

Mongolica Pragensia '16

Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics,
Religion and Culture
Volume 9, No. 1



Publication of Charles University
Faculty of Arts, Department of South and Central Asia
Seminar of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies
Prague 2016

ISSN 1803-5647

This journal is published as a part of the Programme for the Development of Fields of Study at Charles University, *Oriental Studies*, sub-programme “The process of transformation in the language and cultural differentness of the countries of South and Central Asia”, a project of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

The publication of this Issue was supported by the TRITON Publishing House.

Mongolica Pragensia '16
Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture
Volume 9, No. 1 (2016)

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Celetná 20, 116 42 Praha 1, Czech Republic

<http://mongolistika.ff.cuni.cz>

Publisher: Stanislav Juhaňák – TRITON

<http://www.triton-books.cz>

Vykáňská 5, 100 00 Praha 10

IČ 18433499

Praha (Prague) 2016

Cover Renata Brtnická

Typeset Studio Marvil

Printed by Art D – Grafický ateliér Černý s. r. o.

Publication periodicity: twice a year

Registration number of MK ČR E 18436

ISSN 1803-5647

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Morphological peculiarities in Yeniseian loanwords of Altaic origin*

BAYARMA KHABTAGAEVA, Szeged University

Summary: This paper is a part of my work *Altaio-Yeniseica*, which is now in a preparatory stage. The paper presents 24 different Yeniseian words of Altaic origin, where the native Yeniseian suffixes have been identified, or have lost the Altaic suffixes in the final position.

The topic of my current research is the exploration of Altaic elements in Yeniseian languages.¹ Most loanwords in Yeniseian from Altaic languages are nouns and adjectives. Usually they change according to typically Yeniseian phonetic features which are atypical for Altaic languages such as amalgamation, syncope, metathesis, aphaeresis, or absence of synharmony.² From a morphological point of view there are cases which are used only with native Yeniseian suffixes.

The main source of my research was the Comparative Dictionary of Yeniseian languages by Werner (Werner 2002) and his Yeniseian materials (Werner 2005). In these works we can find all of the lexical material of Yeniseian languages published so far. Another source for my work was the *Etymological Dictionary of Yeniseian languages* by Vajda and Werner, which is currently in a preparatory stage (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

*) This paper is dedicated to the memory of Professor Jaroslav Vacek.

- 1) Previous studies only focused on the Turkic elements, e.g. see the papers of Timonina (1986; 2004) and Stachowski (1996; 1997). Vajda published a valuable paper on different loanwords (Russian, Uralic, Altaic) in Ket, which aimed at examining loanwords (Vajda 2009). The Mongolic and Tungusic loanwords have not been discussed yet.
- 2) The Yeniseian languages are characterized by highly complicated grammatical features, which are absent in Altaic and Uralic languages. For example, there is a class division between masculine animate, feminine animate, and inanimate or neuter. There is a highly elaborated verbal morphology (e.g. see: Vajda & Zinn 2004; Georg 2007). One of the important distinguishing features is the existence of four monosyllabic tones (Vajda 2000) and the absence of vowel harmony.

Yeniseian languages

Yeniseian languages belong in the Paleo-Siberian language group. It has been suggested that Yeniseian languages are connected with the Sino-Tibetan, Burushaski (Karasuk) Caucasian and Na-Dené³ language families. Nowadays it is possibly correct to regard the Yeniseian language family as isolated with no known relatives among the world's languages.

According to the most recent works on historical linguistics by Starostin (1982), Vajda & Werner (in preparation), Vajda (personal communication) the Yeniseian languages are divided into at least three sub-branches: Ket-Yugh, Arin-Pumpokol, Assan-Kott, with Arin either connected with Pumpokol or Ket-Yugh or representing a fourth sub-branch. Today the Yeniseian language family is represented only by the three surviving dialects of Ket.

Yeniseian suffixes in Altaic loanwords⁴

Arin suffix *-ok*

Some Arin words of Turkic origin have the Yeniseian suffix *-ok*, which resembles the Russian diminutive suffix and typical for loanwords (For the origin of the Arin suffix see Werner 2005, p. 149):

- (1) Arin *buturčīnok* 'quail' (Werner 2002/1, p. 153) < *buturčīn-ok* ← Turkic **budurčun* 'quail, Coturnyx' < **buldur+čXn* {? Turkic NN}:

cf.⁵ Old Turkic *bildürčīn* ~ *budursīn*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *pudurčun* ~ *püdürčün*; Sagai *püdürčün* (R); Altay Turkic -; Sayan Turkic -; Chulyum Turkic -; Yakut *bild'irīt* 'Siberian

3) Recently Vajda (2010) presented some linguistic facts that the Yeniseian languages display genealogical connections with the Na-Dené languages of North America, but this question remains open.

4) The transcription for Yeniseian and Altaic (Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic) data employed here follows general principles employed in Yeniseian and Altaic Studies respectively. E.g. the palatal glide consonant is given as /j/ in Yeniseian, while in Turkic it has been kept as /y/.

Important to note that the traditional transcription system which is used in most publications on Mongolic and Tungusic is close to the transcription used in Turkic Studies (see Johanson & Csató 1998, pp. xviii–xxii).

5) I follow the classification of Turkic languages according to Johanson (1998, pp. 82–83). Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. Besides Siberian Turkic (Yenisey Turkic, Altay Turkic, Sayan Turkic, Chulyum, Yakut and Dolgan), examples of Siberian Tatar dialect are also cited. Also Fu-yü and Yellow Uyghur

snipe'; Dolgan - ; Siberian Tatar *büldürçün*; Kirgiz *bulduruk* (< *buldur* + *Ak* {Turkic diminutive}) 'sandgrouse'; Fu-yü - ; Kazak *buldırıq* 'grouse'; Yellow Uyghur - .

From an etymological point of view, the root of the Turkic word is the forms **buldur* ~ **bıldır*, which are probably of onomatopoeic origin. The presence of the suffix +*čIn* assumes the Kirgiz *bulduruk* and Kazak *buldırıq* forms, where the diminutive suffix +*Ak* is found. Cf. also the Mongolic word *bilduur* 'small bird'⁶. (Nugteren 2011, p. 282), which is possibly of Turkic origin (On etymology see Räsänen VEWT, pp. 73b–74a; Clauson ED, pp. 335b; 309a; ESTJa 1978, pp. 305–306; SIGTJa 2001, p. 173).

- (2) Arin *xamčook* 'whip' (Werner 2002/1, p. 407) < *xamčo-ok* ← Turkic **qamčū* < *qamčī* 'a whip' < *qam-* 'to strike down' -*čI* {Turkic VN};

cf. Old Turkic *qamčī*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *xamji*; Sagai *qamji* (R); Kyzyl *χamžže*; Shor *qamčī*; Altay Turkic: Altay *qamčī*; Tuba *kamčī*; Qumanda *kamčī*; Quu *kamdži* ~ *kamži* ~ *kamčī*; Teleut *qamčī*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *kimčī*; Tofan *qimšī*; Chulym Turkic *qamčū*; Yakut *kimn* 'ī; Yakut dial. *kimn* 'ī 'pole to control deer'; Siberian Tatar *qamčī*; Kirgiz *kamčī*; Fu-yü - ; Kazak *qamšī*; Yellow Uyghur - .

The Yeniseian word clearly was borrowed from Turkic. The root of the Turkic word is the Common Turkic verb *qam-* 'to strike down' and the non-productive deverbal noun suffix -*čI* (Clauson ED, p. xliii). The etymological background of the word was examined by Räsänen (VEWT, p. 229a), Doerfer (TMEN 3, pp. 509–511), Clauson (ED, p. 626a) and ESTJa (1997, pp. 247–248). Besides Yeniseian, the Turkic word was borrowed by the Samoyedic⁷, Siberian Russian (Anikin 2000, p. 252) and Tungusic⁸ (Dorfer TMEN 3, p. 510; Romanova, Myreeva & Baraškov 1975, p. 188) languages.

- (3) Arin *kajakok* 'oil, butter' (Werner 2002/1, p. 404) < *kajak-ok* ← Turkic **kayak* 'butter, sour cream' < *qañak* 'the skin on milk, clotted cream' < *qañ-* (> *qayin-*) 'to boil' -(A)K {Turkic VN};

are important because of some similarities with Yenisey Turkic. The Fu-yü variety is classified in the Kipchak group with Kazak and Kirgiz.

- 6) Turkic → Mongolic: Middle Mongolic: Secret History *bilji'ur* 'small bird, sparrow', *bildu'ur* 'lark'; Rasulid *bildür*; Literary Mongolian *biljuuqai* 'any small bird'; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *bilžūxai* ~ *bolžūxai* ~ *bulžūxai* 'small bird'; Khalkha *byalzūxai* 'a small bird' (*bilju* + *KAi* {Mongolic Diminutive}); Dagur *bellur* ~ *beldur* 'lark' (Engkebatu); Khamnigan -
- 7) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *kamju* ~ *kamd'u* 'whip' (Joki LS, p. 156); Mator *kamji* 'whip' (Helinski 1997, p. 265).
- 8) Turkic: Yakut → Tungusic: Ewenki dial. *kimni* 'whip'.

cf. Old Turkic *qañaq* ‘the skin on milk, clotted cream’; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *xayax* ‘butter’; Sagai *xayax* ‘the food prepared from clotted cream or butter’ (Butanaev), Koibal, Kachin *qayaq* ‘butter’ (R); Kyzyl *xaymax* ‘sour cream’ (Butanaev); Shor *qaymaq* ‘sour cream’; Altay Turkic: Altay *qaymaq* ‘sour cream, cream’; Qumanda *kaymak* ‘sour cream’; Teleut *qaymaq* ‘sour cream’ (R); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan -; Chulym Turkic *qaymaq* ‘cream’; Yakut *xayax* ‘butter’; Siberian Tatar *qaimaq* ‘boiled thick sour cream’ (R); Kirgiz *kaymak* ‘cream’; Fu-yü -; Kazak *qaymaq* ‘cream, sour cream’; Yellow Uyghur -.

The Arin word was obviously borrowed from Turkic. The borrowing from Siberian Turkic proves the presence of the intervocalic consonant *VyV* instead of the original *ViV*. The Samoyedic forms were also borrowed from Siberian Turkic.⁹ For details on Turkic etymology see works of Doerfer (TMEN 3, pp. 410–412), Räsänen (VEWT, p. 231b), Clauson (ED, p. 636b) and Levitskaja (ESTJa 1997, pp. 200–201).

- (4) Arin *altinok* ‘gold’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 27) < *altin-ok* ← Turkic **altin* ‘gold’ < *altün*:

cf. Old Turkic *altün*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *altin*; Kyzyl *altin*; Shor *altin*; Altay Turkic: Altay *altin*; Tuba *altin*; Qumanda *altin*; Quu *altin*; Teleut *altin*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *aldin*; Tofan *a'tlan*; Chulym Turkic *altun*; Yakut *altan* ‘copper’¹⁰; Dolgan *altan* ‘copper’; Siberian Tatar *altin*; Kirgiz *altin*; Fu-yü *altin*; Kazak *altin*; Yellow Uyghur *altin*;

The Common Turkic word *altun* ‘gold’ belongs amongs the category of cultural words and is registered in almost all Modern Turkic languages. It was borrowed to Mongolic¹¹ (Rybatzki 2006, pp. 102–104; Nugteren 2011, p. 269), Tungusic¹² (SSTMJa 1, p. 33a), Samoyedic¹³ (Joki LS, p. 64; Filipova 1994, p. 45) and Russian (Anikin 2000, p. 84) languages. The etymology of the word is unknown. Some researchers connect it with Turkic **äl* ‘red’ and Chinese *ton* ‘copper’ (for details, see Doerfer TMEN 1, p. 142; Räsänen VEWT, p. 18a; Rybatzki 2006, pp. 102–104).

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- 9) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *kajac* ~ *kajak* ‘butter, oil’ (Joki LS, p. 151); Mator *kajak* ‘butter, oil’ (Helinski 1997, p. 261).
 10) Yakut ← ? Tungusic, cf. Negidal *altan* ‘copper’ (SSTMJa 1, p. 33a).
 11) Turkic → Mongolic ‘gold’: Middle Mongolic: Secret History; Hua-Yi Yiyu; Muqaddimat al-Adab, Leiden *altan*; Istanbul *altat* (< *altan* + *t* {Mongolic plural}) ‘piece of gold money’; Literary Mongolian *alta(n)*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *alta(n)*; Khalkha *altan*; Oyrat dial. *altän*; Dagur *alt* ~ *altä* ~ *altän* (Engkebatu); Khamnigan *alta(n)*.
 12) Turkic → Mongolic → Tungusic: NorthernT: Ewenki *altan* ‘gold’; Negidal *altan* ‘copper’; SouthernT: Oroch *akta* ‘tin, zinc’; Udehe *alta* ~ *arta* ‘tin, zinc’; Nanai *altä* ‘tin, tin utensils’ (SSTMJa 1, p. 33a).
 13) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *altin* ‘gold’ (Joki LS, p. 64); Selkup *altin* ‘money’ (Filipova 1994, p. 45).

Yeniseian plural suffix *-ŋ / -n*

There are some Yeniseian loanwords, which were used with the Yeniseian plural suffix *-(V)ŋ* or *-(V)n*. In some cases the suffix plays role of derivation words with collective meaning. For details on function of suffix in Yeniseian see Werner (1990, pp. 57–58), Porotova (2004, pp. 129–134) and Georg (2007, pp. 92–102). The suffix is found in Turkic and Tungusic loanwords, e.g.

- (5) Kott *kubürgeŋ* ~ *kabürgeŋ* ‘onion’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 447) < *kubürge-ŋ* ~ *kabürge-ŋ* < Turkic **köbürgän* ‘wild onion’ < **köbür* + *GAN* {Turkic NN};

cf. Old Turkic *kömürgän* ~ *köbürgän*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *köbirgen*; Sagai, Koibal *köbürgän* (R); Shor *köbirgen*; Altay Turkic: Altay *köbirgen*; Quu *köbirgen*; Teleut *köbirgen*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan Toju *kögürgün*; Tofan *kögürhen* ~ *kögürhen*; Chulym Turkic - ; Yakut - ; Siberian Tatar - ; Kirgiz *köbürgön*; Fu-yü - ; Kazak - ; Yellow Uyghur - .

Due to absence of vowel harmony in Yeniseian, the Altaic loanwords regularly lost it. From etymological point of view, the Turkic word derived from the non-productive base **köbür* and Turkic denominal noun suffix +*GAN*, which forms names of plants and animals (For details on suffix function see Erdal 1991, p. 85). The base of Turkic word possibly connects with Mongolic *kömöl*.¹⁴ The Turkic word was borrowed also to Samoyedic.¹⁵ On etymology of Turkic word see Räsänen (VEWT, p. 285a), Clauson (ED, p. 691b), Rassadin (1971, p. 204), Sevortjan (ESTJa 1980, p. 100) and Tenišev (SIGTJa 2001, p. 124).

- (6) Pumpokol *aniŋ* ‘legs, feet’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 34) < *an-iŋ*¹⁶ < Turkic **yan* ‘the hip; the side, flank of the body or in other contexts’ < *yān*:

cf. Old Turkic *yān*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *nan*; Sagai *čan* ~ *nan*; Shor *čan*; Altay Turkic: Altay *d’an*; Tuba *d’an*; Qumanda *d’an* ~ *yan*; Quu *ñan*; Teleut *yan*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *čan*; Tofan *nan*; Chulym Turkic *yaŋ* ~ *čan*; Yakut - ; Siberian Tatar - ; Kirgiz *jan*; Fu-yü - ; Kazak *žan*; Yellow Uyghur *yan*.

The source of borrowing possibly was Siberian Turkic form with palatal consonant *y-*, which disappeared. This phonetic feature is also typical for

14) Cf. Middle Mongolic: - ; Literary Mongolian *kömöl* ~ *kömöli* ‘wild onion’; Modern Mongolic: Buryat - ; Khalkha *xömöl*; Oyrat dial. *kömöl* ~ *kömül*; Dagur - ; Khamnigan - .

15) Turkic → Samoyedic: cf. Kamas *köbörgän* ‘onion’ (Joki LS, p. 199).

16) Cf. the usage of plural marker in the original Yeniseian word ‘foot’ in Ket, Yugh and Kott languages: Ket *bū:l* > *bul-aŋ* ‘feet’; Yugh *bül* > *bul-uŋ*, Kott *pul* > *pul-aŋ* (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

Tungusic loanwords.¹⁷ For etymological background of Turkic word see Räsänen (VEWT, p. 184b), Rassadin (1971, p. 208), Clauson (ED, p. 940a), Doerfer (TMEN 4, p. 120) and ESTJa (1989, p. 113).

- (7) Ket *húkterŋ* ~ *hukten* ‘taboo bear eyes’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 328) < *hukte-ŋ* ← Northern Tungusic **hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’ < *hug* ‘bear, predator’ + *dī* {Ewenki NN/Adj.}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *hugdī* < *hug* ~ *hüg* ‘bear’; Lamut *hukečēn* ‘bear’; Negidal *xūyēčēn* ~ *xūxēčēn*; Southern Amuric: -; Southern Manchuric: -.

The etymology of the Ket word is unknown. It possibly originates from the Ewenki adjective *hugdī* ‘rapacious, predatory’ with Yeniseian plural suffix *-ŋ*. The base of Tungusic word is *hug* with Ewenki productive denominal noun suffix +*dī*, which forms adjectives (For suffix function see Vasilevič 1958, p. 755). In Tungusic the word also belongs to the category of taboos, the original meaning of the word is ‘predator’ and later ‘bear’ (SSTMJa 2, p. 337a).

- (8) Southern Ket *ijīnes* ‘spring’ (Werner 2002/2, p. 421) < *ijī-ŋ* + Yeniseian *e’s* ‘weather’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 273):
ijī ← Northern Tungusic **ije* ‘horn’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ije* ‘horn’; Lamut *ij* ~ *ije*; Negidal *ije*; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *ije*; Udihe *jē*; Ulcha, Orok *hujē*; Nanai *hujī*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen *wúh-yè-hēi*; Manchu *ujhe* ~ *wejhe*; Sibe -.

The Ket word belongs to hybrid compound words. In ethnographic works the word is mentioned as a taboo replacement word for the Yeniseian form *ir* (Vajda: personal communication). The word probably consists of the Tungusic word *ije* ‘horn’ with the Yeniseian plural suffix *-ŋ* and the Yeniseian word *e’s* ‘weather’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 273). My assumption can be confirmed by the observation that reindeer shed their antlers during the spring season. On the etymology, derivation and correspondences of Common Tungusic word see SSTMJa (1, pp. 298b–299a).

17) E.g. Ket *enna* ‘really?’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *yēnan* < *yē* ‘what; how; really?’ + *ŋĀn* {Ewenki NN}, cf. Common Tungusic *yē-* ‘quest. verb what to do?’; Central Ket *aqtul* ‘spring (water coming out of the ground)’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 55) < *aqtu-l* ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki *jūkte* ‘spring, brook’ < *jū-* ‘to go out, come out’ -*ktA* {Ewenki VN}.

Yeniseian nominalizer -s

One of the productive suffixes in Yeniseian is the nominalizer *-s* (Ket *-s*, Yugh *-si*, Kott *-še*, Arin *-šu*), which forms nouns from words belonging to other parts of speech (Georg 2007, pp. 122–125; Vajda: personal communication), e.g.

- From adjectival roots: Ket *ēt* ‘sharp’ → *ēts* ‘something sharp, a sharp one’;
- From inflected nouns and pronouns: Ket *ām* ‘mother’ > *ámdi* ‘mother’s’ → *ámdis* ‘which belongs to mother’; Ket *ū(k)* ‘you’ > *ūk* ‘yours’ → *úkis* ‘which belongs to you’;
- From verbal roots: Ket *kī* ‘to fly away’ → *kīs* ‘a bird, which is flying away or has flown away’; Ket *béd* ‘to do, make’ → *béds* ‘something which is done, made’; Ket *dǎldaq* ‘he lived’ → *dǎldaqs* ‘one who lived’; Ket *dban-bun* ‘they repeatedly give me something’ → *dbanbuns* ‘those who repeatedly give me something’; etc.

The Yeniseian nominalizer among Altaic loanwords is typical of Tungusic loanwords, but was found only in one Turkic loanword, namely

- (9) Arin *bajšu* ‘wealth’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 99) < *baj-šu* ← Turkic **bay* ‘rich; a rich man’ < *bāy*:

cf. Old Turkic *bāy*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *pay*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *pay* (R); Kyzyl *pay* ~ *bay*; Shor *pay*; Altay Turkic: Altay *bay*; Tuba *bay*; Qumanda *bay*; Quu *pay*; Teleut *pay*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *bay*; Tofan *bay*; Chulym Turkic *pay*; Yakut *bāy*; Dolgan *bāy*; Siberian Tatar *pay*; Kirgiz *bay*; Fu-yü *bay*; Kazak *bay*; Yellow Uyghur *paj* ~ *päy*.

In Turkic the word is used as noun and adjective. The Turkic word in Arin was probably borrowed as an adjective and changed to a collective noun. The etymological background of the Common Turkic word was examined by Doerfer (TMEN 2, p. 59), Clauson (ED, p. 384a) and Sevortjan (ESTJa 1978, pp. 27–28). The Turkic word in the Siberian area was also borrowed by Samoyedic¹⁸, Mongolic (Nugteren 2011, p. 279) and Tungusic (SSTMJa 1, p. 65b).

- (10) Yugh *boŋsi* ‘dead (person)’ (Werner 2002/1, pp. 145–146) < *boŋ-si* ← Northern Tungusic **bun* < *bunī* ‘dead person; cemetery, grave’ < *bu-* ‘to die’ -*nī* {Ewenki VN}:

18) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *bai* ‘rich, wealthy; wealth, fortune’ (Joki LS 80); Mator *baj* ‘rich’ (Helimski 1997, p. 213).

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *bunī* 'death; dead corpse; burial place, grave; hell, ghost; dead person'; Lamut *buni* 'dead person; long-lived people'; Negidal *bunī* 'death; afterworld'; Southern Amuric: Oroch *buñi* 'afterworld'; Udihe *bunige* ~ *bunije* 'afterworld'; Ulcha *bu-* 'to die'; Orok *bu-*; Nanai *bu-*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen *pūh-ē-ē-hēi*; Manchu *bude-* ~ *buče-* 'to die'; Sibe - .

The Tungusic word was also borrowed by Ket *bō'ŋ* 'dead person' and its derived form *boŋnij* 'cemetery; grave'. As in Ket, the Yugh form also lost the original final Tungusic vowel. From an etymological point of view (SSTMJa 1, pp. 98–99), the Tungusic word is derived from the verb *bu-* 'to die' and the Ewenki productive deverbal noun suffix *-nī*, which forms nouns designating state, condition or natural phenomenon, e.g. *d'uganī* 'summer' < *d'uga-* 'to be (about summer)', *binī* 'life' < *bi-* 'to be', etc. (For details on suffix function see Vasilevič 1958, p. 782).

- (11) Ket *toqtis* 'slope of a riverbank or hill' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation) < *toqti-s* ← Northern Tungusic **tukti-* 'to go up a slope or mountain':

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *tūkti-* ~ *tukti-*; Lamut *töt-* ~ *tüöt-*; Negidal *tukti-*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *tukti-*; Udihe *tukti-*; Ulcha *tō-*; Orok *tōqpo-* ~ *tōpgo-*; Nanai *tō-*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *tuk'e-*; Sibe *tuqi-*.

Through the Yeniseian nominalizer *-s* the Tungusic verb changed to a noun in Ket. The Tungusic verb is widespread in almost all Tungusic languages; for derivations and correspondences see SSTMJa (2, p. 209b).

Yeniseian adjective-forming suffix *-Xŋ/-Xn*

There are some Turkic and Tungusic loanwords in Yeniseian derived using the Yeniseian non-productive denominal noun suffix *-Xŋ/-Xn*, which forms adjectives, e.g. Ket *qà* ~ *qàn* 'big', *bɔ'l* ~ *bɔlan* 'fat', *ugde* ~ *ugdeŋ* 'long', *hılan* 'sweet' < *hi'l* 'birch sap', etc. (Vajda 2004, p. 38). The Yeniseian suffix is found in Turkic and Tungusic loanwords, e.g.

- (12) Assan *esrolagin* ~ *esrolokon* 'drunk' (Werner 2002/1, p. 268) < *esrolag-ŋn* ~ *esrolok-on* ← Turkic **äsäriklig* 'drunk, intoxicated' < *äsär-* 'to be or become drunk, intoxicated' -(X)K {Turkic VN} +IXK {Turkic NN/Adj.}:

cf. Old Turkic *äsür-*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *izirik*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *ezirik* (R); Kyzyl *ezirik*; Shor *azirik* (R); Altay Turkic: Altay *ezirik*; Tuba *ezirik*; Qumanda *ezir-*; Quu *ezirik*; Teleut *ezirik*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *ezirik*; Tofan *ecsirik*; Chulyum Turkic *ezerek*; Yakut *itirik*;

Dolgan *itirik*; Siberian Tatar *izerek*; Kirgiz *esirik* 'stupid'; Fu-yü *izür-*; Kazak *esiriktik* 'intoxication; irresponsible state'; Yellow Uyghur *iser-* ~ *eser-*.

The Assan forms underwent the metathesis *-kl-* > *-lk-*, which is peculiar for Altaic elements in Yeniseian. From the etymological point of view, the Turkic word is derived from the verb *äsär-* 'to be or become drunk, intoxicated' with productive deverbal noun suffix *-(X)K* and denominal noun/adjective suffix *+LXK*. For other Turkic data and etymology see Räsänen (VEWT, p. 50b), Clauson (ED, p. 251a) and Sevortjan (ESTJa 1974, pp. 309–310). From Siberian Turkic the word also was borrowed by Samoyedic¹⁹ (Joki LS, p. 129).

- (13) Yugh *itiñsi* 'stinking' (Werner 2002/1, p. 385) < *ĩ't* 'smell, aroma' *-iñ -si* {Yeniseian nominalizer} ← Turkic **yit* 'scent, odour, smell' < *yid*:

cf. Old Turkic *yid*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *čis*; Sagai *čis* (R); Koibal, Kachin *yis* (R); Shor *čizig*; Altay Turkic: Altay *d'it*; Tuba *d'it*; Qumanda *d'it*; Quu *yit*; Teleut *yit*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *čit*; Tofan *čit*; Chulym Turkic -; Yakut *sit*; Dolgan *hit*; Siberian Tatar *yis* ~ *is* ~ *yes*; Kirgiz *žit*; Fu-yü -; Kazak *is*; Yellow Uyghur -.

The source of borrowing may be Altay Turkic **yit* with initial *y-* and devoiced consonant *t*. The disappearance of the initial *y-* is a typical feature for Yeniseian loanwords. Cf. above Pumpokol *aniñ* 'legs, feet', where the Turkic initial *y-* is dropped also. For the etymological background of the Turkic word see Clauson (ED, p. 887b) and Sevortjan (ESTJa 1974, pp. 380–382).

- (14) Ket *táñijen* 'careful, thorough' (Werner 2002/2, p. 299) < *táñi-enj* ← Northern Tungusic **tañni* 'counting, calculation' < *tañ-* 'to count, to read, to think, to calculate; to sum up' + *nī* {Ewenki NN}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *tañni* < *tañ-*; Lamut *tañ-*; Negidal *tañ-*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *tañæ-* ~ *tañi-*; Udihe *tañi-*; Ulcha *taun-*; Orok *tawun* ~ *taun-*; Nanai *taon-*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen *táo-wên-lâh* 'to read'; Manchu *ton* 'number'; Sibe -.

The Ket word is probably linked to the Ewenki noun *tañni* 'the person, who counts, calculates', which is derived from the verb *tañ-* 'to count, to read, to think, to calculate; to sum up' with productive deverbal nomen suffix *-nī* (for suffix function see Vasilevič 1958, p. 782). The Tungusic etymology assumes the lexical meaning of the Common Tungusic verb, which is further developed in Ket as 'the person, who counts, calculates' → 'careful, thorough person'.

19) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *ēzirek* ~ *izirek* 'intoxicated, drunk'; Motor *isür* 'drunk' (Joki LS, pp. 129, 140).

For more derivations of the Tungusic verb and correspondences see SST-MJa (2, pp. 161–162).

Yeniseian adjective-forming suffix *-tu*

Some Altaic loanwords take the Yeniseian suffix *-tu*, which usually forms adjectives. According to Georg, the Yeniseian denominal adjectives with this suffix may be rendered as ‘having sg., endowed with sg.’ E.g. Ket *kūl* ‘beard’ → *kūltu* ‘bearded’, *ūl* ‘water’ → *ūltu* ‘wet’, *du* ‘smoke’ → *dūtu* ‘smoky’, etc. (Georg 2007, pp. 141–142). It is often found in Turkic loanwords, e.g.

- (15) Kott *kuštu* ‘very strong’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 458) < *kuš-tu* ← Turkic **kūš* (cf. Kyzyl, Shor) < *kūč* ‘strength, power, energy’:

cf. Old Turkic *kūč*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *kūs*; Sagai, Koibal *kūs* (R); Kyzyl *kūš* ~ *kuš*; Shor *kūš*; Altay Turkic: Altay *kūč*; Tuba *kūč*; Qumanda *kūč*; Quu *kūč*; Teleut *kūč*; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *kūš*; Tofan *kūš*; Chulym Turkic *kūč*; Yakut *kūs*; Dolgan *kūs* ~ *kūs*; Siberian Tatar *kūc*; Kirgiz *kūč*; Fu-yü *gūštīh* (< *kūčlūg* < *kūč*+LXG) ‘strong’; Kazak *kūs*; Yellow Uyghur *kuš*.

The Kott word was obviously borrowed from Siberian Turkic. Judging from its form, the source should be the Yenisey Turkic form with final consonant *-š*, which changed from *-č*. There are similar forms with suffix *-tū* in Samoyedic²⁰ (Joki LS, p. 220; Helimski 1997, p. 296). In these cases the source of borrowing is unclear. They may be borrowed from Yeniseian, or directly from Turkic. On the etymology of the Turkic word see Clauson (ED, p. 693a) and Sevortjan (ESTJa 1980, p. 96).

- (16) Kott *t^hantu* ‘snow flurry, storm’ (Werner 2002/2, p. 315) < *t^han-tu* ← Turkic **tan* ‘a cool breeze’ < *tān*:

cf. Old Turkic *tān*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *tan* ‘breeze’; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *tan* ‘wind, north wind’ (R); Altay Turkic: Altay -; Qumanda *taŋ* ‘sharp wind’; Sayan Turkic: Tuvan-; Chulym Turkic -; Yakut -; Siberian Tatar -; Kirgiz -; Fu-yü -; Yellow Uyghur -.

The Kott word was possibly borrowed from Turkic *tan* ‘breeze, wind’ with native Yeniseian suffix. The aspirated consonant *t^h-* in the initial position suggests an early period of borrowing or the difference of Kott sources. The strict difference between *t-* and *t^h-* in the Kott sources is absent. In Modern Turkic languages the word has been preserved only in Yenisey Turkic and

20) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *kūštū* ‘strong, powerful, vigorous’ (Joki LS, p. 220); Mator *kūštū* ‘strong, powerful’ (Helimski 1997, p. 296).

Altay Turkic dialects. The word is present in the Middle Turkic source Kāšgārī with the original long vowel *tān* ‘a cold wind, which blows at dawn and sunset’ (Clauson ED, p. 510a; Räsänen VEWT, p. 460b; SIGTJa 2001, p. 42). From Turkic the word was also borrowed by Samoyedic.²¹

- (17) Kott *turkatu* ‘quick, rapid’ (Werner 2002/2, p. 290) < *turka-tu* ← Turkic **türgen* ‘quick, rapid’ ← Mongolic *türgen* ‘quick, swift, rapid, speedy; hurried; soon’:

cf. Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *türgün* ‘quick, hurried’ (Butanaev); Shor -; Altay Turkic: Altay *türgen* ‘quick, rapid; quickly, soon’; Tuba *türgen* ‘quick, rapid; quickly, hurried’; Qumanda *türgen* ‘quick, hurried’; Teleut *türgän* ‘hurry, fast’ (R); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *dürgen* ‘quick, rapid; speed’; *fig.* irascible, hotheaded’; Tofan *türgen* ‘quick, rapid’; Chulym Turkic -; Yakut *türgän* ‘speed; quick, fast’; Dolgan *türgän* ‘quick’; Siberian Tatar -; Kirgiz *dürgü-* ‘to run in fear’; Fu-yü -; Kazak -; Yellow Uyghur *türgen* ‘quickly’

Turkic ← Mongolic *türgen* ‘quick, swift, rapid, speedy; hurried; soon’: Middle Mongolic: Secret History *türgen* ~ *türgün*; Muqaddimat al-Adab *türgen*; Hua-Yi Yiyu *türgen*; Literary Mongolian *türgen*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *türgen*; Khalkha *türgen*; Kalmuck *türgn*; Dagur *turyun*; KhamniganT *türgen*.

The Kott word was borrowed from the Siberian Turkic form **türgen* and took the native Yeniseian denominal noun suffix. Due to the absence of vowel harmony in Yeniseian, the borrowed Turkic form *türgen* changed to *turkan* in Kott. The Turkic consonant cluster *-rg-* regularly devoiced in Kott. From an etymological aspect, the Turkic form is of Mongolic origin (Rassadin 1971, p. 104; 1980, p. 71; Schönig 2000, p. 183; Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 242). The Mongolic word is present in almost all Middle Mongolic sources and Modern Mongolic languages (Nugteren 2011, p. 528). Possibly the Mongolic word derived from the dead base **türge*^{±22} and the productive deverbal noun suffix *-n*, which forms adjectives²³ (see Poppe GWM, §175; Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 287). The Mongolic word was also borrowed by Tungusic²⁴ (SSTMJa 2, p. 219; Doerfer 1985, p. 82; Rozycki 1994, p. 213) languages.

21) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *tan* ‘cold, gentle winter wind; north’ (Joki LS, pp. 308–309).

22) Cf. Literary Mongolian *türged-* ‘to be rash; to be too quick; to fly into a temper’ (< **türge* +*d-* {NV}); *türgedke-* ‘to accelerate, speed up; to urge, incite’ (< **türge* +*dKA-* {NV}); *türgele-* ‘to speed up; to hurry, hasten’ (< **türge* +*lA-* {NV}); *türgedügün* ‘rash, hasty’ (< **türge* +*dA-* {NV} -*GÜn* {VN}), etc.

23) Literary Mongolian *dolgin* ‘hot-tempered, quick-tempered, passionate; imprudent’ < *dolgi-* ‘to wave, undulate; to splash out; to be restless’; *singgen* ‘fluid’ < *singge-* ‘to be absorbed’; etc.

24) Mongolic → Tungusic: Northern Tungusic: Ewenki dial. *türgen* ‘quick, rapid; vigorous, energetic’; Lamut *turgun* ‘quick, fleet-footed’; Negidal *tujgen* (< **turgen*) ‘quick, clever’; Southern Tungusic: Oroch *tuggen* (< **tujgen* < **turgen*) ‘quick, rapid’; Udihe *tuge* (< **tuggen* <

The final *-l* of unknown origin

During my research I found several Turkic and Tungusic loanwords with a final consonant *-l* of unknown origin. According to Yeniseian forms, it should be a Yeniseian peculiarity, but we do not have any information about this feature. Mostly it is peculiar to Tungusic loanwords in Ket, whereas among Turkic loanwords only one case has been found.

- (18) Kott *bišól*; Assan *bišol* ‘calf’ (Werner 2002/1, p. 153) < *bišo-l* ← Turkic **pizō* ‘calf’ < *buzāḡu*:

cf. Old Turkic *buzāḡu*; Yenisey Turkic: Khakas *pizo* ~ *pizā*; Sagai *puzā* ~ *puzū* ~ *pizā* ~ *pizō* (R); Shor *piza*; Altay Turkic: Altay *biza* ~ *bozu*; Tuba *bōzu*; Qumanda *pozū*; Teleut *pozū* (R); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *bizā*; Tofan –; Chulym Turkic –; Yakut –; Siberian Tatar *posau*; Kirgiz *muzō*; Fu-yü *buza* ‘bull’; Kazak *buzaw*; Yellow Uyghur –.

The source of borrowing is possibly one Yenisey Turkic variety. The change of Turkic intervocalic *VzV* through unvoiced **VsV* to *VšV* in Yeniseian occurred due to the absence of *VzV* consonant in Yeniseian. For the etymological background of the Turkic word see Räsänen (VEWT, p. 74b), Clauson (ED, p. 391a), Sevorjan (ESTJa 1978, pp. 239–242) and SIGTJa (2001, pp. 438–439). The Turkic word was also borrowed by Samoyedic²⁵ (Joki LS, pp. 110–112) and by Mongolic with rotacized form.²⁶

- (19) Central Ket *aqtul* ‘spring (water coming out of the ground)’ < *aqtu-l* ← Northern Tungusic **jukte* < *jükte* ‘spring, brook’ < *jū-* ‘to get out; to leave’ *-ktA* {Ewenki VN}:

The disappearance of Tungusic initial *j-* is peculiar to some Ket loanwords, e.g. Ket *enna* ‘really?’ ← Northern Tungusic: Ewenki **jēḡan* < *jē* ‘what; how; really?’ + *ḡAn* {Ewenki NN}, cf. Common Tungusic *jē-* ‘quest. verb what to do?’ The root of the word is the Common Tungusic verb *jū-* ‘to go out, come out’. The borrowing from Ewenki is evident from the presence of the Ewenki productive deverbal noun suffix *-ktA*

**tujgen* < **turgen*) ‘quick’; Ulcha *turgen*; Nanai *turge*; Manchu *turgen* ‘quick; fast; urgent; serious illness’.

25) Turkic → Samoyedic: Kamas *buziüi* ~ *buso* ‘calf’ (Joki LS, pp. 110–112).

26) Turkic → Mongolic: Middle Mongolic: Secret History *burā’u*; Muqaddimat al-Adab *burū* ‘three-year-old calf’; Literary Mongolian *birayu(n)* ‘calf in its second year’; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *burū* ‘calf under the age of one year (bear, lynx, moose, red deer)’; Khalkha *byarū* ‘calf in the second year’; Oyrat dial. *bürū* ~ *bürō* ~ *börū* ‘calf’; Dagur –; KhamniganT *burū(n)* ‘calf in the second year’.

(for function see Vasilevič 1958: 764), which is absent in other Tungusic forms (see also SSTMJ_a 1, pp. 348b–349a).

- (20) Ket *saŋɔl* ‘chimney of a dug-out’, cf. Central Ket *sɔnal* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation) < *sona-l* ← Northern Tungusic **sōna* ~ *sōŋa* ‘chimney’:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *sōna* ~ *sōŋa* ~ *suona* ~ *hōna* ~ *šōna* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; chimney of a dug-out’; Lamut *hōnan* ~ *hōnān* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; rafter’; Negidal *sōna* ‘id.’; Southern Amuric: Oroch *sōno* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out’; Udihe - ; Ulcha *sōn* ‘roof rafter’; Orok *sōno* ‘smoke hole of a dug-out; rafter’; Nanai *sō* ‘roof rafter; pole’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *son* ‘pole’; Sibe - .

The Ket forms are possibly connected with Ewenki. There are two different phonetic forms in Ket, which probably were borrowed from different Ewenki dialectal forms. For correspondences with the Tungusic word see SSTMJ_a (2, p. 110). The Ewenki word was also borrowed by Yakut²⁷, where the Ewenki long vowel -ō- is present as the diphthong -uo- (Romanova, Myreeva & Baraškov 1975, p. 175).

The loss of Altaic suffixes

There are some of Turkic and Tungusic loanwords, where the suffixes have been dropped. This feature can be explained by the monosyllabic structure of Yeniseian words and the polysyllabic structure of Altaic words, especially Tungusic words. Most loanwords belong to the names of plants, birds and insects, e.g.

- (21) Kott *tīpar* ~ *tīpar* ‘fog’ (Werner 2002/2, p. 265) ← Turkic **tumarik* ‘haze’ < *tum* ‘cold’ + *Ar-* {Turkic NV} -(X)K {Turkic VN}:

cf. Old Turkic *tum* ‘cold’, cf. *tuman* ‘mist, fog’; Yenisey Turkic: - ; Altay Turkic: Altay *tumarik* ‘mist, haze’, cf. *tuman* ‘fog’; Tuba -; Qumanda *tumarik* ‘mist, haze, dim’; Quu -; Teleut *tumarik* ‘the fog; cloudy, foggy’, cf. *tuman* ‘fog, darkness’ (R); Sayan Turkic: - ; Chulym Turkic - ; Yakut *tumarik* ‘darkness, gloom’; Siberian Tatar *tumariqla-* ‘to be overcast (weather)’; Kirgiz *tunarik* ‘misty distance, fog, haze’; Yellow Uyghur - .

The etymology of the Kott forms is unknown. I assume that they were borrowed from the Turkic form *tumarik* ‘haze’. The source of the borrowing was possibly the shortened form **tīmar*, where the Kott vowel -ī- in the first

27) Tungusic → Turkic: Yakut *suona* ‘chimney of a dug-out’.

syllable was assimilated by the original Turkic *-i-* in the last syllable. Besides this, a change in the intervocalic *VmV > VpV* occurred.

From an etymological aspect, the base of Turkic word is *tum* 'cold', cf. Old Uyghur *tumluğ* (< **tum*+*IXG*) 'dark, overcast', Tatar dial. *tumsa* 'gloomy, unfriendly' (< **tum*+*sA*), Turkish dial. *dumçuk* (< **tum*+*čXK*) 'cloudy weather' (for details, see ESTJa 1980, p. 295). According to Erdal (1991, pp. 387–388), the Turkic word *tuman* 'fog' is derived from the verb **tum-* and the deverbial noun suffix *-mAn*. This possibility strengthens the morphological structure of the form *tumarik*, where the base is the reconstructed verb **tum-* with the suffix *-Ar-* and the deverbial noun suffix *-(I)K*.

- (22) Ket *tə'qtə ~ tə'qt* 'wagtail (several species of birds of the genus *Motacilla*)' (Werner 2002/2, p. 305) ← Northern Tungusic **tigdewkī* 'lark' < *tigde*- 'to rain' -*wkī* {Ewenki VN, see Vasilevič 1958, p. 747}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *tigdewkī* 'lark' < *tigde* 'rain'; Lamut *tīd* 'rainy, cloudy'; Negidal *tigde*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *tigde*; Udihe *tigde*; Ulcha *tugde*, cf. *tugdeku-* 'to herald rain (about birds)'; Orok *tugde ~ tugje*; Nanai *tugde ~ tigde*; Southern Manchuric: - .

The Ket forms probably connect with the Ewenki word *tigdewkī* 'lark'²⁸. Despite the fact that the Ewenki and Ket words designate various names of birds, both birds belong to the same class *Aves* and order *Passeriformes*. From the phonetic aspect, the devoicing of Tungusic cluster *-gd-* > *-qt-* and the change of Tungusic vowel *-i-* > *-ə-* in Ket are regular changes.

It is interesting to consider the etymology of the Ewenki word. Possibly the word was derived from the verb *tigde-* 'to rain' and the productive deverbial noun suffix *-vkī*, which forms the names of vocations (Vasilevič 1958, p. 747). According to signs relating to superstitions, the lark is one of the birds heralding rain. For the etymology of the Tungusic word see SSTMJa (2, p. 175b).

- (23) Northern Ket *tīl* 'gadfly'; Ket *tīl* 'horsefly, reindeer fly' (Vajda & Werner: in preparation) ← Northern Tungusic **dilkēn* 'fly' < *dil*+*kĀn* {Ewenki NN/Diminutive}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki dial. *dilkēn ~ delkēn ~ dīlkekēn ~ delkekēn*; Lamut *dileken ~ dilken ~ deliken*; Negidal *dirkēn ~ dilken*; Southern Amuric: Oroch *giluwe ~ giluyē*; Udihe - ; Ulcha *gilekte*; Orok *jīl'o*; Nanai *jīlekū*; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen - ; Manchu *derhuwe*; Sibe - .

28) Despite of that fact, the other Tungusic languages use word without suffix, I suppose the word was borrowed from Ewenki. Due to the absence of loanwords from other Tungusic languages.

Possibly the Ket forms were borrowed from the Ewenki form *dilkēn* ‘fly’ with diminutive suffix *+kĀn* (for suffix function see Vasilevič 1958, p. 759). The devoicing of initial Tungusic *d-* is atypical. Usually it is preserved, but it may have occurred because of the following vowel *-i-*. The Tungusic word is present in almost all languages (SSTMJa 1, p. 207a).

(24) Ket *ullen* ~ *úlen*; Yugh *úljan* ‘pochard (diving duck, *Aythya ferina*)’ (Werner 2002/2, p. 341) ← Northern Tungusic **ulanmukī* ‘pochard’ < *ula-* ‘to get wet’ -*n* {Ewenki VN} +*mukī* {Ewenki NN}:

cf. Northern: Ewenki *ulanmukī* ‘pochard’ < *ula-* ‘to get wet’; Lamut *ul-* ~ *ula-*; Negidal *ola-* ~ *ulla-*; Southern Amuric: Oroch -; Udihe *ula-*; Ulcha -; Orok *ula-*; Nanai *ularikō* ‘dial. wet’; Southern Manchuric: Jurchen -; Manchu *ulya-*; Sibe -.

The etymology of Yeniseian words is uncertain. Werner connects them with the native Yeniseian word *u’l* ‘water’ and puts into question the element *-en* (Werner 2002/2, p. 341). The Yeniseian forms were possibly borrowed from Ewenki *ulanmukī* with the same lexical meaning ‘pochard’, where the final Ewenki suffix²⁹ disappeared in Yeniseian. From an etymological point of view, the Ewenki name of bird is derived from the Common Tungusic verb *ula-* ‘to get wet’, which is present in almost all Tungusic languages. It is possible to connect the Tungusic verb with the native Yeniseian word **Huλ* ‘water’, cf. Ket *ū’l*; Yugh *ūr*; Pumpokol *ul*; Arin *kul* ~ *kūl*; Assan *ul*, Kott *ul*. For more derivation and correspondences in Tungusic languages see SSTMJa (2, pp. 257–258).

Conclusion

The etymological analysis of Altaic loanwords in Yeniseian shows that some native Yeniseian suffixes regularly appear. In most cases the identification of them is not difficult, as in the case of the diminutive suffix *-ok*, the plural suffix *-(V)ŋ* ~ *-(V)n*, the nominalizer *-s* or the adjective suffixes *-Xŋ* and *-tu*; but there are some endings whose origin is unclear, such as *-l*. In several polysyllabic words, the suffixes at the end of the word dropped out, a feature which can be explained as a Yeniseian phenomenon. For Yeniseian languages typically contain monosyllabic words.

29) The suffix *+mukī* is productive in Ewenki, forming the names of animals, e.g. *ōranmukī* ‘a kind of duck’ < *ōran* ‘rapids’, *solonmukī* ‘small bug’, etc. (for details on the suffix function see Vasilevič 1958, p. 776).

Abbreviations

- NN = denominal noun suffix
 NN/Adj. = denominal noun suffix forming adjectives
 NV = denominal verbum suffix
 VN = deverbal nomen suffix

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