MONGOLIC ELEMENTS IN BARGUZIN EVENKI

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During their long history Tungusic and Mongolic peoples have had intensive contacts extending to all fields of human existence. These contacts left their traces also in the respective languages. The aim of this paper is to present and characterise the Mongolic elements traceable in the Barguzin dialect of the Evenki language which is one of the dialects subjected to a considerable Mongolic influence. My work to be published later will comprise some 300 words and I will examine these words from the etymological, phonetical, and morphological points of view, and attempt to determine the time of borrowing. In the following I will try to present a few categories which may help resolve the problems concerning the different layers of the loanwords.

Key words: Barguzin Evenki, Mongolic elements, bilingualism.

During their long history Tungusic and Mongolic peoples have had intensive contacts extending to all fields of human existence. These contacts left their traces also in the respective languages. The aim of this paper is to present and characterise the Mongolic elements traceable in the Barguzin dialect of the Evenki language, namely Barguzin Evenki is one of those dialects in which the most considerable Mongolic influence is expected. Such a powerful influence is mainly due to the fact that speakers of this dialect have been living in Buryat neighbourhoods for quite a long period, and they are bilingual, usually trilingual.

In my work comprising some 300 words I will examine the words from the etymological, phonetical, and morphological points of view, and attempt to determine when the loanword was taken over. In the following I will try to present a few categories, which may help resolve the problems concerning the different layers of the

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loanwords. Before presenting these categories a brief sketch will be given about the Evenki people and the Evenki language.

**The Tungusic Languages**

The Evenki language belongs to the Tungusic language family, traditionally believed to form the Altaic language family together with the Turkic and Mongolic languages. Although the classification of the Tungusic languages is not definitive, according to Ligeti (1948) and Cincius (1949, p. 35), the Tungusic languages may be divided into two big branches:

1. The northern branch: Evenki, Even (or Lamut) and Negidal;
2. The southern branch: the Manchuric group: Jurchen (Old Manchu), Manchu and its sole living remnant Sibe ~ Sibo; the Amuric group: Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch, Oroch and Udehe.

Other researchers such as Benzing (1955, pp. 9–10), Avrorin (1960, p. 3) and Atkine (1997, p. 111) think that the Amuric group forms a separate branch. The most detailed classification was proposed by Doerfer (1978, pp. 4–5). Vovin (1993, pp. 102–103) suggested that the Tungusic languages can be divided into two big branches: Manchu and Tungusic. The Tungusic branch can be divided into three groups: Even, West Tungusic (Evenki, Negidal, Solon) and East Tungusic (Oroch, Ulcha, Nanai, Udehe and Orok). Traditionally, the Evenki language belongs to the northern Tungusic branch.

The first Tungusic comparative phonology is that of Cincius (1949), on which the work of Benzing (1955) was based. It should be observed, however, that in many respects these researches could not give a reliable result in the field of Proto-Tungusic reconstructions.

Even the earliest Tungusic linguistic sources are quite late. Practically they date from the time of the Ming dynasty and they are monuments of the Jurchen language. (For details see Ligeti 1948.) This material, however, only provides some data about the southern Tungusic languages.

There is no material on the northern languages from the early period. The first short lists of the Evenki and Even words and phrases were written down at the 18th century by European travellers and scholars, including Witsen, Messerschmidt and Strahlenberg. In the same century, the Russian Academy of Sciences at the behest of the Russian Empress Catherine II, initiated an extensive programme to explore the ethnology and languages of the Siberian people. One of the results of this programme was the Comparative Dictionary of Pallas, which contains 285 Russian words translated into a large number of Asiatic languages, including seven Evenki and Even dialects (Kotwicz 1909; Atkine 1997, pp. 111–112).

The lack of the early sources of the northern Tungusic group makes us understand the important role played by the Gilyak, Ketic, Yakut and Mongolic loanwords of the Evenki language in the reconstruction of the Proto-Tungusic language.
The Evenki People

Geographical Position

The Evenki people live in Russia, China and Mongolia, scattered over a vast territory. In Russia they number approximately 10,000. They live in small groups of some thousand people, very far from each other (Bulatova 2002, p. 268):

- the Autonomous District of Evenki – 2706;
- the Autonomous District of Taimyr – 246;
- the Republic of Buryatia – 815;
- the Republic of Yakutia – 1327;
- the Province of Irkutsk – 670;
- the Province of Chita – 528;
- the Province of Amur – 1224;
- the Province of Khabarovsk – 1408;
- the other Provinces – 609.

Best investigated is one of their largest communities, which can be found in Yakutia (see Romanova – Myreeva 1962, 1964, 1968; Romanova – Myreeva – Baraschkova 1975). Its members solidly preserve their language.

In North-East China, along the rivers Mergel and Khailar, in the Khulun Buir Province, in the Evenki Autonomous District there live mixed Solon Evenki and Khamnigan Evenki populations. While they differentiate themselves from each other, both groups are called erroneously Ewenke by the administration. Here they number about 10,000 people, however, we do not know the exact distribution of these two groups (Janhunen 1997, pp. 130–131).

A group of Evenkis of unknown number also lives near Lake Buir in North-East Mongolia.

Lifestyle

According to their lifestyle, Evenkis can be classified in three groups. We can distinguish unmounted or hunter Evenkis, reindeer breeders and nomadic breeders or horse breeders (Vasilevič 1969, pp. 11–12). This third group is present in Buryatia (Barguzin), Mongolia, and China as well. They adopted the Mongolic lifestyle and copied a large number of lexical elements from the Mongols. Even their self-designation murčen is of Mongolic origin. It originates from the noun morin ‘horse’.

The Khamnigan People

The Mongolic influence on the Evenki is well characterised by the fact that the Evenki did not only adopt a Mongolic lifestyle, but some of them even changed their language to a Mongolic one. Their Mongolic language, called Khamnigan, preserves many ar-
chaic features (Janhunen 2003, pp. 83–101). They also live scattered across the
Trans-Baikalian territory in the Aga National District of Chita Province, numbering
approximately 5000 (Daminov 1962, 1968), in the northeastern part of China, in the
Khulan Buir Province, numbering approximately 2000 (Janhunen 1990, pp. 11–12),
while in the northeastern part of Mongolia, in Khentei Province their number is un-
known (Kőhalmi 1959, p. 163).
Interestingly enough, a group of Khamnigans living close to the Manchurian
Khamnigan Mongol area preserved their original Evenki variety as well (Janhunen

Evenki Dialects

The first steps in Evenki studies were done by the Finnish scholar Matthias Alexan-
der Castrén, who lived among the Urulga and Mankovo Evenki people and collected
linguistic material. His work was not only the first descriptive grammar of Evenki,
but also one of the pioneer treatises in the field of comparative Altaic linguistics.
Castrén translated 1500 Evenki items into German, and added Manchu, Mongolian,
Buryat, Tatar, and Yakut parallels (Castrén 1856).

From 1919 to 1926, Titov made several expeditions to the Evenkis of the Up-
per Lena, Northern Baikal and Vitim-Nerchinsk regions. His lexical collections were
published in 1926 as a dictionary, to which the Russian translation of Castrén’s gram-
mar was added as an appendix (Titov 1926).

Systematic research, however, was started only in the 1930s. It is not possible,
of course, to present a complete sketch of the research (for details see Gorevskaja
1959; Atkine 1997, pp. 111–113), but one must mention the name of the Tungusist
professor of the University of Leningrad, G. M. Vasilievč. Her work covered practi-
cally every aspect of the research on the Evenkis. Without aiming at completeness
I just mention the Evenki dictionary (1958) which lists even dialectal forms, the com-
parative grammar of the Evenki dialects (1948), the historical ethnography of the
Evenkis (1969), and the Evenki comparative folklore (1966).

The Evenki language in Russia has 51 dialects and sub-dialects, which can be
grouped into northern, southern and eastern branches (Atkine 1997, p. 115; Bulatova
1. The northern group: Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya;
2. The southern group: the hissing type: Stony Tunguska (Standard language),
   Nepa, Vitim-Nercha; the hushing type: Sym, Northern Baikal;
3. The eastern group: Vitim-Olyokma, Barguzin, Aldan, Ayan, Uchur-Zeya, Se-
   lemdzha-Urmi, Ayan-Mai, Tugur-Chumikan, Sakhalin.

Literary or standard Evenki is based on the Stony Tunguska dialect, which be-
longs to the southern branch. The scattered nature of their territorial distribution ex-
plains why there is no possibility for developing a real literary language. In everyday
life each speaker uses his/her own dialect (Bulatova 2002, p. 271).
The main criterion used during the classification of the dialects is the fate of the Common-Tungusic consonant *s in initial and intervocalic position. In the three branches there appear the representations $h$, $s$ and $\acute{s}$.

In the table below I present four examples to show the differences between the dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common-Tungusic</th>
<th>northern (spirant: $h$, $VhV$)</th>
<th>southern (sibilant) $s$, $VsV$</th>
<th>eastern (sibilant-spirant: $s$, $VhV$) $\acute{s}$, $VsV$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>$h\acute{e}n$</td>
<td>$s\acute{e}n$</td>
<td>$\acute{s}\acute{e}n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>$h\acute{o}$</td>
<td>$s\acute{o}$</td>
<td>$\acute{s}\acute{o}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>$a\acute{h}\acute{i}$</td>
<td>$a\acute{s}\acute{i}$</td>
<td>$a\acute{h}\acute{i}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td>$\acute{e}ha$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}\acute{sa}$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}ha$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barguzin Evenki

On the territory of Buryatia Evenki people live in a number of places, such as the regions of Barguzin, Kurumkan, North-Baikal and Baunt. Their total number in Buryatia is approximately 800, but their exact distribution is unknown.

The first researcher of the Barguzin Evenki dialect was Nicholas Poppe. In 1927 he published a short grammatical description and five tales. His material was collected in Leningrad, from a native Barguzin Evenki student, Panteleimon Baranov (Poppe 1927).

Nine years later, based on the material of Poppe, Gorcevskaja (1936) compiled a larger grammar. Although her work is more detailed, one of its shortcomings is that it was based on a material collected only from one speaker.

In 1953 the collection of Rinčino was published by Kotwicz. Like earlier materials, this was also based on one informant (Kotwicz 1953).

Mongolic Elements in Barguzin Evenki

The Mongolic loanwords of Evenki were dealt with by Nicholas Poppe in two short papers. In the first one, he discussed the Mongolic loanwords of Tungusic in general (1966), while in the second article he wrote specially about the Mongolic elements in the Evenki dialects (1972). Since his first paper mainly discussed Evenki, these two papers mostly cover the same problems.

In 1985 there appeared the Mongolo-Tungusica of Doerfer, who examined the Tungusic–Mongolic linguistic contacts with statistical methods. The method used in his investigation makes the material difficult to handle.

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In the subsequent part of my paper, I will present the linguistic criteria peculiar to the Mongolic elements of Barguzin Evenki that enable us a clear periodisation of the elements. I compare the Barguzin Evenki loanwords with Modern archaic (Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur) and non-archaic (Buryat and Khalkha) Mongolic languages. From the archaic languages I chose Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur because they definitely had linguistic contacts with Tungusic languages. It is generally accepted that Khamnigan Mongols originally spoke a Tungusic language, but later its speakers changed it to a Mongolic language (for details see Kőhalmi 1959, 1964; Damdinov 1962, pp. 171–172; 1968, pp. 75–76), while Dagur was erroneously listed as a Tungusic language for a long time (for details see Ivanovskij 1894, p. 9; Poppe 1930, p. 2; Todaeva 1986, pp. 3–5).

**Phonetic Criteria**

1. **Mongolic s-**

   (a) Preservation

   As previously mentioned Barguzin Evenki belongs to the southern branch of dialects, where the original initial s- is still preserved. This reflects an earlier layer of loanwords.

   Common-Tungusic **saŋnyan** ‘smoke’ ~ BE **saŋnyan**;
   Common-Tungusic **sele** ‘iron’ ~ BE **sele**;
   Common-Tungusic **sī** ‘bile’ ~ BE **sī**;
   
   BE **sukay** ‘Tamarisk’ ← Mongolic *sukai*: LM suqai; cf. Buryat huxai;
   Khalkha suxai;
   BE **sura-** ‘to ask’ ← Mongolic *sura-*: LM sura-; cf. Buryat hura-;
   Khalkha sura- ← Turkic *sora-*: cf. Old Turkic sōr- ‘to ask; to inquire about sg’;
   BE **sunehun** ‘soul’ ← Mongolic *sūnesün*: LM sūnesün; cf. Buryat hū-nehe(n); Khalkha sūns(en).

   (b) Pharyngealisation

   On the other hand, a pharyngealisation of the initial s- is also observable, which shows that the loanword was taken over in a period when the Buryat change s- > h- had already took place. This criterion points to the later (Old Buryat) layer. I have to mention that a Buryat type of laryngealisation is also characteristic for Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol1 (Janhunen 1997, p. 42), but it is not typical for other variants of Khamnigan Mongol.

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1 For example, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol **xara** ‘moon’ ~ LM **sara** (cf. Buryat **hara**; Khalkha **sar**); Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol **kuxu** ‘birch’ ~ LM **qusa** (cf. Buryat **xukan**; Khalkha
2. Pharingealisation of VsV

Mongolic intervocalic VsV in Barguzin Evenki is regularly pharingealised, like in original Tungusic words:

Common-Tungusic ēsa ‘eye’ ~ BE ēha;
Common-Tungusic usi ‘halter, tether’ ~ BE uhē;
Common-Tungusic osin ‘spark’ ~ BE ohin.

In the following elements, although the quality of the consonant does not display any clue as to the layer of the loanword, the vowel in the last syllable clearly shows that the word belongs to the earlier layer. At the same time it informs us that the loanword was not taken from Modern Buryat.

BE balghun ‘summer house’ ← Mongolic *balgasun: LM balyasun ‘ancient city, ruined city’; cf. Buryat balgha(h)n; Khalkha balgas(an) ← Turkic: Old Turkic baliq ‘town’;
BE baitahun ‘barren mare’ ← Mongolic *bayidasun: LM bayidasun; cf. Buryat baitaha(h)n; Khalkha baidas(an);
BE gatahun ‘peg, pile’ ← Mongolic *gadasun: LM yadasun; cf. Buryat gada(ha)n; Khalkha gadas;
BE nahun ‘age’ ← Mongolic *nasun: LM nasun ‘age, years, life, life-time’; cf. Buryat nahan; Khalkha nas(an); Dagur nas.

3. Preservation of Mongolic ğ-

The loanwords that belong here pertain to a quite early date of copying. The early period of borrowing in words like jalagan and jalaw is not only demonstrated by the initial consonant ğ, but by the pattern Vowel–Consonant–Vowel as well, which had not yet developed into a long vowel:

BE jalagan ‘tassel on a hat; thick silk thread’ ← Mongolic *jalagan < *jala+GAn: Middle Mongolic jala’an; LM jalaya(h)n; cf. Dagur dzilā; Khamnigan Mongol dzalā; Buryat zalā; Khalkha jalā ← Turkic *jala; cf. Old Turkic yal ‘a horse’s mane’;

xus); Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol narasu ‘pine’ ~ LM narasun (cf. Buryat narha(h)n; Khalkha nars) etc.

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The phrase “quite early” mentioned above refers to the loanword jōri ‘property’, which still preserves the initial Mongolic affricate, however, the long vowel had already developed. In the word jōun first a long vowel evolved which later shortened:

BE jōri ‘property’ ← Mongolic *jōri: LM jögeri; cf. Buryat zőri; Khalkha zőr;
BE jōun ‘east’ ← Mongolic *jūn: Middle Mongolic je’ūn; LM jegün; cf. Dagur dzūn; Khamnigan Mongol dzū(n); Buryat zūn; Khalkha jūn.

4. Labialisation

This phonetic criterion is a strong labialisation of vowels, which is a distinctive peculiarity of Barguzin Evenki. It is typical particularly of long vowels:

Common-Tungusic sēkse ‘blood’ ~ BE sōkse;
Common-Tungusic sēn ‘eye of a needle’ ~ BE sŏn;
Common-Tungusic gudyei ‘beautiful, nice’ ~ BE gudyoi;
Consequently, the Mongolic loanwords are also labialised:

BE jörde ‘chestnut (horse)’ ← Mongolic *jörde: LM jegerde; cf. Dagur dzörde; Khamnigan Mongol dzórde; Buryat zörde; Khalkha jörd;
BE dōji ‘the first or choicest part of food or drink’ ← Mongolic *dēji: LM dejeji; cf. Buryat dēže; Khalkha dēj ← Turkic *değe: cf. Old Turkic yeğ ‘better’;
BE oře- ‘to spin, to twist’ ← Mongolic *øre- < egere-: LM egere-; cf. Dagur; Buryat; Khalkha ěre- ← Turkic *ağir-: cf. Old Turkic aģir- ‘to surround, encircle; to twist, spin’;

5. The Fate of Mongolic *i

(a) The preservation of Mongolic *i in different positions

The phenomenon called breaking of *i, which is the regressive assimilation of this vowel and is peculiar to Mongolic languages, does not apply in the Mongolic loanwords of Barguzin Evenki. This fact points to an early date of copying:

BE imagan ‘goat’ ← Mongolic *imagan: Middle Mongolic: MNT ima’an; LM imayan; cf. Dagur imā; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol imān; Buryat; Khalkha yamā(n);
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BE *jiļuğa* ‘rein’ ← Mongolic *jiluğa:* Middle Mongolic: MNT *jil’o* ~ *jilu*; LM *jiloya*; cf. Dagur *džilӘ;* Buryat *žolә;* Khalkha *jolә;
BE *aǰirga* ‘stallion’ ← Mongolic *aǰirqa:* LM *aǰirya*; cf. Dagur *adirga*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *aǰirqa*; Buryat *azarga*; Khalkha *ajarga(n);
BE *ewečin* ‘illness, ache’ ← Mongolic *ebečin:* LM *ebe(đ)čin*; cf. Dagur *euči;* Buryat *übšen*; Khalkha *övčin.*

2 For example, LM *sibar* ‘mud; clay’ ~ Onon Khamnigan Mongol *s’ibar* (cf. Buryat *šabar;* Khalkha *šawar*); LM *sinaya* ‘ladle, scoop, dipper’ ~ Onon Khamnigan Mongol *s’ina* (cf. Buryat *šanaga*; Khalkha *šanag*); LM *sita* ‘to burn, to be burned’ ~ Onon Khamnigan Mongol *s’ita* (cf. Buryat; Khalkha *štata*) etc.

(b) Mongolic *si-*

We should keep apart those words which in Mongolic originally had an initial sequence *si-.* It is relevant also for Mongolic linguistic history that these sequences appearing in most Modern Mongolic languages as *šV-,* were preserved in Barguzin Evenki. According to Damdinov (1968, p. 77) and Janhunen (1990, p. 43), this archaic feature is typical for Onon2 and Manchurian3 Khamnigan Mongol:

BE *siğra* ‘bay (horse)’ ← Mongolic *siğra:* LM *siyra* ‘whitish-yellow (horse)’ < *sir-a* ‘yellow’; cf. Dagur; Buryat; Khalkha *şarga* ← Turkic *sәри: cf. Old Turkic *sәriŋ* ‘yellow’;
BE *silé* ‘soup’ ← Mongolic *silü:* LM *silü*; cf. Dagur *şil;* Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *şilü*; Buryat *şülen;* Khalkha *şol;*
BE *sipke* ‘dung’ ← Mongolic *sibke:* LM *sibke;* cf. Buryat *şebxe;* Khalkha *şıvх.x.*

However, a large number of examples occur in which the original Mongolic *si-* is opposed to Barguzin Evenki či-. This is explained by the change *si-* > *şи-* in Mongolic, which was taken over by Barguzin Evenki with sound-correspondence as či-, which shows the criterion of the early layer:

BE *činehun* ‘Larch’ ← Mongolic *şinesün:* LM *şinesün*; cf. Buryat *še-nehen;* Khalkha *şines(en);*
BE *čıwuke* ‘awl, spike’ ← Mongolic *şibüge:* LM *sibüge;* cf. Dagur *şewgә;* Buryat *şübeg;* Khalkha *şövөг;*
BE *čıke-* ‘to urinate’ ← Mongolic *şige-*: LM *sige-;* cf. Buryat; Khalkha *şө-.*
(c) The ‘breaking’ of Mongolic *i (regressive assimilation)

Several times, Mongolic *i in the initial syllable displays an assimilated form, which clearly points to a late period of borrowing. In such cases the assimilation had already taken place in Mongolic, and the assimilated form was copied by Barguzin Evenki:

BE ğuru- ‘to draw’ ← Mongolic *jiru-: LM ğiru-; cf. Dagur đżurê; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol ğiru-; Buryat zura-; Khalkha ğura- ← Turkic *jirû-: cf. Old Turkic yaz- ‘to write’;
BE ālē ‘free time’ ← Mongolic *čūlō: LM čiřüge; cf. Dagur čulē; Buryat sūlō; Khalkha čūlō.

6. Preservation of Middle Mongolic Initial h-

The next criterion refers to an early (Old Mongolic) layer since in these words an initial h- is present, which has practically disappeared in Mongolic by the end of the Middle Mongolic period:

BE ģirūgē- ‘to bless’ ← Mongolic *hirūge-: Middle Mongolic: MNT ģirû’er ‘a prayer for a long life’; LM ģirūge- ‘to wish well, bless, pray; to felicitate; to propose a toast’; cf. Dagur šurē-; Buryat yûrō-; Khalkha yerō-;
BE ġim ‘earmark of cow’ ← Mongolic *hīm: Middle Mongolic hīm; LM im(-e) ‘mark, sign, token, earmark (as of cattle, sheep; testicle)’; cf. Khalkha im ← ? Turkic *im: cf. Old Turkic im ‘sign, wink, password’;
BE ģükur ‘cow’ ← Mongolic *hükēr: Middle Mongolic hüker; LM üker ‘horned cattle, ox, cow’; cf. Dagur hukure; Khamnigan Mongol ükür; Buryat; Khalkha üxer ← Turkic *hökür: cf. Old Turkic öküz ‘ox’.

Of special interest are some Evenki words, which are not yet proved to be from Middle Mongolic sources:

BE ģēčē- ‘to become tired’ ← Mongolic *heče-: LM eče-; cf. Dagur hečē-; Buryat ese-; Khalkha ece-;
BE ģulō ‘touchwood’ ← Mongolic *hula: LM ula; cf. Buryat ula ~ ūla; Khalkha ul.

7. Mongolic VgV

The intervocalic VgV, which in Mongolic usually results in a long vowel, shows quite different representations. In contrast to the Mongolic secondary long vowels, the quality of the Barguzin Evenki representations can refer to the period of copying. The following few subgroups can be distinguished.

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(a) Preservation

According to the examples the Mongolic long vowel has not yet evolved at the time of borrowing. The Evenki words preserved the pattern Vowel–Consonant–Vowel, while in Modern Mongolic a long vowel evolved. This points to an early (Old Mongolic) date of copying:

BE emegen ‘saddle’ ← Mongolic *emegel: LM emegel; cf. Dagur; Khamnigan Mongol; Buryat; Khalkha emēl;
BE imagan ‘goat’ ← Mongolic *imagan: Middle Mongolic: MNT ima’an; LM imayan; cf. Dagur imān; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol; Buryat; Khalkha yamā(n);
BE temegen ‘camel’ ← Mongolic *temegen < *teme+GAn: Middle Mongolic teme’en; LM temegen; cf. Dagur; Khamnigan Mongol; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol temē; Buryat; Khalkha temēn ← Turkic *tābā: cf. Old Turkic tāvāy ‘camel’.

(b) The development of a long vowel

The words in the second subgroup show the same long vowel as the Mongolic languages, consequently they are from the later layer of loanwords:

BE atān ‘avidity; jealousy’ ← Mongolic *atān: LM ataγ-a ‘envy, jealousy; emulation, rivalry’; cf. Buryat; Khalkha atā(n);
BE nogōn ‘green’ ← Mongolic *nogōn: LM noγyan; cf. Dagur nurā; Khamnigan Mongol nogō, Buryat; Khalkha nogōn;
BE tār ‘bag, sack’ ← Mongolic *tār: LM taγar; Buryat; Khalkha tār ← Turkic *taγar: cf. Old Turkic taγar ‘a large container; a sack’.

(c) The shortening of the long vowel

The third subgroup includes those elements in which the secondary Mongolic loanword was shortened in Barguzin Evenki after the copying, which also points to the later layer:

BE urak ‘colostrum, the first milk after delivery’ ← Mongolic *ūrak: LM wuray; cf. Buryat; Khalkha ūrag ← Turkic *oγurak < *oγur+AK⁴; cf. Old Turkic aγuz ~ aγuy ~ oγuz ‘biestings, colostrum, the first milk produced after parturition’;
BE todok ‘great bustard’ ← Mongolic *tōdok: LM toγoday; cf. Buryat; Khalkha tōdog;
BE goli ‘brass’ ← Mongolic *gūli: LM γuuli; cf. Dagur gauli ~ gaul’; Buryat gūli; Khalkha gūl’.

⁴ Turkic diminutive (Erdal 1991, p. 40).
(d) Mongolic $VgV \rightarrow$ Barguzin Evenki $VwV$

The Mongolic sequence $Vowel-Consonant g-Vowel$ can show up in Barguzin Evenki as showing a bilabial spirant, which points to the early layer.$^5$

BE $\textit{üwey}$ ‘no, absent’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{ügei}$: LM $\textit{ügei}$; cf. Dagur $\textit{uwei}$; Buryat $\textit{üg}$; Khalkha $\textit{ügii}$;
BE $\textit{gowohun}$ ‘wild garlic’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{γoγosun}$: LM $\textit{γoγod}$ ‘the kind of onion, Allium odarum’; cf. Dagur $\textit{gogos}$; Khalkha $\textit{gogod}$;
BE $\textit{kewer}$ ‘meadow, tundra’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{keger}$: LM $\textit{kegere}$ ‘steppe, open country’, cf. Dagur $\textit{kêr} \sim \textit{xêr}$; Buryat $\textit{xêre}$; Khalkha $\textit{xêr}$;

(e) Unvoicing

In the last subgroup, the intervocalic $\textit{-g-}$ is represented by $\textit{-k-}$, the corresponding unvoiced plosive. It is striking to observe that such examples belong here in which not even their Mongolic counterparts evolve a long vowel. This criterion points to the early (Old Mongolic) layer:

BE $\textit{dorokon}$ ‘hedgehog’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{dorogon}$: LM $\textit{doroyon}$ ‘badger’; cf. Buryat; Khalkha $\textit{dorgo(n)}$;
BE $\textit{unukān}$ ‘foal on his first year’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{unugan}$: LM $\textit{unayan}$; cf. Buryat; Khalkha $\textit{unaga(n)}$;
BE $\textit{idokon}$ ‘shamaness’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{idugan}$: LM $\textit{iduγan} \sim \textit{uduγan}$; cf. Buryat $\textit{udagan}$; Khalkha $\textit{udgan}$.

8. Mongolic Initial $\textit{č-}$

(a) Preservation

Regularly Common-Tungusic words with this consonant are preserved in Barguzin Evenki, as in most cases of Mongolic loanwords. This points to the early (Old Mongolic) layer:

Common-Tungusic $\textit{čīrkte}$ ‘copper’ $\sim$ BE $\textit{čirkte}$;
Common-Tungusic $\textit{čalban}$ ‘birch tree’ $\sim$ BE $\textit{čalban}$;
Common-Tungusic $\textit{čopko}$ ‘hole’ $\sim$ BE $\textit{čopko}$;

BE $\textit{čagāŋ-kān}$ ‘tsar’ $\leftarrow$ Mongolic $\ast \textit{caγāŋ kān}$: LM $\textit{čayän qayän} \sim \text{Russian tsar}’$; cf. Dagur $\textit{čiγān}$; Khamnigan Mongol $\textit{tsagāŋ}$; Buryat $\textit{sagāŋ xān}$; Khalkha $\textit{caγāŋ xān}$;

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$^5$ For details see Janhunen (1997, pp. 36–37), e.g. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol $\textit{awu}$ ‘father’ $\sim$ LM $\textit{abu}$.
BE čuglān ‘meeting, assembly’ ← Mongolic *čuglān < čuyla-GAn;
LM čuylay-a(n) ‘assembly, gathering, meeting; wrapper’ < čuyla- ‘to gather, assemble; to wrap’; cf. Buryat suglān; Khalkha cuglān ← Turkic *čugla-: cf. Old Turkic čuγla- ‘to wrap, pack up’ < čuγ ‘bundle’.

There appear, however, three Mongolic words with twofold phonetical variants with initial č- ~ s- or č- ~ š-.
The question as to which consonant is the original one cannot be definitively answered, although the presence of an initial č- in the Barguzin Evenki borrowings speaks rather for the originality of č-:

BE čaču ‘to scatter, to sprinkle a sacrifice’ ← Mongolic *čaču-: LM čaču- ~ saču- ‘to scatter; to spray, to sprinkle’; cf. Dagur čači-; Buryat sasa-; Khalkha caca- ← Turkic *saču-: cf. Old Turkic sač- ‘to scatter, sprinkle’;

BE čečen ‘wise’ ← Mongolic *čečen: LM čečen ~ sečen; cf. Buryat sesen; Khalkha cecen;


(b) Mongolic č- → Barguzin Evenki s-

This criterion points to the Buryat layer. In following examples, the Buryat origin of the Barguzin Evenki word sarsun, is not only proved by the initial s-, but by the middle consonant -r- as well, which is absent in other Mongolic languages. Presumably, the Buryat word was borrowed into Evenki when the pharyngealisation had not yet happened in Buryat. Similarly, in the other Evenki word sapča-, the changing to -š- had not yet happened in Buryat. These words give a possibility to differentiate or presuppose a separate Old Buryat layer:

BE sarsun ‘paper’ ← Mongolic *sārsun: LM čaryalsun ~ čaryarsun ~ čaryasun; cf. Dagur čas; Buryat sārha(n); Khalkha cās(an); Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol cārxun;

BE sapča- ‘to flit (bird)’ ← Mongolic *sabča-: LM čabči- ‘to chop; to blink; to trample (with the front hooves)’; cf. Buryat sabša-; Khalkha cavči-.

9. Mongolic q- and k-

(c) Preservation

The last phonetic criterion is represented by the fate of the Mongolic initial k-. Regularly this consonant was preserved in Common-Tungusic words and Mongolic elements. This feature is typical for all varieties of Khamnigan Mongol as well, while Buryat and Khalkha show a spirantised correspondence. So this criterion points to an early (Old Mongolic or Khamnigan Mongolic) layer:
Common-Tungusic kačikān ‘puppy, pup’ ~ BE kačikān;
Common-Tungusic kete ‘majority’ ~ BE kete;
Common-Tungusic kēnye- ‘to praise’ ~ BE kēnyn-;

BE kōhun ‘foam’ ← Mongolic *kōsūn: LM kōgesūn; cf. Dagur xuēs ~ kuēs; Buryat xošen; Khalkha xoš;
BE kalbaka ‘spoon’ ← Mongolic *kalbaga: LM qalbay-a ~ qalbay-a; cf. Khamnigan Mongol kalbaga; Buryat; Khalkha xalbaga ← Turkic *qalbūː: cf. Old Turkic qašū ‘spoon’ < qaši- ‘to stratch’;
BE key ‘air’ ← Mongolic kei: LM kei; cf. Dagur kein ~ xein ~ kīn; Buryat; Khalkha xī.

(d) Pharyngealisation through spirantisation

The following Mongolic words behave ambiguously in Evenki. On the one hand, their guttural initial consonants firstly were spirantised and later pharyngealised, which points to the later layer. On the other hand, in the Evenki word huruwun the intervocalic bilabial spirant WvW is presumed to be a copy belonging to the early layer:

BE huruwun ‘thumb’ ← Mongolic *xurugun < quruγun: LM quruγun) ‘finger’; cf. Dagur xorū; Khamnigan Mongol xurū; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol xurū; Buryat xurγan; Khalkha xurū;
BE hilekēn ‘open woodless place’ (+kēn Evenki Diminutive) ← Mongolic *xile < kile: LM kile ~ kili ‘furrow between two fields, border, boundary; frontier; limitation’; cf. Buryat xile; Khalkha xī.

**Compound Words**

The next group of Mongolic elements in Barguzin Evenki consists of three compound words. All of them represent criteria of the early layer:

   This Evenki word consists of two Mongolic words čikin ‘ear’ and degere ‘on top of’. Both of these components belong to the early layer. In the first Mongolic component the sequence či- was regularly preserved, while in the second component the long vowel was labialised. All these criteria point to an early borrowing.

   The other compound word hokorsōl ‘sacrum’ consists of Mongolic hoqor ‘short’ and segūl ‘tail’. The first component, as shown by the initial h-, was borrowed.

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in the Middle-Mongolic period. The second component implies that the loanword
was taken over when the long vowel had already evolved in Mongolic.

3. BE kōrdāwūn ‘fiddle’ ← Mongolic *quur ‘fiddle’ + dazun ‘sound, song’.
In this compound word the preservation of the initial consonant k- points to
the early layer, as does the bilabial spirant w as well.

Change in Semantics

In a few Evenki loanwords evident semantic changes took place, e.g.:
BE bohogo ‘the northern side of a mountain, not reached by the sun’ ←
Mongolic *bosogo: LM bosoy-a ‘threshold’ < bos- ‘to get up, to stand
up’; cf. Dagur basarga\(^6\); Buryat bogoho; Khalkha bosgo(n);
BE būmal ‘arrows of thunder’ ← Mongolic *bū-mAl [Dev.N./Adj.]:
LM bayu- ‘to come down, to descend’; cf. Buryat; Khalkha bū-;
BE yendır ‘ceiling’ ← Mongolic *yender: LM inder ‘platform, ros-
trum’; cf. Buryat yender; Khalkha inder.

Original Evenki Words with Mongolic Suffixes

From a morphological point of view, some original Evenki words took Mongolic
298, 303), they are productive in all Evenki dialects.
Such examples could be the Evenki sociative or attributive suffix +tei, the
diminutive suffix +kān, +kōn, and the cooperative suffix -ldi-:
1. NN +tey ← Mongolic Sociative and attributive +tAi: BE atīrkāṭe
y ‘with old woman’ < atīrkañ ‘old woman’;
BE nīŋtey ‘with root’ < nīnte ‘root’;
BE nekūtey ‘with younger brother’ < nekūn ‘younger brother’.
2. Diminutive +kān, +kōn ← Mongolic +Kān:
Evenki birakān ‘brook, stream’ < bíra ‘river’;
Evenki ēhakān ‘small eye’ < ēha ‘eye’;
Evenki kūmīrkōn ‘small insect’ < kūmīr ‘beetle’;
Evenki ayakān ‘nice, beautiful’ < aya ‘good’;
Evenki dagakān ‘very close’ < daga ‘near’.
3. Cooperative -ldi- ← Mongolic -ldU-:
BE ēneldi- ‘to go together’ < ēne- ‘to go’;
BE havalildi- ‘to work together’ < haval- ‘to work’;
BE dyawaldi- ‘to wrestle’ < dyawa- ‘to grasp, to hold, to catch’.

\(^6\) Dagur → Solon basarga ~ basagga.
In this paper I presented nine phonological, morphological, and semantical criteria which characterise the Mongolic elements of Barguzin Evenki. Based on these criteria it is possible to establish an earlier and a later layer of loanwords. It is clear that most of the elements pertain to the earlier layer. In turn, the elements pertaining to the later layer show the peculiarities of an earlier stage of the Buryat language, and in many instances traces of archaic Mongolic languages appear. It is reasonable to think that the Barguzin Evenkis had linguistic contacts not only with the Buryats, but with speakers of different archaic Mongolic languages as well. I hope that the presented material clearly demonstrates that these elements not only contribute to Tungusic reconstructions, but are important for the Mongolic linguistic history as well.

Bibliography


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