

Studies in Asian Historical Linguistics, Philology and Beyond

*Festschrift Presented to Alexander V. Vovin
in Honor of His 60th Birthday*

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The Common Features of Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol: The Fate of the Mongolic *s

Bayarma Khabtagaeva

1 Introduction*

The common development of the consonant *s in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol has a special place in Mongolic and Altaic studies. As in Yakut and some dialects of Ewenki and Ewen, the Turkic and Tungusic languages in Siberia, this consonant in initial and intervocalic positions is regularly pharyngealized to *h*. In final position the consonant *s changed to *d* in Buryat and all Khamnigan Mongol dialects. I am pleased to offer my colleague and friend professor Alexander Vovin – Sasha –, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, some remarks on this phonetic change knowing his interest in Mongolic and Altaic Studies.

The aim of paper is to clarify whether the same process occurs or whether it is the result of independent development in these languages. This question is important because for a long time Khamnigan Mongol was considered a Buryat dialect and an originally Tungusic language which was assimilated by the Mongolian and Buryat people. The latest investigations have proven that Khamnigan Mongol is as an ‘original’ Mongolic language, it is a separate and independent language among other Mongolic languages and cannot be considered a Buryat dialect (Janhunen 1990, 2003, 2005; Damdinov 1995; Khabtagaeva 2017). The paper also discusses a special group of Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol words where the original Mongolic consonant *s is atypically preserved and is left unchanged by phonetic rules.

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2 Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol

According to the classification, Buryat¹ and Khamnigan Mongol² languages belong to two different Mongolic groups. Buryat with its dialects is a member of the northern subgroup of the non-archaic group, while Khamnigan Mongol belongs to the north-eastern subgroup of archaic Mongolic languages.³ Phonetically, Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol share some common features, such as the 'breaking' of the initial vowel *e*;⁴ the regular vowel change *ö > ü* in non-initial position,⁵ and the development of consonant *s*- in different positions (for more details, see Janhunen 2003: 85–86; 2005: 50; Khabtagaeva 2017: 52–53), which is a topic of my investigation. They also share some common morphological peculiarities, such as the presence of the conditional converb *-AsA, which is absent in other Mongolic languages, the expression of the finite past tense by the perfective participle *-GsAn; and the presence of a system of personal predicative endings (for more details, see Janhunen 2005: 49–50). According to Janhunen (2005: 46–51), some of these features may be

- 1 The Buryats, the northernmost Mongolic people, live in the territories of Russia, China and Mongolia. Most Buryat speakers live in three administrative units of the Russian Federation: the Buryat Republic, the Zabaikalskiy, and Irkutsk Territories. According to the 2010 census, the total number of Buryats in Russia is 461,389 persons. Additionally, at least 45,080 ethnic Buryats live in the northern and northeastern provinces of Mongolia, and approximately 10,000 Buryats live in a small community in Hulun Buir Province, China (Khabtagaeva 2013: 155–156).
- 2 Khamnigan Mongol is spoken in three different countries: (1) the Trans-Baikalian or Onon Khamnigan dialect is spoken in the Chita Province of Russia; (2) the Khamnigan Mongol dialect of Mongolia is spoken in the northeastern region of Mongolia in Khentei Province and in Dornod Province; (3) the Manchurian Khamnigan dialect is spoken in the northeastern region of China, in the Hulun Buir district in the Ewenki Autonomous Arrow of the Old Bargut Banner. Khamnigan Mongol is an endangered Mongolic language, its speakers total approximately 2,600 persons: Onon Khamnigans number 600, Manchurian Khamnigans 1,500, while Khamnigan Mongols of Mongolia 530 speakers (Janhunen 2003: 84; Gruntov 2005: 293).
- 3 Janhunen (2005: 46–47) classifies Khamnigan Mongol as the northeastern member of Common Mongolic group. The Common Mongolic group includes also Buryat, Oirat, Ordos, Khalkha and Khorchin. Outside of Common Mongolic, there are three peripheral groups: Dagur, Moghol and Shirongolic (Janhunen 2005: 46–47).
- 4 E.g. LM *edür* 'day': Onon Khamnigan *üder*; Manch.Khamnigan *üdür*; Mong.Khamnigan *üdür*; Buryat *üder*; LM *ebür* 'south': Onon Khamnigan *über ~ übür*; Buryat *über*; LM *ebügen* 'elderly man': Onon Khamnigan *übügön ~ übügün*, Mong.Khamnigan *übagün*; Buryat *übgen*; etc.
- 5 This phonetic feature is also peculiar for Dagur, e.g. LM *köke* 'blue': Onon, Manch. KhamniganMa *kükü*; Mong.Khamnigan *küke*; Buryat *xüxe*; cf. Dagur *kukw*; LM *mönggen* 'silver; money': Onon Khamnigan *müngen*; Mong.Khamnigan *müngə* 'silver', *müngü* 'money'; Buryat *müngen*; cf. Dagur *munqu ~ munge*; etc.

determined as innovations and some of them as areal borrowings, or original Proto-Mongolic properties that have been lost in other Mongolic languages.

3 The Regular Changes of *s

The development of the Mongolic spirant *s in Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat depends on its position in the word and also on the vowel combination.

(1) Before all vowels (except *i) the Mongolic *s is regularly pharyngealized to *h* in initial, intervocalic positions and in consonant clusters in Buryat⁶ (Rassadin 1982: 77–80) and in the Ululga sub-dialect of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol (Janhunen 2003: 87; 2005: 50–51). In Onon Khamnigan (Damdinov 1968: 80) and Khamnigan Mongol of Mongolia (Kóhalmi 1959: 169; Yu 2011: 28) it is preserved, e.g.:

- Buryat, Manch.Khamnigan *hara*; cf. Onon Khamnigan, Mong. Khamnigan *sara* ‘moon, month’
 - < **sara*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, Muq. *sara*; LM *sara* ~ *saran*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *sar*; Modern archaic: Dagur *sar*; EYugur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Baoan, Santa *sara*; Moghol - .
- Buryat *halxin*; Manch.Khamnigan *halki(n)*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *salaki(n)*; Mong.Khamnigan *saliki* ‘wind’
 - < **salqin*: cf. Middle Mongol - ; LM *salki(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *salxi(n)*; Kalmuck *sal'kn*; Modern archaic: EYugur *salgən*; Mongghul *salki*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat, Manch.Khamnigan *hüni*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *süni*; Mong. Khamnigan *sünə* ‘night’
 - < **söni*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *süni*; HY *söni*; Yiyu, ZY *süni*; Muq. *söni*; LM *söni*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha⁷ *šönö*; Kalmuck *sö*; Modern archaic: Dagur *sun*⁸; EYugur *sönə*; Mongghul *sonə*; Mangghuer *soni*; Baoan *söni*; Santa *šieni*; Moghol *sun*.
- Buryat *üihen*; Manch.Khamnigan *üihü(n)*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *üisü(n)* ~ *öise(n)*; Mong.Khamnigan *üisən* ‘birchbark’
 - < **üisün* < **üyil+sUn* {Mongolic denominal noun suffix: Poppe GWM §137}; cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *üyilsün*; LM *üyisün* ‘birchbark’.

⁶ It is important to note that the pharyngealization is not characterised for Sartul and Tsongol Buryat dialects, which belong to transitional dialects between Buryat and Khalkha.

⁷ In the Khalkha form the metathesis and the regressive assimilation occurred: *söni* > **sinö* > *šönö*.

one the syllable **si* changed to *še*. In this case the change of vowel *i* > *e* is a regular Buryat phonetic feature¹⁰ (Khabtagaeva 2013: 162).

**si* and **si* > Buryat *šV*, Manchurian Khamnigan *si*, Onon Khamnigan *si* ~ *ši* ~ *šV*; Mong. Khamnigan *si* ~ *ši*

– Buryat *šara*; Manch.Khamnigan *sira*; Onon Khamnigan *sira* ~ *šira* ~ *šara*; Mong.Khamnigan *šir* ~ *šira* ‘yellow’

**sira* ← Turkic **sāri* ‘yellow’: cf. Old Turkic *sārij*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT, HY, Muq *šira*; LM *sira*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *šar*; Modern archaic: Dagur *šar*; EYugur *šara*; Mongghul *sira*; Mangghuer *šira*; Baoan *xira*; Santa *šira*; Moghol *širo*

– Buryat *šülen*; Manch.Khamnigan *siliü*; Onon Khamnigan *šiliü(n)* ~ *siliü(n)* ~ *sile(n)* ~ *šülü(n)* ~ *šüle(n)*; Mong.Khamnigan *sila* ‘soup, bouillon, broth’¹¹

< **šiliü* < *siliü*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT, HY *šülen*; Ibn-Muh. *šile*; Muq. *šilen*; Rasulid *sülen*; LM *siliü(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *šöl*; Kalmuck *šölŋ*; Modern archaic: Dagur *šil*; EYugur *šelen* ~ *šölön*; Mongghul *šilō*; Mangghuer *šuli*; Baoan *xile*; Santa *šulie*; Moghol - .

**si* > Buryat *še*

– Buryat *bešer-* ‘to revere, venerate; to feel shy’; Onon Khamnigan **bišir-*, cf. *bišürke-* ‘to feel shy (about children)’; Manch., Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.*¹²

< **bisire-* < *büsire-* ‘to believe in; to revere, worship’: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa *büšire-*; LM *bisire-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *bišre-*; Kalmuck *bišir-*; Modern archaic: EYugur *šüre-*; Mongghul *šürē-*; Santa *pišierə-*; Remaining lgs. - .

– Buryat *ešege(n)*; cf. Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*, Onon Khamnigan *išige(n)* ~ *isige(n)*; Mong. Khamnigan *išiga* ‘kid (young goat)’

10 The change of *i* > *e* regularly happened in non-initial position of monosyllabic and in different positions of disyllabic words:

i → *e*: LM *kī-* ‘to do, to perform’ ~ Buryat *xe-*, cf. Khalkha *xī-*; LM *jīl* ‘year’ ~ Buryat *žel*, cf. Khalkha *jīl*;

i – *i* → *e* – *e*: LM *iči-* ‘to be ashamed’ ~ Buryat *eše-*, cf. Khalkha *iči-*; LM *čikin* ‘ear’ ~ Buryat *šexen*, cf. Khalkha *čix*; LM *bičig* ‘letter’ ~ Buryat *beše-*, cf. Khalkha *biči-*.

There are some cases where vowel metathesis occurred: *i* – *e* → *e* – *i*: LM *ider* ‘young, vigorous’ ~ Buryat *edir*, cf. Khalkha *ider*; LM *ide-* ‘to eat’ ~ Buryat *edi-*, cf. Khalkha *ide-*; etc.

11 Mongolic → Tungusic: North-Baikal, Baunt, Nercha Ewenki *šile* ‘soup seasoned flour or grits’ (Khabtagaeva 2017: 127).

12 Because of the small size of the data, it is difficult to state that the data is absent, it possibly is more correct to note that ‘not available’ = *n.a.*

- < **esige* 'kid' ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *äčkü* 'goat': cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *ešige* 'ram'; LM *isige(n)* ~ *esige*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *išig*; Kalmuck *išk*; Modern archaic: EYugur *šeye*; Remaining lgs. - .
- (3) In final position and at the ends of syllables the Mongolic -s regularly changed to -d in Buryat (Rassadin 1982: 81) and all Khamnigan Mongol dialects (Janhunen 2003: 86; Damdinov 1968: 86), e.g.
- Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *bōd* 'pregnant (with foal, calf, etc.)'; Manch., Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.*
 - < **bōs* < *boγos* < **boγas*: cf. Middle Mongol: Muq. *boyar* ~ *boyur* Rasulid *boγaz*; LM *boγos*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *bōs*; Modern archaic: Dagur *bōr*; EYugur *bōs*; Santa *bosī*; Remaining lgs. - .
 - Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *būd* '(piece of) cloth, textile; cotton cloth'; cf. Mong.Khamnigan *būs* (← Khalkha); Manch. Khamnigan *n.a.*
 - < **bōs* ← Turkic cf. Old Turkic *bōz* 'cotton cloth' (Clauson ED ? Arabic ← Old Greek): cf. Middle Mongol: HY, Muq. *bōs*; Rasulid *bōz*; LM *bōs*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *bōs*; Modern archaic: Dagur *bur*³; EYugur *pes*; Mongghul *bos*; Mangghuer *bosī*; Baoan - ; Santa *bosī*; Moghol - .
 - Buryat *mangad*; Onon Khamnigan *mangud* ~ *mangad* 'Russian'; Manch., Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.*
 - < **manγus* 'a type of (usually female, many-headed, human-eating) demon; a large snake': cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *mangγus*; MNT *mangγus* ~ *mangqus*; LM *mangγus*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *mangas*; Kalmuck *manγys*; Modern archaic: Dagur *manγ^vē*; EYugur *māṅgās*; Mongghul *manγuzā*; Mangghuer *manquzī*; Remaining lgs. - .
- (4) A paragodic vowel was added in the Buryat verbs which originally ended in *-s, while the Khamnigan Mongol verbal forms show a mixed picture. There are two examples where the original consonant -s is preserved in Onon Khamnigan, which proves Common Mongolic influence, but the final vowel in both verbal forms shows the common Buryat–Khamnigan feature. Manchurian Khamnigan forms witness the independent development, where the vowel *u* in the second position is preserved, i.e. not peculiar for Buryat. The Khamnigan dialect of Mongolia has Khalkha borrowings:
- Buryat *nīde-*; Manch.Khamnigan *neid-*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *nīse-*; Mong.Khamnigan *nīs-* 'to fly'
 - < **nīs-* < **nīs-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY *nīs-*; LM *nīs-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *nīs-*; Modern archaic:

Dagur - ; EYugur *hɔnəs-*; Mongghul *nesə-*; Mangghuer *mese-*; Baoan *məʂ-*; Santa *misī-*; Moghol - .

- Buryat *urda-*; Manch.Khamnigan *urud-*; cf. Onon Khamnigan, Mong. Khamnigan *ursa-* 'to flow'

< **urus-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *urus-*; MNT *urusqa-* {caus.}; Leiden, Muq., Rasulid *urus-*; LM *urus-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *urs-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *ɔrs-*; EYugur *urus-*; Mongghul *orosə-*; Santa *urusu-*; Remaining lgs. - .

The next Mongolic verb has two forms in Onon Khamnigan: one is archaic, and one changed according to its own phonetic rules as the Manchurian Khamnigan form. The forms of the Khamnigan dialect of Mongolia show a mixed pattern: the final -s indicates borrowing from Khalkha, while the development of initial vowel **ö-* > *ü-* and the preservation of vowel -*ü-* in the second syllable present autochthonous Khamnigan features:

- Buryat *ümde-* ~ *ümede-*; Manch.Khamnigan *ümüd-*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *ümüd-* ~ *emüs-*; Mong.Khamnigan *ümüs-* 'to put on, to wear (clothes), to dress'

< **emüs-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY *emüs-*; Muq. *ömüs-* ~ *emüs-*; LM *emüs-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *öms-*; Kalmuck *öms-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *əms-*; EYugur *məs-*; Mongghul *mosə-* ~ *umus-*; Mangghuer *musī-*; Baoan *məʂ-*; Santa *misī-*; Moghol - .

The Onon Khamnigan form developed regularly, while the form of Khamnigan dialect of Mongolia shows Khalkha influence:

- Buryat *ülde-*; Onon Khamnigan *ülüd-*; Mong.Khamnigan *ülüs-*; Manch. Khamnigan *n.a.* 'to be hungry'

< **öles-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *ölös-*; MNT *öles-* ~ *ölös-*; HY *öles-*; Yiyu *ülüs-*; 'Phags-pa *ölös-*; Leiden *öliüs-*; Muq. *öles-*; Ist. *ölös-*; Rasulid *öles-*; LM *ölös-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *öls-*; Kalmuck *öls-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *xuns-*; EYugur - ; Mongghul *losə-*; Mangghuer *losī-*; Baoan *əlar-* ~ *ələr-*; Santa *oliesī-*; Moghol *ɔlas-*.

- (5) There are two examples where the Mongolic consonant clusters -*sq-*/*sk-* regularly changed to -*dx-* in Buryat and to -*tx-*/*tk-* in Onon Khamnigan Mongol, which proves the independent development in Khamnigan Mongol. As in previous cases, the Khamnigan dialect of Mongolia strengthens the Khalkha impact:¹³

13 There is one interesting case, belonging to the same root, where -s changed to -t: Mong. Khamnigan *ültagələŋ* ~ *ürtagələŋ* 'hunger, fasting' < LM *ölüsküleng*, cf. Khalkha *ölsgölön*, Buryat *üledxelen*. Yu (2011: 30) writes "it might be a simple error of the consultant". In my

- Buryat *adxa-*; Onon Khamnigan *adxu-* ~ *adxa-* ~ *atxa-*; cf. Mong. Khamnigan *asxa-* ‘to pour out, sprinkle, spill, scatter’; Manch. Khamnigan *n.a.*
 - < **asqa-*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *asqa-*; HY *asqa-*; Leiden *asqa-*; Muq. *asqa-*; LM *asqa-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *asga-*; Kalmuck *asx-*; Modern archaic: EYugur *sǰa-*; Mongghul *sǰa-*; Baoan *asǰa-* ~ *aǰsa-*; Remaining lgs. - .
 - Buryat *üd'xel-*; Onon Khamnigan *üdkül-* ~ *ütkül-* ~ *itköl-*; cf. Mong. Khamnigan *üšigilə-*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘to kick’
 - < **öskel-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Leiden *hiskel-*; LM *iskül-* ~ *öskile-* ~ *ösköl-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *öšiglö-*; Kalmuck *iškl-*; Modern archaic: EYugur *sgöl-*; Mongghul *sgolda-*; Baoan *şgel-*; Remaining lgs. - .
- (6) Due to the syllable-final change *-s > -d, the Common Mongolic plural markers -s¹⁴ and -d¹⁵ phonologically cannot be distinguished in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol (Rybatzki 2003: 375).

In Buryat the marker -d occurs on stems ending in the original -n and words having agentive participle marker -gšA, which goes back to Mongolic *-Gči, e.g. Buryat *morin* ‘horse’ > *morid*, *basagan* ‘girl’ > *basagad*, *huragša* ‘pupil’ > *huragšad*, *xüdelmerišen* ‘worker’ > *xüdelmerišed*, etc.

The plural marker -d is the most common suffix in Khamnigan Mongol; it occurs on stems ending in the consonants -n and -r and in short and long vowels, e.g. *kēgen* ‘child’ > *kēged*, *morin* ‘horse’ > *morid*, *čilū* ‘stone’ > *čilūd*, *goriku* ‘small river’ > *gorikod*, *mogoī* ‘snake’ > *mogoīd*, etc. (Janhunen 2003: 89; Gruntov 2005: 296; Yu 2011: 35–36).

opinion it is not a mistake; it should be a typical Khamnigan Mongol feature, which does not have enough examples.

- 14 The plural marker -s in LM occurs on stems ending in vowels or in the diphthong *ai*, replacing *i*. The use of this suffix is independent of the meaning of the noun concerned (Poppe GWM §264), e.g. *eme* ‘woman’ > *emes*, *nilqa* ‘infant’ > *nilqas*, *üge* ‘word’ > *üges*, *üre* ‘fruit, berry’ > *üres*, *noqai* ‘dog’ > *noqas*, etc.
- 15 The plural marker -d in LM (1) is added to stems ending in the consonant -n (e.g. *noyan* ‘prince, noble’ > *noyad*, *sibayun* ‘bird’ > *sibayud*, *modun* ‘tree’ > *modud*, etc.), occurs (2) in dissyllabic words ending in -r (e.g. *γaǰar* ‘country’ > *γaǰad*, *nökör* ‘friend’ > *nököd*, *singqur* ‘falcon’ > *singqud*), (3) in a few words ending in vowels (e.g. *beri* ‘sister-in-law’ > *berid*) and in all nouns ending in -či, -GAči, -Gči (e.g. *elči* ‘ambassador’ > *elčid*, *suruyči* ‘pupil’ > *suruyčid*, etc.) (Poppe GWM §264–§269).

4 The Irregular Changes of *s

There are cases where irregular changes happened in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol.

4.1 *Preservation*

A small number of Buryat words in initial and intervocalic positions are not pharyngealized, and in final position did not change to *-d*. These words probably came to Buryat in a later period, when the regular changes are already happened: they were probably borrowed from Literary Mongolian or another Mongolic language. Rassadin (1982: 84) after Cydendambaev (1972: 635) calls them “bookish words with the sublime character”. Nugteren in his list indicates these words as loanwords from Khalkha (2011: 263–546). Buryat words such as *sambar* ‘blackboard; writing tablet’ (← Tibetan), *subarga* ‘stupa, pagoda’ (← Uyghur Turkic ← Sogdian), *baras* ‘tiger; panther’ (← Uighur Turkic ← Iranian), *lūs* ‘mule’ (← Chinese) are clearly borrowings belonging to the cultural category of words. Possibly, the situation is the same with Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. Unfortunately, due to the small size of the material, only a few examples are found where the original consonant is preserved. In Onon Khamnigan and Khamnigan of Mongolia *s-* is regularly preserved.

4.1.1 In Initial Position

- Buryat, Manch.Khamnigan *soyol*; Mong.Khamnigan *soyil* ~ *soyol*; Onon Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘culture’
 - < **soyol* ‘instruction; culture, civilization; education; enlightenment’
 - < *suyu-* ‘to become cultured, civilized; to improve; to be enlightened’ -*l* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §159}: cf. Middle Mongol - ; LM *soyol* ~ *suyul*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *soyol*; Kalmuck *soyl*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *sed’xel*; Onon Khamnigan *sed’kel*; Mong.Khamnigan *sædkil* ~ *sætgil*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘fig. heart, mind, thought’
 - < **sedkil* ‘thought, idea, intention; feeling, opinion; spirit, soul, psyche, intellect, mind, heart; conscience’ < *sedki-* ‘to think, reflect, ponder; to intend’ -*l* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §159}: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl. Mo. *sedkil*; MNT, HY, Muq. *setkil*; Rasulid *setki-*; LM *sedkil*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *setgel*; Kalmuck *sedkl*; Modern archaic: EYugur *setgäl* ~ *sedgäl*; Mongghul *sgäl*; Mangghuer *ś(i)gær*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat, Onon Khamnigan *sonos-*; Mong.Khamnigan *sonso-* (← Khalkha); Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘to hear’
 - < **sonas-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *sonos-* ~ *sonas-*; MNT, HY *sonos-*; Muq. *sonas-*; LM *sonos-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *sons-*; Kalmuck

soys-; Modern archaic: Dagur *səns-*; Mongghul *sunosə-*; Mangghuer *sonosi-*; Santa *sonosu-*; Remaining lgs. - .

4.1.2 In Intervocalic Position

– Buryat, Manch.Khamnigan *asū-*; Onon Khamnigan *n.a.*; Mong.Khamnigan *asū-* ‘to ask’

< **asū-* < *asayu-* < **hasagu-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *asayu-*; MNT *asa'u-* ~ *asaq-*; HY *asaq-*; ‘Phags-pa *asa'ulča-* ~ *hasa'ulča-* {-lčA- Cooper.} ‘to dispute’; Muq. *asaq-* ~ *asayu-* ~ *asqa-*; Ist. *hasaq-*; LM *asayu-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *asū-*; Kalmuck - ; Modern archaic: Dagur *xasō-*; EYugur - ; Mongghul *sja-*; Mangghuer *ərsəǰ-*; Baoan *asax-* ~ *asxa-*; Santa *asa-*; Moghol - .

– Buryat *asar-*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *acara-*; Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘to bring up’

< **asara-* ‘to take care of; to bring up, raise; to adopt’: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa, Leiden ‘to defend’, Muq. *asara-*; LM *asara-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *asra-*; Kalmuck *asr-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *asər-*; EYugur *sra-*; Mangghuer *asīra-*; Remaining lgs. - .

– Buryat *ese*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *ese*; Mong.Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘not’

< **ese*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa, Muq. *ese*; LM *ese*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *es*; Kalmuck *es*; Modern archaic: Dagur *əs*; EYugur - ; Mongghul *sī*; Mangghuer *se*; Baoan *esə* ~ *ese*; Santa *əsə*; Moghol - .

4.1.3 In Final Position or at the Ends of Syllables

– Buryat *zōs*; Khamnigan dial. *n.a.* ‘money, coin’

< **jōs* < *joyos*: cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *jo'a[s]*; LM *joyos*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dzōs(on)*; Kalmuck - ; Modern archaic: Dagur *džōs*; Remaining lgs. - .

– Buryat *bayasa-*; Onon Khamnigan *bayasa-*; Manchurian, Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘to be glad, rejoice’

< **bayas-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa, Muq. *bayas-*; LM *bayas-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *bayas-*; Kalmuck *bays-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *bais-*; EYugur - ; Mongghul *bēsə-* ~ *beysə-*; Mangghuer *bayasī-*; Baoan *bes-*; Santa *bayasu-*; Moghol - .

– Buryat *tese-*; Manch., Onon Khamnigan *n.a.*; Mong.Khamnigan *təsə-* ‘to bear, endure (trans.)’

< **tes-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *tes-*; LM *tes-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *tes-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *tese-*; Mongghul; Mangghuer *diesə-*; Remaining lgs. - .

4.2 *Metathesis*

There are some not easily recognizable Buryat cases where a metathesis occurred. The examples do not coincide with Khamnigan Mongol, which confirms the independent way of development in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol:

- Buryat *bogoho*; cf. Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *bosogu(n) ~ bosogo(n)*; Mong.Khamnigan *bosgo* (← Khalkha) ‘threshold’¹⁶
 - < **bosoqa*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *bosaya*; MNT, HY *bosoqa*; Muq. *bosaya* ‘intel’, cf. *bosaqa* ‘door frame’; Rasulid *bosaqa*; LM *bosoya*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *bosgo ~ bošgo*; Kalmuck *bosg ~ bosxa*; Modern archaic: Dagur *basrəy*; Mongghul *posǰu*; Mangghuer *bosǰo*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *hüre-*; cf. Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *üsür- ~ üser-*; Mong.Khamnigan *üsrə-* (← Khalkha) ‘to jump, leap’
 - < **üsür-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *üsür-*; LM *üsür-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *üsre-*; Kalmuck *ösr-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *xəsur-*; EYugur *hsur-*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *heȳi*; cf. Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *isigei ~ išigī ~ seḡi*; Mong.Khamnigan *əsgē* ‘felt, felt blanket’¹⁷
 - < **esegei* < **sisegei*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *isgai ~ sisgai*; HY *sisgei*; Yiyu *šisge*; Muq. *sisegei ~ sisiügei*; Rasulid *siskei ~ siske*; LM *isegei ~ esegei*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *isgī ~ esgī(n)*; Kalmuck *iškä*; Modern archaic: Dagur *šisəy ~ šidəy*; EYugur *skī*; Mongghul *sgī*; Moghol *diskei*; Remaining lgs. - .

4.3 *Change -gs- > -x-*

A separate group in Buryat includes Mongolic words with the consonant cluster *-gs-*, which is preserved and additionally changed to *-x-*:

- Buryat *agsa-* ~ *axa-*; Onon Khamnigan *agsa-*; Manch., Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘to hang or attach a quiver’
 - < **agsa-* ‘to raise, put up; to attach to or suspend from a belt’: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *aɣsa-*; Rasulid *aqsau* [*qurman*] ‘belt of the quiver’; LM *aɣsa-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *agsa-*; Kalmuck *ags-*; Remaining lgs. - .

16 Mongolic: Khamnigan → Tungusic: Barguzin Ewenki *bohogo*, North-Baikal Ewenki *bošogo* ‘the northern side of a mountain, not reached by the sun’; Nercha Ewenki *bohogo* ‘threshold’ (Khabtagaeva 2017: 66).

17 Mongolic: Khamnigan → Tungusic: Nercha Ewenki (Urulga) *isäki* ‘felt’ (Khabtagaeva 2017: 91). Due to preservation of Mongolic **VsV*, the Mongolic word was clearly borrowed in the later period. In the original Tungusic words **VsV* regularly pharyngealized in the Urulga sub-dialect.

- Buryat *bügse* ~ *büxe*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *bügsü* ~ *bügse* ~ *bökse*; Mong. Khamnigan *bügsü* ‘backside, buttocks’
 < **bögse*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT, Muq. *bökse*; LM *bögse(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *bögs*; Kalmuck *bögs*; Modern archaic: Dagur *burs*; EYugur *bagse*; Baoan *berke*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *sogsoi-* ~ *soxoi-*; Khamnigan dial. *n.a.* ‘to stick out’
 < **sogsoi-* < **soyso* +*yi-* {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 290}; cf. Middle Mongol: - ; LM *soysoyi-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *sogsoi-*; Remaining lgs. - .

4.4 *Change si > he*

There are some Buryat cases where the syllable *si* sporadically pharyngealized to *he*. This change is irregular; it probably happened before the development of *si > š*, which points to an early stage of Buryat. In Khamnigan dialects the development occurred regularly:

- Buryat *ebhēl-*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *ipsile-* ~ *ebstile-*; Mong. Khamnigan *abšē-* ‘to yawn’
 < **ebsize-*: cf. Middle Mongol: - ; LM *ebsiye-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ewšē-*; Kalmuck *evšä-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *xəbšā-*; EYugur *šwē-*; Santa *anšie-*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *mihelze-*; Manch., Onon Khamnigan *n.a.*; Mong. Khamnigan *mišū-* ‘to smile’
 < **misilje-* < **misi-ljA-* {Mongolic vv/durative: Poppe GWM §239}; cf. Middle Mongol: - ; LM *misige-* ~ *misīye-* ‘to smile, laugh’; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *mišē-*; Kalmuck *mišā-*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *ühō(n)*; Onon Khamnigan *üšō* ~ *öšō*; Manchurian, Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘animosity, hostility, hatred; vengeance, revenge’
 < **ösiyen* < *ösi-* ‘to hate, bear extreme ill-will, feel vengeful; to spite’ -GAN {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §149} ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *öč* ‘malice, spite’: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *öšiyen*; Muq. *öčēn* ~ *öčīēn*; LM *ösiye-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *öšō(n)*; Kalmuck *öšē*; Remaining lgs. - .

5 Doublets

An interesting fact is that there are some doublet words with the same meaning where the original consonant *s-* in one of the pair pharyngealized according to the phonetic rule, while in another form it was preserved. These words show a different time of appearance in the language.

5.1 *In Initial Position*

- Buryat *haba* ~ *saba*; cf. Manch.Khamnigan *haba*; Onon Khamnigan *saba*; Mong. Khamnigan *sab* ‘vessel, household container; utensil’
 < **saba*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa; Muq. *saba*; LM *saba*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *saw*; Kalmuck *sav*; Modern archaic: Dagur *saw* (E); EYugur *saβa*; Mongghul *savā*; Mangghuer *saba*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *hubad* ~ *subad*; Onon Khamnigan *subad*; Manchurian, Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘pearl’
 < **subud*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *subud*; MNT, HY, ZY *subut*; Yiyu *subu[t]*; Muq., Rasulid *subut*; LM *subud*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *suwd(an)*; Modern archaic: Dagur *sər* (E); EYugur *sβəd*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *hüme* ~ *süme*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *süme* ~ *sümü*; Mong. Khamnigan *sümə* ‘temple’
 < **süme*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT ‘Buddha (image)’, HY, ‘Phags-pa *süme* ‘temple’; Muq. *süme* ‘temple; portrait, picture’; LM *süme*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *süm*; Kalmuck *süm*; Modern archaic: Dagur *sum* (E); Mongghul *smēn*; Mangghuer *śimian*; Baoan *cime*; Remaining lgs. - .

5.2 *In Intervocalic Position*

- Buryat *xeheg* ~ *xeseg*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *keseg*; Mong. Khamnigan *kəsəg* ‘part, piece’
 < **keseg*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., HY, Muq. *kesek*; LM *keseg*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *xeseg*; Kalmuck *kesg*; Modern archaic: EYugur *kəseg*; Mongghul *kəzəg*; Santa *kiśie*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *xüse-* ~ *xühe-*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *küce-* ~ *köcö-*; Mong. Khamnigan *küs-* ‘to wish, desire’
 < **küse-* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *küsä-* ‘to wish, desire, long for’: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *küse-*; MNT *güse-*; ‘Phags-pa, Muq. *küse-*; LM *küse-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *xüse-*; Kalmuck *küs-*; Modern archaic: EYugur *kuse-*; Baoan *kuse-*; Santa *kuśie-*; Remaining lgs. - .

5.3 *In Consonant Clusters*

- Buryat *amha-* ~ *amsa-*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *amsa-*; Mong. Khamnigan *amasu-* ‘to taste’
 < **amsa-* < *aman* ‘mouth’ + *sA-* {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 289}; cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., HY, Leiden, Muq. *amsa-*; LM *amsa-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *amsa-*; Kalmuck *ams-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *ant-*; EYugur *amsa-*; Mongghul *amsa-* ~ *amasa-*; Mangghuer *amusa-*; Baoan *amsa-*; Santa *amusa-*; Moghol *əmsə-*.

- Buryat *debhe(n)* ~ *debese*; Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Onon Khamnigan *debse(n)*; Mong. Khamnigan *n.a.* ‘saddle cushion, undersaddle’
 < **debse*: cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid *debse*; LM *debse*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *dews(en)*; Kalmuck *devsj*; Modern archaic: Dagur *dəbsəy*; EYugur *debse*; Remaining lgs. - .

5.4 At the Ends of Syllables

The original Mongolic *-s at the end of a syllable regularly changed to -d in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol, but there are some doublets that show a regular change on the one hand and either a preservation of an additional pharyngealization on the other hand:¹⁸

- Buryat *bodo-* ~ *boho-*; Manch.Khamnigan *bod-*; Onon Khamnigan *bodo-* ~ *boso-*; Mong. Khamnigan *boso-* ‘to get up, stand up’
 < **bos-*: cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo., MNT, HY, Muq. *bos-*; LM *bos-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *bos-*; Kalmuck *bos-*; Modern archaic: Dagur *bos-*; EYugur *pəs-*; Mongghul *bosə-* ~ *basə-*; Mangghuer *bosi-*; Baoan *əs-* ~ *əʃ-*; Santa *bosi-*; Moghol *bos-*.
- Buryat *ehe-* ‘to turn sour, ferment’; *ed’xe-* ‘to allow or cause to ferment; turn sour or curdle; to leaven’; Khamnigan dial. *n.a.*
 < **is-* ‘to ferment, turn sour; to rise of dough; to oxidize’; **iske-* < *is-GA-* {Mongolic vv/Causative: Poppe GWM §225}: cf. Middle Mongol: - ; LM *is-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *is-* ~ *es-*; Kalmuck *is-*; Modern archaic: Dagur; EYugur *hsə-*; Remaining lgs. - .
- Buryat *ünede-* ~ *ünese-* ~ *ünhe-*; Onon, Manch.Khamnigan *n.a.*; Mong. Khamnigan *ünüsə-* ‘to smell; to kiss, to caress’
 < **ünüs-* < **hünüs-*: cf. Middle Mongol: MNT *hünös-* ~ *hünis-*; Muq. *hünis-*; LM *ünüs-*; Modern non-archaic: Khalkha *ünse-*; Kalmuck *üms-*; Modern archaic: EYugur *honosdə-*; Mongghul *funis-*; Remaining lgs. - .

There is one doublet example in Khamnigan Mongol dialect of Mongolia:

- Buryat *ulad*; Mong.Khamnigan *ulad* ~ *ulas* ~ *ulus*; cf. Onon Khamnigan *ulas*; Manch.Khamnigan *ulus* ‘people; state, country’
 < **ulus* ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *ulus* ‘id’: cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl. Mo., MNT, HY, Yiyu, ‘Phags-pa, Muq., Rasulid *ulus*; LM *ulus*; Modern

18 This phonetic feature is typical of Bokhan and Bulagat – the Western Buryat dialects, e.g. Bokhan, Bulagat Buryat *bodōd* ~ *bohōd* {-ōd conv.perf.} ‘after standing up’ < LM *bos-* ‘to stand up’; Bokhan Buryat *xonihōr* ~ *xonihōr* ‘by sheeps’ {*d* ~ *h* plural, -ōr instrum. case} < LM *qonin* ‘sheep’, Bulagat Buryat *moridō* ~ *morihō* ‘horses’ {-*d* plural, -ō refl.accusat. case} < LM *morin* ‘horse’, etc. (for more examples, see Rassadin 1982: 83).

non-archaic: Khalkha, Kalmuck *uls*; Modern archaic: Dagur *ɔlur*; EYugur *ulus*; MonguorH *lus*; Remaining lgs. -.

6 Conclusion

Among all Mongolic languages the regular *pharyngealization of *s in initial and intervocalic positions* is only observed in Buryat and Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The investigated material strengthens the idea that the Mongolic consonant *s was originally preserved in Common Khamnigan Mongol and later pharyngealized in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. It is questionable what the source of this change is here; it might be Buryat or Ewenki. The Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, Ewenki and Buryat people live together and have been in contact with each other for centuries. The speakers of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol moved from Transbaikalia to China after the Russian Revolution in 1917, October together with Transbaikalian Buryat people (today known as the Shinekhen Buryat) and Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenkis (Janhunen 1990: 8). The last group is known as the descendants of the speakers of the Nercha Ewenki dialect (Janhunen 1991: 12), which together with the Barguzin Ewenki people belong to the Ewenki community living in the territory of Transbaikalia. According to the classification of Tungusic languages (Khabtagaeva 2017: 19–20), Nercha Ewenki belongs to the southern sibilant (*s-*, *VsV*) group, while Barguzin Ewenki belongs to the eastern sibilant-spirant (*s-*, *VhV*) group, i.e. the Tungusic **VsV* regularly pharyngealized only in Barguzin Ewenki. This phenomenon can be observed in Mongolic loanwords too. In contrast, the original Tungusic words with initial and intervocalic *s in Nercha Ewenki and Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki were preserved,¹⁹ while in Mongolic loanwords the consonant pharyngealized in the Urulga sub-dialect and was preserved in the Mankovo sub-dialect of Nercha Ewenki,²⁰ so the pharyngealization should have happened in a later period. The Mongolic loanwords with *s in Barguzin and Nercha Ewenki, according to several criteria (e.g. the consonant *-u-* in the second syllable, the absence of breaking *i*, the presence of affricates *ʃ* and *č*, etc.), belong to the Khamnigan Mongol layer and not to Buryat (Khabtagaeva 2017:

19 According to Castén's (1856) and Janhunen's (1991) materials, LEwenki *sele* 'iron': Nercha Ewenki, Manch. Ewenki *sele*; LEwenki *asī* 'woman': Nercha *āsī*, Manch. Ewenki *asī*, LEwenki *ēsa* 'eye': Nercha Ewenki *īsa* ~ *ēsa*, Manch. Ewenki Urulga *iesa*, Manch. Ewenki Mankovo (Borzya) *īsa*, etc.

20 E.g. Nercha Ewenki *dāsūn* (Man'kovo), *dāhūn* (Urulga) 'rope, loop, lasso' ← Mongolic **dēsūn* < LM *degesūn*; Nercha Ewenki *ilāsūn* (Man'kovo), *ilāhūn* (Urulga) 'fly' ← Mongolic **ilāsūn* < LM *ilayasūn*, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2017: 175).

174–175). Hereby, the Urulga sub-dialect of Nercha Ewenki was influenced by the ancestor language of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. I believe it is correct to affirm that both language sources – Buryat and an ‘early’ Ewenki dialect which is related to the sibilant-spirant (*s*-, *VhV*) group – played an important role in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol’s pharyngealization. I agree with Janhunen’s statement (2005: 50–51) that this change should be regarded an innovative development for Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The Mongolic words with the preserved consonant **s*- in Manchurian Khamnigan (e.g. *soyol* ‘culture’, *asū*- ‘to ask’) were borrowed later from Buryat.

Due to the absence of early sources, the period of pharyngealization is unknown. Some researchers connect this change in Buryat and Yakut with an Ewenki substratum²¹ (Buraev 1988; Rassadin 1982: 5). According to Sanžeev (1953: 9), the process of change *s* > *h* in Buryat possibly occurred in the 17th–18th centuries. In the small Buryat word lists from that time twofold representations with *s* and *h* at the same time are apparent. Rassadin (1982: 160–162) indicates that these materials constitute different Buryat dialects of that time. But it is more correct to claim that the process of pharyngealization was almost finished before the 17th century,²² when the Russians arrived in the territory of Transbaikalia. The Russian loanwords in Buryat²³ and Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol²⁴ prove a relatively later period of borrowing; in most cases the Russian *s* in different positions is preserved (Gruntov and Mazo 2015: 172). The early stage of the pharyngealization process proves the development

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- 21 According to Ubrjatova (1960: 74), the pharyngealized consonant in Yakut appeared relatively late and under the influence of Ewenki dialects. It is important to note that pharyngealization in Yakut occurs only in morphological derivation (e.g. Yakut *as* ‘food’ + *ā*- {denom.verbum suffix} > *ahā*- ‘to eat’, *kus* ‘duck’ + *u* {acc.case} > *kuhu*, etc.), while in the original Turkic words **VsV* changed to *VtV* (e.g. Old Turkic *asij* ‘profit’ > Yakut *atī* ‘trade’, Old Turkic *isi*- ‘to be hot’ > Yakut *itī*-, etc.) (for details, see Khabtagaeva 2011: 105). The later period of pharyngealization in Yakut proves the Mongolic and Russian loanwords where the intervocalic *VsV* regularly pharyngealized in Yakut (for more details and examples, see Kałużyński 1961: 49; Khabtagaeva 2001: 105). In the initial position the original Turkic **s*- disappeared, while in Mongolic and Russian loanwords it was preserved.
- 22 For details on the occurrence pharyngealized *h* in the glossaries of Fischer from 1730’s and Pallas from 1786, see Clark (1976: 56–57; 60).
- 23 In initial position: Russian *capáú* ‘shed, barn’ → Buryat *sarai*; Russian *canoúú* ‘boots’ → Buryat *sabxi*; Russian *самовáп* ‘samovar’ → Buryat *sambār*; Russian *сáхap* ‘sugar’ → Buryat *sāxar*; in intervocalic position: Russian *кycóк* ‘piece; lump’ → Buryat *xyusūg*.
- 24 In initial position: Russian *canoúú* ‘boots’ → Manch. Khamnigan *sapogī*; Russian *сáхap* ‘sugar’ → Manch. Khamnigan *sāxar*; Russian *самовáп* ‘samovar’ → Manch. Khamnigan *samowār*; Russian *сéмечкy* ‘sunflower seeds’ → Manch. Khamnigan *sēmečika*; in intervocalic position: Russian *нecóк* ‘granulated sugar’ → Manch. Khamnigan *pisōk*; etc. (Gruntov and Mazo 2015: 182–185).

of intervocalic *s* in Western Buryat dialects, where it underwent the following process: *AGA > *A*h*A > *A*h*A > A*ʰ*A the consonant *-h-* was dropped and a secondary long vowel developed²⁵ as in Middle Mongol sources (for details and examples, see Rassadin 1982: 54–56).

In turn, the change of final **-s* > *-d* in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol is an old process which was already present in Middle Mongol²⁶ (Clark 1976: 61–62; Rybatzki 2003: 374; Rykin 2014: 130). The investigated material shows this change was independent in Khamnigan Mongol without Buryat influence, it is characteristic of all Khamnigan Mongol dialects and belongs to the ‘original’ Khamnigan Mongol heritage.

The development of the Mongolic syllable **si* in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol are not related to each other; the preservation of the syllable in Khamnigan proves the archaism of the language.

The results of the development of Mongolic **s* in Buryat and Khamnigan Mongol dialects are summarized in the table below:

Common Mongolic	Buryat	Manchurian Khamnigan	Onon Khamnigan	Khamnigan of Mongolia
* <i>s-</i>	regular atypical	<i>h-</i> <i>s-</i>	<i>h-</i> <i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i> –
*VsV	regular atypical	V <i>h</i> V VsV, metathesis	V <i>h</i> V n.a.	VsV –
* <i>-s</i>	regular atypical	<i>-d</i> <i>-hV</i> , <i>-s</i>	<i>-d</i> <i>-s</i>	<i>-d</i> <i>-s</i>
* <i>si</i> , * <i>si</i>	regular atypical	<i>si</i> –	<i>si</i> ~ <i>ši</i> ~ <i>šV</i> –	<i>si</i> ~ <i>ši</i> –
* <i>-Cs-</i>	regular atypical	<i>-Ch-</i> <i>gs</i> ~ <i>x</i>	<i>-Ch-</i> –	<i>-Cs-</i> <i>-Cš-</i> ← Khalkha

25 E.g. LM *časun* ‘snow’ > LBuryat *sahan*, cf. Barguzin Buryat *sa’an*, Bokhan Buryat *sān*; LM *ǰiyasun* ‘fish’ > LBuryat *zagahan*, cf. Barguzin, Kudara Buryat *zagūn* (< **zaga’un*), Bokhan Buryat *zagān*; LM *biči-gsen* ‘part.perfective: wrote’ > LBuryat *bešehe*n, cf. Barguzin Buryat *bešeēn*, etc.

26 Cf. doublets LM *jes* ~ *jed* ‘copper’, *egüs-* ~ *egüd-* ‘to undertake’.

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