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Yakut elements of Mongolic origin in Evenki

The Evenki language belongs among the Tungusic languages, which together with the Turkic and Mongolic languages form the Altaic language family. Researchers usually focus on the connections between two groups of languages: Turkic and Mongolic, or Mongolic and Tungusic. It is widely accepted that “ancient” Turkic elements entered Tungusic languages via Mongolic mediation, and the Tungusic languages were not exposed to a Turkic influence in ancient times [Doerfer 1985: 238—242; Doerfer 1985a: 138—142].

The only Turkic language with which Tungusic languages has direct contacts is Yakut. The linguistic contacts between Yakut and Evenki occurred in a “later” period. A large number of Yakut loanwords are present in those Evenki dialects which are spoken on Yakut territory. Their speakers have been living among the Yakuts for quite a long period, and they are bilingual.

Since Yakut itself contains a very large number of Mongolic elements, many Mongolic items have actually reached the different Evenki dialects through Yakut. This paper will discuss a special category of Mongolic elements in the Evenki language. While etymologizing them, I found several Evenki words which are of Mongolic origin, but which show Yakut peculiarities¹.

Before presenting the criteria which help to distinguish direct and indirect Mongolic elements in Evenki, I would like to give a brief introduction about the Evenkis and their language in Yakutia.

The Evenkis in Yakutia and their language

The Evenkis are one of the most numerous and widespread Tungusic peoples. They live in Russia and China, scattered over a vast territory². Most of the Evenkis live in different regions of Siberia in Russia, in small groups of few hundred people, very far from each other. They number overall approximately 10 000. 1 327 of them live in the Republic of Yakutia³. They live there compactly in the Ol'okma, Ust'-Maya, Olen'ok and Aldan Regions [Burykin, Parfenova 2003: 646].

The Evenki language belongs in the northern branch of the Tungusic languages, together with the Even (or Lamut) and the Negidal languages⁴. In Russia, Evenki has 51 sub-dialects. Six of them, Maja, Totti, Tokko, Tommot, Chulman and Uchur, are present in Yakutia⁵. The dialects of the Evenki language are divided into northern, southern and eastern groups. The main criterion used during the classification of the dialects is the fate of the consonant *s* in initial and intervocalic positions, which appear as *h*, *s* and *š*. Literary Evenki, which is based on the Poligus sub-dialect, belongs in the southern or sibilant (*s*-, *VsV*) group, while all six Evenki sub-dialects in Yakutia belong to the eastern or sibilant-spirant (*s*-, *VhV*) group⁶.

¹ The Yakuts have a special place among Turkic people from a geographical aspect: they live isolated from other Turkic people. Their language has a mixed character, and shows at least two migration waves of Turkic groups which left their traces in its phonetics, the older Mongolic and the later Russian influence, and an impact of Tungusic and Yeniseian substrate languages [Stachowski, Menz 1998: 416]. According to the classification of the Turkic languages [Johanson 1998: 83], the Yakut language belongs in the North Siberian group with Dolgan, and it has some distinct grammatical features that distinguish it from all other Turkic languages, e.g. the preservation of original long vowels, the shift **VδV > ViV* (e.g. *atax < ađaq* ‘leg’), the disappearance of the initial **s*- (e.g. *ān < *sen* ‘you’), the changing of the initial *y*- > *s*-, the loss of the Turkic locative, and the emergence of new cases, etc.

² Janhunen suggests differentiation of the Evenki people into two groups: the Siberian Evenki and the Manchurian Evenki. The first group live in Russia, the other group live in the north-eastern part of China, along the Rivers Mergel and Khailar, in the Khulun Buir Province. They represent four historically and linguistically distinct groups: the Solon Evenkis, the Khamnigan Evenkis, the Orochens and the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus or “Yakuts” [Janhunen 1997: 130].

³ For details see [Bulatova 2002: 268; Burykin, Parfenova 2003: 642].

⁴ For details on discussions of the classification of the Tungusic languages, see [Benzing 1955: 9—10; Vasilevič 1960; Doerfer 1978: 4—5; Janhunen 1996: 78; Atkine 1997: 111; Pakendorf 2007: 12—13].

⁵ The distribution of the Evenki dialects in Russia is illustrated in the appended map in the dictionary by Vasilevič [Vasilevič 1958], while that of the Evenki dialects in Yakutia is to be seen in the map in the work by Romanova and Myreeva [Romanova, Myreeva 1968: 6].

⁶ For details on the classification of the Evenki dialects, see [Vasilevič 1948: 10—16; Atkine 1997: 115; Bulatova 2002: 270—271].

The first linguistic material on the Evenki dialects in Yakutia appeared quite late. It was published in 1787 by Pallas in his Comparative Dictionary, initiated by the Russian Academy of Sciences to explore the ethnology and languages of the Siberian peoples [Atkine 1997: 111—112]. In the following century, Evenki words and phrases were noted down by travelling European scholars, including Spasskij and Middendorf [Vasilevič 1948: 7—8]. Some Evenki material was collected in 1903 by the Turkologist E. K. Pekarskij, who used it in his later works [Pekarskij 1911, 1913].

A new era in the studies of the Evenki dialects in Yakutia was opened by the Tungusist G. M. Vasilevič. She carried out fieldwork among the Evenkis in Yakutia between 1929 and 1947 [Vasilevič 1949]. This material was used in her Evenki dictionary [Vasilevič 1958] which lists even dialectical forms, in her comparative grammar of the Evenki dialects [Vasilevič 1948], and in her Evenki comparative folklore compilation [Vasilevič 1966]. On the basis of their fieldwork the native researchers A. V. Romanova and A. N. Myreeva, followers of G. M. Vasilevič, published some basic researches on the Evenki dialects in Yakutia. It is important to mention their grammatical sketches on the Tokko, Tommot [Romanova, Myreeva 1962], Uchur, May and Totti [Romanova, Myreeva 1964] dialects and the dialectological dictionary [Romanova, Myreeva 1968].

The linguistic contacts among the Evenkis, Yakuts and Mongols

When we speak about linguistic contacts among the Evenkis, Yakuts and Mongols, we have to distinguish the separate connections between the Evenkis and the Yakuts, the Yakuts and the Mongols, and the Evenkis and the Mongols.

The Yakut-Evenki contacts

The present territory of Yakutia was earlier the homeland of the Evenkis. There are no sources as to the time when the Yakuts arrived in this area, but their folklore texts called *oloŋxo* mention that their ancestors migrated here with their livestock from the south⁷ [Tokarev 1940: 12—13; Okladnikov 1955: 227—228; Konstantinov 2003: 70; Pakendorf 2007: 7—9].

The Yakut-Evenki contacts were very intensive, covering all aspects of the life of the Evenki people⁸. We find a strong Yakut influence on Evenki, whereas the Evenki impact on Yakut is much weaker⁹. Several Evenki groups are known to have changed their language to Yakut. Most of the Evenkis in Yakutia are in a stage of transition to adopting the Yakut language, and half of them have completely lost their native tongue [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 119].

A related case is that of Dolgan people, whose language is now Turkic, very close to Yakut. Originally, this ethnic group was formed by Evenki and Yakut tribes. They adopted an Old Yakut dialect in the second half of the 16th century and then, abandoned their homeland on the Vil'uj river and emigrated towards Taimyr in the first half of the 17th century [Stachowski 2005: 199].

The group of Manchurian Reindeer Tungus is of interest, they have been identified as Yakut Evenkis (*Yakute Ewenke*) living in the Manchurian Region of China. This Tungusic group of approximately 200 people is culturally close to the Orochen Evenkis and different from the Solon Evenkis. They migrated to Manchuria

⁷ Not only the adventures in stories refer to the “southern” world; this is also indicated by archaeological excavations, the Yakut names of plants and animals, and the origins of shamanistic cult objects, which are absent from their present territory. The traditional Yakut calendar does not correspond with the climatic and lifestyle conditions of the present-day Yakuts, e.g. the month April is called *mūs ustār* ‘ice melting’, but April in Yakutia is very cold (for details see [Okladnikov 1955: 228—235]).

⁸ One of the important factors seems to be the changing of the original Evenki lifestyle to one of Yakutic type. The Evenkis were primarily hunters and reindeer breeders. They led a nomadic lifestyle [Vasilevič 1969: 42—45], whereas the Yakuts had a sedentary lifestyle, bred livestock and lived compactly. Through marriages with Yakuts, some of the Evenkis gradually changed to a settled way of life. The language of interaction became Yakut, but they continued to speak Evenki with each other. Another reason for intensive Yakut-Evenki contacts was barter, which became stronger after the arrival of Russians in this territory. Russian historical documents often mention the commercial relations between the Yakuts and the Evenkis. In this way, many culture words were borrowed. In the 17th century, when the Russians arrived in this region, it was inhabited by Evenkis. In the next century, however, the number of Yakuts increased considerably [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 16—17, 25]. Accordingly, one of the factors for assimilation was the Yakut mainstream environment.

⁹ The strong Yakut influence on Evenki is confirmed by the present-day statistical data. 85% of the local Evenkis are fluent in Yakut, against the 12% who speak only Evenki (for the present language distribution of Evenki dialects in Yakutia, see [Atkine 1997: 119; Burykin, Parfenova 2003: 640—645]).

across the Amur River before 1830 because of the expansion of the Yakuts. Some of the nomadic Evenkis of Yakutia decided to look for better grounds for their reindeer herding and hunting [Janhunen 1996: 68, 110; Janhunen 1997: 132].

The linguistic interactions between the Yakut and Evenki languages were dealt with in detail by Romanova, Myreeva and Baraškov in 1975, in a book offering brief historical information and a comparative grammatical sketch [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 119]. The monograph deals primarily with the influence of Yakut phonetics, morphology and lexis on the Evenki language. The calques of Yakut idioms in Evenki epic literature are considered in one chapter. An appendix of great interest includes lists of Evenki elements in Yakut and of Yakut elements in Evenki.

Some grammatical Yakut interference in Evenki and Even was discussed by Malchukov [Malčukov 2006], who set out to determine which grammatical patterns, relative clauses and functional markers are copied from Yakut in Evenki. On the basis of the Shirokogoroff's Dictionary, published by Doerfer [Doerfer 2004], Knüppel wrote a series of papers on Yakut elements in Evenki dialects [Knüppel 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010]. Remarkable is the PhD dissertation of Pakendorf [Pakendorf 2007], which discusses linguistic and genetic connections of the Yakut with Mongolic and Tungusic.

Of course, the Yakut-Evenki linguistic contacts were not one-sided. Some Evenki elements appear in the Yakut language. Most of them are connected to reindeer-breeding or hunting terminology. The Tungusic influence on the Yakut dialects from phonetic, morphological and lexical aspects was discussed by Kałużyński¹⁰ [Kałużyński 1982] and Novgorodov [Novgorodov 1998]. The Evenki influence can also be observed in the Yakut folklore (for details see [Romanova, Myreeva 1971: 5—8] and lifestyle, e.g. the painting of Evenki tattoos on their faces or the use of Evenki ornaments on their clothing and ceramics [Okladnikov 1955: 282—289].

The Mongolic-Evenki contacts

The Tungusic and Mongolic peoples have had intensive linguistic contacts for centuries. In consequence of the close contacts with the Mongolic-speaking horse breeders, the Evenkis formed a group *murčēn* and copied a large number of lexical elements from the Mongols. Some Mongolic tribes played a role in the formation of some Evenki tribes, e.g. the Barguzin Evenkis, who show some names of Buryat clans. Vasilevich and Smol'ak [Vasilevič, Smol'ak 1956: 623] concluded that the Baikal region was where the processes of formation of the ancient Tungusic-speaking groups took place.

The Mongolic influence on the Evenkis is well characterized by the fact that some of them even changed their language to a Mongolic one, called Khamnigan, which preserves many archaic features¹¹ [Janhunen 2003].

A strong Mongolic influence is found on Barguzin Evenki. My own fieldwork in 2009 indicated that this Evenki dialect occupies a special position among the other dialects. This is reflected not only by the huge number of Mongolic elements, which are absent from other Evenki dialects, but also by the strong Mongolic impact on their lifestyle, culture and religion [Khabtagaeva: in print].

The Mongolic loanwords in Evenki were dealt with by Nicholas Poppe in two papers [Poppe 1966, 1972]. In 1985, there appeared the volume “Mongolo-Tungusica” by Doerfer, who examined the Tungusic-Mongolic linguistic contacts with statistical methods [Doerfer 1985]. I recently examined some criteria of the Mongolic elements in Barguzin Evenki [Khabtagaeva 2010].

The results of the researches show that most of the Mongolic elements in Evenki belong to the oldest layer. The time is indeterminable and these loanwords are “daguroid”¹². In spite of the fact that the Barguzin Evenkis have lived among Buryats for centuries, most of the Mongolic elements in their language exhibit the ancient “daguroid” peculiarities, not Buryat¹³.

From a linguistic point of view, the main phonetic criteria of the Mongolic elements in Evenki are as follows:

¹⁰ Etymological studies of the Yakut language were carried out also by him [Kałużyński 1995: 233—339].

¹¹ They live scattered across the Trans-Baikalian region in the Aga National District of Chita Province, in Khentei Province in the north-eastern part of Mongolia, and in Khulun Buir Province in the north-eastern part of China. The Khamnigan people living close to the Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol area have preserved their original Evenki variety as well [Janhunen 1991].

¹² This term was introduced by Doerfer [Doerfer 1985: 161—169] for loanwords which display features that resemble or are identical to modern Dagur.

¹³ Archive materials record that the Buryats who belonged among the western Ekhirit and Bulagat tribes moved into the Barguzin region from the western part of Baikal in 1740 [Vostrikov, Poppe 2007: 71]. This fact supposes an earlier presence of people speaking an archaic Mongolic language close to Modern Dagur on this territory.

- 1) the preservation of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-* [Poppe 1972: 98—100; Khabtagaeva 2010: 18], e.g. Evenki *helyē* ‘kite’ ← Middle Mongolic *hele* ‘e’; cf. LM *eliy-e*;
Evenki *hirugē-* ‘to bless’ ← Middle Mongolic *hirü* ‘e-’; cf. LM *irüge-*; Dagur *šurē-*;
Evenki *hukur* ‘cow’ ← Middle Mongolic *hüker*; cf. LM *üker*; Dagur *hukure* (← Turkic);
- 2) the intervocalic **VGV* is preserved, while it contracted in a long vowel in Modern Mongolic [Poppe 1966: 189—191; Poppe 1972: 95—97; Khabtagaeva 2010: 19—20], e.g.
Evenki *emegen* ‘saddle’ ← Mongolic: cf. LM *emegel*; cf. Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *emēl*;
Evenki *imagan* ‘goat’ ← Mongolic: LM *imayan*; cf. Dagur *imān*; Buryat, Khalkha *yamā(n)*;
Barguzin Evenki *kewer* ‘meadow, tundra’ ← Mongolic: LM *kegere* ‘steppe’; cf. Dagur *kēr*; Buryat *xēre*; Khalkha *xēr*;
- 3) the guttural *VGV* in the intervocalic position, which does not evolve a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, is voiced in Barguzin Evenki [Khabtagaeva 2010: 20], which demonstrates two different origins of the sequence *VGV* in Mongolic, e.g.
Evenki *dorokon* ‘hedgehog’ ← Mongolic: LM *doroyon* ‘badger’; cf. Buryat, Khalkha *dorgon*;
Evenki *unukān* ‘foal on his first year’ ← Mongolic: LM *unayan*; cf. Buryat, Khalkha *unaga(n)*;
Evenki *idokon* ‘shamaness’ ← Mongolic: LM *iduyan* ~ *uduyan*; cf. Dagur *yadagan*; Buryat *udagan*; Khalkha *udgan*;
- 4) the Mongolic sequence **si*, which appears as *šV-* in the Modern Mongolic, is not developed [Khabtagaeva 2010: 17], e.g.
Evenki *sirga* ‘bay (horse)’ ← Mongolic: LM *sirya*; cf. Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *šarga*;
Evenki *sile* ‘soup’ ← Mongolic: LM *siliü*; cf. Dagur *šil*; Buryat *šülen*; Khalkha *šöl*;
Evenki *sipke* ‘dung’ ← Mongolic: LM *sibke*; cf. Buryat *šebxe*; Khalkha *šivx*;
- 5) the change of the sequence **si* to *či* in some Evenki dialects, which is evidence that **si* had already become *š*, which points to the later layer [Poppe 1972: 101—102; Khabtagaeva 2010: 17], e.g.
Evenki *čiwkčün* ‘womancook’ ← Mongolic: LM *sibegčün* ‘maidservant’; Khalkha *šivegčün*;
Evenki *činehun* ‘Larch’ ← Mongolic: LM *sinesün*; cf. Buryat *šenehen*; Khalkha *šines(en)*;
Evenki *čiwuke* ‘awl, spike’ ← Mongolic: LM *sibüge*; cf. Dagur *šeuğu*; Buryat *šübge*; Khalkha *šövög*;
- 6) the preservation of the initial *č-* and *ǰ-*, which points to the Old-Mongolic layer, while in Modern Mongolic it is changed [Khabtagaeva 2010: 15], e.g.
Evenki *jalagan* ‘thick silk thread’ ← Mongolic: LM *jalaya(n)*; cf. Buryat *zalā*; Khalkha *zalā*;
Evenki *jalaw* ‘young’ ← Mongolic: LM *jalayu*; cf. Buryat *zalū*; Khalkha *zalū*;
Evenki *jula* ‘candle’ ← Mongolic: LM *jula*; cf. Buryat *zula*; Khalkha *zul*, etc.
- It is important to note that Evenki elements also appear in Buryat. Such words are usually absent from other Mongolic languages. Some Evenki elements of the Buryat social structure and language were discussed by Cydendambaev [Cydendambaev 1978].

The Mongolic-Yakut contacts

It is considered that the Yakuts migrated to the present region from Cis-Baikalia in the south. This is confirmed by the Mongolic names of Yakut tribes, e.g. Batuli, Khori, Tumat and Ergit, and the Yakut folklore material. It is presumed that the Turkic ancestors of Yakuts came from the region of Lake Baikal and are connected with the *Üč Quriqan* known from the Orkhon Turkic inscriptions, and different Chinese and Islamic sources [Okladnikov 1955: 310—318; Golden 1992: 415]. As noted above, the chronology of their migration is unclear. Some researchers suggest that it could be the period of the rise of Chinggis Khan, when the ancestors of the Buryats caused the displacement of the ancestors of the Yakuts northwards [Golden 1992: 415].

Okladnikov [Okladnikov 1955: 322] holds that the first Mongolic migrants came to the Baikal region in the early 11th century, when it was inhabited by Turkic and Tungusic tribes. The presence of Buryat tribes in this territory in the 13th century is well-known from the Mongolic chronicle “The Secret History of Mongols”. From this point, the historical migration of the Yakuts from the Baikal region is presumed to have maintained the early Yakut-Buryat language contacts. The Yakut tribes probably included the ancestors of the Western Buryats or another Mongolic tribe which spoke an archaic Mongolic language¹⁴.

¹⁴ The connections between the ancestors of the Buryats and the Yakuts are revealed by the coincidence of the folklore material, e.g. the Western Buryat legends on the owners of the River Lena, *Xara Ažirai* and *Xaramcai Mergen*, and the Yakut legends on the ancestors *Ellei* and *Omogoi*, who migrated to the present area from the south (for details see [Okladnikov 1955: 325]). Most Yakut legends mention *Omogoi* ~ *Onogoi*, one of the ancestors of Yakuts, as a man of Buryat origin who came from the land of the Buryats [Okladnikov 1955: 341—343].

The Mongolic elements in Yakut were mentioned for the first time in the 19th century, in the Yakut grammar by Böhrling [Böhrling 1851], and later in the Yakut dictionary by Pekarskij E. K., published between 1907 and 1930 [Pekarskij 1959]. Almost all aspects of the Mongolic influence on Yakut were discussed by Kałużyński [Kałużyński 1961], whose work deals in detail not only with phonetic, but also with morphological points. Even today, this is the best work on Mongolic-Yakut linguistic contacts. Besides that, Rassadin [Rassadin 1980: 65—90] briefly discussed the phonetic and morphological peculiarities of the Mongolic elements in Yakut. The paper of Stachowski [Stachowski 2005] offers a chronology of some linguistic changes in Yakut on the basis of its Mongolic elements.

The linguistic influence was rather one-sided, from Mongolic to Yakut. Only a few Mongolic elements are present in Yakut, characterized by Old Buryat peculiarities. Most of them are loanwords from an early period¹⁵. The main features of the Mongolic elements in Yakut are as follows:

1) the disappearance of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-* [Kałużyński 1961: 57];

2) the development of Mongolic long vowels from the pattern *VgV* according to the Yakut phonetic rules [Kałużyński 1961: 26—35], e.g.

Yakut *iäjägäi* ‘cottage cheese’ ← Mongolic: LM *egejegei*; cf. Buryat *ēzgei*; Khalkha *ēzgei*;

Yakut *süöm* ‘span’ ← Mongolic: LM *sögem*; cf. Buryat *höm*; Khalkha *söm*;

Yakut *uor* ‘anger, rage’ ← Mongolic: LM *ayur*; cf. Dagur *aur*; Buryat, Khalkha *ūr*;

3) the sporadic regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel *i* [Kałużyński 1961: 20—23], e.g.

Yakut *jibar* ‘frost; cold weather’ ← Mongolic: LM *jibar* ‘cold air’; cf. Buryat *žabar*; Khalkha *jawar*;

Yakut *niräi* ‘newborn’ ← Mongolic: LM *nirai*; cf. Buryat *narai* ~ *ñarai*; Khalkha *narai*;

Yakut *žoruo* ‘ambler horse’ ← Mongolic: LM *žuruja*; cf. Dagur *žirō*; Buryat *žorō*; Khalkha *žorō*;

Yakut *surui-* ‘to write’ ← Mongolic: LM *žiru-*; cf. Dagur *žuri-*; Buryat *žura-*; Khalkha *žura-*;

4) the Mongolic sequence *si* has not yet developed to *ši*, as in Modern Mongolic languages [Kałużyński 1961: 22, 49], e.g.

Yakut *sīyai-* ‘to chide’ ← Mongolic: LM *siqa-* ‘to press, oblige’; cf. Dagur *šaga-*; Buryat, Khalkha *šaxa-*;

Yakut *sīryan* ‘wound’ ← Mongolic: LM *sirqa*; cf. Buryat *šarxa*; Khalkha *šarx*;

Yakut *xamsik* ‘animal epidemic’ ← Mongolic: LM *yamsiy*; cf. Khalkha *gamšig*;

Yakut *tahiy-* ‘to beat, hit’ ← Mongolic: LM *tasi-*; cf. Buryat *taša-*; Khalkha *taši-*;

5) the preservation of the Mongolic initial consonants *č-* and *ǰ-*, or their development according to Yakut phonetic rules [Kałużyński 1961: 45—48], e.g.

(a) Yakut *čayilyan* ‘flash of lightning’ ← Mongolic: LM *čakilyan* < *čakil-* < *čaki-*; cf. Dagur *čakilgān*; Buryat *saxilgān*; Khalkha *caxilgān*;

Yakut *jabaji* ‘corner of the mouth’ ← Mongolic: LM *jabaji*; cf. Dagur *jabji*; Buryat *žabaža*;

(b) Yakut *säniä* ‘energy’ ← Mongolic: LM *činege*; cf. Dagur *činē*; Buryat *šenē*; Khalkha *činē*;

Yakut *süögäi* ‘sour cream’ ← Mongolic: LM *žögekei*; cf. Buryat *zōxei*; Khalkha *žōxi*.

Criteria

In the remaining part of my paper, I will present some linguistic criteria peculiar to the Mongolic elements of Evenki, which allow demonstration of the elements copied via Yakut and not directly from Mongolic languages. These loanwords can be distinguished by phonetic, morphological and lexical criteria which characterize Yakut linguistic rules and are typical only of Yakut.

Phonetic criteria

1) The Mongolic affricate *č*

(a) The change of the Mongolic initial *č-* → *s-* in Evenki as in Yakut, adapted according to Yakut phonetic rules. The Old-Turkic *č-* regularly changed to *s-* in Yakut, e.g.

Old Turkic *čäriğ* ‘army’ ~ Yakut *säri* ‘war; battle; army’;

Old Turkic *čäğ* ‘time, a point in time, a period of time’ ~ Yakut *sax*;

Evenki¹⁶ (Uchur) *s’ēr* ‘rule, custom’ ← Yakut *siär* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čeger*: cf. LM *čeger* ‘taboo, prohibition; abstinence; quarantine (due to epidemics)’; Dagur *čēr*; Buryat *sēr*; Khalkha *cēr*.

¹⁵ Stachowski [Stachowski 2005: 202] supposes the period of the Mongolic influence on Yakut from 16th until 19th centuries.

¹⁶ The Evenki data are quoted from the dictionaries [Vasilevič 1958; Romanova, Myreeva 1968] and the glossary in [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 179—206].

This change \check{c} → s - is characteristic of Buryat, but the Mongolic $*\check{c}$ - with the vowel $-i$ - demonstrates the independent process in Evenki as in Yakut, because the Mongolic $\check{c}i$ - changed to $\check{s}V$ - in Buryat:

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) **sĭk** ‘humidity, dew’ ← Yakut *sĭk* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic $*\check{c}\check{i}g$ < $\check{c}igig$: cf. LM $\check{c}igig$ ‘dampness, moisture, humidity’; Buryat *šig*; Khalkha *čig*;

Evenki (Uchur) **simē-** ‘to decorate’ ← Yakut *simā-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic $*\check{c}ime-$: cf. LM $\check{c}ime-$ ‘to adorn, decorate, bedeck, dress up’; Buryat *šeme-*; Khalkha *čime-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Chulman, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, Urmi) **sitan-** ‘to fulfil; to make friends, to become friends’ ← Yakut *sitan-* ~ *satan-* (< $*sita-n$ - Yakut Reflexive) ‘to be successful, possible’ ← Mongolic $*\check{c}ida-$: cf. LM $\check{c}ida-$ ‘to be able, capable; to be able to overcome or vanquish’; Dagur *šada-*; Buryat *šada-*; Khalkha *čada-*.

(b) The replacement of the Mongolic initial \check{c} - by \check{j} - in Evenki, which is peculiar for some Mongolic elements in Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 46], e.g.

Mongolic: LM $\check{c}ayarsun$ ‘paper’ → Yakut *jārsin* ‘book’;

Mongolic: LM $\check{c}oyčayi-$ ‘to rise, tower, loom up’ → Yakut *jogjoy-* ‘id.’;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur, May, Urmi) **jenkir** ‘clear, transparent’ ← Yakut *jāņkir* ~ *čāņkir* ‘clear, transparent; boiled butter’ ← Mongolic $*\check{c}eņkir$: cf. LM $\check{c}eņkir$ ‘light blue, bluish’; Buryat *senxir*; Khalkha *cenxer*.

(c) The change of the Mongolic intervocalic $V\check{c}V$ to VhV through $*V\check{s}V > *VsV$, as in original Yakut words, e.g.

Old Turkic *ačig* ‘bitter’ ~ Yakut *ahī* ‘bitter, acrid’;

Old Turkic *bičaq* ‘knife’ ~ Yakut *bihax* ‘id.’;

Old Turkic *kiči-* ‘to itch’ ~ Yakut *kihy-* ‘id.’;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) **telgehe** ‘yard, courtyard’ ← Yakut *talgähä* ‘yard, lown, courtyard’ ← Mongolic $*delgeče$ < $delge-čA$: cf. LM *delgeče* ‘the act or process of *delge-*; a board for drying cottage cheese; tray for displaying merchandise’ < $delge-$ ‘to spread, display, lay out, unroll, unwrap; to open; to expand, stretch, elongate; to propagate’; Dagur *delge-*; Buryat *delgese* (Bokhan dial.) ‘the half of a strip (of ploughed land)’; Khalkha *delgec*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Urmi, Zeja, Sakhalin) **sehen** ‘story, tale; news; talk, conversation; gossip; proverb’ ← Yakut *sähän* ‘story, tale’ ← Mongolic $*sečen$: cf. LM *sečen* ~ *čečen* ‘wise, sage, intelligent; prudent’; Dagur *sečin*; Buryat *sesen*; Khalkha *cecen*.

2) The change of the Mongolic initial \check{j} - → s - in Evenki as in Mongolic elements in Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 47—48]. The Russian elements in Yakut suggest development through $*z$ -¹⁷, while in the direct Mongolic loanwords of Evenki this affricate is usually preserved [Khabtagaeva 2010: 15], e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin) **sorui-** ‘to charge, commission; to instruct; to send a request’ ← Yakut *soruy-* ‘to charge, commission; to instruct’ ← Mongolic $*jori-$: cf. LM *jori-* ‘to move in the direction of; to strive, intend, plan; to be resolved’; Dagur *jori-*; Buryat *zori-*; Khalkha *zori-* ← Turkic $*jori-$: cf. Old Turkic *yori-* ‘to walk, march’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, May, Sakhalin, Urmi) **soruyan** ‘intentionally, deliberately; on purpose’ ← Yakut *soruyan* ‘on purpose’ ← Mongolic $*joriyan$ < $joriyun$ < $*jori-GUn$: cf. LM *joriyun* ‘stubborn, persistent; purposely, intentionally, especially’ < $jori-$ ‘to move in the direction of; to strive, intend, plan; to be resolved’; Buryat *zoryōn* ← Turkic $*jori-$: cf. Old Turkic *yori-* ‘to walk, march’;

Evenki (Uchur) **satayai** ‘light clothing’ ← Yakut *satayay* ‘open; empty; free’ ← Mongolic $*jadayai$ < $*jada+GAi$: cf. LM *jadayai* ‘open, loose; uncontrolled, unrestrained’; Buryat *zadagai*; Khalkha *zadgai* ← Turkic $*jadā-$: cf. Old Turkic *yād-* ~ *yāy-* ‘to spread out’;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur, Tokko, Sakhalin, Urmi) **semelē-** ‘to censure, condemn; to reprimand’ ← Yakut *sämälä-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic $*jemele-$ < $jeme + lA-$: cf. LM *jemele-* ~ *jimele-* ‘to chide, scold; to lecture; to accuse, blame, reproach’ < $jeme$ ~ $jime$ ‘conduct, manner of behaviour, procedure; blame, reprimand; fault’; Buryat *zemel-*; Khalkha *zemle-*.

3) The change of the Mongolic initial consonant y - → \check{j} - in Evenki as in Yakut. This change is typical of Mongolic [Kałużyński 1961: 50] and Russian elements in Yakut¹⁸ [Kharitonov 1947: 63; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 75]. This phonetic criterion points to the early layer of copying, cf. the Old Turkic initial y - which became s - in Yakut through $*\check{j}$ -, e.g.

Old Turkic *yan-* ‘to threaten’ ~ Yakut *sān-* (< $*jān-$);

Old Turkic *yē-* ‘to eat’ ~ Yakut *siä-* (< $*jē-$);

¹⁷ E.g. Russian *zakáz* ‘order, reservation’ → Yakut *sakās*; Russian *zavód* ‘factory’ → Yakut *sobuot* ‘hunting equipment’; Russian *zajávka* ‘application’ → Yakut *sayāpka*; Russian *zolutíxa* (med.) ‘scrofula’ → Yakut *solutuoxa*, etc.

¹⁸ E.g. Russian *jačmén’* ‘barley’ → Yakut *ječimiän*; Russian *jármarka* ‘fair’ → Yakut *jārbān*; Russian *jáščik* ‘box’ → Yakut *jāhik*; Russian *júbka* ‘skirt’ → Yakut *jūppa*, etc.

Old Turkic *yūz* ‘the face’ ~ Yakut *sūs* (< **yūz*) ‘forehead’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, May, Totti, Urmi) *jadai-* ‘to grow poor’ ← Yakut *jaday-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **yada-*: cf. LM *yada-* ‘to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be in need; to suffer; to unable’; Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *yada-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *johun* ‘solid, important, serious’ ← Yakut *johun* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **yosun*: cf. LM *yosun* ‘rule, traditional custom, habit, or usage; etiquette; doctrine, dogma, principle; regime, system; policy; mode, manner, method’; Dagur *yos*; Buryat *yoho(n)*; Khalkha *yos(on)*.

4) The change of the Mongolic consonant cluster *-nj-* → *-nñ-* in Evenki as in Yakut. It is typical of Mongolic elements in Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 64]. According to [Stachowski 2005: 195], this assimilation process in Yakut was finished by the 18th century, e.g.

Mongolic: LM *unji-* ‘to hang down, to droop’ → Yakut *unñuy-*;

Mongolic: LM *inji* ‘dowry, bridal gifts’ → Yakut *ännä*;

Mongolic: LM *sanji-* ‘to hang down, to dangle’ → Yakut *sanñiy-*;

Evenki (Tokko) *manña* ‘favor; pay, fee’ ← Yakut *manña* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **manja*: cf. LM *manja* ‘prepared tea (honorif. in reference to lamas)’; Khalkha *manj* ← Tibetan.

5) The unvoicing of the Mongolic initial consonant *g-* in Evenki as in Mongolic [Kałużyński 1961: 51—52] and Russian elements in Yakut¹⁹, while in direct Mongolic loanwords in Evenki this consonant is usually preserved²⁰:

Evenki (Tokko, Chulman) *kenen* ‘naive’ ← Yakut *känän* ‘simple, silly, naive, trustful’ ← Mongolic **genen*: cf. LM *genen* ‘silly, doltish, careless, negligent; peevish, touchy; puerile, childish, naive; unexpected’; Buryat, Khalkha *genen*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Ol’okma, Stony Tunguska, Sakhalin, Urmi, Zeja) *kergen* ‘family, wife; home; children’ ← Yakut *kärgän* ‘family; family member; wife or husband’ ← Mongolic **gergen* < *ger* + *GAn*: cf. LM *gergen* (pl.) < *gergei* ‘wife, married woman’ < *ger* ‘yurt; house, dwelling, domicile; home’; Buryat *gerge(n)*; Khalkha *gergē*;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur, Chulman) *keräs* ‘precept; will, testament; oath’ ← Yakut *käriäs* ‘behest, bidding; will, testament’ ← Mongolic **geriyesün* < *geriye* + *sUn*: cf. LM *geriyesün* ‘testament, last will’; Buryat *xerē*; Khalkha *gerē*;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *kilej* ‘black ice’ ← Yakut *kiläj* ‘brightness, shine; black ice’ ← Mongolic **gilün*: cf. LM *gilüng* ‘shiny, smooth’; Buryat *geliger*; Khalkha *gilger* (< *gilüger*).

6) Whereas directly copied intervocalic consonants *VkV* and *VqV* in Mongolic loanwords in Evenki are usually preserved²¹, the Mongolic loanwords in Evenki that are borrowed from Yakut are regularly voiced. This feature characterized original Yakut words and Mongolic elements in Yakut, which proves the early layer of copying²². The regular voicing is typical of Yakut words with the final *-k*, when it takes a suffix with an initial vowel [Kharitonov 1947: 69; Baraškov 1951: 49], e.g.

Old Turkic *säkiz* ‘eight’ ~ Yakut *ayis*;

Old Turkic *öküz* ‘ox’ ~ Yakut *oγus*;

Old Turkic *yaqa* ‘the edge, or border’ ~ Yakut *saya*;

Mongolic (← Turkic): LM *ikire* ‘twins’ → Yakut *igire*;

Mongolic: LM *süke* ‘axe’ → Yakut *sügä*;

Yakut *balijim* ‘my fish’ < *balik* ‘fish’ + *im* (Possessive Sg.1);

Yakut *sittigim* ‘my pillow’ < *sittik* ‘pillow’ + *im* (Possessive Sg.1), etc.

Evenki (Tommot, Tokko, Uchur, May, Urmi) *bögö* ~ *bügü* ‘strong, solid’ ← Yakut *bögö* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **böke*: cf. LM *böke* ‘strong, solid, stalwart, firm, robust, vigorous, sturdy’; Dagur *buke*; Buryat *büxe*; Khalkha *böx*;

¹⁹ E.g. Mongolic: LM *göki* ‘hook, trigger’ → Yakut *köγö* ~ *köxö*; Russian *golos* ‘voice’ → Yakut *kuolas*; Russian *gorod* ‘town’ → Yakut *kuorat*; Russian *grabli* ‘rake’ → Yakut *kirābil*; Russian *grāduš* ‘degree’ → Yakut *kirādīs*, etc.

²⁰ E.g. Nercha Evenki *galaw* ‘goose’ ← Mongolic **yalayun*: LM *yalayun*; Zeja, Upper Lena, Northern Baikal Evenki *goyo* ‘well dressed, elegant; beautiful’ ← Mongolic: LM *γoyo* ~ *youa*; Barguzin Evenki *gowohun* ‘wild garlic’ ← Mongolic **γoyosun*: LM *γoyod* ‘the kind of onion’; Stony Tunguska, Erbogachon, Ilimpi, Barguzin, Nercha Evenki *gudigē* ‘peritoneum, stomach’ ← Mongolic **güdige*: LM *güjege* ‘stomach’, etc.

²¹ E.g. Barguzin, Nercha Evenki *sukai* ‘Tamarisk’ ← Mongolic: LM *suqai*; Stony Tunguska, Barguzin, Nercha, Zeja, Uchur, Aldan, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin Evenki *suke* ‘axe’ ← Mongolic: LM *süke*; Nercha Evenki *ukan* ‘awareness; clever’ ← Mongolic **uka-*: LM *uqa-* ‘to know, understand’ (← Turkic), etc.

²² This change is not typical of Russian elements in Yakut; the *VkV* is generally preserved, e.g. Russian *br’iki* ‘trousers’ → Yakut *bürükä*; Russian *bóčka* ‘barrel’ → Yakut *buočuka*; Russian *jákor* ‘anchor’ → Yakut *jäkür*, etc.

Evenki (Uchur) *čōgur* ‘variegated, spotted’ ← Yakut *čuogur* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čōkur*: cf. LM *čoqor* ~ *čooqor* ‘variegated, dappled, spotted, motled; pock-marked’; Dagur *čōxor* ~ *čōkor*; Buryat *sōxor*; Khalkha *coxor*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čugurui-* ‘to step back; to retreat, fall back’ ← Yakut *čuyuruy-* ‘to step back’ ← Mongolic **čukuri-*: cf. LM *čuquri-* ‘to step back, retire, retreat; to refuse to move forehead, resist by retreating (as a stubborn horse)’; Buryat *suxari-*;

Evenki (Tokko) *mugur* ‘blind gut, caecum; blunt’ ← Yakut *mugur* ~ *mujur* ‘blunt’ ← Mongolic **mukur*: cf. LM *muqur* ‘blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless, tailless, bobtailed; amputated, maimed; rounded (as number); dead-end; blind (figuratively)’; Dagur *mogō*; Buryat *moxō*; Khalkha *muxar*;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur, Tommot, Aldan, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) *toqoi* ‘sandbank’ ← Yakut *toqoi* ‘bend in river’ ← Mongolic **tokoi*: cf. LM *toqoi* ‘elbow, bend in river, ell, cubit, Chinese foot’; Buryat, Khalkha *toxoi*.

7) The change of the Mongolic intervocalic consonant $VgV \rightarrow V\eta V$ in Evenki, as in some Yakut words [Kharitonov 1947: 81]. This rare change in Yakut sporadically occurred in the 18th century [Stachowski 2005: 197]:

Yakut *māyī* ~ *māñī* ‘old, ancient’;

Mongolic: LM *jaγasun* ‘fish’ → Yakut *naγaha* ~ *nañaha* ‘small fish’;

Mongolic: LM *muqur* ‘blunt’ → Yakut *mugur* ~ *mujur*;

Mongolic: LM *nōgūge* ‘the other, opposite’ → Yakut *nōñüö*;

Russian *magazín* ‘shop’ → Yakut *mañahñ* ~ *mañahñ*;

Evenki (Uchur) *moñoi* ‘wisdom tooth’ ← Yakut *moñoi* ~ *moñoi* ‘snake, serpent’ ← Mongolic **moñoi*: cf. LM *moyai* ‘snake, serpent’; Dagur *mog(o)*; Buryat, Khalkha *mogoi*.

8) The change of the Mongolic final consonant $-n \rightarrow -\eta$ in Evenki, as in some Mongolic loanwords in Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 56]:

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *buyaη* ‘abundance, plenty’ ← Yakut *buyaη* ~ *bīyaη* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **buyan*: cf. LM *buyan* ‘moral, merit, meritorious act, virtuous deed, virtue’; Dagur *boyin*; Buryat, Khalkha *buyan* ← Uighur ← Sanskrit;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Uchur, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi, Zeja) *bōdōj* ~ *būdūj* ‘large, big’ ← Yakut *bōdōj* ‘big, powerful’ ← Mongolic **būdūn*: cf. LM *būdūgūn* ‘large, huge, big’; Dagur *budūn*; Buryat, Khalkha *būdūn*.

9) The change of the Mongolic initial dental consonants $d-$ and $t-$ → $č-$ under the influence of the following consonant sequence with $-č-$ in Evenki as in Yakut. This change is typical of the Mongolic [Kałużyński 1961: 43] and Russian [Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 61] elements in Yakut, e.g.

Mongolic: LM *toγurčay* ‘bud of a flower; small cap with a button on top’ → Yakut *čurčax* ‘a top on a cap’;

Russian *testo* ‘dough, pastry’ → Yakut *čīästä*;

Russian *točno* ‘exactly’ → Yakut *čuočuna*;

Russian *točenyj* ‘sharpened; turned’ → Yakut *čuočunay*.

The Evenki dialects in Yakutia were also exposed to this influence [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 69—70]:

Evenki (Uchur) *čopčuma* (< *čopču* + *ma*²³) ‘correctly; clearly’ ← Yakut *čopču* ‘definitely, exactly, precisely; straight’ ← Mongolic **tobči*: cf. LM *tobči* ‘abbreviation, abridgment; outline; summary, resume; essence or point of a matter; abridged, abbreviated, brief’; Buryat *tobšo*; Khalkha *towč*;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) *čurumču* ‘muzzle of the calf, which prevents the calf from sucking the cow’ ← Yakut *čurupču* ~ *čurumču* ~ *čurapči* ‘a ring passed through the nose of a bull or a camel’ ← Mongolic **dörübči* < *dörü* + *bči*: cf. LM *dörübči* ‘small rope for carrying smth. on shoulders’ Kow. 1942 < *dörü* ‘iron or rope nose-ring’; Buryat *düre*; Khalkha *dör*; *dörövä* ‘halter’.

10) The labialization of the Mongolic vowel a in an initial syllable in Evenki as in Yakut²⁴. This change is typical for original Yakut words [Kharitonov 1947: 80; Johanson 1998: 93] and Mongolic or Russian loanwords [Kałużyński 1961: 15—16], in which labial vowels are present, e.g.

Old Turkic *qamiš* ‘reed, cane, rush’ ~ Yakut *xomus*;

Old Turkic *qamič* ‘ladle’ ~ Yakut *xomuos*;

Old Turkic *qātun* ‘lady’ ~ Yakut *xotun*;

²³ For details of the Evenki NN suffix + *ma*, + *mo* see [Vasilevič 1958: 769].

²⁴ According to [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 160—161], this phonetic change in Yakut developed under an Evenki influence. This may be true, since the pronunciation of a as o is typical of those Yakut dialects whose speakers inhabit regions where Yakuts live together with or close to Evenkis.

Mongolic: LM *sadur* ‘vile, immoral, lewd’ → Yakut *sodur* ‘dissolute’;

Mongolic: LM *lab* ‘sure, certain’ → Yakut *lop*;

Mongolic: LM *mangyus* ‘fabulous, monster’ → Yakut *moγus* ~ *moγus*;

Russian *kapústa* ‘cabbage’ → Yakut *xoppústa* ~ *xappústa*;

Russian *kamzól* ‘camisole’ → Yakut *xomuhol*;

Russian *makaróny* ‘pasta’ → Yakut *mokoruon*;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) **oburgu** ‘more’ ← Yakut *oburgu* ‘big, considerable’ ← Mongolic **aburgu*: cf. LM *aburya* ~ *aburyu* ‘gigantic, colossal, huge, enormous, vast; giant; titan; highest rank of wrestlers; champion’; Buryat *abarga*; Khalkha *awraga*;

Evenki (Tokko) **orgūi** ‘quiet; slowly’ ← Yakut *orgūy* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **argūl* < **algūr*: cf. LM *alyur* ‘slowly, quietly, calmly, leisurely, gradually’; Dagur, Khalkha *algūr*; cf. Ordos, Kalmuck *argūl*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) **čokūr** ‘flint’ ← Yakut *čokūr* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čakūr* < *čaki-GUr*: cf. LM *čakiyur* < *čaki-* ‘to strike fire from a flint; to flash’; Buryat *sax’ūr*; Khalkha *caxiur* ← Turkic **čaqī-*: cf. Old Turkic *čaq-* ‘to strike fire (with flint and steel)’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Totti, Sakhalin, Urmí) **dolbūr** ‘shelf for kitchen utensils’ ← Yakut *dolbūr* ~ *dalbūr* ‘shelf’ ← Mongolic **talbūr* < *talbi-GUr*: cf. LM *talbiyur* ‘stand, rest; hanger; low table; board to put things on’ < *talbi-* ~ *tabi-* ‘to place, put, set, lay or put down; to install’; Dagur *tawi-* ~ *tali-*; Buryat *tabyūr*; Khalkha *tawiur*, *talbiur*.

11) The sporadic change of the Mongolic vowel *u* → *i* in Evenki²⁵ as *u* → *i* in Yakut. It is characteristic of original Yakut words [Stachowski 1993: 118] and Mongolic loanwords in different positions [Kałużyński 1961: 19—20]. This delabialization occurs in some Russian [Kharitonov 1947: 81] and Tungusic loanwords too, e.g.

Old Turkic *bulgā-* ‘to stir’ ~ Yakut *bulā-* ~ *bilā-*;

Mongolic: LM *umdayan* ‘drink’ → Yakut *imdān* ‘a drink from sour milk’;

Mongolic: LM *buǰar* ‘defiled; dirty, dishonorable’ → Yakut *bīǰar*;

Mongolic: LM *bulčirqai* ‘gland’ → Yakut *bilčarxay*;

Russian *komár* ‘gnat, mosquito’ → Yakut *kumār* ~ *kīmār*;

Tungusic: Evenki *bulē* ‘moore’ → Yakut *bilā* ‘mire, clay’;

Evenki (Uchur, May) **siwai** ‘black pudding’ ← Yakut *sibai* ~ *subai* ‘fresh blood of a slaughtered animal; black pudding; barren, sterile (cow or mare)’ ← Mongolic **subai*: cf. LM *subai* ‘female animal (cow, mare) which has not borne a foal (or calf) during the year’; Dagur *sobō* ~ *sogō*; Buryat *subai*; Khalkha *suwai*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) **kaltī** ‘slightly, in passing’ ← Yakut *xaltī* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **qaltu*: cf. LM *qaltu* ‘carelessly, hardly, almost’; Buryat *xalta*; Khalkha *xalt*.

12) The sporadic regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel *i* in Evenki as in Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 20—23], e.g.

Evenki (Tokko) **malāhin** ‘feast, banquet’ ← Yakut *malāhin* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **milayasun* < *milaya-sUn*: cf. LM *milaya-* ‘to anoint, smear with oil; to perform the ritual of anointing new-born children, new dwellings, and other newly perfected objects by smearing them with butter, milk, etc. for securing good fortune’; Buryat *milāñ* ‘the first birthday party of child’;

Evenki (Tokko, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmí) **čawurgai** ~ **čawurgäi** ~ **čawurkai** ‘temple’ ← Yakut *čabiryay* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čimarqai*: cf. LM *čimarqai*; Buryat *sabirgai*; Khalkha *čamarxai*.

13) The behaviour of the Mongolic long vowels in some Evenki words demonstrates the Yakut borrowing. The long vowels in Mongolic loanwords in Yakut are preserved or became diphthongs [Kałużyński 1961: 28—35]. It is important to note that the Mongolic long vowels are secondary; they developed with the contraction of a former Vowel-Consonant-Vowel (VCV) pattern²⁶, as for the Yakut secondary long vowels²⁷. The Yakut long vowels and diphthongs can also be original²⁸. The Yakut long vowels of Mongolic origin in Evenki changed in two following ways.

²⁵ It is important to note that Evenki has no velar *i*, and has only one variant of palatal *i*.

²⁶ The development of long vowels in Modern Mongolic languages depends on the quality of the second vowel of the pattern, e.g. LM *ayula* ‘mountain’ ~ Khalkha *ūl*; Buryat *ūla*; LM *ebčigü* ‘sternum’ ~ Khalkha *öwčü*; Buryat *übsü*; LM *ulayan* ‘red’ ~ Khalkha, Buryat *ulān*.

²⁷ Old Turkic *aǰiz* ‘mouth’ ~ Yakut *uos* ‘lip, lips’; Old Turkic *baǰir* ‘the liver’ ~ Yakut *bīar*; Old Turkic *aǰir* ‘heavy’ ~ Yakut *īar*, etc.

²⁸ Old Turkic *āt* ‘name’ ~ Yakut *āt*; Old Turkic *qiz* ‘girl’ ~ Yakut *kīs*; Old Turkic *yüz* ‘the face’ ~ Yakut *sūs* ‘forehead’; Old Turkic *bāš* ‘five’ ~ Yakut *biās*; Old Turkic *ōn* ‘ten’ ~ Yakut *uon*; Old Turkic *kōl* ‘lake’ ~ Yakut *küöl*, etc.

(a) The appearance of Mongolic long vowels as diphthongs, which points to a later layer. According to [Stachowski 2005: 196], the Yakut diphthongization must have taken place no earlier than in the second half of the 18th century, while the contraction of Mongolic *VGV* to the Yakut long vowel was completed at the turn of the 18th century:

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Aldan, Maja, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Urmi) *burui* ‘fault, guilt’ ← Yakut *buruy* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **burū*: cf. LM *buruyu* ‘error, misconception, mistake, guilt; erroneous, false; unjust; wicked; contrary; left-hand side (of a person); right-hand side (of a riding animal)’; Dagur *borō*; Buryat, Khalkha *burū*.

(b) The appearance of Mongolic long vowels in Evenki is presumed to mirror the early development of Yakut diphthongs from long vowels, which are characteristic for Yakut elements in Evenki:

Evenki *sōl* ‘road’ ← Old Yakut **sōl*: cf. Modern Yakut *suol* (~ Old Turkic *yōl*);

Evenki *kōl* ‘lake’ ← Old Yakut **kōl*: cf. Modern Yakut *kūōl* (~ Old Turkic *kōl*);

Evenki *kōk* ‘blue, green’ ← Old Yakut **kōk*: cf. Modern Yakut *kūōx* (~ Old Turkic *kōk*).

The copying from Yakut, and not from Mongolic, is proved by other phonetic and lexical criteria, e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *dōrān* ‘echo; drone, hum’ ← Yakut *duorān* ‘echo’ ← Mongolic **dayurān* < *dayu yar-GAn*: cf. LM *dayuriyan* ‘echo, resonance’ < *dayu yar-* ‘to produce a sound; resound; to roll (as thunder)’ < *dayu* ‘sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound; song’; Buryat *dūryān*; Khalkha *dūria*;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *ōr* ‘anger, fury, rage; cruelty, brutality’ ← Yakut *uor* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **ayur*: cf. LM *ayur* ‘anger’; Dagur *aur*; Buryat; Khalkha *ūr*;

Evenki (Tokko) *ōjōrdā-* ‘to inherit’ ← Yakut *ujuordā-* (< *ujuor* + *dā-*) ‘id.’ < *ujuor* ‘forefather, ancestor; descendant’ ← Mongolic **ujayur* < *ijayur*: cf. MNT *huja’ur*; Muq. *hija’ur*; Literal Mongolic *ijayur* ‘root, basis, foundation; origin, beginning; genesis, genealogy’; Dagur *hojōr*; Buryat *izagūr*; Khalkha *yazgūr*;

Evenki (Uchur, Maja) *sōhū* ‘cattle; livestock’ ← Yakut *sūōhū* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **jōgesi* < *jōge-si*: cf. LM *jōge-* ‘to move something from one place to another, transport; to gather, collect; to acquire, possess’; Buryat *zōše* ‘property, household belongings’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *ulōr* ‘healthy, sober’ ← Yakut *ölüör* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **elegür*: cf. LM *elegür* ~ *eregül* ‘health; healthy, sound; sober, abstinent; untouched, unplayed, virgin (of soil)’; Buryat *elūr*; Khalkha *erül*.

In two cases, the borrowing from Yakut is proved not only by the phonetic change, but also by the lexical meaning, e.g.

Evenki (Uchur) *erček* ‘hinge, joint’ ← Yakut *iärčäx* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **egerčeg* < *eger-čAG*: cf. LM *egerčeg* ~ *erčeg* ‘femoral bone; hip joint’ < *egere-* ‘to rotate, whirl, turn, revolve; to spin, twist; to surround, stand around; to gather in a pile’; Dagur *ēr-*; Buryat *ērseg*; Khalkha *ērceg* ← Turkic **ägirē-*: cf. Old Turkic *ägir-* ‘to surround, encircle; to twist, spin’;

Evenki (Uchur) *čōlgan* ‘chimney’ ← Yakut *čuolhan* ‘chink; hole’ ← Mongolic **čoyulya* < *čoyu* + *l-GA*: cf. LM *čoyuly-a* ‘hole, opening; opening cut in the ice (as for fishing or watering cattle); a thawed patch on a snowy or icy surface’ < *čoyul-* ‘to pierce, puncture, make a hole, punch, perforate; to reveal, make known’ < *čoyu* ~ *čo* ‘through and through, completely’; Buryat *sōlgo*; Khalkha *cōlgo*.

Morphological criteria

The copying from Yakut into Evenki can also be explained by the appearance of typical Yakut suffixes, e.g.

1) The Yakut additional final sound *-y-* in Evenki verbs. The Yakut verbs originally ending in a short vowel receive an element *-y-* [Kharitonov 1947: 169; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 103—107], e.g.

Old Turkic *ačī-* ‘to be bitter’ ~ Yakut *ahiy-*;

Old Turkic *isi-* ‘to be hot’ ~ Yakut *itiy-*;

Old Turkic *kiči-* ‘to itch’ ~ Yakut *kihiy-*;

Old Turkic *udi-* ‘to sleep’ ~ Yakut *utuy-*;

Mongolic: LM *dorgi-* ‘to shake, tremble’ → Yakut *dorgui-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čāčai-* ‘to choke over’ ← Yakut *čačay-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čača-*: cf. LM *čača-* ‘to choke, swallow wrongly, get water or saliva in one’s windpipe; to have a fit of coughing’; Buryat *sasa-*; Khalkha *caca-*;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) *endei-* ‘to make mistakes, to be mistaken’ ← Yakut *ändäy-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **ende-*: cf. LM *ende-* ‘to err, fall into error, be mistaken, blunder; to go astray; to die’; Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *ende-*;

Evenki (Uchur, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Urmi, Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Aldan, Maja) *karai-* ‘to hide away, take good care’ ← Yakut *xaray-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **kara-*: cf. LM *qara-* ‘to look at, glance, watch, observe; to regard, consider; to look after; to face’; Buryat, Khalkha *xara-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Maja, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Urmi) *serei-* ‘to guess; to suspect’ ← Yakut *sāräy-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **sere-*: cf. LM *sere-* ~ *seri-* ‘to awaken, revive; to recover consciousness; to become sober; to keep vigil; to learn, find out; to mistrust’; Dagur *sere-*; Buryat *heri-*; Khalkha *sere-* ← Turkic **sēri-*: cf. Old Turkic *sēz-* ‘to perceive, feel, discern, understand, conjecture’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Maja, Urmi) *jahai-* ‘to put in order; to manage, direct; to take care’ ← Yakut *jahay-* ‘to put in order; to manage, direct’ ← Mongolic **ĵasa-*: cf. LM *ĵasa-* ‘to put in order, fix, repair, correct, make corrections; to improve, to decorate; to castrate’; Dagur *dasa-*; Buryat *zaha-*; Khalkha *zasa-*.

2) The Yakut additional final consonant *-ŋ* ~ *-n* in Evenki nouns, which appears sporadically in the Mongolic loanwords of Yakut [Kałużyński 1961: 56], e.g.

Mongolic: LM *γolumta* ‘fireplace in a yurt’ → Yakut *xolumtan*;

Mongolic: LM *qayalya* ‘gate, door’ → Yakut *xalyan*;

Mongolic: LM *sirqa* ‘wound; sore’ → Yakut *siryān*;

Mongolic: LM *taγaburi* ‘guess, riddle’ → Yakut *tābirij*;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) *boronj* ‘grey, brown; whitish’ ← Yakut *boronj* ‘grey, brown’ ← Mongolic **boro-*: cf. LM *boro* ~ *bora* ‘grey, brown; dark, swarthy (face); plain, simple, ordinary; coarse, rough’; Buryat *boro*; Khalkha *bor* ← Turkic **borō-*: cf. Old Turkic *boz* ‘grey’;

Evenki (Uchur) *čölgan* ‘chimney’ ← Yakut *čuolγan* ‘chink; hole’ ← Mongolic **čoyulya* < *čoyu* + *l-GA*: cf. LM *čoyuly-a* ‘hole, opening; opening cut in the ice (as for fishing or watering cattle); a thawed patch on a snowy or icy surface’ < *čoyul-* ‘to pierce, puncture, make a hole, punch, perforate; to reveal, make known’ < *čoyu* ~ *čö* ‘through and through, completely’; Buryat *sölgo*; Khalkha *cölgo*.

3) The Yakut productive denominal noun suffix + *LĀx* of Turkic origin²⁹ [Kharitonov 1947: 134—135; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 163] in Evenki, which forms nouns designating an abundance of something, e.g.

Evenki (Uchur) *erčimnēk* ‘strong, energetic’ ← Yakut *ärčimnāx* ‘id.’ < *ärčim* ‘energy, strength’ ← Mongolic **erčim-*: cf. LM *erčim* ‘torsion, twist; intensity, energy, steadfastness’; Buryat *erše(m)*; Khalkha *erčim*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Maja, Totti, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Urmi) *eyelēk* ‘peaceful; friendly’ ← Yakut *äyälāx* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **eye-*: cf. LM *ey-e* ‘peace, accord; harmony, concord; amity, friendship, urbanity; comfortableness’; Buryat, Khalkha *eye*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmi) *jollōk* ‘happy’ ← Yakut *jollōx* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **jol-*: cf. LM *jol* ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’; Buryat *zol*; Khalkha *zol*.

4) The appearance of the Yakut reflexive suffix *-(X)n-* in Evenki³⁰ [Kharitonov 1963: 76—77; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 259—260; Stachowski 1998: 425], which expresses a reflexive meaning, e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chumikan, Sakhalin, Urmi, Ilimpeja) *eren-* ‘to hope, rely upon’ ← Yakut *ärän-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **ere-*: cf. LM *ere-* ~ *eri-* ‘to seek, look for, search; to beg, request; to inquire (as after somebody’s health); to intercede on behalf of’; Dagur, Buryat *eri-*; Khalkha *ere-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *ergin-* ‘to trade, sell’ ← Yakut *ärgin-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **ergi-*: cf. LM *ergi-* ‘to turn or move around, revolve; to circumambulate (as an act of devotion or worship); to surround, encompass, encircle; to return, turn back; to visit regularly or repeatedly’; Dagur *hergi-* ~ *horgi-*; Buryat *er’ye-*; Khalkha *erge-* ← Turkic **ägir-*: cf. Old Turkic *ägir-* ‘to surround, encircle, to twist, spin’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi, Zeja) *maktan-* ‘to thank’ ← Yakut *maxtan-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **magta-*: cf. LM *mayta-* ‘to praise, eulogize, laud, extol, glorify’; Buryat, Khalkha *magta-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Chulman, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, Urmi) *sitan-* ‘to fulfil; to make friends, to become friends’ ← Yakut *sitan-* ‘to be successful, possible’ ← Mongolic **čida-*: cf. LM *čida-* ‘to be able, capable; to be able to overcome or vanquish’; Dagur *šada-*; Buryat *šada-*; Khalkha *čada-*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *telgen-* ‘to make a bed for oneself; to spread, creep; to be layed’ ← Yakut *tälgän-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **delge-*: cf. LM *delge-* ‘to spread, display, lay out, unroll, unwrap; to open; to expand, stretch, elongate; to propagate’; Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *delge-*.

5) The appearance of the Yakut cooperative-reciprocal suffix *-(X)s-* in Evenki verbs³¹ [Kharitonov 1963: 19; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 268], e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *jöreles-* ‘to coincide, to join, unite in pair’ ← Yakut *jüöräläs-* ‘to coincide, to join, unite in pair’ < *jüörälä-* (< **jüörälä-i-*) ‘to do alike, equal, the same’ < *jüörä* ‘resembling, alike, similar’ ← Mongolic **jüirle-* < *jüyi-r* + *lA-*: cf. LM *jüyirle-* ‘to be alike, equal, the same; to compare; to alliterate’ < *jüyir*

²⁹ For details on the Turkic productive suffix + *lIG* see [Erdal 1991: 139].

³⁰ For details in the Turkic Reflexive *-(X)n-* see [Erdal 1991: 634—638].

³¹ For details on the Turkic Cooperative-reciprocal suffix *-(X)s-* see [Erdal 1991: 574—583].

‘semblance, equality, similarity; comparison’ < *jüyi-* ‘to join together, put together from various pieces, add on material of the same kind in order to make something larger or longer’; Khalkha *zürle-*;

Evenki (Uchur) *kečes-* ‘to be obstinate, to persist’ ← Yakut *käčäs-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **keče-*: cf. LM *kečegü* (< **keče-GU*) ‘difficult, hard, vehement; bold, courageous; terrible, fierce; extremely’; Dagur *kečü*; Buryat *xesü*; Khalkha *xecü*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman) *meljes-* ‘to deny, disavow, refuse to acknowledge’ ← Yakut *mäljäs-* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **melje-*: cf. LM *melje-* ~ *melji-* ‘to make a bet, place a wager, argue as to the prospective winner; to try to overcome; to complete; to object to; to deny, repudiate one’s words’; Dagur *melji-*; Buryat *melze-*; Khalkha *melze-*.

6) The change of the original word classes in Evenki as in Yakut, e.g.

Adverb ← Verb:

Evenki (Tokko) *kolbū* ‘together’ ← Yakut *xolbū* ‘joint, combined; together’ < *xolbō-* (< **xolbo-i-*) ‘to connect, unite’ ← Mongolic **kolbo-*: cf. LM *qolbo-* ~ *qolba-* ‘to unite, combine, connect, incorporate; to link to; to unite in marriage’; Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha *xolbo-*;

Adverb ← Noun:

Evenki (Tokko) *maɣnai* ‘at first, in the beginning’ ← Yakut *maɣnai* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **maɣnai*: cf. LM *mangnai* ~ *manglai* ‘forehead; front, vanguard; chief, leader; principal, advanced, foremost, supreme’; Dagur *mangil*; Buryat, Khalkha *magnai*.

Semantic criteria

From a semantic point of view, it is observable that some Mongolic loanwords in Evenki have the same meaning as the Yakut words which changed the original meaning, e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *beder* ‘lynx’ ← Yakut *bädär* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **beder*: cf. LM *beder* ~ *bider* ‘stripes, specks, spots, mark on the skin of animals; ornament, pattern engraved on metal, stone, or wood’; Buryat *bedir* ~ *büder*; Khalkha *bider*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Ol’okma, Stony Tunguska, Sakhalin, Urmi, Zeja) *kergen* ‘family, wife; home; children’ ← Yakut *kärgän* ‘family; family member; wife or husband’ ← Mongolic **gergen* < *ger* + *GAn*: cf. LM *gergen* (pl.) < *gergei* ‘wife, married woman’ < *ger* ‘yurt; house, home’; Buryat *gerge(n)*; Khalkha *gergē*;

Evenki (Uchur, May) *siwai* ‘black pudding’ ← Yakut *sibai* ~ *subai* ‘fresh blood of a slaughtered animal; black pudding; barren, sterile (cow or mare)’ ← Mongolic **subai*: cf. LM *subai* ‘female animal (cow, mare) which has not borne a foal (or calf) during the year’; Dagur *sobō* ~ *sogō*; Buryat *subai*; Khalkha *suwai*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) *māni* ‘well dressed, elegant; educated; cultured; noble’ ← Yakut *māni* ‘honour, respect; contentment; dear; well dressed, elegant’ ← Mongolic **māni*: cf. LM *mani* ‘gem, jewel, precious stone; wish-granting stone or jewel, talisman, precious object’; Buryat *māni*; Khalkha *mān*’ ← Tibetan;

Evenki (Tokko) *manña* ‘favour; pay, fee’ ← Yakut *manña* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **manja*: cf. LM *manja* ‘prepared tea (honorif. in reference to lamas)’; Khalkha *manj* ← Tibetan;

Evenki (Uchur) *moɣoi* ‘wisdom tooth’ ← Yakut *moɣoi* ~ *moɣoi* ‘snake, serpent’; cf. *silgī moɣoyo* ‘tusks of a horse’ [Pekarskij 1959: 1576] ← Mongolic **moɣoi*: cf. LM *moɣai* ‘snake, serpent’; Dagur *mog(o)*; Buryat, Khalkha *mogoi*;

Evenki (Tokko) *mugur* ‘blind gut, caecum; blunt’ ← Yakut *mugur* ~ *muɣur* ‘blunt’; cf. *mugur* ‘caecum’, *muɣur* ‘blind gut’ [Pekarskij 1959: 1617, 1631] ← Mongolic **mukur*: cf. LM *muqur* ‘blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless, tailless, bobtailed; amputated, maimed; rounded (as number); dead-end; blind (figuratively)’; Dagur *mogō*; Buryat *moxō*; Khalkha *muxar*.

Uncertain features

There are some phonetic features which are characteristic of both direct Mongolic loanwords and indirect copying via Yakut.

1) The preservation of the Mongolic initial *č-*, e.g.

Mongolic **čakir*: cf. LM *čakir* ‘very white, light, snow white; white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird’

→ Yakut *čakir* ‘white (colour of horse)’;

→ Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čakir* ‘white-coloured reindeer’;

Mongolic **čeber*: cf. LM *čeber* ‘clean, pure; neat; immaculate; net (as profit)’

→ Yakut *čābār* ‘neat, tidy’;

→ Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) *čeber* ‘neat, tidy’;

Mongolic **čabirqai*: LM *čimarqai* ‘temple’; cf. Buryat *sabirgai*

→ Yakut *čabiryay*;

→ Evenki (Tokko, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) *čawurgai* ~ *čawurgüi* ~ *čawurkai*.

However, in two cases the Yakut morphological and semantic criteria demonstrate incontrovertibly that the copying occurred from Yakut, e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čāčai*- ‘to choke over’ ← Yakut *čačay*- ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **čača*-: cf. LM *čača*- ‘to choke, swallow wrongly, get water or saliva in one’s windpipe; to have a fit of coughing’; Dagur *čači*-; Buryat *sasa*-; Khalkha *caca*-;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čer* ‘scar’ ← Yakut *čär* ‘scar, callous’ ← Mongolic **čer*: cf. LM *čer* ‘phlegm, sputum, mucus’; Buryat *ser* ‘callus, swelling’; Khalkha *cer*.

2) The preservation of the Mongolic initial *ǰ*-, e.g.

Mongolic **ǰoriya*: cf. LM *ǰoriya* ‘ambling, fast amble; ambler’ (← Turkic)

→ Yakut *ǰoruo* ‘ambler (horse)’;

→ Evenki (Uchur) *ǰorō* ‘ambler’;

Mongolic **ǰibar*: cf. LM *ǰibar* ‘cold air’

→ Yakut *ǰibar* ‘frost; cold weather’;

→ Evenki (Tokko) *ǰiwar* ‘cold weather in morning’;

Mongolic **ǰalayai*: cf. LM *ǰalayai* ‘careless, negligent; carelessness, neglect’

→ Yakut *ǰalayai* ‘careless, inaccurate’;

→ Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Maja, Urmi) *ǰalayai* ‘absent-minded’.

In some cases, the borrowing from Yakut is proved by other phonetic and morphological criteria, e.g. the development of the Mongolic diphthong into a long vowel in Yakut, the Yakut suffix + *lāx*, the Yakut additional final verbal sound -*y*-:

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *ǰūl* ‘law; sentence’ ← Yakut *ǰūl* ‘law court, legal proceedings; investigation; sentence; sense, understanding’ ← Mongolic **ǰūil* < *ǰūyi-l*: cf. LM *ǰūil* ‘kind, species, sort, category; article, item, paragraph, point; occurrence, instance’ < *ǰūyi-* ‘to join together, put together from pieces, add on material of the same kind in order to make something larger or longer; to piece’; Buryat *zūil*; Khalkha *zūil*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmi) *ǰollōk* ‘happy’ ← Yakut *ǰollōx* (< *ǰol* + *lōx*) ‘happy’ ← Mongolic **ǰol*: cf. LM *ǰol* ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’; Buryat *zol*; Khalkha *zol*;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Maja, Urmi) *ǰahai*- ‘to put in order; to manage, direct; to take care’ ← Yakut *ǰahay*- ‘to put in order; to manage, direct’ ← Mongolic **ǰasa*-: cf. LM *ǰasa*- ‘to put in order, fix, repair, correct, make corrections; to improve, to decorate; to castrate’; Dagur *dasa*-; Buryat *zaha*-; Khalkha *zasa*-;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman) *ǰudei*- ‘to grow thin, lose weight’ ← Yakut *ǰüdäy*- ‘to grow thin, lose weight; to become worse; to go off’ ← Mongolic **ǰūde*-: cf. LM *ǰūde*- ‘to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pressure; to suffer hardship; to have difficulty in doing something’; Dagur *ǰude*-; Buryat *zūde*-; Khalkha *zūde*-.

3) The regular change in the Mongolic intervocalic *VsV* → *VhV* in both Evenki and Yakut. This change points to a later period of copying, because the Old Turkic *VsV* changed to *VtV* in Yakut³². However, in Modern Yakut, if a word with the final consonant -*s* takes a suffix with an initial vowel, the final -*s* regularly changes to *VhV* [Kharitonov 1947: 70; Baraškov 1951: 50; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 60], e.g.

Yakut *ahā*- ‘to eat’ < *as* ‘food’ + *ā*- (Den. V.);

Yakut *ühüs* ‘third’ < *ūs* ‘three’ + (*X*)*s* (the suffix of Ordinal Number);

Yakut *kuhu* < *kus* ‘duck’ + *u* (Accusative);

Yakut *bahim* ‘my head’ < *bas* ‘head’ + *im* (Possessive Sg.1), etc.

In the Mongolic [Kalužynski 1961: 49] and Russian elements in Yakut, the intervocalic consonant *VsV* regularly changes to *VhV* [Arakin 1953: 34], e.g.

Mongolic: LM *nüser* ‘cumbersome’ → Yakut *nühär* ‘solid, strong’;

Mongolic: LM *bos(o)*- ‘to rise, stand up’ → Yakut *bohoy*-;

Russian *časy* ‘clock’ → Yakut *čahi*;

Russian *nosilki* ‘stretcher’ → Yakut *nahilka*;

Russian *risúnok* ‘picture’ → Yakut *uruhünak*;

³² Cf. Old Turkic *asig̃* ‘profit, advantage’ ~ Yakut *atī* ‘trade, commerce’; Old Turkic *isi*- ‘to be hot’ ~ Yakut *itiy*-; Old Turkic *isir*- ‘to bite’ ~ Yakut *itir*-.

Russian *spasibo* ‘thank you!’ → Yakut *bahība*.

This change is also characteristic of original words of the Evenki dialects in Yakutia which belong to the eastern group (for details see [Romanova, Myreeva, Baraškov 1975: 69; Atkine 1997: 116—117], e.g.

Literary Evenki *ēsa* ‘eye’ ~ Eastern Evenki *ēha*;

Literary Evenki *usī* ‘halter, tether’ ~ Eastern Evenki *uhī*;

Literary Evenki *asī* ‘woman’ ~ Eastern Evenki *ahī*.

Mongolic **bayitasun*: cf. LM *bayitasu(n)* ~ *bayidasu(n)* ‘a three to four-year-old animal which has not yet born young; barren’

→ Yakut *baytahin* ‘barren mare’;

→ Evenki (Tokko, Maja, Urmi, Barguzin, Uchur) *baītahun* ‘barren mare’;

Mongolic **kese-*: cf. LM *kese-* ‘to be corrected’; Buryat *xehe-* ‘to break oneself; to improve; to repent’

→ Yakut *kähäy-* ‘to learn, be taught a lesson’;

→ Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, Urmi, Zeja, Tungir, Jerbogachon, Ilimpi) *kehē-* ‘to be taught a lesson; to worry, feel unhappy, to suffer’.

In some cases, the Yakut borrowing is justified by Yakut grammatical features in Evenki words:

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, May, Urmi) *jahai-* ‘to put in order; to manage, direct; to take care’ ← Yakut *jahay-* ‘to put in order; to manage, direct’ ← Mongolic **jasa-*: cf. LM *jasa-* ‘to put in order, fix, repair, correct, make corrections; to improve, to decorate; to castrate’; Dagur *dasa-*; Buryat *zaha-*; Khalkha *zasa-*;

Evenki (Uchur, Maja) *sōhū* ‘cattle; livestock’ ← Yakut *süöhü* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic **jögesi* < *jöge-si*: cf. LM *jöge-* ‘to move something from one place to another, transport; to gather, collect; to acquire, possess’; Buryat *zōše* ‘property, household belongings’.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented some phonological, morphological and semantic criteria which characterize Yakut elements of Mongolic origin in Evenki. On the basis of these criteria, it is possible to distinguish the direct borrowings from Mongolic and the indirect borrowings via the Yakut language.

In spite of the fact that Evenki dialects in Yakutia and the Barguzin Evenki dialect in Buryatia belong to the eastern group of Evenki dialects, the phonetic features of their Mongolic elements demonstrate that the Mongolic sources of the two loanword groups and the periods of borrowing were different. The Mongolic elements of the Evenki dialects copied via Yakut belong to the early period, but they do not show “daguroid” peculiarities, e.g.

— the absence of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-*, which is typical for direct borrowings;

— the development of a long vowel in place of the Mongolic *VgV* sequence according to the Yakut phonetic rules, while it is preserved in direct borrowings;

— in the most cases the regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel *i* has not yet happened in both types of borrowings;

— the preservation of the Mongolic initial consonants *č-* and *ǰ-* in both types of borrowings;

— the Mongolic sequence *si* has not developed into *ši*.

Accordingly, at least two different Mongolic languages must be presumed in the region of the Baikal, where there were intensive linguistic contacts among the Turkic, Tungusic and Mongolic tribes.

Abbreviations

Den.V — Denominal Verb

LM — Literary Mongolian

MNT — Mongqol-un ni’uča tobčiyān

(The Secret History of the Mongols)

Muq. — Mukaddimat al-Adab

NN — Denominal Noun

pl. — Plural

Sg. — Singular

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РЕЗЮМЕ

В данной статье сформулированы некоторые фонологические, морфологические и семантические критерии, характеризующие якутские элементы монгольского происхождения в эвенкийском языке. На основании этих критериев можно отличить непосредственные заимствования из монгольского от заимствований через якутский язык.

Несмотря на то, что эвенкийские диалекты в Якутии и баргузинский диалект эвенкийского в Бурятии относятся к восточной группе эвенкийских диалектов, фонетические характеристики монгольских заимствований в них показывают, что монгольские источники двух групп заимствований и периоды заимствования были разными. Монгольские элементы в эвенкийских диалектах, пришедшие через якутский, относятся к раннему периоду, но не демонстрируют типичных «дагурских» особенностей:

- отсутствует среднемонгольское начальное *h-*, характерное для прямых заимствований;
- развиваются долгие гласные на месте монгольской последовательности *VgV* в соответствии с фонетическими правилами в якутском, тогда как эта последовательность сохранена в прямых заимствованиях;
- в большинстве случаев регрессивная ассимиляция монгольского *i* еще не произошла в обеих группах заимствованных слов;

- сохранение монгольских начальных *č-* и *ǰ-* в обеих группах заимствований;
- монгольская последовательность *si* не переходит в *ši*.

Соответственно, следует предполагать существование как минимум двух различных монгольских языков в Байкальском регионе, где активно контактировали представители тюркских, тунгусских и монгольских племен.

SUMMARY

In this paper, I have proposed some phonological, morphological and semantic criteria which characterize Yakut elements of Mongolic origin in Evenki. On the basis of these criteria, it is possible to distinguish between direct borrowings from Mongolic and indirect borrowings via Yakut language.

In spite of the fact that Evenki dialects in Yakutia and the Barguzin Evenki dialect in Buryatia belong to the eastern group of Evenki dialects, the phonetic features of their Mongolic elements demonstrate that the Mongolic sources of the two loanword groups and the periods of borrowing were different. The Mongolic elements of the Evenki dialects borrowed via Yakut belong to the early period, but they do not show “daguroid” peculiarities, e.g.:

- the absence of the Middle Mongolic initial *h-*, which is typical for direct borrowings;
- the development of a long vowel in place of the Mongolic *VgV* sequence according to the Yakut phonetic rules, while the sequence is preserved in direct borrowings;
- in most cases the regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel *i* has not yet occurred in both groups of borrowings;
- the preservation of the Mongolic initial consonants *č-* and *ǰ-* in both groups of borrowings;
- the Mongolic sequence *si* has not developed into *ši*.

Accordingly, at least two different Mongolic languages must be presumed to have existed in the Baikal region, where intensive linguistic contacts among the Turkic, Tungusic and Mongolic tribes took place.

Ключевые слова: эвенкийский язык, якутский язык, монгольские языки, сравнительно-историческое языкознание, хронологизация языковых контактов

Keywords: Evenki language, Yakut language, Mongolian languages, comparative linguistics, chronology of language contacts