TUNGUSO
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Andrew Shimunek

Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China

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Michael Weiers

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A Historical-Comparative Study of the Serbi or Xianbei Branch of the Serbi-Mongolic Language Family, with an Analysis of Northeastern Frontier Chinese and Old Tibetan Phonology

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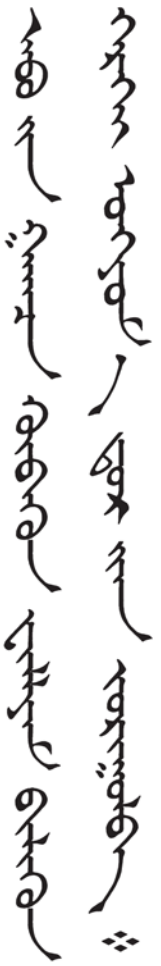
Dedicated to my wife Oyumaa and my son William Bilgun.



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I also thank my son, William Bilgun, for understanding all the times I was busy writing, and for encouraging me in his own way—every night before bed he made sure I was working on my book. Most of all, I thank my wife, Oyumaa, for constantly supporting me and my research, even when it meant increasing responsibilities for herself as I wrote this book. Without her love, support, and patience, this book would have been both impossible and meaningless.

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Fonts Used in this Book

I have used a number of special fonts in preparing this book: For words in Kitan Assembled Script, Preclassical Written Mongol, and ‘Phagspa Script, I have used the Menksoft font set. For Chinese, I have used PMingLiu; for Japanese, MS Mincho; for modern Written Mongol, Mongolian Baiti; for phonetic and phonological transcriptions, Doulos SIL; for Korean, Haansoft Batang; and for Tangut, Mojikyo M202. For Jurchen, I have used Jason Glavy’s freeware Jurchen font. Tibetan words are given in the free true-type font Jomolhari, developed and distributed by Chris Fynn. Runiform Old Turkic words are given in the font Turik, developed by the Abai National Pedagogical University of Kazakhstan (Абай атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық педагогикалық университет) and the Republic of Kazakhstan Ministry of Culture and Information (Қазақстан Республикасы Мәдениет және ақпарат министрлігі). 17th century Dutch transcriptions of Early Modern Korean appear in the Caslon font Wyld, created by David Manthey. The main text is in Times New Roman. The morphemic, phrasal, and clausal structures of reconstructed sentences (e.g. in §8.6) are given in Cambria Math. The symbols ✘ and ☆ are given in Arial Unicode MS. The Mongolian text of the dedication is in Menksoft Hawang.

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General Abbreviations and Symbols

AKog	Archaic Koguryo (Archaic Koguryŏ)[1]
ATR	advanced tongue root vowel harmony
ATrk	Archaic Turkic (ca. 4th c. A.D.)
C	consonant
c.	century
ca.	circa
CChi	Chin Chinese (i.e. Old Mandarin as spoken in the Chin Jurchen Empire)
Ch.	Chinese
chap.	chapter
Chuv.	Chuvash
CJK	Common Japanese-Koguryoic (Common Japanese-Koguryŏic)[2]
CSer	Common Serbi
CSM	Common Serbi-Mongolic
Dem	demonstrative
EMC	Early Middle Chinese (ca. 4th to 6th c.)
EMK	Early Middle Korean (ca. 918-1392)
EMMgl	Early Middle Mongol
EOM	Early Old Mandarin (ca. 10th -12th c.)
Ewk	Ewenki
G	genitive
H	high pitch
IDP	International Dunhuang Project <idp.bl.uk>
IE	Indo-European
intr.	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
JK	Japanese-Koguryoic (Japanese-Koguryŏic)
JM	Jurchen-Manchu
Jur.	Jurchen
KAS	Kitan Assembled Script (often assumed to be the 'Small Script')[3]
KDKE	Khentii-Dornod Khamnigan Ewenki (Rinchen 1969)

[1] Beckwith (2007a).

[2] Beckwith (2007a).

[3] See Kara (2005) for discussion.

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KLS	Kitan Linear Script (often assumed to be the 'Large Script')[4]
KPEMC	Korean Peninsular Early Middle Chinese (Beckwith 2007a)
L	low pitch
LC	Liao Chinese (i.e. Early Old Mandarin as spoken in the Kitan Empire)
LJur	Late Jurchen (ca. 1550)[5]
LKit.	Late Kitan (ca. 13th c.)
LMC	Late Middle Chinese (Sui-T'ang, ca. 7th to 9th c.)
LMK	Late Middle Korean (ca. 1445 - ca. 16th c.)
LMMgl	Late Middle Mongol
LOC	Late Old Chinese (Ch'in-Han, ca. 221 B.C. – 220 A.D.)
LOM	Late Old Mandarin (ca. 13th to late 14th c.)
LOM.Ph	Late Old Mandarin in 'Phagspa script
Ma.	Manchu
MChi.	Middle Chinese (ca. 4th -9th c.)
MCR	McCune-Reischauer romanization
MJur	Middle Jurchen (ca. 1450)[6]
MKit.	Middle Kitan (ca. 10th -12th c.)
MMgl	Middle Mongol (ca. 13th – 15th c.)
MN	Möllendorff-Norman Romanization of Manchu
MOC	Middle Old Chinese (Beckwith 2007a)
morph.	morpheme, morphological
ms.	manuscript
MSC	Modern Standard Chinese
MSer	Middle Serbi (ca. mid-3rd c. A.D. to ca. 9th c. A.D.)
MSJ	Modern Standard Japanese
MSK	Modern Standard Korean
MTrk	Middle Turkic (ca. 11th – 14th c. A.D.)
n	numeral
n.	footnote (in bibliographical references)
N	noun
Nan.	Nanai

[4] See Kara (2005) for discussion.

[5] See Kane (2006) for the periodization of Jurchen. The primary source of data on Late Jurchen is the *Nü-chen-kuan i-yü* 女真館夷語, studied by Kane (1989).

[6] Kane (2006).

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NLOC	Northeastern Late Old Chinese
NP	noun phrase
NTung	Northern Tungusic[7]
NWei	Northern Wei Chinese
O	object
OChi.	Old Chinese (unperiodized)
OJpn	Old Japanese (ca. 8th c. A.D.)
OJur	Old Jurchen (ca. 1115-1234)[8]
OKit.	Old Kitan (pre-10th c.)
OKog.	Old Koguryo (Old Koguryŏ)[9]
OM	Old Mandarin
OTDO	Old Tibetan Documents Online <http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/>.
OTib.	Old Tibetan
OTrk	Old Turkic (ca. 8th – 10th c. A.D.)
OUyg	Old Uygur
P	phrase
p.c.	personal communication
Pcl	Preclassical Written Mongol
phon.	phonological
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PJpn	Proto-Japanese
PMgl	Proto-Mongolic
Possm	possessum
Possr	possessor
Post	postposition
Pred	predicate
PSer	Proto-Serbi
PSM	Proto-Serbi-Mongolic

[7] I follow Georg's classification of Northern Tungusic as comprised of Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Solon, Orochen, Udihe, and Oroch (Georg 2004b: 55).

[8] Kane (2006). Old Jurchen is the spoken language underlying the Jurchen Script. The only solid phonological data on Old Jurchen comes from Chinese transcriptions in the *Chin Shih* 金史, although there are some clues on spoken Old Jurchen in the Jurchen Script and from internal reconstruction applied to attested Late Jurchen and Manchu.

[9] Beckwith (2007a).

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PTrk	Proto-Turkic
PTung	Proto-Tungusic
q.v.	*quod vide* (which see)
R:	'revised to …'
reconst.	reconstruction
Rel	relative clause
S	subject
Sent	sentence
SH	Solar Hijri date
SM	Serbi-Mongolic
STung	Southern Tungusic[10]
Tagh	Taghbach[11]
TMA	tense, mood, and aspect
trans.	transitive
transcr.	transcription
Tung.	Tungusic
V	vowel / verb
WMgl	Written Mongol (unperiodized)
YR	Yale romanization
‹ ›	transliteration or transcription of an orthographic form
[ ]	phonetic transcription, including those in Chinese and other foreign scripts
σ	syllable
$_{\sigma}$[…	denotes a syllable-initial segment (onset)
…]$_{\sigma}$	denotes a syllable-final segment (coda)
/ /	phonemic transcription
*	reconstruction from mainstream historical-comparative linguistic methods
☆	reconstruction from traditional Chinese *fan-ch'ieh* spellings or rhymes[12]
✘	incorrect or untenable reconstruction[13]

[10] I follow Georg's classification of Southern Tungusic as comprising Manchu, Nanai, Ulcha, and Uilta (Georg 2004b: 55).

[11] Also known in English as Tabghatch ~ Tabgatch ~ T'o-pa (Tuoba). The form *tabγač* 𐱅𐰚𐰃𐰴 ‹t$_1$b$_1$γč› 'China' (specifically denoting T'ang China) is a metathesized innovation in Old Turkic satisfying phonotactic constraints in that language (Shimunek 2007: 14).

[12] Following Beckwith (2007a, 2009, etc.)

[13] Following Campbell (1999).

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▒	problematic or illegible grapheme in a text
■	orthographic segment whose phonological value is not currently decipherable
…	in phonological reconstructions, a segment or morpheme that is not reconstructible due to the fact that the grapheme or graphemes representing it have not been fully deciphered yet
<	language-internal change
>	language-internal change
→	(same as below)
←	loanword or borrowing between languages (directionality known)
↔	loanword or borrowing between languages (directionality unknown)
/	separates two or more equally plausible forms (in reconstructions)
~	variation between two or more forms (free or conditioned variation)
( )	indicates an uncertain or problematic segment (in reconstructions)
♂	masculine gender
♀	feminine gender
ↄ	unmarked (unspecified) for gender
?	uncertain or problematic reading of a grapheme
≈	approximation (e.g. approximations of foreign phonological segments)
↑	pulmonic ingressive
ʰC	preaspirated consonant
V̥	full devoicing
V̀	low pitch/tone
V́	high pitch/tone
V̌	rising pitch/tone
V̄	long vowel (e.g. in philological transcriptions of Late Middle Mongol)

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General Sigla

AHD	Watkins, Calvert. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Second edition. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Ben.	Benedict, Paul K. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge, 1972.
Cob.	Coblin, W. South. *A Handbook of 'Phagspa Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
Cs.1952	Csongor, B. Chinese in the Uighur script of the T'ang period. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1952, 2: 73-121.
Cs.1954	Csongor, B. Some more Chinese glossed in Uighur script. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1954, 4: 251-257.
DTS	Наделяев, В. М., Д. М. Насилов, Е. Р. Тенишев, А. М. Щербак. *Древнетюркский словарь*. Ленинград: Наука, 1969.
EDT	Clauson, Sir Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972.
GOrkT	*Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Tekin 1968)
HM	*Historia Mongalorum*, 13th c. (Carpini 1989).
JT_{RM}	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh*. early 14th c. (ed., Muḥammad Rawshan & Muṣṭafá Mūsavī, 4 vols. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, 1373 SH [1994]).
JT_{Th}	Rashīdu'd-dīn Faḍlul'lāh. *Jāmi'u't-tawārīkh*. early 14th c. (trans. Thackston 2012).
Kow.	Kowalewski (1964, originally published 1844-1849)
KYS	*Kyerim Yusa* 鷄林類事 (Sasse 1976)
Mat.	Mathews, R. H. *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
NT	Chin Ch'i-tsung. *Nü-chen-wen tzu-tien* 女真文字典. 1984.
PED	Davids & Stede. *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. London: The Pali Text Society, 1921-1925.
Pok.	Pokorny, Julius. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1959.
Pul.	Edwin G. Pulleyblank. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991.
Roz.	Rozycki, William. *Mongol Elements in Manchu*. 1994.
Sch.	Schuessler, Axel. *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*. 3 vols. Honolulu. 1987.

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Sta.	Sergei A. Starostin. *Реконструкция древнекитайской фонологической системы*. Moscow: Nauka, 1989.
Tak.	Takata Tokio. 敦煌資料による中国語史の研究. (*A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials*). Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988.
Tak.LS	Takata Tokio. チベット文字書寫「長巻」の研究(本文編), 1993.
T&C	Tumurtogoo, D. & Cecegdari, G. *Mongolian Monuments in Uighur-Mongolian Script*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2006.

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Sigla for Chinese Primary Sources

ALSSC$_R$	*An Lu-shan Shih Chi* 安祿山事迹, edited by Robert des Rotours as *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan (Ngan Lou-chan Che Tsi)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
Chin Shih	T'o-t'o [Toqto'a]. *Chin Shih* 金史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
Chin Shu	Fang Hsüan-ling. *Chin Shu* 晉書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
Chou Shu	Ling-hu Te-fen. *Chou Shu* 周書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971.
CTKC	Yeh Lung-li. *Ch'i-tan kuo chih* 契丹國志. Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1985.
CPYPL	*Ch'ung-pien Yen Pei Lu* 重編燕北錄 (*SF*$_{1927}$, *SF*$_{1986}$ 38: 16a-19a)
CTS	Liu Hsü. *Chiu T'ang Shu* 舊唐書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
CTW	Tung Kao. *Ch'üan T'ang Wen* 全唐文. Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1990.
HHS	Fan Yeh. *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965.
HS	Pan Ku. *Han Shu* 漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1964.
HTS	Ou-yang Hsiu. *Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975.
HTT	Lan Yen et al. *Han-yü Ta Tzu-tien* 汉语大字典. Hu-pei, 1988.
Liang Shu	Yao Ssu-lien. *Liang Shu* 梁書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973.
LS	T'o-t'o [Toqto'a]. *Liao Shih* 遼史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
MTPL$_{1986}$	*Meng Ta Pei Lu* 蒙韃備錄. In: *Shuo Fu* 說郛 (*SF*$_{1986}$ 54: 15b-22b).
NCS	Hsiao Tzu-hsien. *Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書. Peking, 1972.
NS	Li Yen-shou. *Nan Shih* 南史. Peking, 1975.
PS	Li Yen-shou. *Pei Shih* 北史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
SC	Ssu-ma Ch'ien. *Shih Chi* 史記. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963.
SCI	*Serbi Cave Inscription* = *Hsien-pei Shih-shih* 鮮卑石室 inscription of 443 A.D., found in Ka-hsien Cave (嘎仙洞) in Orochen Banner, Inner Mongolia (Mi 1981; Liu 1989).
SF$_{1927}$	T'ao Tsung-i. *Shuo Fu* 說郛. Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1927.
SF$_{1986}$	T'ao Tsung-i. *Shuo Fu* 說郛. Peking: Hsin-hua shu-tien, 1986.
SKC	Ch'en Shou. *San Kuo Chih* 三國志. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971.
Sui Shu	Wei Cheng. *Sui Shu* 隋書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973.
Sung Shih	T'o-t'o (Toqto'a). *Sung Shih* 宋史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977.
Sung Shu	Liang Shen-yüeh. *Sung Shu* 宋書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
SWCT	Hsü Shen. *Shuo wen chieh tzu* 說文解字. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 2002.
TCH	Chang Chiu-ling. *T'ang ch'eng-hsiang ch'ü-chiang Chang hsien-sheng wen-chi* 唐丞相洰江張先生文集, 1922.

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TCTC	Ssu-ma Kuang. *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* 資治通鑑. Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1956.
T'ung-tien	Tu Yu. *T'ung-tien* 通典. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1984.
WCTY	Tseng Kung-liang. *Wu Ching Tsung Yao* 武經總要. Peking: Pei-ching Ai ju sheng shu-tzu hua chi-shu yen-chiu chung-hsin, 2009.
WS	Wei Shou. *Wei Shu* 魏書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974.
YPTC	*Yen Pei Tsa Chi* 燕北雜記 (*SF*$_{1927}$, *SF*$_{1986}$ 4: 9a-9b).
YS	Sung Lien 宋濂. *Yüan Shih* 元史. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976.

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Sigla for Old Tibetan Texts

Abbr.	Full name of text	Source
AAP	*Annals of the 'Azha Principality* (ITJ 1368)	IDP; OTDO; Uray 1978
OTA$_1$	*Old Tibetan Annals*, I (PT 1288 and ITJ 750)	Dotson & Hazod 2009; OTDO
OTA$_2$	*Old Tibetan Annals*, II (Or. 8212 (187))	Dotson & Hazod 2009; OTDO
PT 1283	*The 'Bacot Document'*	IDP; OTDO; Bacot 1956; Clauson 1957; Venturi 2008
Zhol	*Zhol Inscription*	OTDO; Iwao et al. 2009

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Kitan Assembled Script Sigla

For a complete list of Kitan Assembled Script texts as of 2010, and for the dates of these inscriptions, see Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010: 25-29, 32). Below I have only listed texts which are cited in this book. Publications containing photographic reproductions of the original texts which I consulted in writing this book are given in the 'Source' column. Following Oyuunch (2012), I use '.C' after the text abbreviation to indicate text from the canopy (in Chinese, *kai* 蓋) of the inscription, e.g. *HsHui* denotes the main text of the *Hsiao Hui-lien* inscription and *HsHui.C* denotes text from the canopy of this inscription.

Abbrev.	Date	Full name of text	Source
Chen	1170	*Chin-tai Chen-kuo shang-chiang-chün mu-chih-ming* 金代鎮國上將軍墓誌銘	Chu Chih-min 1995, Liu P'u-chiang 1999
Chiao	1053	*Yeh-lü Tsung-chiao mu-chih-ming* 耶律宗教墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
Chung	1150	*Hsiao Chung-kung mu-chih* 蕭仲恭墓誌	Chinggeltei 2002; Kara 1975
Hai	Ø	*Hai-t'ang-shan mu-chih ts'an-shih* 海棠山墓誌殘石	Chinggeltei 2002
HsHu	1091	*Hsiao Hu-tu-chin mu-chih-ming* 蕭胡睹堇墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
HsHui	1080	*Hsiao Hui-lien mu-chih-ming* 蕭回璉墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
Hsing	1055	*Hsing-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e* 興宗皇帝哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
HsTi	1114	*Hsiao Ti-lu fu-shih mu-chih* 蕭敵魯副使墓誌	Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010
Hsü	1105	*Hsü-wang mu-chih* 許王墓誌	Chinggeltei 2002
Hsüan	1101	*Hsüan-i huang-hou ai-ts'e* 宣懿皇后哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
Hti	1101	*Han Ti-lieh mu-chih-ming* 韓敵烈墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 14
Jen-hsien	1072	*Yeh-lü Jen-hsien mu-chih-ming* 耶律仁先墓	Chinggeltei 2002

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Jen-i	1076	*Jen-i huang-hou ai-ts'e* 仁懿皇后哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
Kao	Ø	*Yeh-lü (Han) Kao-shih mu-chih-ming* 耶律(韓)高十墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 18
Ku	1115	*Ku Yeh-lü shih ming-shih* 故耶律氏銘石	Chinggeltei 2002
Kuei	1102	*Yeh-lü Kuei-an Ti-li-ku mu-chih-ming* 耶律貴安迪里姑墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009: 37
Lang	1134	*Ta Chin huang-ti tu-t'ung ching-lüeh lang-chün hsing-chi* 大金皇弟都統經略郎君行記 'The Lang-chün Inscription'	Chinggeltei 2002
Sung	1110	*Sung Wei kuo fei mu-chih-ming* 宋魏國妃墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
T'ai	1110	*Huang t'ai shu-tsu ai-ts'e* 皇太叔祖哀冊	Chinggel & Liu 2003
Tao	1101	*Tao-tsung huang-ti ai-ts'e* 道宗皇帝哀冊	Chinggeltei 2002
YChüeh	1071	*Yeh-lü Chüeh mu-chih-ming* 耶律玦墓誌銘	Oyuunch 2012
YFu	1102	*Yeh-lü Fu-pu-shu mu-chih-ming* 耶律副部署墓誌銘	Gai et al. 2008
YHsiang	1091	*Yeh-lü Hsiang-wen mu-chih* 耶律詳稳墓誌	Oyuunch & Janhunen 2010
YP'u	1105	*Yeh-lü P'u-su-li mu-chih pei-ming* 耶律蒲速里墓誌碑銘	Oyuunch 2012
YTi	1092	*Yeh-lü Ti-lieh mu-chih-ming* 耶律迪烈墓誌銘	Chinggeltei 2002: 80
Yung	1100	*Yeh-lü Hung-yung mu-chih-ming* 耶律弘用墓誌銘	Liu et al. 2009
Yü$_1$	Ø	Undated fish tally	Chinggeltei 2002: 89

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Sigla for Mongol Texts

Middle Mongol forms in this book are cited from four kinds of texts: 1) Middle Mongol texts in Preclassical Written Mongol orthography, i.e. texts dating from the Middle Mongol period (13th c. to 15th c. A.D.) in Preclassical Written Mongol, but excluding later, post-15th c. texts in 'Preclassical' *orthography*;[14] 2) Middle Mongol texts in Old Mandarin transcription; 3) Middle Mongol texts in Arabic and Persian transcription (these texts largely represent western dialects of late Middle Mongol); and 4) Middle Mongol texts in 'Phagspa Script (also known as 'Square Script').

I also discuss one word from a Classical Written Mongol text.

Middle Mongol Texts in Preclassical Written Mongol Orthography

Abbr.	**Full name of text**	**Date**	**Source**
Yis.	*Stele of Yisüngge ('The Stone of Chinggis')*	1224/1225	Kara 2005; T&C 2006
Tör.	*Edict of Töregene*	1240	T&C 2006
Güy.	*Seal Letter of Güyük Khan*	1246	Ligeti 1970b
Mön. I	*Edict I of Möngke Khan*	1254	T&C 2006
Mön. II	*Edict II of Möngke Khan*	1257	T&C 2006
Qub. I	*Edict I of Qubilai Khan*	1261	T&C 2006
Abaγa II	*Letter II of Il-khan Abaγa*	1267	T&C 2006
Qub. II	*Edict II of Qubilai Khan*	1268	T&C 2006
BcaT	*Choskyi 'Odzer's Commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra*	1312	T&C 2006
Chang.	*Inscription in Memory of Chang Ying-jui*	1335	T&C 2006
J̌ig.	*Inscription in Memory of J̌igüntei*	1338	T&C 2006
Aruγ	*Inscription of Aruγ, Prince of Yün-nan*	1340	T&C 2006
Qqor I	*Inscription I from Qara Qorum*	1346	T&C 2006
J̌un.	*Inscription from Chung-wei*	1348	T&C 2006
Hin.	*Inscription in Memory of Prince Hindu*	1362	T&C 2006

[14] Texts written after the 15th century correspond chronologically with spoken Early Modern Mongolian. See Shimunek (2014b) for a study of Early Modern Mongolian in Chinese transcription.

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Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
ES	*Erdeni-yin sang Subašida* (Sonom Gara's translation of *Saskya Legsbshad*)	late 13th or early 14th c.	Kara 2009
Bur.	*Twelve Deeds of the Buddha* (Shesrab Sengge's translation of *Lalitavistara*)	17th c. ms., from an early 14th c. original	T&C 2006; Poppe 1967

Middle Mongol Texts in Late Old Mandarin Transcription

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
SHM	*Mongqol-un niuča to[b]ča'an / Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 *(Secret History of the Mongols)*	13th c.	Kuribayashi 2009; Ozawa 1984, 1985, 1986; de Rachewiltz 2006; Cleaves 1982; Street 2013
HIIY	*Hua-I i-yü* 華夷譯語	1389	Kuribayashi 2003
CYIY	*Chih Yüan i-yü* 至元譯語	1325/1326	Ligeti & Kara 1990; Kara 1990

Middle Mongol Texts in 'Phagspa Script ('Square Script')

Abbr.	Poppe #	Full name of text	Date	Source
Mang.	I	Edict of Mangala	1276	Poppe 1957
$BuyK_1$	II	Edict of Buyantu Khan (1)	1314	Poppe 1957
$BuyK_2$	III	Edict of Buyantu Khan (2)	1314	Poppe 1957
Dagi	IV	Edict of Empress Dowager Dagi ('Edict of Dharmapala's Widow')	1321	Poppe 1957
Mann.	XI	'The Mannerheim Fragment'	Ø	Poppe 1957
CYK_1	XII	'The Lesser Chü-yung-kuan Inscription'	1345	Poppe 1957
CYK_2	XIII	'The Great Chü-yung-kuan Inscription'	1345	Poppe 1957

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Middle Mongol Texts in Arabic and Persian Transcription

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
Leid.	*Kitâb Majmû' Turjumân Turkî wa-'ajamî wa-Muğalî* ('The Leiden Manuscript')	1343	Saitô 2006; Poppe 1927a, 1927b, 1928
MAA	*Muqaddimat al-Adab*	14th c.	JSPS 2008; Poppe 1938
IM	*Ibn Muhannâ*	14th c.	Poppe 1938
Yem.	'The Yemen Tetraglot' (Arabic-Persian-Turk-Mongol)	14th c.	Ligeti & Kara 2012
Ist.	'The Istanbul Vocabulary' (Arabic-Persian-Turk-Mongol)	Ø	Saitô 2013

Classical Written Mongol Texts

Abbr.	Full name of text	Date	Source
Geser	*Mongolian Geser Epic* (Peking xylograph)	1716	Sechinmönkh 2002

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Apparatus Criticus

add.	added
ante	before
l.	line (in text)
om.	omitted
p.	page
post	after
pro	for

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Transcription and Transliteration Conventions

General Conventions

In philological transcriptions, transliterations, and phonological reconstructions, "y" is used to denote a palatal glide or palatal approximant. In phonetic transcriptions in brackets (including reconstructed phonetic surface forms), IPA [j] is used to distinguish this segment from front-rounded IPA [y] (i.e. *ü* in philological transcription). IPA transcriptions appear in brackets [ ]. IPA gamma (ɣ) is used for the transcription of voiced dorsal fricatives. Greek gamma (γ) is used in philological transcriptions and transliterations of Written Mongol. My usage of the IPA gamma [ɣ] in reconstructed forms differs from the Mongolic philological usage of Greek gamma ‹γ› to render the grapheme ᠶ (← Old Uygur ← Sogdian ‹γ› ← Aramaic *ḥēth* and *gāmal*) and its allographs in romanized transliterations and transcriptions of Classical Mongol and Middle Mongol. IPA gamma [ɣ] here is used to indicate a phonemic voiced fricative (with velar and uvular allophones) which in most instances lenited to a glide or was lost in Middle Mongol, but which is preserved in pre-Proto-Mongolic loanwords in Tungusic and other neighboring languages.[15] Capital letters in phonological reconstructions indicate archiphonemes.

Mongol

Written Mongol and Middle Mongol data in this book are transcribed following the Vladimirtsov-Mostaert system (cf. Vladimirtsov 1929 and Mostaert 1944). This is the standard transcription system for Written Mongol (and for Middle Mongol, with slight modification) in the field of Mongolic philology.

[15] See Appendix D for examples.

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The received view is that *ö* and *ü* were front rounded vowels in Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic. However, the only modern Mongolic languages with primary front rounded vowels, i.e. those that are not the result of umlaut and other secondary sound change processes, are Oirat and Shira Yoghor, two languages which are spoken in areas with a heavy Turkic presence. More likely, the front rounded vowels of Oirat and Shira Yoghor are not inherited from Proto-Mongolic, but instead represent contact-induced vowel shifts. The Turkic languages neighboring Shira Yoghor and Oirat all have primary rounded front vowels, as did Old Turkic and Proto-Turkic. The comparative evidence on other varieties of Middle Mongol, as well as all other modern Mongolic languages, suggests that the central dialects of Middle Mongol, as well as Proto-Mongolic, instead had a vowel inventory similar to Modern Mongolian.[16] For this reason, I assume the following phonetic values for the traditional Mongolistic philological transcriptions of the Middle Mongol and Written Mongol rounded vowels: *o* *[ɔ], *ö* *[o ~ ɵ], *u* *[ʊ], *ü* *[u]. For transcription purposes, however, I retain the traditional philological romanization system, with the caveat that it probably did not accurately represent the phonology of Middle Mongol or Proto-Mongolic, at least not in the common interpretation of the umlauted *ö* as IPA front rounded [ø ~ œ] and umlauted *ü* as IPA [y ~ ʏ].[17]

Transliterations of Written Mongol follow Vladimirtsov's system (1929: 69),[18] which is likewise the standard transliteration system for Mongolic philology.

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[16] Essentially the same system has been independently proposed by Seongyeon Ko (2011, 2013) for Old Mongol. Note also the free variation between *ü* ~ *u* in Middle Mongol in 'Phagspa Script.

[17] I thank Jonathan North Washington (Indiana University) for our stimulating and thought-provoking conversations on Turkic and Mongolic linguistics. These conversations in part fueled my thinking on the vowel systems of Middle Mongol and Proto-Mongolic.

[18] See Kara (1996b) for the transcription and transliteration of a passage from a Written Mongol text. Note also de Rachewiltz & Rybatzki (2010: fig. 12) for an English summary of Vladimirtsov's transliteration and transcription systems for Preclassical Mongol.

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Transcriptions of Middle Mongol in ‘Phagspa Script (‘Square Script’) largely follow Poppe (1957), with the exception of the grapheme 𗥓 (from Tibetan ཧྃ), which I reconstruct phonologically as *[ɦi]; see Hill (2009b). Reconstructions of ‘Phagspa Middle Mongol surface forms are my own.

Due to typographical restrictions, text in Written Mongol and ‘Phagspa Script in this book is written horizontally, rotated 90 degrees to the left.

Middle Chinese

Attested Late Middle Chinese forms in Old Tibetan, Old Uygur, and Khotanese Brahmi transcription are quoted from Csongor (1952, 1954, 1960, 1962), Takata (1988, 1993), and Coblin (1995) when possible. When relevant, I provide an IPA rendering of the phonological forms represented by these transcriptions.

Reconstructed Middle Chinese forms are presented in the philological transcription system, as exemplified in Beckwith (2007a). Following Beckwith (2007a), when citing wordforms and phonological segments originally transcribed in other transcription systems, e.g. the forms presented in Pulleyblank (1991), I have converted them to this uniform system. Note the following symbols (in italics), with Pulleyblank’s (1991) IPA equivalents: *ś* [ɕ], *ź* [ʑ], *tś* [tɕ], *tśʰ* [tɕʰ], *ü* [y], *y* [j], and *ñ* [ɲ]. Likewise, Pulleyblank’s “tr” and “dr” onsets are transcribed here as *ṭ* and *ḍ* although I retain Pulleyblank’s “nr” unless otherwise noted. I also remove the “ă” and “ə” when citing Middle Chinese data from Pulleyblank.

Not all Middle Chinese forms cited in this book are presented with their respective tones. Whenever I have chosen to include the tones of Middle Chinese wordforms, I follow the conventions of Beckwith (2007a: xx), with slight modifications. Thus, Middle Chinese “level tone” (Ch. *p’ing-sheng* 平聲) is indicated here with a subscript “$_1$”. “Rising tone” (Ch. *shang-sheng* 上聲), indicated by Pulleyblank (1991) with a superscript closing quotation mark (’) is indicated here with a subscript “$_2$”. “Falling tone” (Ch. *ch’ü-sheng* 去聲),

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indicated by Pulleyblank (1991) with a superscript "^{h}", is indicated with a subscript "$_{3}$". The traditional Middle Chinese "entering tone" (Ch. *ju-sheng* 入聲) is linguistically speaking not a tone, but a category including all syllables with non-nasal codas, i.e. the coda obstruents *-p*, *-r*, and *-k*.

Modern Mandarin

The Wade-Giles system is used for transcribing Modern Mandarin forms, but the Pinyin system is used for transcribing word forms used as linguistic data. Tones are given only if they are relevant to the analysis. The bibliography employs Wade-Giles, which is also used for the transcription of names and sources in the main text. When Chinese characters are given in bibliographic entries, they appear as in the original source: If the original work was written in Simplified Characters (简体字), it is given in Simplified Characters; if the original is in Traditional Characters (繁體字), this is retained as such.

Kitan

There is no standard transcription system for Kitan. The Kitan transcription conventions used in this book roughly follow Kara (1996a, 2005), and Kane (2006, 2009), with some modifications and synthesis, as will be obvious to the informed reader. See Appendix A for my readings of Kitan Assembled Script graphemes appearing in this book. Due to typographical restrictions, text in Kitan is reproduced in a horizontal line, following Kane (2009) and Oyuunch & Janhunen (2010).

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Turkic

Runiform Old Turkic forms are transliterated following the system employed by Annamarie von Gabain in her *Alttürkische Grammatik* (1974), with slight modification: Those consonant graphemes not specified for vowel harmony (e.g. 𐰉 ‹p›, 𐰾 ‹m›, 𐰋 ‹ŋ›, 𐰚 ‹č› etc.) are not indicated with a superscript "^{0}" as von Gabain represented them, but instead are left unmarked. The numbers "1", indicating consonants specified for back vowel environments, and "2", indicating consonants specified for front vowel environments, are superscripted by von Gabain, but are subscripted in my transliteration, in order to avoid confusion with footnotes. Thus, Old Turkic *tabʁač* 𐰚𐰀𐰆𐰃 'China' is transliterated ‹t^{1}b^{1}g^{1}č^{0}› by von Gabain but as ‹t$_{1}$b$_{1}$g$_{1}$č› by me.

In Old Turkic and Middle Turkic linguistic data, the back-vowel harmonic dorsal consonant traditionally transcribed γ (Greek gamma) is transcribed by me with the IPA uvular [ʁ].

In reconstructions of Proto-Turkic, the grapheme ‹ř› denotes the phoneme which split into /z/ in 'Oguz' dialects and /r/ in 'Ogur' dialects. The precise phonological value of this phoneme in Proto-Turkic is difficult to determine, but as a productive hypothesis, it could have been a voiced retroflex fricative /z̧/, a voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʑ/, or a trilled raised rhotic as in the Czech value of this grapheme as /r̝/. I use the grapheme ‹ð› to denote the Proto-Turkic phoneme which corresponds to /y/ in attested Old Turkic and /d/ in certain early Serbi-Mongolic–Turkic borrowings. The precise value of this phoneme is also uncertain; most likely it was a fricative [ð] or a palatalized [d^{j}].

Others

Manchu is romanized in the Mongolist system, as employed by György Kara (e.g. Kara 2005, 2009) and Lajos Ligeti (e.g. Ligeti 1986). This transcription system is phonologically and paleographically more accurate than the commonly used Möllendorff-Norman Romanization employed by

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Möllendorff (1892) and Norman (1978). Salient differences between this romanization system and the Möllendorff-Norman (MN) system include the following: *χ* for MN *h* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *χaχa* 'man, male' for MN *haha*), *x* for MN *h* in orthographic front-vowel words (e.g. *xexe* 'woman' for MN *hehe*), *γ* for MN *g* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *γala* 'hand, arm' for MN *gala*), *q* for MN *k* in orthographic back-vowel words (e.g. *abqa* 'heaven, sky' for MN *abka*), *ǰ* for MN *j* (e.g. *ǰembi* 'to eat' for MN *jembi*), *č* for MN *c* (e.g. *čai* 'tea' for MN *cai*), and *û* for MN *ū* (e.g. *χûlχa* 'thief' for MN *hūlha*).[19]

Korean data is transcribed in the McCune-Reischauer (MCR) system, unless otherwise noted, with the exception of ㄹ which I transcribe as *r* except when it is one of a compound of graphemes rendering the lateral geminate [lˑ] ~ [l̥ˑ] ~ [l̥l̥], e.g. 물 [mùl̥] ~ [ᵐbùl̥] 'water' is transcribed *mul* in standard MCR, but I render it *mur*.[20] Likewise, the earliest linguistically known Koreanic-speaking state, the Silla or Shilla kingdom, in Korean, 신라 [ɕʰílˑa], is transcribed by me as *Silla*.[21]

Late Middle Korean linguistic data is reconstructed phonologically, and/or transcribed in the Yale Romanization (YR) system, with the exception of ㄹ which I transcribe as *r* as above.

Japanese forms are given in the Hepburn romanization system.

Tibetan transcriptions largely follow the simplified romanization system employed by *Old Tibetan Documents Online*,[22] with several exceptions: The Old Tibetan digraph ཧྭ (Classical Tibetan ཝ) is transcribed ‹w›, the Old Tibetan diacritic ཱི is transcribed ‹ï›, syllable-final ཀ is transcribed as an acute

[19] Kara (2005) uses *ô* for MN *ū* as in *tangγô* (MN *tanggū*) 'hundred'. I prefer to use *û* for MN *ū* since this closely approximates *[ʊ], the reconstructible phonological value of this digraph in spoken imperial Manchu as demonstrated by Li Bing (1996).

[20] On pitch-accent in Modern Standard Korean, see Kim & Duanmu (2004).

[21] I use the term 'Koreanic' to refer to the language family to which Korean and its now extinct sister branches belong, sometimes also called the Han 韓 language family. See Kiyose & Beckwith (2006) for more on the past internal diversity of the Koreanic language family.

[22] http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/

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diacritic (´), e.g. the Old Tibetan place name རྩིད་སམད་ is transcribed Zrïdmdá. Following Beckwith (1987), words are transcribed without hyphens.[23]

Reconstructed Forms

Following accepted historical-comparative linguistic conventions, an asterisk (*) before a wordform indicates a form reconstructed by means of the comparative method and other mainstream historical linguistic methods.

Since there is a need to distinguish these linguistic reconstructions from certain reconstructions abounding in the dominant Sinological linguistic literature which are determined not via accepted historical-comparative linguistic methods but by other means, I follow Beckwith in using a superscript star (☆) to indicate wordforms reconstructed according to the Chinese *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 spellings and/or rhymes of the traditional Chinese philological tradition (Beckwith 2007a: xx; Beckwith 2009: xviii).

I also follow Campbell's usage of ✘ to indicate untenable reconstructions and "ungrammatical or non-occurring forms" (Campbell 1999).

Morpheme Glosses

When morpheme glosses are provided for wordforms, they follow the standardized abbreviations established by the Leipzig Glossing Rules for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses,[24] with several additions for abbreviations not included in their standard list. The following morpheme glosses are employed in this book:

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[23] Hyphens are traditionally used in Tibetological works to transcribe the syllable-delimiting marker *tsheg* (˙), but only when it occurs word-medially. As shown by Beckwith (1987), these hyphens are phonologically misleading and should be abandoned.

[24] http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf

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1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1H	firsthand
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AIC	acc.-instrumental-comitative
ATMP	abtemporal
ATTR	attributive
CAUS	causative
CNJC	conjunction
COLL	collective
COM	comitative-sociative
COMM	communal[25]
CP	causative-passive
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DISC	discourse deictic
DIST	distal
DL	dative-locative
DVN	deverbal noun
EMPH	emphatic
FIN	finite
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GNR	generic
HUM	human
INDF	indefinite
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
N-A	nominative-accusative
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative
NUM	numeral
NZR	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OCCUP	occupational suffix
PASS	passive
PERS.N	personal name
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
P.N	proper noun
POSS	possessive
PREP	preparative
PRF	perfect
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximal
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
SBJ	subject
SBRD	subordinate
SG	singular
T	*tu* form (“thou”)
V	*vous* form (“ye”)
VN	verbal noun

[25] See Shimunek (forthcoming, b).

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CHAPTER ONE:
PREVIOUS THEORIES ON THE ORIGINS OF THE MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

Western theories on the origins of the Mongolic languages date back nearly three centuries to the precursors of the 'Altaic' theories (i.e. the 'Tartar', 'Scythian', and 'Turanian' theories).[1] Since the 'Altaic' divergence and convergence theories have been thoroughly disproven on scientific grounds,[2] I will not discuss them in detail in this book.

Outside the sphere of 'Altaic' divergence and convergence theories, a number of hypotheses have been put forth on the immediate origins of the Mongolic languages. The majority of these theories are methodologically flawed, with the notable exception of the 'Ancient Mongol' Theory and the

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[1] For a history of the 'Altaic' theories, see de Rachewiltz & Rybatzki (2010: 348-355).

[2] For important studies disproving the various 'Altaic' theories, see Clauson (1956), Beckwith (2007a), Georg (2004a), Vovin (2005, 2009), and others. Probably the earliest critic was Abel-Rémusat, writing in the early 19th century, who seriously questioned the hypothesis which would later become known as the 'Altaic' theory:

> "…La ressemblance de quelques expressions Turkes, Mongoles et Mandchoues entre elles, ne doit pas faire penser qu'il existe entre les trois langues une analogie essentielle et fondamentale. Il est au contraire facile de se convaincre qu'à l'exception d'un très-petit nombre de mots communs, et d'une légère conformité dans quelques règles grammaticales, il y a entre elles plus de différences qu'il n'y en a entre le russe, l'italien et l'allemand, et qu'ainsi, loin d'être des dialectes d'une même langue, elles sont au fond des idioms tout-à-fait distincts" (Abel-Rémusat 1820: 138).

According to Abel-Rémusat, the similarities between the Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic languages are not comparable to the differences between Indo-European languages like Russian, Italian, and German—'dialects' (i.e. daughter languages) of Proto-Indo-European. Instead, these languages are so vastly different from each other that they should be considered distinct, unrelated languages in their own right.

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'Para-Mongolic' Theory. As will be demonstrated, a careful historical-comparative linguistic and philological study of the Serbi languages is necessary to elucidate the origins of the Mongolic languages. We must follow the scientific methods established for the historical-comparative study of languages, as done for Indo-European, Uralic, Semitic, Japanese-Koguryoic, and other language families, before a scientific understanding of the origins of the Mongolic and Serbi languages can be reached.

The Indo-European–Mongolic Hypothesis

After the various 'Altaic' theories, another early proposal on the ethnolinguistic origins of the Mongols is what may be termed the 'Indo-European–Mongolic Hypothesis', proposed by Edkins (1871), who states that "The special interest of the Mongolian type consists in the fact that it comes nearest of all the three Turanian branches to the Indo-European" (1871: 205). Edkins proposed what he believed to be "many remarkable resemblances in words between the Tartar languages and the Greek and Latin", including the following, which I have arranged in table format for easy comparison:[3]

[3] Edkins (1871: 208-209, 211). Note that Edkins' 'Tartar' and 'Turanian' are synonyms denoting what was later traditionally termed 'Altaic', i.e. Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic, although the data he presents here is Mongolic.

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Table 1. Mongol-Greek-Latin "resemblances" according to Edkins (1871)

Written Mongol	Greek	Latin
nom 'sacred book' [sic]	νόμος (*nómos*) 'law'	
sara 'moon'	σελήνη (*seléne*) 'moon'	
dalai 'sea'	θάλασσα (*tʰálassa*) 'sea'	
γar 'hand, arm'	χείρ (*kʰeír*) 'hand, arm'	
nege- 'to open'	ἀνοίγω (*anoígo*) 'to open'	
či 'thou'	σύ (*sý*) 'you'	
ere 'male'	ἄῤῥην (*arrhen*) 'male'	*vir* 'man, male person'
kümün 'human'		*homo* 'man, human'
ta 'ye'		*tu* 'you'
ebür [!] 'horn'[4]		*ebur* 'ivory'

Although the majority of the comparanda proposed by Edkins are unwarranted for phonological or semantic reasons (i.e. 'open', 'hand', 'sea', 'horn', and 'moon'), several of his comparisons are reasonable when additional evidence is taken into consideration:

- Middle English *were* 'man' < Old English *wer* < Common Germanic (cf. Gothic *wair*, Old High German *wer*, Old Norse *verr*) : Latin *vir* : Old Irish *fer*, Welsh *gŵr* : Lithuanian *vyras* : Sanskrit *vīrá* 'man, hero'.[5] Proto-Indo-European *wi̯-ro- 'male, man' (*AHD* 101).[6] There may be some connection among this IE word, Old Turkic *är* 'man, men, people',[7] and Middle Mongol *ere* 'man, male'. Given the apparent western origins of the Türk people,[8] one cannot rule out the possibility of an IE

[4] Edkins quotes an erroneous Mongol form here. Attested Middle Mongol has *eber* [額別児] 'horn (角)' as distinct from *ebür* [額不児] 'south part of a mountain range (嶺南)'. The Middle Mongol forms I cite here are from *HIIY*.

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary* <www.oed.com> accessed September 5, 2012.

[6] See also Pok. 1177-1178 *u̯i̯ro-s 'Mann', i.e. *u̯i̯r-o-s.

[7] The word is attested in 8th c. Old Turkic (*GOrkT* 325).

[8] Beckwith (2011b).

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dialect reflex of this word for 'man, male'[9] as the origin of the attested Old Turkic and Mongolic words.[10]

- Middle Mongol *nom* 'law, dharma' and later 'book' (not merely "sacred book" as Edkins glossed it) is a well-known Indo-European element in Old Uygur and Mongolic, ultimately from Greek.[11]

In addition to connecting Written Mongol *či* "thou" and *ta* "ye" with Indo-European, quoting Greek *σύ (sý)* and Latin *tu*, Edkins also proposed a connection among the Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, and Indo-European first-person personal pronouns.[12] Based on this comparanda, he concluded that "It is probable… that at some distant epoch a strong Turanian influence was exerted specially upon the Greek and Latin sections of the Indo-European family…" (209). Beckwith (2006b, 2011a) has provided modern support for some of Edkins' personal pronoun etymologies, but within the context of interfamily convergence.

There clearly has been some degree of convergence and borrowing among Serbi-Mongolic, Turkic, Tungusic, Uralic, and Indo-European at various points in the past, but they are demonstrably separate language families that do not descend from a common proto-language.

[9] Note attested Scythian *wior [οιορ] 'man' (cf. Beckwith 2009: 70 n. 43).

[10] For a list of possible Indo-European–Turkic lexical correspondences, see Jonathan North Washington, <wiki.firespeaker.org/Similarities_to_Turkic>, accessed December 31, 2012.

[11] See discussion below in the section 'The Lexical Immunity Theory'.

[12] Edkins (1871: 211, 214-215).

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The Mongolic-Turkic Hypothesis

The French sinologist Paul Pelliot, on at least one occasion, implied a belief in a common Mongolic-Turkic protolanguage. This is evident in his treatment of *h-* in Mongolic, where he mentions "Common Mongol-Turk (*mongolo-turc commun*)".[13] Although he never formalized a theory, his proposal may be termed 'The Mongolic-Turkic Hypothesis'.

The efforts of many Altaicists over the past century or so have identified a small set of regular sound correspondences between Mongolic and Turkic. Some important, apparently early, regular sound correspondences between Old Turkic, Middle Turkic and Middle Mongol are identified below:[14]

Mgl *d* : Trk *y*
MMgl *düri* 'form, shape, complexion' (*HIIY*)[15] : OTrk, MTrk *yüz* 'face' (*GOrkT*)
MMgl *deresün* 'feather grass' (*SHM*) : MTrk *yiz* 'reed' (*DTS*)
MMgl *dayin* 'enemy, war' (*SHM*) : OTrk, MTrk *yaʁɨ* 'enemy' (*GOrkT, DTS*)
MMgl *dayir* 'brownish' (*SHM*) : OTrk *yaʁɨz* 'brown, reddish brown' (*GOrkT*)

Mgl *l* : Trk *s* ~ *š*
MMgl *taulai* ~ *ta'ulai* 'hare' (*SHM*) : OTrk *tabɨsʁan* (*GOrkT*) ~ MTrk *tabɨšʁan* 'id.' (*DTS*)[16]

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[13] Pelliot (1925: 262).

[14] The majority of these correspondences are summarized by Kara (2004), who does not argue for or against this relationship theory—Kara (2004) is a list of lexical correspondences that have been proposed in the literature over the years by scholars to support various 'Altaic' theories. See also Ligeti (1986). I have revised the comparanda to only include lexical correspondences with attested Middle Mongol, and have excluded correspondences with modern Written Mongol.

[15] Note also the later, modern Written Mongol variant *dürsün* 'form, figure'.

[16] Note also the correspondence of modern Written Mongol *gölüge* ~ *gölige* 'puppy' : Modern Turkish *köšek* 'young camel'. This word is written *köşek* in Turkish orthography. However, the Mongol form is not attested in Middle Mongol, and is possibly a modern innovation; therefore, I have excluded it from the comparanda above.

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Mgl *r* : Trk *z*
MMgl *ikir* ‘twins’ (*MAA*) : MTrk *ikkiz* ‘id.’ (*DTS*)
(cf. Chuvash *yĕkĕr*, Hungarian *iker*)[17]
MMgl *bora* ~ *boro* ‘gray’ (*MAA*, *SHM*) : OTrk, MTrk *boz* ‘id.’ (*GOrkT*, *DTS*)
MMgl *bura’u* ‘calf in second year’ (*SHM*) : MTrk *buzaʁu* ‘calf’ (*DTS*)
(cf. Chuvash *păru* and Hungarian *borjú*)[18]
MMgl *deresün* ‘feathergrass’ : MTrk *yiz* ‘reed’ (see above)
MMgl *düri* ‘form, shape, complexion’ : OTrk *yüz* ‘face’ (see above)

Mgl *-y-* : Trk *-g(-)*
MMgl *sayin* ‘good’ (*SHM*) : MTrk *saʁ* ‘id.’ (*DTS*)
MMgl *dayin* : OTrk, MTrk *yaʁɨ* (see above)
MMgl *dayir* : OTrk *yaʁɨz* (see above)

These words are sometimes taken as evidence of an early Turkic-Mongolic divergent relationship, but this is highly unlikely because these regular sound correspondences are limited to a very small set of vocabulary, we do not have regular sound correspondences for more than an extremely limited portion of the lexicon, and even more importantly, there is no system of regular correspondences in the functional morphologies of the languages.

Some of these words are more widespread Kulturwörter, e.g. ‘rabbit’ ~ ‘hare’, which has suitable comparanda in Old Chinese, Nivkh (Gilyak), Japanese-Koguryoic, Turkic, Serbi-Mongolic, and many other neighboring language families,[19] but the majority of these words are likely to be borrowings between early Turkic and Serbi-Mongolic languages (see Appendix D for examples), and the regular sound correspondences indicate nothing more than the fact that these words were borrowed as a set, at approximately the same time.

[17] See also Ligeti (1986: 311-312).

[18] See also Ligeti (1986: 68-69).

[19] As Christopher I. Beckwith notes, the Phoenicians acquired rabbits around 1,000 B.C. and words for ‘rabbit’ ~ ‘bunny’ spread around the world with the animal (p.c., April 14, 2011).

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