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Ragagnin, Elisabeth: *Dukhan, a Turkic Variety of Northern Mongolia*. Description and Analysis. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011. XIII, 290 S, 1 Kart. 8° = Turcologica 76. Brosch. € 78,00. ISBN 978-3-447-05907-7.

The book under review offers the first thorough grammatical description of Dukhan, a unique and highly endangered Sayan Turkic variety spoken in northern Mongolia.

Most of the Dukhans are engaged in reindeer breeding and follow a nomadic lifestyle in the forested taiga areas of the Tsagaan Nuur country in the Khovsgol province of Mongolia. The present description is exclusively based on materials collected by the author during intensive fieldwork sojourns.

Dukhan has previously not been investigated systematically from a linguistic aspect. The Tuvan researcher P. Seren¹ published a short survey in Tuvan on the Dukhan people and their language in 1993². Most of the published Dukhan lexical material is to be found in ethnographical and anthropological works, with reference to shamanism and traditional customs (for details, see pp. 17–21). The present monograph is the first descriptive and historical complete grammar of this language variety.

Besides the introduction (pp. 3–11) and two appendices, including 20 texts collected by the author (pp. 195–271) and a map (p. 273), the book consists of nine chapters: “The speakers of Dukhan” (pp. 13–21), “The Dukhan language” (pp. 23–32), “The sound system: phonemes and allophones” (pp. 33–53), “Phonotactics and morphology” (pp. 55–67), “Diachronic phonology” (pp. 69–88), “Word classes and derivation” (pp. 89–119), “In-

flectional morphology” (pp. 121–143), “Aspect, mood and tense” (pp. 145–161), “Other word classes” (pp. 163–194).

At the beginning of the book, the author provides information on the modern-day situation of Dukhan speakers and their ethnohistorical background. Dukhan is an endangered Turkic variety spoken by approximately 500 people in the Tsagaan-Nuur area of the Khövsgöl region in northern Mongolia. With regard to their lifestyle, the Dukhan people are divided into two main groups: around 32 families are reindeer-breeders living in the East (north-east of the Shishigt river) and West Taigas (west of the Shishigt river), whereas the remaining families live in the village of Tsagaan-Nuur and neighboring river areas, and follow the Mongolian style of cattle breeding. From an ethnohistorical point of view, the Dukhan people are linked with the Toju and Tere-Khöl Tuvans of eastern Tuva, and the Tofans and Soyots of Buryatia. The self-designation of the Dukhans is *tu^hha*, while the Mongolian people call them *cātan*, ‘those who have reindeer’.

Pages 31–32 provide information on the language status and use. Dukhan is an endangered variety; its speakers are bilingual in Dukhan and Darkhat Mongolian. It is an interesting fact that until the 1950s the Dukhans do not seem to have spoken Mongolian, whereas all speakers over 30 years of age are now bilingual; Dukhans below 15 years of age speak only Darkhat Mongolian, with a passive knowledge of Dukhan. Their parents prefer not to speak in their mother tongue, considering that a good knowledge of Mongolian is a necessary basis for a higher level of education.

The author gives a good overview of all the Sayan Turkic varieties, with references published to date, which is most valuable for Turkologists (pp. 23–31). Here, Ragagnin determines the linguistic position of Dukhan within the Turkic language family and presents distinctive features from the other varieties of the Sayan Turkic group from a historical linguistic perspective. Chapter 4 describes the phonemic system of Dukhan, while chapter 6 deals with phonemes from a diachronic phonological aspect regarding the reconstruction of the Proto-Turkic sound system.

Ragagnin and other scholars (pp. 23 and 28) classify Sayan Turkic into Steppe (standard Tuvan and its dialects, Altay-Sayan varieties in China and Mongolia, and Tuhan of East Khövsgöl) and Taiga (Dukhan, Tofan, the Toju variety of Tuvan and some varieties in the Tere-Khöl area, and Soyot of Buryatia) subgroups. The classification combines linguistic criteria with common features of the lifestyle. Typologically, Dukhan has a clear Turkic profile with specific Sayan Turkic features along with some own peculiarities.

1 Seren, P. (1993): Tsagaan-Nuur Tuvalarında. *Ulug Xem* 5–6. 148–157.

2 I may mention a further Mongolian scholar, L. Bold (1968: *Osobennosti ujuguro-urjanxajskogo jazyka*. [Aftoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učenoi stepeni kandidata filologičeskikh nauk, Akademija nauk MNR, Institut jazyka i literatury] Ulan-Bator; 1975: Uygur-urixay xelniy egšig avia. *Xel Zoxiol Sudlal* 11. 133–145; 1977a: Mongol xelnees uygur-urixanxay xelend orson ügiyn egšig aviani ontslog. *Xel Zoxiol Sudlal* 12. 95–105; 1977b: Uygur-urixanxay xelend orson mongol üg. *Olon ulsin mongolč erdemtniy III Ix Xural* 2. 25–31; 1982: Uygur-urixanxay xelniy xöömiişsen egšgiyn asuudal. *Xel Zoxiol Sudlal* 15. 54–61), who dealt with another Sayan Turkic variety – Tuhan (*Uygur-Uruxanxay* in Mongolian), which differs from Dukhan in many respects (for details, see Ragagnin 2009: A rediscovered lowland Tofan variety in northern Mongolia. *Turkic languages* 13. 225–245).

Here, I highlight some of the Dukhan phonetic features which are important for determining the position of Dukhan within the Turkic languages³:

- The presence of aspiration in final position of monosyllabic stems, e.g.

Dukhan *a^ht* ‘horse’ ~ Old Turkic *at* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *a^ct*) vs. Dukhan *at* ‘name’ ~ Old Turkic *āt* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *at*);

Dukhan *o^ht* ‘grass’ ~ Old Turkic *ot* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *o^ct*) vs. Dukhan *ot* ‘fire’ ~ Old Turkic *ōt* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *ot*).

Yellow Uyghur (Sarig Yugur) and Salar, two isolated Turkic languages of China, display a similar opposition (p. 29 and pp. 82–84).

- In some words, the original Turkic **a* was replaced by an *i* in Dukhan, as in other Sayan Turkic languages, Chuvash and Yakut (p. 71), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰi^ht-* ‘to lie’ ~ Old Turkic *yat-* (cf. Tofan *čat-*, Tuvan *čit-*, Yakut *sit-*);

Dukhan *hīrən* ‘stomach’ ~ Old Turkic *qarīn* ‘belly, abdomen’ (cf. Tofan *hīrīn*, Tuvan *xīrīn*, Yakut *xarīn*, Chuvash *xīram*);

Dukhan *tī^hp-* ‘to find’ ~ Old Turkic *tap-* (cf. Tofan *tu^cp-* ~ *tī^cp-*, Tuvan *tip-*, Yakut *tap-*);

- The intervocalic strong consonants are not voiced as in other Taiga varieties, which is not typical for the Steppe Sayan group (p. 29, 74–75), e.g.

Dukhan *a^htəm* ‘my horse’, cf. Tofan *a^ctīm*, Tuvan *a^cdīm* < Old Turkic *at* ‘horse’ + POSS1.SG;

Dukhan *bu^htək* ~ *mu^htək* ‘branch’, cf. Tofan *bu^ctuq*, Tuvan *bu^cduk* ~ Old Turkic *butīq*;

Dukhan *i^hsəy* ‘hot’, cf. Tofan *i^csiğ*, Tuvan *izig* ~ Old Turkic *isig*;

- As in Siberian Turkic languages, the sequence *VGV* developed into long vowels in Dukhan (p. 30 and 71), e.g.

Dukhan *ōl* ‘son’ ~ Old Turkic *oğul* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *ōl*);

Dukhan *ās* ‘mouth’ ~ Old Turkic *ağiz* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *ās*);

Dukhan *sōk* ‘cold’ ~ Old Turkic *soğuc* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *sōq*);

- As in Tofan and Toju Tuvan, there is a strong nasalization of long vowels (p. 30 and 72), which is an important isogloss of Taiga Sayan Turkic, e.g.

Dukhan *sōk* ‘bone’ ~ Old Turkic *siñük* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *sōk*);

Dukhan *mē* (< **mēyi*) ‘brain’ ~ Old Turkic *beñi* (cf. Tofan *mā*, Tuvan *mē*);

Dukhan *sīr* ‘sinew’ ~ Old Turkic *siñir* ‘muscle, sinew’ (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *sir*);

Dukhan *ǰīk* ‘light’ ~ Old Turkic *yenik*;

Dukhan *i^hxə* ‘two’ ~ Old Turkic *ekki* (cf. Tofan *i^chi*, Tuvan *iyi*);

Dukhan *i^hxə* ‘mother’ ~ Old Turkic *ākä* (cf. Tofan *i^che*, Tuvan *iyə*);

Some unique features, distinguishing Dukhan from the rest of Sayan Turkic, are listed below.

The Turkic original consonant *VsV* in intervocalic position is realized as a pre-aspirated alveolar fricative voiceless [h^s], but in less careful speech it can vary with the glottal fricative [h] with a slight glottal movement. The Siberian Turkic language Yakut displays a similar phenomenon (p. 44), e.g.

Dukhan *ahar* ~ *a^hsar* ‘hangs’ < *as-* ‘to hang’ -*Vr* (intra-terminal low-focal suffix) (~ Old Turkic *as-* ‘to hang, suspend’);

- Similarly, the intervocalic *VšV* may be realized as the glottal fricative [h], articulated with slight glottal tension. This phenomenon has correspondences in both Tofan and Yakut (p. 46), e.g.

Dukhan *ahar* ~ *ašar* ‘opens’ < *aš-* ‘to open’ + -*Vr* (intra-terminal low-focal suffix) (~ Old Turkic *ač-* ‘to open’);

- The Turkic original **y-* in the initial position changed to affricate *ǰ-* (p. 75) and the nasalized palatal glide *ǰ̃-* in the words with nasals, which is peculiar to Toju Tuvan, while in Tofan and Soyot we find *ñ-* and in Tuvan *č-* (p. 47 and 76), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰer* ‘place’ ~ Old Turkic *yēr* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *čer*);

Dukhan *ǰon-* ‘to whet’ ~ Old Turkic *yon-* (cf. Tofan *ñon-*, Tuvan *čon-*);

Dukhan *ǰan-* ‘to return home’ ~ Old Turkic *yan-* ‘to turn back’ (cf. Tofan *ñan-*, Tuvan *čan-*);

Dukhan *ǰōn* ‘pregnant’ ~ Old Turkic *yoğun* ‘thick’ (cf. Tuvan *čōn*, Tofan *ñōn*), etc.;

- In some cases, *ǰ̃-* can vary with the palatal nasal allophone [ɲ] (p. 47), e.g.

³ Also see: Ragagnin, E. (2006) The position of Dukhan among the Tuvan dialects. In: Erdal, M. & Nevskaya, I. (eds.) *Exploring the Eastern frontiers of Turkic*. [Turcologica 60] Wiesbaden. 153–156.; Ragagnin, E. (2010) Some observations on the fortis vs. lenis opposition of consonants in Sayan Turkic. In: Boeschoten, H. & Rentzsch, J. (eds.) *Die Turkologie in Mainz: Traditionen und Perspektive*. [Turcologica 82] Wiesbaden. 201–208.

Dukhan *ǰā* ~ *ǰā* ‘new’ ~ Old Turkic *yanǰi* (cf. Tofan *nā*, Tuvan *čā*);

- The nasalized palatal glide *-ǰ-* in intervocalic and final positions originates from the Turkic *-ǰ-* (p. 77), which represents an important isogloss with Yakut (p. 78), e.g.

Dukhan *tuǰay* ‘hoof’ ~ Old Turkic *tuǰaǰ* (cf. Tofan *tuǰuy*, Tuvan *duyug*, Yakut *tuǰak*);

Dukhan *mǰyak* ‘dung’ ~ Old Turkic *baǰnak* (cf. Tofan *mǰyak*, Tuvan *mǰyak*);

Dukhan *hoǰ* ‘sheep’ ~ Old Turkic *qoǰ* (cf. Tofan *hoǰ*, Tuvan *hoj*);

- The words with initial *y-* and aspirated *č-* are mostly Mongolic loanwords, which is a reliable criterion for determining loanwords in Dukhan (p. 47), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰilǰā* ‘difference’ ← Mongolic: Khalkha *yalǰā*, cf. LM *ilyay-a* < *ilya-* ‘to differ’;

Dukhan *yerǰl* ‘benediction’ ← Mongolic: Khalkha *yerǰl*, cf. LM *irǰgel* ~ *irǰger* < *irǰge-* ‘to wish for’;

Dukhan *čikǰr* ‘sugar’ ← Mongolic: Khalkha *čixer*, cf. LM *sikǰr* ← Turkic;

Dukhan *čolǰ* ‘stone’⁴ ← Mongolic: Khalkha *čulǰ*, cf. LM *čilayun* ← Turkic;

- The Turkic original consonant **VδV* in intervocalic position is unvoiced (pp. 29 and 74), as in Yakut, while in other Sayan Turkic varieties it is preserved, e.g.

Dukhan *atǰy* ‘bear’ ~ Old Turkic *adiǰ* (cf. Tuvan *adiǰ*);

Dukhan *sitǰk* ‘urine’ ~ Old Turkic *sidiǰk* (cf. Tuvan *sidiǰk*), etc.;

- The Turkic original consonant **VzV* in an intervocalic position is unvoiced (p. 75), while in other Sayan Turkic varieties it is preserved, e.g.

Dukhan *ǰisǰl* ‘red’ ~ Old Turkic *ǰizil* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *ǰizil*);

Dukhan *tusǰk* ‘snare’ ~ Old Turkic *tuzǰk* (cf. Tofan *tuzǰq*, Tuvan *duzǰk*), etc.;

- The Turkic initial *k-* and *q-* have the twofold representation *g-* and *h-* in Dukhan (p. 79–80 and 85), as no rule has been found for this distribution in other Sayan Turkic varieties, e.g.

Dukhan *ǰar* ‘snow’ ~ Old Turkic *qār* (cf. Tofan, Soyot *qar*, Tuvan *xar*);

Dukhan *ǰör-* ‘to see’ ~ Old Turkic *kör-* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *kör-*);

Dukhan *ǰara* ‘black’ ~ Old Turkic *qara* (cf. Tofan, Soyot, Tuvan *qara*);

Dukhan *hat* ‘berry’ ~ Old Turkic *qāt* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *qat*, Soyot *hat*);

Dukhan *höl* ‘lake’ ~ Old Turkic *köl* (cf. Tofan, Soyot *höl*, Tuvan *xöl*);

Dukhan *hül* ‘ashes’ ~ Old Turkic *kül* (cf. Tofan, Soyot *hül*, Tuvan *xül*);

- The Dukhan final consonant *-g* is usually preserved (p. 29 and 79). However, with the addition of vowel-initial suffixes, *-g* mostly drops and yield to the development of a long vowel⁵ (p. 59), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰa^htǰy* ‘hard’ ~ Old Turkic *qatiǰ* (cf. Tofan *qa^ctiǰ*, Tuvan *kadiǰ*);

Dukhan *tǰy* ‘mountain’ ~ Old Turkic *tāǰ* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *daǰ*);

Dukhan *sarǰy* ‘yellow’ ~ Old Turkic *sariǰ* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *sariǰ*);

Dukhan *ǰm* ‘my dwelling’ < *ǰg* ‘dwelling’ + *(ǰ)m* Poss1sg.;

Dukhan *pā* ‘its tie’ < *pay* ‘tie’ + *ǰ* Poss3sg.;

Cf. Dukhan *ǰl* ‘son’ ~ Old Turkic *oǰul*;

- Similarly, this feature is characteristic for the stem-final liquids *-l-*, *-r* and consonant *-n*, which also often developed into long vowels with the addition of vowel-initial suffixes (p. 60), e.g.

Dukhan *ār* ‘takes’ < *al-* ‘to take’ -*Vr* Intra.LF;

Dukhan *pēr* ‘gives’ < *per-* ‘to give’ -*Vr* Intra.LF;

Dukhan *ǰēr* ‘comes’ < *gel-* ‘to come’ -*Vr* Intra.LF;

Dukhan *mēǰ* ‘mine’ < **men-nǰ* < **men* ‘me’ + *nǰ* Genit.Poss1sg.;

Dukhan *sēǰ* ‘yours’ < **sen-nǰ* < **sen* ‘you’ + *nǰ* Genit.Poss2sg.;

Dukhan *ǰǰ* ‘his, her’ < **on-nǰ* < **ol* ‘he, she’ + *nǰ* Genit.Poss3sg.;

- In less careful speech, the initial *ǰ-* alternates with a palatal *y-* and nasalized *ǰ-* (p. 67), e.g.

Dukhan *ǰok* ~ *yok* ~ *ǰok* ‘absent’ ~ Old Turkic *ǰoq* (cf. Tofan, Tuvan *čoq*);

- The original Turkic intervocalic *VpV* changed to *VhV* in Dukhan (p. 79), e.g.

⁴ The lexeme *čolǰ* occurs as a personal name in Dukhan (p. 47).

⁵ Monosyllabic stems displaying the syllable structure *VVC* are not subject to this rule.

Dukhan *gö^hhək* ‘foam’ ~ Old Turkic *köpük* (cf. Tofan *kö^cpük*, Tuvan *kövük*);

Dukhan *te^her* ‘kicks’ ~ Old Turkic *täp-* ‘to kick’ + *-Vr* (cf. Tofan *te^cøer*, Tuvan *te^cver*);

– There are some metathetical changes (p. 67), e.g.

Dukhan *ö^hkpe* < **ö^hpke* < **öpke* ‘lung’ ~ Old Turkic *öpke* (cf. Tuvan *ökpe*);

Dukhan *ga^hkpa* < **ga^hpka* < *qapqa* ‘trap’ (cf. Tuvan *kakpa*);

Dukhan *öskəs* < **ögsüz* ‘orphan’ ~ Old Turkic *ögsüz* < *ög* ‘mother’ + *sVz* Turkic privative suffix (cf. Tofan *ö^csküs*, Tuvan *ösküs*).

The monograph is written in a logical systematic way, is easy to use and is clear. I consider that it will be one of the reference works on Siberian Turkic languages. Besides being the first systematic grammar of Dukhan, this work offers copious lexical materials of this relatively little-known Turkic language. It is to be highly recommended for Turcologists, Altaists and general linguists alike.