

# Philology of the Grasslands

*Essays in Mongolic, Turkic, and Tungusic Studies*

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# Contents

- Foreword IX  
Preface XI  
List of Figures and Tables XIII  
Tabula gratulatoria XIV
- 1 **The *Yibu* (譯部) Chapter of the *Lulongsai lüe* (盧龍塞略)** 1  
*Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy*
- 2 **Middle Turkic Dialects as Seen in Chinese Transcriptions from the Mongol Yuan Era** 16  
*Christopher P. Atwood*
- 3 **The Scent of a Woman: Allegorical Misogyny in a Sa skya pa Treatise on Salvation in Pre-Classical Mongolian Verse** 28  
*Brian Baumann*
- 4 **Some Aspects of the Language Usage of Darkhat and Oirat Female Shamans** 59  
*Ágnes Birtalan*
- 5 **Some Remarks on Page Fragments of a Mongol Book of Taoist Content from Qaraqota** 80  
*Otgon Borjigin*
- 6 **Pronouns and Other Terms of Address in Khalkha Mongolian** 101  
*Benjamin Brosig*
- 7 **Past Tenses, Diminutives and Expressive Palatalization: Typology and the Limits of Internal Reconstruction in Tungusic** 112  
*José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente*
- 8 **From Tatar to Magyar: Notes on Central Eurasian Ethnonyms in -r** 138  
*Juha Janhunen*
- 9 **A Mongolian Text of Confession** 147  
*Olivér Kápolnás and Alice Sárközi*

- 10 **The Role of Ewenki *VgV* in Mongolic Reconstructions** 174  
*Bayarma Khabtagaeva*
- 11 **Contraction, anticipation et persévération en mongol xalx: quelques réflexions** 194  
*Jacques Legrand*
- 12 **The Dongxiang (Santa) Ending *-ǰuŋ* and Its Allies** 214  
*Hans Nugteren*
- 13 **Sino-Mongolica in the Qırǵız Epic Poem *Kökötöy's Memorial Feast* by Saǵımbay Orozbaq uulu** 230  
*Daniel Prior*
- 14 **Badəkšaan** 258  
*Elisabetta Ragagnin*
- 15 **Kollektaneen zum Uigurischen Wörterbuch: Zwei Weisheiten und Drei Naturen im Uigurischen Buddhismus** 266  
*Klaus Röhrborn*
- 16 **Some Medical and Related Terms in Middle Mongyol** 273  
*Volker Rybatzki*
- 17 **Reflexes of the *\*VgV* and *\*VxV* Groups in the Mongol Vocabulary of the Sino-Mongol Glossary *Dada yu/Beilu yiyu* (Late 16th–Early 17th Cent.)** 308  
*Pavel Rykin*
- 18 **Early Serbi-Mongolic–Tungusic Lexical Contact: Jurchen Numerals from the 室韋 *Shirwi* (Shih-wei) in North China** 331  
*Andrew Shimunek*
- 19 **On the Phenomeno-Logic behind some Mongolian Verbs** 347  
*Ines Stolpe and Alimaa Senderjav*
- 20 **Spelling Variation in Cornelius Rahmn's Kalmuck Manuscripts as Evidence for Sound Changes** 357  
*Jan-Olof Svantesson*

- 21 **Four Tungusic Etymologies** 366  
*Alexander Vovin*
- 22 **Zum Werktitel mongolischer Texte seit dem 17. Jahrhundert** 369  
*Michael Weiers*
- 23 **The Last-Words of Xiao Chala Xianggong in Khitan Script** 384  
*Wu Yingzhe*
- 24 **Proper Names in the Oirat Translation of “The Sutra of Golden Light”** 394  
*Natalia Yakhontova*
- Index of Modern Authors** 431
- Index of Linguistic Data** 433
- Index of Names and Subjects** 446

## The role of Ewenki *VgV* in Mongolic Reconstructions

*Bayarma Khabtagaeva\**

The recent topic of my research is Mongolic influence on Ewenki dialects of Buryatia. In the present paper I would like to present the important role Ewenki loanwords can play in the reconstruction of Mongolic words.

In 1985, there appeared the volume *Mongolo-Tungusica* by Doerfer, who examined the Tungusic-Mongolic linguistic contacts with statistical methods (Doerfer 1985). In 2010 I examined some criteria of the Mongolic elements in Barguzin Ewenki (Khabtagaeva 2010); later I had the chance to perform fieldwork among them (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011) and strengthen my idea on the importance of Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki dialects.

The results of my research show that most of the Mongolic elements in Ewenki belong to the oldest layer. The time is indeterminable and these loanwords are considered to be ‘Daguroid’ in the literature. This term was introduced by Doerfer (1985: 161–169) for loanwords that display features that resemble or are identical to Modern Dagur.

An interesting fact, which I experienced during my fieldwork, is that besides the designation *buryād*, the Barguzin Ewenkis refer to the Buryats as *dagu*<sup>1</sup> (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 232). This phenomenon suggests a possible connection with ancestors of the Dagur people. Another possibility of explanation may be that the territory where the Barguzin Ewenkis now live once formed part of Dauria. In turn, the Buryats generally call Ewenkis of Buryatia as *xamnigan*, which is not identical to the Mongolian Khamnigans.<sup>2</sup>

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\* I would like to express my thanks to Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky, Christopher Atwood and Béla Kempf for their valuable comments.

- 1 The disappearance of final consonant *-r* in the Barguzin Ewenki form can be connected with the Tungusic plural suffix.
- 2 The Mongolian Khamnigan people live scattered across the Trans-Baikalian region in the Aga National District of Chita Province, where they number approximately 5,000 (Damdinov 1968: 1974); in the north-eastern part of Mongolia in the Khentei Province, where their number is unknown (Kóhalmi 1959: 163); and in the north-eastern part of China, in the Khulun Buir district, where they number approximately 2,000 (Janhunén 1990: 11–12). Since

The importance of my research is in comparing Ewenki data with archaic Mongolic languages, such as Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol. Perhaps these languages can play a key role in determining the source of the Mongolic borrowings.

In this paper I would like to present some Ewenki loanwords that contain the intervocalic Mongolic *VGV*, which probably helps in the reconstructions of Proto-Mongolic. Only the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia (Barguzin, North-Baikal, Baunt and Nercha) are considered in this paper.<sup>3</sup> In the territory of Buryatia, the Ewenki people live in different regions, such as Barguzin, Kurumkan, North-Baikal and Baunt. All these territories are situated in the northern part of Buryatia.<sup>4</sup> Their total number in Buryatia is approximately 800 (Bulatova 2002: 268), but their exact distribution is unknown (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 229–234).

There are two Ewenki dialectal groups in Buryatia. The Baunt, the Nercha and the North-Baikal dialects belong to the southern sibilant group. While the Baunt and Nercha dialects contain the hissing type (*s-*, *VsV*), the North-Baikal dialect exhibits features of the hushing type (*š-*, *VšV*). The Barguzin dialect belongs to the eastern sibilant-spirant (*s-*, *VhV*) group (For details on classification and phonetic criteria, see Atkine 1997: 114–117).

In spite of the fact that these Ewenkis have lived among Buryats for centuries, the phonetic criteria retain the ancient ‘Daguroid’ peculiarities, not Buryat.<sup>5</sup>

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their language has preserved many archaic features, the Khamnigan Mongol language is considered to be one of the archaic Mongolic languages (Janhunén 2003: 83–101).

- 3 Linguistically the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia are very poorly described. There are no present grammars listing their features, or comparative dictionaries. Some material on the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia appears in the famous Ewenki-Russian Dictionary of Vasilevich, based on her fieldwork (Vasilevič 1958). Some dialectal data are included in the small Ewenki-Russian thematic dictionary of Afanas’eva (2004). The first texts and dictionary of the North-Baikal and Baunt dialects were published by Titov (1926).
- 4 I do not have any information about modern Nercha Ewenki people. According to Uvarova (2006: 12–14), the original places where Nercha Ewenki lived are now small villages in the Aga Buryat National District of Chita Province. But the author does not mention the current situation.
- 5 From a phonetic point of view, one of the most important criteria of the Mongolic elements in the Barguzin Ewenki dialect is the preservation of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-*, which disappeared in Classical Mongolian period and Modern non-archaic Mongolic languages, e.g. Barguzin Ewenki *helyē* ‘kite’ ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic *hele’e* ~ *hel’ē*; Literary Mongolian *elye-e*; Buryat *elyē*; Dagur n.a.; Barguzin Ewenki *hirugē-* ‘to bless’ ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic

First the development of the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV* in the Mongolic languages has to be presented.

### Mongolic Intervocalic *VGV*

#### *Secondary Long Vowels*

According to different Mongolic grammars (Vladimircov 1929: 192–266, Sanžeev 1953: 77–83, Poppe 1955: 59–76, Rassadin 1982: 38–57) the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV* is contracted to a secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic, e.g.

- (a) the pattern *Vowel—Consonant G—Vowel* with the same vowel:

AGA →  $\bar{A}$

Literary Mongolian *ulayan* ‘red’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic:** Khalkha, Buryat, Kalmuck *ulān*; **archaic:** KhamniganT *ulān*; Dagur *xulān*; East Yugur *lān*; MonguorH *fulān*; MonguorM *xulaŋ*; Baoan *fəlaŋ*; Santa *xulaŋ*; Mogol *ulōn*; **Middle Mongolic:** Precl.Mo. *ulayan*; MNT *hula’an*; HY *hula’an*; Yiyu *fula’an*; ZY *hulā*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *hulān*; Ibn-Muh. *hulān*; Muq. *hula’an* ~ *hulān* ~ *ulān*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *hulān*; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *degere* ‘above, upper’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic:** Khalkha, Kalmuck *dēr*, Buryat *dēre*; **archaic:** KhamniganT *dēre* ~ *dōre*; KhamniganM *dēre*; Dagur *dār*; East Yugur *dērə*; MonguorH *dəre*; MonguorM *dere*; Baoan *dīrə*; Santa *žierə*; Mogol *dəra*; **Middle Mongolic:** Precl.Mo. *deger-e*; MNT *de’ere*; HY *de’ere*; Yiyu *dēre*; ZY *dēre*; ‘Phags-pa *de’ere*; Leiden *dēre*; Ibn-Muh. *dēre* ‘roof’; Muq. *dēre*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *dēre*; Kirakos n.a.;

UGU →  $\bar{U}$

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*hirüe-*; Literary Mongolian *irüge-*; Buryat *yürö-*; Dagur *šurē-*; Barguzin Ewenki *hukur* ‘cow’ ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic *hüker*; Literary Mongolian *üker*; Buryat *üxer*; Dagur *hukure*; Barguzin Ewenki *hulō* ‘touchwood’ ← Mongolic: Middle Mongolic n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ula*; Buryat *ula* ~ *ūla*; Dagur—, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2010: 18).

Literary Mongolian *buruyu* ‘wrong, false, incorrect; mistake’ → Modern Mongolic:

**non-archaic:** Khalkha, Buryat, Kalmuck *burū*; **archaic:** KhamniganT *burū* ~ *borū*; Dagur *bōrō*; East Yugur *burui*; MonguorH *murū*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan *n.a.*; Santa *buru*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic:** Precl.Mo. *buruγu*; MNT *buru’u*; HY *buru’u*; Yiyu *n.a.*; ZY *n.a.*; ‘Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *n.a.*; Ibn-Muh. *n.a.*; Muq. *burū*; Ist. *n.a.*; Rasulid *n.a.*; Kirakos *n.a.*;

Literary Mongolian *küjügü(n)* ‘neck’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic:** Khalkha *xüdzū(n)*, Buryat *xiüzū(n)*, Kalmuck *küzün*; **archaic:** KhamniganT *küdzū(n)*; Dagur *xujū*; East Yugur *gɯjūn*; MonguorH *gužə*; MonguorM *guži*; Baoan *gužun*; Santa *gužəŋ*; Mogol *kujun* ~ *kužun*; **Middle Mongolic:** Precl.Mo. *küjügün*; MNT *güjü’ü(n)*; HY *küjü’ün*; Yiyu *küjü’ün*; ZY *n.a.*; ‘Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *küjün*; Ibn-Muh. *küjün*; Muq. *küjü’ün*; Ist. *küjün*; Rasulid *küjün*; Kirakos *n.a.*;

*igi* → *ī*

Literary Mongolian *čigiray* ~ *čigireg* ‘strong, sturdy, tight’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic:** Khalkha *čireg*, Buryat *širag*, Kalmuck *tširæg*; **archaic:** KhamniganT *čirag*; Dagur *n.a.*; East Yugur *čirag*; MonguorH *čirag*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan *n.a.*; Santa *čigara*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic:** Precl. Mo. *čigiray*; MNT *n.a.*; HY *čirag*; Yiyu *n.a.*; ZY *n.a.*; ‘Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *n.a.*; Ibn-Muh. *n.a.*; Muq. *n.a.*; Ist. *n.a.*; Rasulid *n.a.*; Kirakos *n.a.*;

Mongolic ← Turkic \**tigiraq*: cf. Old Turkic *tigraq* ‘firm, tough’ < *tigra-* ‘to be tough, sturdy’;

(b)  $V^1GV^2$  (with the different vowels) →  $\bar{V}^2$ :

The quality of the long vowel depends on the quality of the second vowel of the conjunction,<sup>6</sup> e.g.

6 In comparison with Modern Turkic languages, the Tuvan secondary long vowels also developed from the *Vowel—Consonant—Vowel* pattern, but depending on the first vowel. E.g. Old Turkic *ağır* ‘hard’ ~ Tuvan *ār*; Old Turkic *bağır* ‘liver’ ~ Tuvan *bār*; Old Turkic *oğul* ‘boy’ ~



AGU → Ū

Literary Mongolian *ayula* ‘mountain’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *ül(an)*, Buryat *ūla*, Kalmuck *ül*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *ūla(n)*; Dagur *aul*; East Yugur *ūla*; MonguorH *ula*; MonguorM *ula*; Baoan *ūla*; Santa *ula*; Mogol *aulo*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *ayula*; MNT *a’ula*; HY *a’ula*; Yiyu *awula*; ZY *aula*; ‘Phags-pa *a’ula*; Leiden *aula*; Ibn-Muh. *a’ūla*; Muq. *a’ula* ~ *ūla*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *aula*; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *jegün* ‘needle’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *dzū(n)*, Buryat *zū(n)*, Kalmuck *zūn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *dzū(n)*; Dagur *jū*; East Yugur *jūn*; MonguorH *žiū*; MonguorM *zau*; Baoan *žəŋ*; Santa *zəŋ*; Mogol *jöün*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl. Mo. *jegün*; MNT *je’ü*; HY *jö’ün*; Yiyu *jīwü*; ZY *jü*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *jūn*; Muq. *je’ün*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

iGU → Ū

Literary Mongolian *serigün* ‘cool’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *serün*, Buryat *heryün*, Kalmuck *serün* ~ *sirün*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *seryün*; Dagur *sərün*; East Yugur *sərün*; MonguorH *sarən*; MonguorM *serən*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *šieruŋ*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *serigün*; MNT *seri’ü[t-]* ‘to become cool’; HY *seri’ün*; Yiyu *seri’ün*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa *seri’un*; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

(c) *O’GV<sup>2</sup>* (with the different vowels) → *Ō’*:

If the first vowel of the conjunction is labial, a long *ō* or *ō̄* replaces the *VG* conjunction according to vowel harmony, e.g.

*OGA* → *Ō̄*

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Tuvan *ōl*; Old Turkic *soǰıq* ‘cold, frost’ ~ Tuvan *sök*; Old Turkic *yoǰun* ‘thick’ ~ Tuvan *čön*; etc. (Khabtagaeva 2009: 42).

Literary Mongolian *bögere* ‘kidneys’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Kalmuck *bör*, Buryat *böre*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *böre*; Dagur *bār*; East Yugur *püre*; MonguorH *bōro*; MonguorM *bori*; Baoan *bōrā*; Santa *boro*; Mogol *bōārā*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *böger-e*; MNT *bö'ere*; HY *bö'ere*; Yiyu *būr*; ZY *būr*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *böre*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *bōrek*; Rasulid *böire*; Kirakos n.a.;

Mongolic ← Turkic \**bögörē*: cf. Old Turkic *bögür* ‘the kidneys’;

There is a rule that the quality of the secondary long vowel in a non-initial syllable always depends on the first vowel of the conjunction. However, Kalmuck is an exception to this rule, it depends on the second vowel (Poppe 1955: 60–71):

Literary Mongolian *noγoyan* ‘green’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *nogōn*, Buryat *nogō(n)*, Kalmuck *noγān*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *nogō(n)*; Dagur *nuwā* ‘vegetables’; East Yugur *noγōn*; MonguorH *noγōn*; MonguorM *noγoy*; Baoan *noγuy*; Santa *noγoy*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *noγuyan*; MNT *noqo'an*; HY *noqo'an*; Yiyu *noyō* ‘vegetable’; ZY *nu'o* ‘blue, indigo’; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *noγān*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.;

Literary Mongolian *jiroya* ‘amble; ambler’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *jorō*, Buryat *žorō*, Kalmuck *džorā*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *džirō*; Dagur *jirō*; East Yugur *jorō*; MonguorH *žoro*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *jirō*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *joriy-a* ~ *jiroy-a*; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu *joriya*; ZY *jurā*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *joriya*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *jorya*; Rasulid *joriya*; Kirakos n.a.;

Mongolic ← Turkic \**yoriġa*: cf. Old Turkic *yoriġa* ‘a horse that ambles or goes at a jog trot’ < *yori-* ‘to walk, march’.

As seen, in the Modern archaic languages the secondary vowel is shortened. The Middle Mongolic data presents the disappearance of -G-, whereby identical vowels were contracted into one long vowel (e.g. *aya* > *a'a* or *ā*), while different vowels were not contracted into a long vowel yet (e.g. *ayu* > *a'u*). The Mongolic words of this category in Nugteren's list were already reconstructed with long vowel or diphthongs (Nugteren 2011: 263–546).

(d) the pattern *Vowel—Consonant β—Vowel*:

There are some cases where a secondary long vowel developed from the \**VβV* pattern. Their number is not high, e.g.

Proto-Mongolic \**taβulai* < \**taβil* +*Ai* {Mongolic NN: Ramstedt 1957: 182–183}; Literary Mongolian *taulai* ‘hare’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *tulai*, Buryat *tulai*, Kalmuck *tūla*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *tulai*; Dagur *taulʰ*; East Yugur *tūli*; MonguorH *tōli*; MonguorM *taulai*; Baoan *teli*; Santa *tauləi*; Mogol *taulāi*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *taulai*; MNT *taolai* ~ *taʰulai*; HY *taulai*; Yiyu *taulai*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa *tʰavlayi*; Leiden *taulai*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *taʰulai*; Ist. *taulai* ~ *tūlai*; Rasulid *taulai*; Kirakos *tʰabšya[n]* (← Turkic);

Mongolic ← Turkic \**taβiš*: cf. Old Turkic *tavišgan* ‘hare’;

Proto-Mongolic \**keβūken* < \**keβü*<sup>7</sup> ‘boy’ +*KAn* {Mongolic NN/Diminutive: Poppe GWM §124}; Literary Mongolian *keūken* ‘child, girl, daughter’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *xūxen*, Buryat *xūxen*, Kalmuck *kūkn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *kūken*; Dagur *kəkʰ*; East Yugur *kūken*; MonguorH *kugän* ‘small child, boy’; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *kaoka* ~ *kaoka*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *köʰūken*; HY *keūken*; Yiyu *köwü* ~ *köwü*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa *kʰeʰun(u)* ‘son’; Leiden *kūken*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *kūken*; Ist. *keūken*; Rasulid *keūket* {pl.}; Kirakos n.a.

- (e) Separately should be mentioned the words in some languages in which the intervocalic *VGV* contracted to a long vowel, while in others it did not yet. What is more it also characterised the Middle Mongolic sources. This change suggests a different period of development of secondary vowels in Mongolic languages (For more examples, see Rassadin 1982: 43):

7 Cf. Literary Mongolian *kübegün* ‘son, boy’, Khalkha *xöwün* ~ *xiwün*, Buryat *xiübün*, Kalmuck *köwün*.

Literary Mongolian *degel* ‘clothes, garment, jacket, coat, gown’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *dēl*, Buryat *degel*, Kalmuck *dewl*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *degel* ~ *debel* ~ *dēl*; Dagur *dāḷ*; East Yugur *dil*; MonguorH *dēl*; MonguorM *der*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *zien*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *degel*; MNT *de’el* ~ *degel*; HY *de’el*; Yiyu *de’el*; ZY *dēl*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *dēl*; Muq. *dēl*; Ist. *dēbil*; Rasulid *dēl*; Kirakos—.

Literary Mongolian *egem* ‘clavicle, collar-bone; complete arm’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *egem*, Buryat, Kalmuck *ēm*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *egem* ~ *ögem*; Dagur n.a.; East Yugur n.a.; Monguor n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.; Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *egem*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *egem*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *egem*; Kirakos n.a.

### The Preservation of Mongolic VGV

Another group includes the Mongolic words in which the secondary long vowel is not developed. In Modern Mongolic the intervocalic VGV is preserved, while in Middle Mongolic it was devoiced (Poppe 1955: 146–154). There are also some cases in Modern Mongolic in which one vowel or both vowels (cf. especially Kalmuck and Khalkha forms) were dropped, e.g.

Literary Mongolian *egeči* ‘elder sister’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *egč*, Buryat *egeše*, Kalmuck *egč*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *egeči* ~ *ögöčö*; Dagur *əkč*; East Yugur *əyečə*; MonguorH *gəčə*; MonguorM *gəči* [*diau*] ‘sisters’; Baoan *egči*; Santa *əğəçi*; Mogol n.a.; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *egeči*; MNT *egeči*; HY *egeči*; Yiyu *ekeči*; ZY *ekeči*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *egeči*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *egeči*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *egeči*; Kirakos *ak’ači*;

Literary Mongolian *bulayan* ‘sable’ → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *bulga(n)*, Buryat *bulga(n)*, Kalmuck *bulyn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *bulga(n)*; Dagur *baləy*; East Yugur *balagan*; Mon-

guorH *bulġa*; MonguorM *n.a.*; Baoan *n.a.*; Santa *n.a.*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *n.a.*; MNT *buluqan*; HY *buluqan*; Yiyu *bulaqa*; ZY *buluqan*; 'Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *n.a.*; Ibn-Muh. *n.a.*; Muq. *bulgan*; Ist. *n.a.*; Rasulid *bulayan*; Kirakos *n.a.*;

Literary Mongolian *daya*- 'to follow' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha, Buryat *daga-*, Kalmuck *day<sup>a</sup>-*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *daga-*; Dagur *day-*; East Yugur *daġa-*; MonguorH *daġā-*; MonguorM *daġa-*; Baoan *daġā-*; Santa *daġa-*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *daya-*; MNT *daqa-*; HY *daqa-*; Yiyu *n.a.*; ZY *n.a.*; 'Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *n.a.*; Ibn-Muh. *n.a.*; Muq. *n.a.*; Ist. *n.a.*; Rasulid *n.a.*; Kirakos *n.a.*;

Literary Mongolian *čimögen* 'marrow; bone containing marrow' → Modern Mongolic:

cf. **non-archaic**: Khalkha *čömög*, Buryat *semge(n)*, Kalmuck *tšimgn*; **archaic**: KhamniganT *n.a.*; Dagur *šiməy*; East Yugur *čəngwen*; MonguorH *čimuge*; MonguorM *čumuġai*; Baoan *n.a.*; Santa *čuməġə*; Mogol *n.a.*; **Middle Mongolic**: Precl.Mo. *n.a.*; MNT *n.a.*; HY *čimegen*; Yiyu *n.a.*; ZY *n.a.*; 'Phags-pa *n.a.*; Leiden *n.a.*; Ibn-Muh. *n.a.*; Muq. *čimegen*; Ist. *n.a.*; Rasulid *čimge*; Kirakos *n.a.*

It is questionable why in the first group the intervocalic *VGV* developed into a secondary long vowel, while in the second group it was preserved. Rassadin (1982: 45) explains this phenomenon by the stress. According to his theory, the secondary long vowels developed in words where the second vowel of the *V<sup>1</sup>GV<sup>2</sup>* sequence was stressed.

During my investigation of Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki, I found different words that follow the definite development of the Mongolic intervocalic *VGV*. Probably the loanwords play a key role as evidence of two different origins of the *VGV* sequence in Mongolic. There are variants of change: preservation, devoicing, or change to the bilabial *VwV*.

### Mongolic Intervocalic *VgV* in Ewenki Loanwords

- (a) The first group consists of Mongolic loanwords in which the intervocalic *VGV* is preserved, when in all Modern Mongolic data it is shown to have

developed into a long vowel. Probably this phonetic feature characterised the early period of borrowing of Mongolic words, when the VGV was not contracted to a long vowel. The period may be earlier than the 13th century, when the Middle Mongolic sources show the development of long vowels already started. E.g.

- (1) Nercha Ewenki *adugun* ‘herd of horses’ ← Mongolic *aduyun* ‘herd of horses; horse’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *aduyun* ~ *aduyun*; MNT *adu’un*; HY *adu’u[č̣i]*; Yiyu *adū[č̣i]*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *adūn*; Muq. n.a.; Ist. *adūn[č̣i]*; Rasulid *adūn[č̣i]*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *aduyu(n)* ~ *adayu(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *adūn*; Lower Uda Buryat *adūhan* ~ *adūhun*; Khalkha *adū*; Kalmuck *adūn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *adū(n)*; Dagur *adō*; EYugur n.a.; Monguor n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

- (2) Barguzin Ewenki *bogoli* ‘rope, string, tie’ ← Mongolic *\*boyoli* < *boyo-* ‘to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop’ -*li* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §162} ← Turkic *\*boğō-*: cf. Old Turkic *boğ-* ‘to strangle, choke’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *boyo-*; MNT *bo’o-* ‘to block, obstruct’; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *bō-*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *bō-* ~ *bo’o-*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *boyo-*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *bō-*; Khalkha *bō-*; Kalmuck *bō-*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *bō-*; KhamniganM *bō-*; Dagur *bō-*; EYugur *pū-*; Monguor *bō-*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

- (3) Nercha Ewenki *čaga-* ‘to milk’ ← Mongolic *saya-* ‘to milk’ ← Turkic *\*sajǎ-*: cf. Old Turkic *saj-* ‘to milk’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *saya-*; MNT *sa’a-*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *sā-*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *saya-*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *sā-*; Khalkha *sā-*; Kalmuck *sā-*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *sā-*; Dagur *sā-*; EYugur *sā-*; MonguorH *sā-*; MonguorM *sa-*; Baoan *sā-*; Santa *sa-*; Moghol *sō-*;

- (4) Barguzin Ewenki *emegen* ‘saddle’ ← Mongolic *emegel* ‘saddle’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *emegel*; MNT *eme’el*; HY n.a.; Yiyu *eme’el*; ZY *emēl*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *emēl*; Ibn-Muh. *emēl*; Muq. *emēl*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid

*emēl*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *emegel*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha *emēl*; Kalmuck *emēl*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *emēl* ~ *emōl* ~ *ömōl*; KhamniganM *emēl*; Dagur *amāl*; East Yugur *emel*; MonguorH *imel*; MonguorM *imer*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *emōl*;

- (5) Barguzin Ewenki *imagan* ‘goat’ ← Mongolic *imayan* ‘goat’ ← Turkic \**ima-ğa*: cf. Old Turkic *imğa* ‘wild mountain goat’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *imayan*; MNT *ima’at* (plural); HY *ima’an*; Yiyu *ima’an*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *ima’an* ~ *imān*; Rasulid *imān*; Ist. n.a.; Kirakos *iman*; Literary Mongolian *imayan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha, Kalmuck *yamā(n)*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *yamā(n)*; KhamniganM *imā(n)*; Dagur *imā*; East Yugur *mān*; MonguorH *imā*; MonguorM *ima*; Baoan *yiman*; Santa *iman*; Mogol n.a.;

- (6) Barguzin Ewenki *temegen* ‘camel’ ← Mongolic *temegen* ‘camel’ < \**teme* + *GAn* {Mongolic NN: Khabtagaeva 2009: 280} ← Turkic \**täβä*: cf. Old Turkic *täβäy* ‘camel’

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *temege* ~ *temegen*; MNT *teme’en*; HY *teme’en*; Yiyu *temegen*; ZY *te[m]mē*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *temēn*; Ibn-Muh. *temē*; Muq. *temēn*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *temēn*; Kirakos *t’aman*; Literary Mongolian *temegen*; Modern Mongolic: Buryat *temē(n)*; Khalkha *temē(n)*; Kalmuck *temēn*; KhamniganT *temē*; KhamniganM *temē(n)*; Dagur *tēmā*; East Yugur *temēn*; MonguorH *tēmēn*; MonguorM *tiemie*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol *tem’o* ~ *tem’on*.

- (b) The second group includes the Mongolic loanwords in which the intervocalic *VgV* changed to the bilabial *VwV*, when in Modern Mongolic into developed to a long vowel, e.g.

- (7) Barguzin Ewenki *kewer* ‘meadow, tundra’ ← Mongolic *keger* ‘steppe’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *keger*; MNT *ke’er*; HY *ke’er*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *keher*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *keher*; Ibn-Muh. *keh[ē]r* ‘desert’; Muq. *kēr*; Ist. *keher*; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *kegere*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xēre*; Khalkha *xēr*; Kalmuck *kēr*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *kēre* ~ *kōre*; Dagur *xār*; East Yugur *kīre*; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

- (8) Barguzin Ewenki *huruwūn*; cf. Nercha Ewenki *urugun* ‘thumb’ ← Mongolic *quruγun* ‘finger, toe; finger-like’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *quruγu* ~ *quruγun*; MNT *quru'u(n)*; HY *quru'un*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *qurūn*; Ibn-Muh. *qurū*[*bči*]; Muq. *qurūn* ~ *χurūn*; Ist. *quru'un*; Rasulid *qurūn*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *quruγu(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xurgan*; Khalkha *xurū*; Kalmuck *xurγn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *xurū*; KhamniganM *kurū(n)*; Dagur *xɔrɔ*; EYugur *χurūn*; MonguorH *xurə*; MonguorM *quru*; Baoan *ǰurə*; Santa *ǰuru*; Moghol *quru(n)*;

- (9) Barguzin Ewenki *ǰalaw* 'young; youth, lad' ← Mongolic *ǰalayu* 'young, youthful; youth, youthfulness' < \**ǰal+a-* {Mongolic NV: Khabtagaeva 2009: 288} -*GU* {Mongolic VN/Adj.: Poppe GWM §152} ← Turkic \**yāl*: cf. Old Turkic *yāš* 'fresh':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰalayu*; MNT *ǰala'ui*; HY n.a.; Yiyu *ǰalawu*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ǰalawu*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰala'ū*; Muq. *ǰala'ū* ~ *ǰalū*; Ist. *ǰalau*; Rasulid *ǰalawu*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ǰalayu*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *zalū*; Khalkha *dzalū*; Kalmuck *zalū*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dzalū*; Dagur *ǰalɔ*; EYugur *ǰalū*; MonguorH *ǰælīu*; MonguorM *ǰalau*; Baoan n.a.; Santa *ǰalau*; Moghol *ǰalav*;

- (10) North-Baikal Ewenki *ǰewin* 'left'; cf. Barguzin, Nercha Ewenki *ǰun* 'east' ← Mongolic *ǰegün* 'east, eastern, oriental; left':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ǰegün*; MNT *ǰeö'ün*; HY *ǰe'ün*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ǰewün*; Ibn-Muh. *ǰün*; Muq. *ǰö'ën*; Ist. *ǰüyün*; Rasulid *ǰeün* ~ *ǰewün*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *ǰegün*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *zün*; Khalkha *dzün*; Kalmuck *zün*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dzün*; Dagur *ǰun*; EYugur *ǰuγ*; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

There are two Ewenki loanwords in which the change *VgV* > *VwV* occurred, but the expected secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic is not present:

- (11) Barguzin, North-Baikal Ewenki *uwey*, cf. Nercha Ewenki *ügei* 'no, absent' ← Mongolic *ügei* 'there is not; without; not':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *ügei*; MNT *ügei*; HY *ügei*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *ügei*; Ibn-Muh. *ügei*; Muq. *ügei*; Ist. *ügei*; Rasulid *ügei*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *ügi*; Khalkha *ügüi*; Kalmuck *ugā* ~ *uyā* ~ *ügē*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *ügei* ~ *ügi*; Dagur



*uwəi*; East Yugur *uγui* ~ *uγwei* ~ *uγo*; MonguorH *gui*; MonguorM *ugo*; Baoan *gi* (before verbs); Santa *ui*; Mogol *uget*;

(12) Barguzin Ewenki *gowohun* ‘wild garlic’ ← Mongolic *γoyosun* ‘kind of wild leek, *Allium odorum*’ < \**γoyo*<sup>8</sup> + *sUn* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM §137}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *γoyosun*; MNT *qoqosun*; HY *qoqosun*; Yiyu *γoyo-su*; ZY *qoqosun*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *γoyosu(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *gōgoho(n)*; Khalkha n.a.; Kalmuck *ǰoy<sup>2</sup>sn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *gōgol*; Dagur *g<sup>w</sup>ayəs* ‘wild chives’; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH *ǰoǰor*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

The change of the Mongolic *VG̃V* > *VwV* may be explained as an internal Ewenki change, but it is still unclear. The Proto-Tungusic \**Vg̃V* in Barguzin Ewenki as in Literary Ewenki is preserved, while in the North-Baikal dialect it changed to *VwV* (Khabtagaeva 2010/2011: 243). Information on its development in Baunt and Nercha dialects is absent (Vasilevič 1948). Cf.

Literary Ewenki *togo* ‘fire’; Barguzin Ewenki *toyo* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *towo* ~ *tō* (cf. Nanai *tao*; Ulcha *tawa*; Manchu *tuwa*);

Literary Ewenki *tuge* ‘winter’; Barguzin Ewenki *tuye* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *tuwe* ~ *tue* (cf. Nanai; Ulcha *tue*; Manchu *tuwari*);

Literary Ewenki *ǰuga* ‘summer’; Barguzin Ewenki *ǰuya* ~ North-Baikal Ewenki *ǰua* ~ *ǰua* (cf. Nanai *ǰua*; Ulcha *ǰua* ~ *ǰuwa*; Manchu *ǰuwari*).

Another possible explanation is that the borrowing took place when the change of *VG̃V* > *VwV* was in progress in Mongolic languages. Cf. the data of the Leiden manuscript—the Middle Mongolic source of 1343 written in Arabic script, in which this change is evidenced (see Poppe 1927: 1020; Rassadin 1982: 49):

Leiden *awuski* ‘lungs’ ~ Literary Mongolian *ayuški*;

Leiden *ebčewün* ‘sternum, chest; brisket’ ~ Literary Mongolian *ebčigün*;

Leiden *ewüden* ‘door’ ~ Literary Mongolian *egüden*;

Leiden *itawun* ‘partridge’ ~ Literary Mongolian *itayun*;

Leiden *šibawun* ‘bird’ ~ Literary Mongolian *sibayun*, etc.

8 Cf. Khalkha *gogod* (< \**γoyo* + *d*) ‘variety of wild leek’, *gogol* (< \**γoyo* + *l*) ‘a variety of the Liliaceae Hall.’

- (c) In the third group of Ewenki loanwords, instead of the guttural *VGV* in the intervocalic position, we find a devoiced *VKV*, which does not evolve into a long vowel in Modern Mongolic. In Middle-Mongolic sources it is also unvoiced as in Ewenki loanwords. This phonetic criterion may be the evidence of the presence of the original Mongolic *\*VKV*, which was voiced and did not develop into the secondary long vowel, e.g.

- (13) Barguzin Ewenki *idokon*, Nercha Ewenki *idāken* ‘shamaness’ ← Mongolic *iduyan* < *\*iduqan*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY *iduqan*; Yiyu *idu’an*; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *iduyān*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *iduyan* ~ *uduyan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *udagan*; Khalkha *udgan*; Kalmuck *udyan*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *udagan*; Dagur *yadagan*; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

- (14) Barguzin Ewenki *kalbaka* ‘spoon’ ← Mongolic *qalbaya* ‘spoon’ < *\*qalba-GAn* {Mongolic VN: Poppe GWM §149} < *\*qalbaqa* ← Turkic *\*qalbŷ-* ‘to stretch’: cf. Old Turkic *qašuq* ‘spoon’ < *qaši-(X)K* {Turkic VN: Erdal 1991: 224}:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *qalbuy-a*; MNT *qalbuqa*; HY *qalbuqa*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *qalbuqa*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *qalbuya* ~ *yalbuya*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *qalbuya*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *qalbay-a(n)* ~ *qalbuy-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xalbagā*; Sayan Buryat *xalbagā* ‘boat paddle’; Lower Uda Buryat *kalbagā*; Khalkha *xalbagā*; Kalmuck *xalw<sup>a</sup>γa*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *xalbagā*; Dagur *xalbey*; EYugur *xalgwa*; MonguorH *xaulja*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

- (15) Nercha Ewenki *mekejīn* ‘sow, female wild boar’ ← Mongolic *megeji* < *\*mekejīn* ‘sow’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY *mekejī*; Yiyu n.a.; ZY *mekejīn*; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *megeji*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *megeže*; Khalkha *mejī*; Kalmuck *mege<sup>o</sup>dži*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *mededžin* ~ *mekedžin* ~ *mingedžin*; Dagur *məγaj*; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

- (16) Barguzin Ewenki *unukan* 'foal on his first year' ← Mongolic *unayan* < \**unuqan*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *unayan*; MNT *unuqan*; HY *unuqan*; Yiyu *una[y]a*; ZY *unuqon*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *unayan*; Ibn-Muh. *unaya*; Muq. *unayan*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *unuqan*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *unayan*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat, Khalkha *unaga(n)*; Kalmuck; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *unaga(n)*; Dagur n.a.; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa *unayan*; Mogol n.a.;

It is important to note that in the Middle Mongolic sources in front-vowel words the guttural consonants were marked by *-g-* and *-k-*, while in back-vowel words the guttural consonant was only *-q-*. In this way, the next two Ewenki loanwords with the unvoiced *VkV* assume the original consonant, in spite of presence of Middle Mongolic forms, which were marked with the voiced *VgV*:

- (17) Barguzin Ewenki *kelteke* 'one-eyed, curve, crooked; freak, cripple' ← Mongolic *keltegei* 'slanting, askew, inclined; divergent, incorrect; unfair, biased, partial' < \**kelte*+*GAi* < \**keltekei*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT *keltegei*; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *keltegei*; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. *keltegei*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *keltegei*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xeltegi*; Khalkha *xeltgi*; Kalmuck *kelt<sup>a</sup>gē*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *keltegi*; Dagur *kəlti*; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.

- (18) Barguzin Ewenki *kureken* ~ *kurakān*; Nercha, North-Baikal Ewenki *kureken* 'husband of the younger sister' ← Mongolic *küregen* < \**küreken* 'husband of one's daughter or sister; son-in-law; bridegroom':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *küregen*; MNT *güregen* ~ *gürigen*; HY *güregen*; Yiyu *kürgen*; ZY *kürgen*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *kürgen*; Muq. *küregen*; Ist. *kürgen*; Rasulid *kürgen*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *kürgen*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xür'ge(n)*; Khalkha *xürgen*; Kalmuck *kürgn*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *kürigen* ~ *körigön*; Dagur *xuryun*; EYugur *kürgen*; MonguorH *kurgēn*; MonguorM *kurgæn*; Baoan *kurqan*; Santa *quqon*; Moghol n.a.;

There are two Ewenki loanwords that contain the probably original \**VqV*. Because of a lack Middle Mongolic data, our supposed reconstruction can be confirmed only by Ewenki loanwords:

- (19) Nercha Ewenki *čindakān* ‘polar hare’ ← Mongolic *čindayan* < \**čindakan* ‘white hare or rabbit, polar hare’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *činday-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *šandaga(n)*; Khalkha *čandaga*; Kalmuck *tšind<sup>a</sup>γan*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *čindaga(n)*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

- (20) Barguzin Ewenki *dorokon* ‘hedgehog’ ← Mongolic *doroγon* < \**doroqon* ‘badger’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *doroγon*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat; Khalkha *dorgon*; Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *dorogo(n) ~ dorgo(n)*; Dagur n.a.; East Yugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Mogol n.a.;

However, Ewenki words cannot in all cases confirm the possibility of the original *VKV*, which was later voiced in Mongolic and not contracted to a secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic. It is an interesting fact that generally all these examples belong to the Nercha Ewenki dialect. Possibly these loanwords were borrowed in the “transitional” period.

- (21) Nercha Ewenki *keltege* ‘crucian’ ← Mongolic *keltege* < \**kelteke* ‘crucian, crucian-carp (*fish*)’:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; ‘Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *keltege*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xeltegene* ‘bream’; Khalkha *xeltege*; Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *keltege*; Dagur *kəltəγ*; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

- (22) Nercha Ewenki *kuluguna* ‘mouse’ ← Mongolic *quluyana* ‘mouse, rat’ < *qula* ‘dark brown, dark gray’ + *GAnA* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM § 119} < \**quluqana*:

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *quluγan-a* ~ *qulayan-a*; MNT *quluqana*; HY *quluqana*; Yiyu *qulyuna*; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa *quluqana*; Leiden *qulquna*; Ibn-Muh. *qulyuna*; Muq. *qulyuna*; Ist. *qulyuna*; Rasulid *quluqana*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *quluγan-a*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *xulγana* ~ *xulganān*; Khalkha *xulγana*; Kalmuck *xulyŋ*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *xuluganā*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur *χunlaǰ* ~ *χunaglaǰ* ~ *χunaǰla*; MonguorH *xvnaǰla* ~ *xanaǰla*; MonguorM *qvarǰvarna*; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(23) Nercha Ewenki *tamaǰā* 'road sign, direction sign' ← Mongolic *tamaya* < \**tamaqa* 'seal, stamp; brand; branding iron':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *tamy-a*; MNT n.a.; HY *tamqa*; Yiyu *tama*[γ]*a*; ZY *tamqa*; 'Phags-pa *t'amqa* ~ *tamqa*; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. *tamya*; Muq. *tamya*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *tamay-a(n)*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *tamqa*; Khalkha *tamqa*; Kalmuck *tamya*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *tamaga*; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH *tamaja*; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan *tamka*; Santa n.a.; Moghol n.a.;

(24) Nercha Ewenki *tugučək* 'stump' ← Mongolic *töǰüčeg* < \**töküčeg* 'a charred stump of a tree':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. n.a.; MNT n.a.; HY n.a.; Yiyu n.a.; ZY n.a.; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden n.a.; Ibn-Muh. n.a.; Muq. n.a.; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid n.a.; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *töǰüčeg*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *tügseg*; Khalkha *töǰcög*; Kalmuck n.a.; Modern archaic: KhamniganT n.a.; Dagur n.a.; EYugur n.a.; MonguorH n.a.; MonguorM n.a.; Baoan n.a.; Santa n.a.; Moghol—.

The next example may also assume the possibility of the original \**VkV*, which was later voiced in Mongolic and not contracted to a secondary long vowel in Modern Mongolic. An interesting fact that the Middle Mongolic initial *h-* is not preserved and shows the "later" period of borrowing:

(25) Nercha Ewenki *elegen* 'liver' ← Mongolic *elegen* < *heligen* < \**heliken* 'liver; breast, belly; blood relative':

cf. Middle Mongolic: Precl.Mo. *eligen*; MNT *helige(n)* ~ *elige*; HY *heligen*; Yiyu *helige*; ZY *heligen*; 'Phags-pa n.a.; Leiden *helegen*; Ibn-Muh. *heligen*; Muq. *eligen*; Ist. n.a.; Rasulid *helige*; Kirakos n.a.; Literary Mongolian *elige*; Modern non-archaic: Buryat *el'ge(n)*; Khalkha *eleg*; Kalmuck *elgr*; Modern archaic: KhamniganT *ilige(n)* ~ *elige(n)* ~ *iligü(n)*; Dagur *xələy*; EYugur *heleyen*; MonguorH *xalgz*; MonguorM *xarge*; Baoan *helge*; Santa n.a.; Moghol *ilkən* 'heart'.

## Conclusion

The answer to the question why instead of the intervocalic VGV in some Mongolic words there is a long vowel, while it was preserved other words, can probably be found in Ewenki loanwords. This paper discusses twenty-five Ewenki data in which the Mongolic intervocalic VGV was preserved, devoiced or changed to the bilabial VwV. The different changes assume a different origin of the Mongolic consonant. Besides the Middle-Mongolic data, the Ewenki loanwords strengthen the possibility of the presence of two different original guttural consonants, \*VGV and \*VKV. The first one later developed into a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, while the second was voiced and was preserved in Modern Mongolic.

As expected the Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur data do not help in this solution.

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