,

Kha. <i>nüüre-ld-</i>	<	<i>nüür-le-ld-</i>	‘to confront’
Kha. <i>teege-ld-</i>	<	<i>teeg-le-ld-</i>	‘to stumble, to mesh’
Kha. <i>xuiva-ld-</i>	<	<i>xuiv-la-ld-</i>	‘to conspire’
Kha. <i>süüži-ld-</i>	<	<i>süüž-le-ld-</i>	‘to lay down on one side’
Kha. <i>öncgö-ld-</i>	<	<i>öncg-lö-ld-</i>	‘to put things at an angle’
Kha. <i>anda-ld-</i>	<	<i>and-la-ld-</i>	‘to make friends’

Thus different linguistic forms conveying the same meaning, but with different written versions having emerged. In these words, the reciprocal voice suffix *-ld-* is added directly to a noun root to form a verb, which has become quite common in current orthography. In terms of rules of Mongolian word formation, the underlying structure of the exemplified words above is [**noun stem** + **-la⁴-** (*-la-*, *-le-*, *-lo-*, *-lö-*)² ‘suffix deriving verb stems from nominal roots’ + **-ld-** ‘reciprocal voice suffix’]. So, why has this structure broken down, and the verb derivation suffix *-la⁴-* dropped in the above mentioned examples?

In order to clarify the reason for this, it is important to consider how the combination of these two suffixes appears in historical written Mongolian documents.

When the reciprocal voice suffix *-ldu-/ldü-* or (*-ld-*) occurred after the verb derivation suffix *-la-/le-*, the combined morphological structure of [**-la- + ldu-**] or [**-le- + ldü-**] is left intact in primary sources of Middle Mongolian including the Secret History of Mongols and the dictionary of Muqaddimat al-Adab, as well as major historical sources of 17th century Mongolian. For example:

² In Modern Mongolian on which it is based, labial harmony has already developed, so that vowel harmony distinguishes between [a], [e], [o] and [ö]. For this reason, we used *-la⁴-* as an abbreviation of *-la-*, *-le-*, *-lo-*, and *-lö-*.

- [SH §153] ... *gü'ün-i mököri-ül-(ü)-ya ke'e-n jasaq-la-ldu-ba*
 ... Men-ACC cut down-CAUS-VOL say-CONVB decree-VBZ-RECIP-TV.PAST
 'Those men [...] shall be cut down! So he decreed with them.'
- [SH §156] ... *Cinggis_qahan qadā sa'u-ju undā-la-ldu-run*
 ... TITLE outside sit-CONVB a drink-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB.PREP
 '... Činggis Qa'an sat outside drinking in company.'
- [SH §175] ... *to'o to'o-la-ldu-ba. To'o-la-ldu-'asu...*
 a number number-VBZ-RECIP-TV.PAST Number-VBZ-RECIP-COND...
 '...[Činggis Qa'an] counted [his forces/soldiers]. When counted...'
- [SH §232] ... *sibawu-la-ldu-n aba-la-ldu-n yabu-tuqai*
 ...a bird-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB a hunt-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB go-IMP
 '... [the nightguards] shall go falconing and hunting [with us].'
- [SH §254] ... *oron-dur-ıyan ülü oro-n olja-la-ldu-n büle'e*
 ...bed-DAT-REFL NEG enter-CONVB a prey-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB AUX.PAST
 '...[They] did not enter their beds [*to rest*], but fought against each other.'
- [MA] ... *andayār-la-ldu-ba tün-lē [Ionne, 1938. C. 103]*
 ...promise-VBZ-RECIP-TV.PAST 3SG-COMIT
 '[he] made a sworn friend with him'
- [MA] ... *anda-la-ldu-ba tün-lē [Ionne, 1938. C. 103]*
 ...a friend-VBZ-RECIP-TV.PAST 3SG-COMIT
 '[he] made a sworn friend with him'
- [QAT] ... *degedün-e degere bayira-la-ldu-ju [Choimaa, 2002. P. 100]*
 ...top/upper-DAT on a position-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB
 '... located on top of ...'
- [LuAT] ... *yoduli aralji-ldu-ju anda-la-ldu-bai [Bira, 1990. F. 30a]*
 ...arrow and bow exchange-RECIP-CONVB a friend-VBZ-RECIP-TV.
 PAST
 '[they] exchanged an arrow and a bow; and made friends with.'
- [LuAT] ... *kündü-le-ldü-n dayi-la-ldu-y=a keme-jü... [Bira, 1990. F. 11b]*
 ...heavy-VBZ-RECIP-CONVB a war-VBZ-RECIP-VOL say-CONVB
 '[they] said that let's fight with respect...'

[ET]	... <i>sayi-la-ldu-n</i>	<i>tusa-la-ldu-γsan</i>	<i>yisün</i>	örlüg=üd	[Haenisch, 1955. F. 41r5]
	...good-VBZ-RECIP-CONV	help-VBZ-RECIP-PAST	nine	minister-PL	

‘...nine ministers who commended and helped...’

[ET]	... <i>batu-da</i>	<i>bari-ldu-n</i>	<i>andaya-la-ldu-γad</i>	[Haenisch, 1955. F. 49r5]
	...strong-ADVZ	hold-RECIP-CONV	oath-VBZ-RECIP-CONV	

‘...[they] made strong friendship with...’

Furthermore, a combined morphological structure of *-la⁴-* + *-ldu²-* is also found in written monuments of Middle Mongolian when the reciprocal voice suffix *-ldu-/-ldü-* follows the actional suffix *-la⁴-* that expresses a repetitive action. Actional *-la⁴-* has the same form as the verb-deriving denominal suffix *-la⁴-*, but with a different meaning and grammatical function. For example:

[SH §142]	... <i>bidan-u</i>	<i>manglan</i>	<i>teden-tür</i>	<i>ungsi-la-ldu-ju...</i>
	...1PL-GEN	vanguard	3PL-DAT	read-REPET-RECIP-CONVB

‘...our vanguard shouted at them...’

[QAT]	... <i>kür-či[=kür-čü]</i>	<i>čabči-la-ldu-ba.</i>	[Choimaa, 2002. P. 100]
	...reach-CONV	chop-REPET-RECIP-TV.PAST	

‘[they] reached [the destination] and fought each other.’

[LuAT]	... <i>čabči-la-ldu-n</i>	<i>göbsi-le-ldü-n</i>	<i>qayača-m</i>	<i>ta</i>	[Bira, 1990. F. 11b]
	...chop-REPET-RECIP-CONV	tund-REPET-RECIP-CONV	separate-FUT	2SG	

‘[you] will fight and battle; and [then] you will leave [us].’

The *-la / le-* syllables in these grammatical combinations are weakened and elided during articulation and became *cavči-ld-*, *unši-ld-*, *gövši-ld-* in modern Mongolian.

Byambasan et al. [Бямбасан, г.м., 1987. X. 65] proposed that “...one *l* may be dropped when the suffix *-ld-* is added immediately after the verb derivation suffix *-l-*. However, since the morpheme *-ld-* in these words does not have the characteristics of a voice suffix, we would tend to consider it as a word-formation suffix.” Norjin and Tegshduuren also considered *-lda²-* as a suffix that forms a verb from a nominal root, providing examples such as *tašaald-* ‘to put hands on hips’ (< *tašaa* ‘hip’), *toxoid-* ‘rest/lean one’s elbow [on sth.]’ (< *toxoi* ‘elbow’), *eyeld-* ‘make peace with or become reconciled’ (< *eye* ‘peace, or accord’), *duguild-* ‘make

or draw a circle’ (< *dugui* ‘round, circle’) [Norjin, 2001. Kh. 122-123; Tegsidüüreng, 2005. Kh. 108].

In modern Mongolian, there are in fact words that in terms of form and grammatical function can be considered as created using the suffix *-ld-*. This concerns verbs formed from noun roots such as *šanaa-ld-* ‘to hit on one’s cheekbones’ (< *šanaa* ‘cheekbones’), *tašaa-ld-* ‘hanging the hip’ (< *tašaa* ‘hip’), *ösgii-ld-* ‘to stand or walk on one’s heels’ (< *ösgii* ‘heels’), *toxoi-ld-* ‘rest one’s elbow [on sth.]’ (< *toxoi* ‘elbow’), and *ölmii-ld-* ‘to stand on one’s tiptoes’ (< *ölmii* ‘tiptoes’). Yet, explaining these words as formed by adding a verbalizing suffix *-ld-* or considering *-ld-* as a variant of the verb-deriving denominal suffix *-d* would contradict the regular rules of word formation.

I argue that it is reasonable to explain the origin of the suffix *-ld-* not by regular morphological rules, but by analogy. Linguistic forms created following the model *noun stem+^{-la⁴}* ‘denominal verb-forming suffix’ + *-ld-* ‘reciprocal voice suffix’ such as *nüürleld-*, *andlald-* have weakened and dropped/elided the syllable *-la⁴* during articulation due to haplology, and the apparent pattern *noun stem+^{-ld-}* emerges on the surface structure. Due to this analogy, the pattern of adding a morpheme *-ld-* to nouns for creating verbs has become common in Modern Mongolian.

On the other hand, judging from the systematic notation of combination *noun stem+^{-la⁴}+^{-ld-}* that typically occurs in the written monuments of Middle Mongolian as well as in subsequent Mongolian primary sources cited earlier, the morphological

combination model *noun stem +^{-ld-}* ‘verbalizer suffix’ is an irregular model for word formation in Mongolian. In other words, the reason for the irregular structure is a direct reflection of the elision of the syllable *-la⁴* from the original morphological pattern *noun stem+^{-la⁴}+^{-ld-}*.

Judging from data of some relevant Mongolian dictionaries as well as some local dialect dictionaries of Mongolian [Namjilm-a, 1994; Сумъябаатар, 2005; Mostaert, 1941], there are no instances of verbs formed from nouns by adding *-ld-*. This indicates that this feature is recent.

A well-known early example of the dropping of the syllable *-la⁴* in Mongolian is the evolution of the modern Mongolian verb stem *xel-*. This verb stem is always recorded as *kelele-* in the Secret History of Mongols.

[SH §37] ... *aqa-nar* *de'ü-ner* *kele-le-ldü-jü* *mori-la-ba*.
 ...elder brother-PL younger sibling-PL tongue-VBZ-RECIP-CONV Horse-VBZ-TV.PAST
 ‘Older and younger brothers discussed the matter together, then set out on their horses.’

[SH §105] ... *Jamuqa* *de'ü-de* *kele-le-jü* *ilē...*
 ...NAME younger brother-DAT tongue-VBZ-CONV send.IMP
 ‘... Send a message (tell) younger brother Jamuqa...’

[SH §118] ... *Jamuqa* *anda-yin* *kele-le-ksen* *kelen* [Rachewiltz, 1972]
 ...NAME sworn friend-GEN tongue-VBZ-PAST words
 ‘... The words which sworn friend Jamuqa has spoken...’

Choimaa’s explanation suggests that “according to the rule of Mongolian word formation, it is clear that the verb *kelekü* (*kele+le+kü*) ‘to narrate, to tell, to say’ is formed by adding the verb derivation suffix *-la/-le-* on the noun root *kele* ‘language, tongue’. The Mongolian script does not violate the word structure of the Mongolian language, so it preserved the early word forms very well. During the development of Mongolian under the influence of the spoken language, one of the two *-l-* sounds that were close to each other weakened and was dropped, and the present *kelekü* ‘to say’ came into existence.” [Чоймаа, г.м. 2006. X. 65]. This supports our observations. The form “*ulus irgen-dür-iyen kelele!*” ‘tell your people!’ is also found in the Hua-yi yi-yu dictionary [Manduqu,

1998. P. 233]¹. Shagj’s “Explanatory dictionary of Mongolian words” such as “*kelelemüi* - *ögülemüi kemekü üge*” ‘*kelelemüi* means to say or to tell’ [Šayja, 1994. Kh. 367]² and “*kelelemüi* - *üge učir-i iledken yaryaju, delgeregülün keleküi-yi kelelemüi kememüi*”, “*kelelegči* - *aliba bičig sudur-i tayil-burilaγčid-i buyu olan-i tölügen üge iledkekü kümün-i kelelegči kememüi*” in *Qorin naimatu-yin toli* ‘Glossary in twenty-eight volumes’ [Namjilm-a, 1994. Kh. 890]³ are another proof that **kelele-* is

¹ The original manuscript of the dictionary “Hua-yi yi-yu” is written in 1389.

² The original manuscript of Shagj’s dictionary is written between 1926 and 1929. However, the dictionary was not published until 1994.

³ The original manuscript of this dictionary is written between 1940-1943 but it was not published until 1983.

the archaic form of the verb stem *xele-* in modern Mongolian. According to Poppe, “There are very few homonymous verbs and nouns in Mongolian like *kele* ‘tongue, language’ and *kele-* ‘to speak’... However, *kele* ‘tongue’ goes back to *kelen* (cf. Kal-muck *keln*, Buriat *xelin*), and *kele-* ‘to speak’ goes back to *kelele-*, the form *kele-* being a contraction of two identical syllables.” [Poppe, 1965. P. 192-193].

In Modern Mongolian, there are some further words that directly reflect the dropping or loss of the syllable -la⁴- and thereby diverge from the rules of word formation such as *xariult* ‘answer, return’ and *golomt* ‘hearth, center’. Scholars [Өнөрбаян, 2004. X. 39; Чоймаа, 1997. X. 174-177] have clearly identified that the Mongolian suffixes -lt, and -mt form nouns from verb stems such as *boo-* ‘to bind, to wrap’ > *boolt* ‘binder, bandage’, *bari-* ‘to hold, to grasp’ > *barilt* ‘holding, constriction’, *dar-* ‘to push, to suppress’ > *daralt* ‘pressure’, *boo-* ‘to bind, to wrap’ > *boomt* ‘a port, border point’, *bari-* ‘to hold, to grasp’ > *barimt* ‘a document, a fact, a proof’, and *dar-* ‘to push, to suppress’ > *daramt* ‘oppression’. However, the form of *xariu* ‘answer’ > *xariult* ‘answer, return’, and *gol* ‘center’ > *golomt* ‘hearth’, would invite the explanation that a noun-deriving suffix to an existing noun has already become common in the vocabulary. However, the structure of the nouns *xariult* and *golomt* should be explained in terms of haplology instead. The following morphological models show this explanation:

- *qari-* ‘return’ > *qari-yu* ‘answer’ > *qari-yu-la-* ‘to answer’ > **qari-yu-la-lta* ‘answer, return’ > Mo. *qariyulta* > Kha. *xariult*
- *yool* ‘main, center’ > *yool-la-* ‘to be in the center, to dominate’ > **yool-la-mta* ‘hearth, center [of sth.]’ > Mo. *yolumta* > Kha. *golomt*

Therefore, I agree with the hypothesis of Secen-cogtu and Choimaa regarding the proper structure of the above-mentioned two examples. This hypothesis claims that “*xariu* ‘answer, return’ > *xariult* ‘an action of responding > *xariult* ‘answer, response’” could be the correct structure like the morphological structure: *asu-* ‘to ask’ > *asuult* ‘a question’ according to the word formation rule” [Sečenčoytu, 1988. Kh. 2687], and “from diachronic approach, etymology of the word *golomt* could have been *gol+lo+mt*” [Чоймаа, 1997. X. 174].

Another related issue is the origin and evolution of the morpheme -c- < -ča²- in verb stems such as *barč-*, and *ögc-*. As for the etymology of the morpheme -c-, I agree with Byambasan’s explanation that “the -c- in words like *bulaacaldax* ‘to fight over’ is part of the cooperative voice suffix -lc- < -lča²-. The consonant -l- was dropped, but -c- is remained as a trace of the cooperative voice suffix when the cooperative voice suffix -lc- ‘-lča-/lče-’ and the reciprocal voice suffix -ld- ‘-ldu-/ldü-’ used together in the morphological structure of a word” [Бямбасан, г.м., 1987. X. 65]. In other words, one can assume that the morpheme -c- used for adding to the verb stem originally derived from the cooperative voice suffix -c- ‘-lča-/lče-’ by way of dropping the weakened consonant -l-:

Kha. <i>barč-</i>	< Mo. <i>bariča-</i>	< * <i>bari-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>xarč-</i>	< Mo. <i>qariča-</i>	< * <i>qari-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>solbic-</i>	< Mo. <i>solbiča-</i>	< * <i>sol-i-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>xargac-</i>	< Mo. <i>qaryuča-</i>	< * <i>qaryu-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>avc-</i>	< Mo. <i>abča-</i>	< * <i>abu-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>ögc-</i>	< Mo. <i>ögče-</i>	< * <i>öggü-lče-</i>
Kha. <i>šaxac-</i>	< Mo. <i>siqāča-</i>	< * <i>siqa-lča-</i>
Kha. <i>bulaac-</i>	< Mo. <i>buliyača-</i>	< * <i>buliya-lča-</i>

However, the morpheme -c- ‘-ča-/lče-’, which is formed as a result of the weakening and dropping of the consonant -l from the cooperative voice suffix -lča-/lče- ‘-c-’, should not be intermingled or confused with the Middle Mongolian deverbal verb-derivation suffix -ča²-, even though their forms are identical [Qasbayan-a, 1996. Kh. 339]. This is something which occurs in the written monuments of Middle Mongolian such as “*qasar minu qabu gücü erdemtü tula qarbucaju qaruqsan-i qarbuju*” ‘my Qasar is powerful and good at shooting...’ [SH\$244], “*cinggis-qahan qol cerik darucaju*” ‘Chinggis Qahan was following closely behind with the main body of [his] army’ [SH\$247] as written in the Secret History of Mongols [Rachewiltz, 1972].

Another issue related to the haplological phenomena in Mongolian, and particularly the dropping of the syllable -la-/le-, is the structure of words such as *tarialan* ‘crop farming, agriculture’ and *xüreelen* ‘institute’. Shagdarsüren [Шагдарсүрэн,

2007. X. 167] suggested that the proper structure of these words were *taria+la+lan(g)*, and *xüree+le+len(g)* but the syllable *-la-/-le-* was dropped according to the law of haplology. He emphasized that “examining the words that formed in this way, it seems reasonable that many of the above examples show that the suffix *-la-/-le-* is added to the noun stem to form a verb, but may be elided during verbal act or speech flow when followed by suffix *-lan(g)* / *-len(g)*. This should be studied further in depth” [Шагдарсүрэн, 2007. X. 167].

There are several conceivable ways to explain the structure of these words, as outlined below:

1. As mentioned in some works on modern Mongolian morphology [Өнөрбаян, 1997. X. 167; Өнөрбаян, 2004. X. 118], nouns are formed from noun roots using the noun derivation suffix *-lan⁴* such as *zali* ‘deceit’ > *zali+lan* ‘fraud’, *xüree* ‘frame or scope’ > *xüree+len* ‘institute’, *taria* ‘crop or grain’ > *taria+lan* ‘agriculture or plantation’, *šüd* ‘tooth’ > *šüd+len* ‘three-year old livestock’, *soyoo* ‘canine (tooth)’ > *soyoo-lon* ‘five-year old horse’, *dugui* ‘round or circle’ > *dugui+lan* ‘training course’, *egšig* ‘vowel or sound’ > *egšig+len* ‘melody’, *ed* ‘material or property’ > *ed+len* ‘estate’ (**Noun**→**Noun**).
2. There are nouns derived from verb stems using the suffix *-lan⁴*, e.g. *zov-* ‘suffer’ > *zov-lon* ‘sorrow’, *žarga-* ‘to enjoy or to be happy’ > *žarga+lan* ‘happiness’, *xyas-* ‘to frustrate or to be unlucky’ > *xyas+lan* ‘bad luck or ill-omen’, *zus-* ‘to stay on summer camp’ > *zus+lan* ‘a summer camp’, *orč-* ‘to turn around’ > *orč+lon* ‘universe’, *xad-* ‘to reap or to harvest’ > *xad+lan* ‘hay’, *xüs-* ‘to want or to wish’ > *xüs+len* ‘wish or desire’. Imitating the morphological structure of these words, there were words that formed such as *zalil-* ‘to deceive, to beguile’ > *zalil+lan* ‘fraud’, *xüreel-* ‘to surround, to encircle’ > *xüreel+len* ‘surrounding, institute’, *tarial-* ‘to plant, to cultivate’ > *tarial+lan* ‘agriculture, crop farming’, *šüdle-* ‘to grow teeth’ > *šüdle+len* ‘three years old [horse]’, *soyool-* ‘to grow fangs’ > *soyool+lon* ‘five-year old [horses]’, *duguil-* ‘to circle’ > *duguil+lan* ‘training center, club’, *egšigle-* ‘to sound’ > *egšigle+len* ‘melody’ (**Noun**→**Verb**→**Noun**). However, the syllable *-la⁴* is dropped from the morphological model **noun stem**

+*la⁴* ‘suffix to form verb from noun’ + *lan⁴* ‘suffix to form noun from verb’ according to the law of haplology. These words formed like *zalilan* ‘fraud’, *xüreelen* ‘surrounding, institute’, *tarialan* ‘agriculture, crop farming’, *šüdlen* ‘three-year old [horse]’, *soyoolon* ‘five-year old horse’, *duguilan* ‘training center, circlet’, and *egšiglen* ‘melody’ in Modern Mongolian.

3. Using the morphological structure of *gasal-+n=* *gaslan* ‘mourning’ and *šanal-+n=* *šanal* ‘sorrow’, the noun derivation suffix *-n* (*-ng*) was added on the verb stem to form nouns such as *zalil-+n*, *xüreel-+n*, *tarial-+n*, *šüdle-+n*, *soyool-+n*, *duguil-+n*, and *egšigle-+n* (**Noun**→**Verb**→**Noun**);
4. There are compound verbs of the structure [**V-n V-**] such as *nyagtl-an bod-* ‘examine, calculate and account for’, *üzүүл-en tani-ul-* ‘show and familiarize’, and *surg-an xümüüžүүл-* ‘teach and educate’, which are connected by the old linking converbal suffix *-n*. There are some nouns such as *nyagtlan* ‘accountant’, *üzүүлэн* ‘visual aids’ and *surgan* ‘didactics’ that came about when the second verb of these compound verbs was dropped. Nouns such as *zalilan* ‘fraud’ and *urlan* ‘art studio’ might have been created in the same way, and were originally part of compound verbs such as *zalila-n mexel-* ‘deceive and beguile’ and *urla-n бүтее-* ‘craft and invent/create’.

Two possible hypotheses can be deduced about the structure of the above-mentioned words. If it is assumed that the Mongolian noun originated according to the word-formation system, then the third version could be considered to be based on the model **noun**→**verb**→**noun** or **noun stem**+*la⁴* ‘suffix to form a verb/verbalizer’ +*-n* ‘suffix to form a noun/nominalizer’.

On the other hand, the words may be formed through exceptional rules of word formation, with the suffix *-lan⁴* analogically added to the noun stem. In this regard, Poppe [Poppe, 1965. P. 192-193] pointed out that “Nouns do not act as verbs and, *vice versa*, verbal stems do not as nouns [in Altaic languages]. ...It is also a general rule that suffixes added to noun stems cannot be added to verbal stems and *vice versa*. The same is true of Mongolian. ...In Mongolian, the same suffix nev-

er joins a nominal and verbal stem. ...There are in Mongolian no suffixes which can be added to noun stems and verbal stems indiscriminately." I believe this observation is essential for further investigation and study of the distribution, meaning, function and evolution of morphemes in Mongolian.

The evolution and changes of sounds during articulation are not always reflected in the orthography of the written language. In other words, the unlimited possibility to write many variants based on colloquial pronunciation is limited by the rules of orthography.

Orthography is based on a number of principles such as *phonetics*, *morphology*, and *historical traditions*. But among these, the morphological principle is more appropriate for the structure of agglutinative languages. Therefore, since Mongolian is of the agglutinative type, the rules of word formation and morphological principles should be emphasized in Mongolian orthography.

In summary, in grammatical combinations where the verb derivation suffix *-la⁻⁴* (*-la-/le-*)

that forms verbs from noun stems is followed by the reciprocal voice suffix *-ld-* (*-ldu-/ldü-*), the unstressed syllable *-la⁻⁴* is elided during articulation as a result of haplology. Therefore, this exceptional pattern of word formation, which forms verbs by directly adding the reciprocal voice suffix *-ld-* (*-ldu-/ldü-*) on noun stems, has emerged and formed in Modern Mongolian and became analogous to the process of verb formation. For this reason, in order to describe or clarify the grammatical function and meaning of morphemes including derivational suffixes, we should consider how much articulation is involved in addition to morphological principles of word formation. It also shows that such a phenomenon exists in the Mongolian language.

Finally, I think that a re-analysis of the structure, evolution or change, and use of morphemes, words, or sentences using the perspective of diachronic and historical linguistics would be efficient in unraveling the knot of some unsolved complex issues in Mongolian linguistics.

Abbreviations and Conventions

[Bod.] — The Commentary of Bodhicaryāvatāra by Chos-kyi 'od-zer

[Bur.] — The Mongolian Version of the *Twelve Deeds of Buddha*

[ET] — Erdene-yin Tobči

[LuAT] — Lu. Altan Tobči

[QAT] — Quriyangui Altan Tobči

[SH] — Secret History of the Mongols

[Taq.] — The Mongolian Version of Hsiao-ching

[Turf.] — The Mongolian Xylographic Fragments in Turfan-Collections

[MA] — Mukaddimat al-adab

Basq. — Basque language

Eng. — English

Kha. — Khalkha dialect (Modern Mongolian)

Lat. — Latin

Ma. — Manchu

Mo. — Mongol script (Classic Mongolian)

Oir. — Oirat dialect

PM. — Proto Mongolian

Rus. — Russian

1 — 1st person

2 — 2nd person

3 — 3rd person

ACC — Accusative

ADVZ — Adverb marker

CAUS — Causative

COMIT — Comitative

COND — Conditional

CONVB — Converb

DAT — Dative and Locative

FUT — Future

IMP — Imperative

NEG — Negation

PAST — Past tense

PL — Plural

RECIP — Reciprocal Voice

REFL — Reflexive

REPET — Repetitive

SG — Singular

TV.PAST — Terminating verbal past

VBZ — Verbalizer

VOL — Voluntative

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ВЫПАДЕНИЕ СОГЛАСНОГО -l- И СЛОГА -la- / -le- В МОНГОЛЬСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Далай Заяабаатар

Монгольский государственный университет

В результате взаимного влияния различных звуков те фонемы, которые не обладают достаточной смысловоразличительной функцией в процессе порождения и распознавания речи, имеют тенденцию к ослаблению и выпадению. В письменных памятниках монгольского языка наблюдаются следы подобного выпадения слабого звонкого переднеязычного негубного латерального фрикативного сонанта -l-. Выпадение -l- в таких условиях называется гаплогией и представлено во многих языках.

В данной статье исследуется выпадение согласного -l- и слога -la-/-le- в письменных памятниках монгольского языка и выявляются связанные с этим закономерности.

Согласно нашему исследованию, помимо исторического исчезновения звука *-l-*, в ситуации, если в одном слове имеется два последовательных слога, в каждом из которых есть согласный *-l-*, один из таких слогов выпадает. Кроме того, если после аффикса, образующего отыменные глаголы *-ла⁴-* (*-la-/-le-*) встречается показатель взаимного залога *-лд* (*-ldu/-ldii*), то в устной речи безударный слог *-ла⁴* также выпадает. В результате получается, что с точки зрения поверхностной структуры, аффикс *-лд-* присоединяется непосредственно к именной основе, и подобное искажение образования глаголов встраивается в общую систему монгольского словообразования, т.е. помимо семантических и структурных закономерностей на словообразование влияет и адаптация к устной речи. Такое своеобразное явление наблюдается в монгольском языке.

Фонетические изменения, происходящие в устной речи, обычно не находят своего отражения в орфографии. Другими словами, запись устной речи существенно отличается от нормативной письменной речи. Поскольку монгольский язык является агглютинативным, то очень важно отражать в правилах орфографии структуру слова. По этой причине, согласный *-l-* и слог *-la-/-le-*, выпадающие в результате гаплоггии в устной речи, следует в некоторых случаях восстанавливать при написании слов в словаре в соответствии со структурой слова.

Ключевые слова: выпадение согласного *-l-*, морфологический принцип, орфографическая система, письменные источники, монгольский язык

Об авторе: **Далай Заябаатар**, Ph. D., Prof. декан/директор Института наук и искусств Монгольского государственного университета (14201 P.O. Box-330, Бага Тойруу, ул. Сухэ-Батора, Улан-Батор – 46а, Монголия). ORCID 0000-0003-2640-7661 (zayabaatar@num.edu.mn)

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