

WHEN AND HOW THE AFFRICATES /**tʃ^h*/ AND /**tʃ*/ IN INITIAL POSITIONS OF PROTO-MONGOLIAN DIVERSIFIED IN KHALKHA

Baoya Chen Lin Yuan

Peking University


ABSTRACT

In this paper, we tease out the transliterations in the documents transliterated in Chinese characters such as *Hua yi yi yu* and *Lulong sai lüe*, and in Latin *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français* (Kowalewski 1844–1849), and study when and how the affricates /**tʃ^h*/ and /**tʃ*/ in initial position of Proto-Mongolian diversified in Khalkha. We conclude that the time of diversification of /**tʃ^h*/ and /**tʃ*/ was no later than the 19th century. More precisely, it was between 1610 and 1844, and the sound change was conditioned by the short vowel -i- following the affricates. However, the ultimate formation of the four affricates in Khalkha is a result of the com-

Acknowledgments The present work is revised from an earlier paper that we presented at the workshop on linguistics in Peking University (PKU), October 31, 2013. We are grateful to the participants who participated in that workshop and spent much time listening to our paper. We also wish to express our sincerest thanks to two anonymous reviewers and editors of *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* for their valuable comments. Furthermore, we would like to thank Jiang Haowen, a postdoctoral fellow of PKU, for his feedback on the language use in this paper, and Siqinchaoketu, a researcher in the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, for his evaluation of Monogolian in this paper. We are responsible for any errors that remain. This paper is supported by the Study on the contact type and evolution model of the languages and dialects in China (the National Social Science Fund of China, 14ZBD102) and Monographic study on the relation words of Chinese and Non-Chinese according to sound correspondence (the National Social Science Fund of China, 13AZD051).

The authors claim no conflict of interests to publish this paper in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*.

Baoya Chen (陈保亚; author for correspondence) [cbyhf@pku.edu.cn]; Department of Chinese Language and Literature (Zhongguo yuyan wenxue xi), Peking University, 100871, Beijing, China.

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9138-9597>

petition between the Rule of Diversification (Rule I) and the Rule of Fracture (Rule II), which operated in the same period and under the same condition.

KEYWORDS

Proto-Mongolian Khalkha Diversification of affricates in initial position Competing sound change

1. INTRODUCTION

In Proto-Mongolian $/*t^h/$ and $/*tʃ/$ are affricates that may appear in the initial position.¹ They were represented by ᠲ and ᠳ , respectively, in Uyghur Mongolian script, which was created in 13th century. In Modern Mongolian dialects, these two affricates are pronounced in two different ways as shown in table 1.

Table 1 Cases beginning with $/*t^h/$ - and $/*tʃ/$ - and their two different ways of current pronunciation in Modern Mongolian dialects

Meanings	Transcriptions of Uyghur Mongolian scripta	Pronunciations of Proto-Mongolianb	Modern Mongolian dialects	
			Group I: Khalkha	Group II: Chakhar
time	čay	[*tʃʰaq]	[tʰʰaq]	[tʃʰaq]
you	či	[*tʃʰi]	[tʃʰi:]	[tʃʰi:]
free time	jab	[*tʃʰab]	[tsav]	[tʃʰab]
year	jil	[*tʃʰil]	[tʃʰil]	[tʃʰil]

Notes: ^a For the convenience of typographic treatments, Poppe's transcriptions of Uyghur Mongolian script (1965, 17) are used in our paper. ^b The reconstructions of Proto-Mongolian 'time,' 'free time' and 'year' are from Poppe (2004: 30, 56, 135) while the word 'you' from Poppe (1987, 35). ^c The pronunciations of Chakhar of words denoting 'time,' 'you,' 'free time' and 'year' are from Menghan cidian (Mongolian-Chinese dictionary) (NMDMY 1999: 1225, 1248, 1300 and 1337).

Khalkha and Chakhar are two kinds of Modern Mongolian dialects. Khalkha is widely spoken in Mongolia, while Chakhar is widely spoken in Inner-Mongolia. One of the authors, Lin Yuan, of this paper speaks Khalkha fluently, and is responsible for the IPA transcriptions of Khalkha throughout the paper.

Also, $/tʃ^h/$ and $/tʃ/$, which are derived from $/*t^h/$ and $/*tʃ/$, respectively, have become two separate phonemes in Khalkha but not in Chakhar.

原始蒙古语词首塞擦音/*tʃʰ/、/*tʃ/
在喀尔喀土语中分化的时间和条件

陈保亚 袁琳

北京大学

摘要

本文对汉字注音文献《华夷译语》《卢龙塞略》和 *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français* (蒙俄法词典) (Kowalewski 1844–1849) 中的标音进行了细致的梳理, 研究了原始蒙古语词首塞擦音/*tʃʰ/和/*tʃ/在喀尔喀方言中分化的时间和条件。我们认为/*tʃʰ/和/*tʃ/在喀尔喀方言中分化的时间不晚于19世纪, 即在1610–1844年之间完成; 而分化的条件则与*tʃʰ-和*tʃ-后面紧跟的短元音-i-相关。喀尔喀方言中四个塞擦音的最终形成是“分化规律”(规律一)和“转折规律”(规律二)在同一时间内、同一条件下相互竞争的结果。

关键词

原始蒙古语 喀尔喀方言 词首塞擦音的演变 竞争演变