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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 have 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 peculiarities.

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 territory. 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 Yakutia. 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 languages. In Russia, Evenki has 51 sub-dialects. Six of them, Maja, Totti, Tokko, Tommot, Chulman and Uchur, are present in Yakutia. 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) group.

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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 *VhV > VsV (e.g. atax < adaq ‘leg’), the disappearance of the initial *s- (e.g. ân < *sen ‘you’), the changing of the initial γ’ > 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 Khammigan Evenkis, the Orochens and the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus or “Yakuts” [Janhunen 1997: 130].

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


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 etymology 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 ologyo 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 Evenk 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 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.

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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 ustär ‘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 Baras̆kov in 1975, in a book offering brief historical information and a comparative grammatical sketch [Romanova, Myreeva, Baras̆kov 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.


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 Kalužynski [Kalužynski 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 hurčen 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 Smoľak [Vasilevič, Smoľák 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 features [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 Buryat.13

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 [Kalužynski 1995: 233—339].
11 They live scattered across the Trans-Baikal region in the Aga National District of Chita Province, in Khentii 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 Khirkhat and Bulagat tribes moved into the Barguzin region from the western part of Baikal in 1740 [Vostríkov, 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 helye ‘kite’ ← Middle Mongolic hele’e; cf. LM eliy-e;
Evenki hiruge ‘to bless’ ← Middle Mongolic hirü’e; cf. LM irüge; Dagur šurš;
Evenki hukur ‘cow’ ← Middle Mongolic hükær; cf. LM ikker; 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 emel;
Evenki imagan ‘goat’ ← Mongolic: LM imayan; cf. Dagur imän; Buryat, Khalkha yamän(n);
Barguzin Evenki kewer ‘meadow, tundra’ ← Mongolic: LM kegere ‘steppe’; cf. Dagur kër; Buryat xëre;
Khalhxa xër;
3) the guttural VGV in the intervocalic position, which does not evolve a long vowel in Modern Mongolic, is unvoiced 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 unukän ‘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;
Khalhxa udgan;
4) the Mongolic sequence *si, which appears as șV in the Modern Mongolic, is not developed [Khabtagaeva 2010: 17], e.g.

Evenki sırğa ‘bay (horse)’ ← Mongolic: LM sırqa; cf. Dagur, Buryat, Khalhxa šarga;
Evenki sile ‘soup’ ← Mongolic: LM sili; cf. Dagur šil; Buryat šilen; Khalhxa šöl;
Evenki sipke ‘dung’ ← Mongolic: LM sibke; cf. Buryat šebe; Khalhxa šive;
5) the change of the sequence *si to či in some Evenki dialects, which is evidence that *si had already become ģ, which points to the later layer [Poppe 1972: 101—102; Khabtagaeva 2010: 17], e.g.

Evenki čwokcin ‘womancook’ ← Mongolic: LM sibegchin ‘maid servant’; Khalhxa ševgbcin;
Evenki čménhun ‘Larch’ ← Mongolic: LM sineschin; cf. Buryat šenehen; Khalhxa šines(ən);
Evenki čwuke ‘awl, spike’ ← Mongolic: LM sibug; cf. Dagur šegug; Buryat šibge; Khalhxa šövğ;
6) the preservation of the initial č- and j-, 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 zalá; Khalhxa zalá;
Evenki jalaw ‘young’ ← Mongolic: LM jalay; cf. Buryat zalá; Khalhxa zalá;
Evenki jula ‘candle’ ← Mongolic: LM jul; cf. Buryat zula; Khalhxa žul, 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-Baikalina 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 Üç Êrmiş 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 Tungusian 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 language.

\[\text{The connections between the ancestors of the Buryats and the Yakuts are revealed by the coincidence of the folklore material, e.g. the Western Buryat legends on the owners of the River Lena, Xara Ažirai and Xaramcai Mergen, and the Yakut legends on the ancestors Ellei and Omogoi, who migrated to the present area from the south (for details see [Okladnikov 1955: 325]). Most Yakut legends mention Omogoi ~ Omogoi, one of the ancestors of Yakuts, as a man of Buryat origin who came from the land of the Buryats [Okladnikov 1955: 341—343].}\]
The Mongolic elements in Yakut were mentioned for the first time in the 19th century, in the Yakut grammar by Böhtlingk [Böhtlingk 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 Kaluzhinskij [Kaluzhinskij 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 period.

The main features of the Mongolic elements in Yakut are as follows:

1) the disappearance of the Middle Mongolic initial ʰ-
   [Kaluzhinskij 1961: 57];
2) the development of Mongolic long vowels from the pattern VgV according to the Yakut phonetic rules
   [Kaluzhinskij 1961: 26—35], e.g.
   Yakut ɪɟɪgɑi ‘cottage cheese’ ← Mongolic: LM egejegi; cf. Buryat ēggei; Khalkha ēɡɡi;
   Yakut süom ‘span’ ← Mongolic: LM sõgem; cf. Buryat hõm; Khalkha sõm;
   Yakut uor ‘anger, rage’ ← Mongolic: LM ayur; cf. Dagur aur; Buryat, Khalkha ār;
3) the sporadic regressive assimilation of the Mongolic vowel ɪ [Kaluzhinskij 1961: 20—23], e.g.
   Yakut ɮɪbɑr ‘frost; cold weather’ ← Mongolic: LM ɮɪbar ‘cold air’; cf. Buryat zabar; Khalkha jawar;
   Yakut nirɑ ‘newborn’ ← Mongolic: LM nirai; cf. Buryat narai ~ nɑrɑi; Khalkha nɑrɑi;
   Yakut joruo ‘amblere horse’ ← Mongolic: LM jɪrɪuɑ; cf. Dagur jɪrʊ; Buryat žorõ; Khalkha ḟorõ;
   Yakut suru- ‘to write’ ← Mongolic: LM jɪrʊ-; cf. Dagur jɪrʊ; Buryat zura-; Khalkha jura-;
4) the Mongolic sequence ṣi has not yet developed to ʃi, as in Modern Mongolic languages
   [Kaluzhinskij 1961: 22, 49], e.g.
   Yakut sɪjɑi- ‘to chide’ ← Mongolic: LM sɪqa- ‘to press, oblige’; cf. Dagur sɑɡa-; Buryat, Khalkha sɑxa-;
   Yakut sɪryɑn ‘wound’ ← Mongolic: LM sɪrɑ; cf. Buryat şɑrɑ; Khalkha şɑr;
   Yakut xamnɪ ‘animal epidemic’ ← Mongolic: LM yamnɪ; cf. Khalkha gamşɪg;
   Yakut tahɪy- ‘to beat, hit’ ← Mongolic: LM tɑsi-; cf. Buryat tɑsɑ-; Khalkha tɑsi-;
5) the preservation of the Mongolic initial consonants ē- and j-, or their development according to Yakut phonetic rules
   [Kaluzhinskij 1961: 45—48], e.g.
   (a) Yakut čɑjɪlɑn ‘flash of lightning’ ← Mongolic: LM čɑkilɑn < ɛčɑkil- < ħɑkɪl-; cf. Dagur čɑkilɡɑn;
      Buryat saxilɡɑn; Khalkha cɑxilɡɑn;
      Yakut jɑbɑ ‘corner of the mouth’ ← Mongolic: LM jɑbɑ; cf. Dagur jɑbɪ; Buryat žɑbɑţa;
   (b) Yakut sɑnɪ ‘energy’ ← Mongolic: LM ɛnɪeɡe; cf. Dagur ɛnɛ; Buryat žɛnɛ; Khalkha ɛnɛ;
   Yakut siɑgɑi ‘sour cream’ ← Mongolic: LM jʊɡeɡe; cf. Buryat ɬɑʊxɛi; Khalkha ɡɑxɬi;

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 čɑrɪ ‘army’ ~ Yakut sɑrɪ ‘war; battle; army’;
   Old Turkic čɑɡ ‘time, a point in time, a period of time’ ~ Yakut sɑx;
   Evenki ¹⁶ (Uchur) sɛr ‘rule, custom’ ← Yakut siɑr ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *ɛɡeɡ: cf. LM ɛɡeɡ ‘taboo, prohibition; abstinance; quarantine (due to epidemics)’; Dagur ɛɣ; Buryat sɛr; Khalkha cɛɣ.

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 ĕ → s- is characteristic of Buryat, but the Mongolic *ĕ- with the vowel -i- demonstrates the independent process in Evenki as in Yakut, because the Mongolic ĕ- changed to ăV- in Buryat:

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) sâk ‘humidity, dew’ ← Yakut sîk ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *çîg < čîgig: cf. LM čîgig ‘dampness, moisture, humidity’; Buryat sîg; Khalkha čîg.

Evenki (Uchur) simë ‘to decorate’ ← Yakut simë- ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *cîme-: cf. LM cîme- ‘to adorn, decorate, bedeck, dress up’; Buryat şeme-; Khalkha cîme-;

Evenki (Tokko, Chulman, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, Urmi) sitan ‘to fulfill; to make friends, to become friends’ ← Yakut sitan- ~ satan- (< *sîta-n- Yakut Reflexive) ‘to be successful, possible’ ← Mongolic *cîda-: cf. LM čîda- ‘to be able, capable; to overcome or vanquish’; Dagur šada-; Buryat šada-; Khalkha čada-.

(b) The replacement of the Mongolic initial ĕ- by j- in Evenki, which is peculiar for some Mongolic elements in Yakut [Kalužnyšski 1961: 46], e.g.

Mongolic: LM čiyalsy ‘paper’ ← Yakut järsin ‘book’;
Mongolic: LM čoýcayi- ‘to rise, tower, loom up’ ← Yakut jogjoy- ‘id.’;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur, May, Urmi) jeŋkîr ‘clear, transparent’ ← Yakut jänkîr ~ čînkîr ‘clear, transparent; boiled butter’ ← Mongolic *čînkîr: cf. LM čînkîr ‘light blue, bluish’; Buryat senxir; Khalkha cenxer.

(c) The change of the Mongolic intervocalic VĆV to ṼṼV through *VŚV > *ṼV, as in original Yakut words, e.g.
Old Turkic aćīg ‘bitter’ ← Yakut ahi ‘bitter, acidic’;
Old Turkic bīçaq ‘knife’ ← Yakut bīhan ‘id.’;
Old Turkic kīći ‘to itch’ ← Yakut kîhîy ‘id.’;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) telgehe ‘yard, courtyard’ ← Yakut tâlgâhâ ‘yard, lown, court’ ← Mongolic *delgeč < delge-čA: cf. LM delgeč ‘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 delgesë (Bokhan dial.) ‘the half of a strip (of ploughed land)’; Khalkha delgëc;

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

2) The change of the Mongolic initial j- → s- in Evenki as in Mongolic elements in Yakut [Kalužnyšski 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, Sakhalin) sorui- ‘to charge, commission; to instruct; to send a request’ ← Yakut soruy- ‘to charge, commission; to instruct’ ← Mongolic *jorii-: cf. LM jorii- ‘to move in the direction of; to strive, intend, plan; to be resolved’; Dagur jori-; Buryat zori-; Khalkha zori- ← Turkic *jorii-: cf. Old Turkic jori- ‘to walk, march’;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, May, Sakhalin, Urmi) soruyan ‘intentionally, deliberately; on purpose’ ← Yakut soruyan ‘on purpose’ ← Mongolic *joriiyan < joriiyan < *jorii-Gûn: cf. LM joriiyan ‘stubborn, persistent; purposely, intentionally, especially’ < jori- ‘to move in the direction of; to strive, intend, plan; to be resolved’; Buryat zorïn ← Turkic *jori-: cf. Old Turkic jori- ‘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 *jâdâ-: cf. Old Turkic yâd- ~ yây- ‘to spread out’;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur, Tokko, Sakhalin, Urmi) semelë- ‘to censure, condemn; to reprimand’ ← Yakut sâmålă ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *jemele- < jeme + I-: cf. LM jemele- ~ jîmele- ‘to chide, scold; to lecture; to accuse, blame, reproach’ < jeme = jîme ‘conduct, manner of behaviour, procedure; blame, reprimand; fault’; Buryat zemel-; Khalkha zemë-.

3) The change of the Mongolic initial consonant y- → j- in Evenki as in Yakut. This change is typical of Mongolic [Kalužnyšski 1961: 50] and Russian elements in Yakut 18 [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 *j-,

Old Turkic yan- ‘to threaten’ ← Yakut sân- (< *jânin-);
Old Turkic yê- ‘to eat’ ← Yakut siâ- (< *jê-);
Old Turkic yûz ‘the face’ ← Yakut sûs (<*jûz) ‘forehead’;

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) johun ‘solid, important, serious’ ← Yakut johon ‘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(ön).

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

Mongolic: LM unjî- ‘to hang down, to droop’ → Yakut unîuy-;
Mongolic: LM injî- ‘dowry, bridal gifts’ → Yakut ânîâ;
Mongolic: LM sanjî- ‘to hang down, to dangle’ → Yakut sanhîy-;

Evenki (Tokko) manîn ‘favor; pay, fee’ ← 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 [Kalużyński 1961: 51—52] and Russian elements in Yakut 19, while in direct Mongolic loanwords in Evenki this consonant is usually preserved 20.

Evenki (Tokko, Chulman) kenen ‘naive’ ← Yakut kânän ‘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) kerger ‘family, wife; home; children’ ← Yakut kârgân ‘family; family member; wife or husband’ ← Mongolic *gergen < ger + GAн: cf. LM gergen (pl.) < gergei ‘wife, married woman’ < ger ‘yurt; house, dwelling, domicile; home’; Buryat gerge(n); Khalkha gergî;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur, Chulman) kerdäs ‘precept; will, testament; oath’ ← Yakut kârîäš ‘behest, bidding; will, testament’ ← Mongolic *gerîyesüm < gerîye + sУn: cf. LM gerîyesüm ‘testament, last will’; Buryat xerî; Khalkha gerë;

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) kiley ‘black ice’ ← Yakut kilän ‘brightness, shine; black ice’ ← Mongolic *gilûn: cf. LM gilîng ‘shiny, smooth’; Buryat gelîger; Khalkha gelîg (< glûger).

6) Whereas directly copied intervocalic consonants VkV and VqV in Mongolic loanwords in Evenki are usually preserved 21, 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 copying 22. The regular voicing is typical of Yakut words with the final -k, when it takes a suffix with an initial vowel [Karitonov 1947: 69; Baraškov 1951: 49], e.g.

Old Turkic sâkiz ‘eight’ ← Yakut ayis;
Old Turkic öküz ‘ox’ ← Yakut oyus;
Old Turkic yaga ‘the edge, or border’ ← Yakut saya;
Mongolic (← Turkic): LM ikire ‘twins’ ← Yakut igire;
Mongolic: LM sîke ‘axe’ ← Yakut sîgä;
Yakut baliyîm ‘my fish’ < balîk ‘fish’ + iñ (Possessive Sg.1);
Yakut sîttîgîm ‘my pillow’ < sîtti ‘pillow’ + iñ (Possessive Sg.1), etc.

Evenki (Tommot, Tokko, Uchur, May, Urmi) bögî ~ hügî ‘strong, solid’ ← Yakut bögî ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *bôke: cf. LM bôke ‘strong, solid, stalwart, firm, robust, vigorous, sturdy’; Dagur buke; Buryat bîxe; Khalkha böx;
Evenki (Uchur) čogur ‘variegated, spotted’ ← Yakut īogur ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *ćogur: cf. LM čogor ~ čogor ‘variegated, dappled, spotted; motled; sock-marked’; Dagur čoxor ~ čōkor; Buryat sōxor; Khalkha čoxor; Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) čogurui- ‘to step back; to retreat, fall back’ ← Yakut čiyuruy- ‘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) mغير ‘blind gut, cæcum; blunt’ ← Yakut mugur ← Mongolic *mukur: cf. LM mгуur ‘blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless, tailless, bobtailed; amputated, maimed; rounded (as number); dead-end; blind (figuratively); Dagur mogo; Buryat moxor; Khalkha mخار;


7) The change of the Mongolic intervocalic consonant VgV → VгV 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 маий ~ ма ‘old, ancient’;

Mongolic: LM ыяасын ‘fish’ → Yakut няаяха ~ няана ‘small fish’;

Mongolic: LM мгуур ‘blunt’ → Yakut мгуур ~ мгуур;

Russian magazin ‘shop’ ← Yakut маарайн ~ маарайн;

Evenki (Uchur) мооо ‘wisdom toth’ ← Yakut мооо ~ мооо ‘snake, serpent’ ← Mongolic *мооо: cf. LM мооо ‘snake, serpent’; Dagur мого (o); Buryat, Khalkha мого.

8) The change of the Mongolic final consonant -n → -ŋ in Evenki, as in some Mongolic loanwords in Yakut [Kalużyński 1961: 56] :

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) buyаŋ ‘abundance, plenty’ ← Yakut buyаŋ → биң ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *buyan: cf. LM буян ‘moral, merit, meritorious act, virtuous deed, virtue’; Dagur бойин; Buryat, Khalkha буян ← Uighur ← Sanskrit;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Uchur, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmu, Zeya) бодоң ~ бүдүң ‘large, big’ ← Yakut бодоң ‘big, powerful’ ← Mongolic *булдүң: cf. LM булдүүн ‘large, huge, big’; Dagur бүдүүн; Buryat, Khalkha бүдүүн.

9) The change of the Mongolic initial dental consonants д- and т- → c- under the influence of the following consonant sequence with -c- in Evenki as in Yakut. This change is typical of the Mongolic [Kalużyński 1961: 43] and Russian [Убр'атова et al. 1982: 61] elements in Yakut, e.g.

Mongolic: LM тoýrчay ‘bud of a flower; small cap with a button on top’ → Yakut чоорчax ‘a top on a cap’;

Russian testо ‘dough, pastrу’ → Yakut чиста;

Russian төчо ‘exactly’ → Yakut чооччана;

Russian төсөним ‘sharpened; turned’ ← Yakut чугунay.

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

Evenki (Uchur) čопчума (< čopčу + mA) ‘correctly; clearly’ ← Yakut čopču ‘definitely, exactly, precisely, straight’ ← Mongolic *тобе: cf. LM тон ‘abbreviation; abridgment; outline; summary; resume; essence or point of a matter; abridged, abbreviated, brief’; Buryat тобо; Khalkha тове;

Evenki (Tommot, Uchur) чурумчá ‘muzzle of the calf, which prevents the calf from sucking the cow’ ← Yakut чурпчу ~ чуромчá ~ чурпчо ‘a ring passed through the nose of a bull or a camel’ ← Mongolic *дорбечi < дөрү + беч: cf. LM дорбеч ‘small rope for carrying smth. on shoulders’ Kow. 1942 < дөрү ‘iron or rope nose-ring’; Buryat дүре; Khalkha дөр; дорө ‘halter’.

10) The labialization of the Mongolic vowel a in an initial syllable in Evenki as in Yakut 24. This change is typical for original Yakut words [Kharitonov 1947: 80; Johanson 1998: 93] and Mongolic or Russian loanwords [Kalużyński 1961: 15—16], in which labial vowels are present, e.g.

Old Turkic gамиш ‘reed, cane, rush’, Yakut xомус;

Old Turkic гамич ‘ladle’ ~ Yakut xомuuos;

Old Turkic gатун ‘lady’ ~ Yakut xотун.

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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 Eveniks.
Mongolic: LM *sadur ‘vile, immoral, lewd’ → Yakut *sodur ‘dissolute’;
Mongolic: LM *lāb ‘sure, certain’ → Yakut *lōp;
Mongolic: LM *mangus ‘fabulous, monster’ → Yakut *moyus ~ monus;
Russian *kāpīsta ‘cabbage’ → Yakut *xoppīsta ~ xappīsta;
Russian *kamzōl ‘camisole’ → Yakut *xomuñuol;
Russian *makarōny ‘pasta’ → Yakut *mokorōn;
Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) *oburgu ‘more’ → Yakut *oburgu ‘big, considerable’ → Mongolic *aburgu: cf. LM *aburqa ~ aburyu ‘gigantic, colossal, huge, enormous, vast; giant; titan; highest rank of wrestlers; champion’; Buryat abarga; Khalkha awraga;
Evenki (Tokko) *orgu ‘quiet; slowly’ → Yakut orgy ‘id.’ → Mongolic *argul < algur: cf. LM alýur ‘slowly, quietly, calmly, leisurely, gradually’; Dagur, Khalkha algur; cf. Ordos, Kalmyk argul;
Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *tōk ‘flint’ → Yakut *tōk ‘id.’ → Mongolic *ćakur < ćaki-GUr: cf. LM čakýur < čaki- ‘to strike fire from a flint; to flash’; Buryat saxur; Khalkha caxiur ← Turkic *çaq-: cf. Old Turkic *caq- ‘to strike fire (with flint and steel);
Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Totti, Sakhalin, Urmi) dolbūr ‘shelf for kitchen utensils’ ← Yakut dolbūr ~ dalbūr ‘shelf’ ← Mongolic *talbūr < talbi-GUr: cf. LM talbiyr ‘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 tabyur; Khalkha tawiiur, tabiur.

11) The sporadic change of the Mongolic long vowels *u → i in Evenki 25 as *u → i in Yakut. It is characteristic of original Yakut words [Stachowski 1993: 118] and Mongolic loanwords in different positions [Kaluzhinski 1961: 19—20]. This delabialization occurs in some Russian [Kharitonov 1947: 81] and Tungusic loanwords too, e.g.

Evenki (Tokko) bulgā ‘to stir; Yakut bulū ‘～ bilā-;
Mongolic: LM umdayan ‘drink’ → Yakut imdān ‘a drink from sour milk’;
Mongolic: LM bujar ‘defiled; dirty, dishonorable’ → Yakut bijar;
Mongolic: LM bulcirqai ‘gland’ → Yakut bičarxay;
Russian komār ‘gnat, mosquito’ → Yakut kumār ‘kimār’;
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; barrel, 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 sogö ~ sogö; Buryat subai; Khalkha suwai;
Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) kalti ‘slightly, in passing’ ← Yakut xalti ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *galtu: cf. LM galtu ‘carelessly, hardly, almost;’ Buryat xalta; Khalkha xalti.

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

Evenki (Tokko) malāhin ‘feast, banquet’ ← Yakut malāhin ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *milaysun < milaya-sUn: cf. LM milayaya ‘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 milān ‘the first birthday party of child’;
Evenki (Tokko, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) čawurgai ~ čawurgāi ~ čawurkai ‘temple’ ← Yakut čabūr ‘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 [Kaluzhinski 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) pattern 26, as for the Yakut secondary long vowels 27. The Yakut long vowels and diphthongs can also be original 28. 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 ʊl; Buryat ula; LM ebecigu ‘sternum’ ~ Khalkha ʰwɛː; Buryat ušs; LM ulayya ‘red’ ~ Khalkha, Buryat ulən.
27 Old Turkic aqıg ‘mouth’ ~ Yakut uos ‘lip, lips’; Old Turkic bagı ‘the liver’ ~ Yakut biuur; Old Turkic aqı ‘heavy’ ~ Yakut iar, etc.
28 Old Turkic a’t ‘name’ ~ Yakut aṭ; Old Turkic qëz ‘girl’ ~ Yakut kös; Old Turkic yez ‘the face’ ~ Yakut səs ‘forehead’; Old Turkic bës ‘five’ ~ Yakut buus; Old Turkic on ‘ten’ ~ Yakut uon; Old Turkic köl ‘lake’ ~ Yakut kooi, 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 *VG* to the Yakut long vowel was completed at the turn of the 18th century.

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Aldan, Maja, Khalkha, Chumikan, Selenga, Urmii) burai ‘fault, guilt’ ← Yakut bury ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *burài*: cf. LM bury ‘error, misconception, mistake, guilt; erroneous, false; unjust; wicked; contrary; left-hand side (of a person); right-hand side (of a riding animal)’; Dagur borö; Buryat, Khalkha burù;

(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 söl ‘road’ ← Old Yakut *söl*: cf. Modern Yakut *suol* (Old Turkic *söl*);

Evenki kõk ‘lake’ ← Old Yakut *kõl*: cf. Modern Yakut *kõol* (Old Turkic *kõl*);

Evenki kõk ‘blue, green’ ← Old Yakut *kõk*: cf. Modern Yakut *kõok* (Old Turkic *kõk*).

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) dörân ‘echo; drone, hum’ ← Yakut duorân ‘echo’ ← Mongolic *dayurân* (< *dayu* ar-GAn: cf. LM dayuriyan ‘echo, resonance’ < *dayu* ar- ‘to produce a sound; resound; to roll (as thunder)’ < *dayu* ‘sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound; song’; Buryat dûrîyan; Khalkha dûrîa;

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

Evenki (Tokko) ojforda ‘to inherit’ ← Yakut ujforda- (< *ujur* + *dâ*) ‘id.’ (< *ujur* ‘forefather, ancestor; descendant’ ← Mongolic *ujur* < *iјur*; cf. MNT *hija* ur; Muq. *hija* ur; Modern Mongolian *iјur* ‘root, basis, foundation; origin; beginning; genesis, genealogy’; Dagur hojor; Buryat izagur; Khalkha yagur;

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) ulõr ‘healthy, sober’ ← Yakut ögliõr ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *elegür*: cf. LM *elegür* ~ *eregül* ‘health; healthy, sound; sober, abstinent; untouched, unemployed, virgin (of soil)’; Buryat ălõr; Khalkha erîl.

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 iárcxà ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *egerčeg* < *eger*-čAG: cf. LM *egerčeg* ~ *erčeg* ‘femoral bone; hip joint’ < *eger*- ‘to rotate, whirl, turn, revolve; to spin, twist; to surround, stand around; to gather in a pile’; Dagur ăr--; Buryat ărseg; Khalkha ērcég ← Turkic *āgîr*-: cf. Old Turkic *āgîr*- ‘to surround, encircle; to twist, spin’;

Evenki (Uchur) ăgulgan ‘chimney’ ← Yakut *ăgulgan* ‘chink; hole’ ← Mongolic *choyula* < *çöŷ* + *l-GA*: cf. LM *çöyula*-a ‘hole; opening; opening cut in the ice (as for fishing or watering cattle); a thawed patch on a snowy or icy surface’ < *çöyul* ‘to pierce, puncture, make a hole, punch, perforate; to reveal, make known’ < *çöy* ~ *çö* ‘through and through, completely’; Buryat sõlgo; Khalkha çölgō.

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 ači ‘to be bitter’ ~ Yakut ahîy-;

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

Old Turkic kiči ‘to itch’ ~ Yakut kîhîy-;

Old Turkic ści ‘to sleep’ ~ Yakut utuy-;

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) čăcăi ‘to choke over’ ← Yakut čăčay ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *caća*-: cf. LM čăcă ‘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) endeć ‘to make mistakes, to be mistaken’ ← Yakut ândây ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *ende*-: cf. LM end- ‘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, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmı) serei- ‘to guess; to suspect’ ← Yakut särä- ‘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, Urmı) jahat- ‘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 jasa-.

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

Mongolic: LM jolumta ‘fireplace in a yurt’ → Yakut jolumtan;
Mongolic: LM qayalya ‘gate, door’ → Yakut qaylan;
Mongolic: LM sirqa ‘wound; sore’ → Yakut sirjan;
Mongolic: LM tayabur ‘guess, riddle’ → Yakut tābiriiŋ;

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

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


Evenki (Uchur) erčinnëk ‘strong, energetic’ ← Yakut ärčinnëk ‘id.’ ← ärčim ‘energy, strength’ ← Mongolic *erčim: cf. LM erčim ‘tortion, twist; intensity, energy, steadfastness’; Buryat erč(e)m; Khalkha erčim;

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmı) jollök ‘happy’ ← Yakut jollöx ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *jol: cf. LM jöl ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’; Buryat zol; Khalkha jöl.


Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmı, 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) ergın- ‘to trade, sell’ ← Yakut ärgin- ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *ergi-: cf. LM ergi- ‘to turn or move around; to revolve; to circumbamate (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 ergxe- ← Turkic *āgır-: cf. Old Turkic āgır- ‘to surround, encircle, to twist, spin’;

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

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmı) siitan- ‘to fulfil; to make friends, to become friends’ ← Yakut sītan- ‘to be successful, possible’ ← Mongolic *cīda-: cf. LM ċīda- ‘to be able, capable; to be able to overcome or vanquish’; Dagur šada-; Buryat sada-; Khalkha ċada-;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) telgen- ‘to make a bed for oneself; to spread, creep; to be layered’ ← Yakut tālgän- ‘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 verbs [Kharitonov 1963: 19; Ubr’atova et al. 1982: 268], e.g.

Evenki (Tokko, Uchur) jürel- ‘to coincide, to join, unite in pair’ ← Yakut jüreläläs- ‘to coincide, to join, unite in pair’ ← jürelä”—(< *jürelä-i)—‘to do alike, equal, the same’ ← jürelä ‘resembling, alike, similar’ ← Mongolic *jürel- ← jü—r + IA-: 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 žüirle-

Evenki (Uchur) kece- ‘to be obstinate, to persist’ ← Yakut kăcăš- ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *kečę-: cf. LM kečęgū (< *kečė-GU) ‘difficult, hard, vehement; bold, courageous; terrible, fierce; extremely’; Dagur kečū, Buryat xeši; Khalkha xecči;

Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Chulman) meljes- ‘to deny, disavow, refuse to acknowledge’ ← Yakut māljāš- ‘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, unit’ ← Mongolic *kolbo-: cf. LM golbo- ~ golba- ‘to unite, combine, connect, incorporate; to link to; to unite in marriage’; Dagur, Buryat, Khalkha xolbo-;

Adverb ← Noun:

Evenki (Tokko) magnai ‘at first, in the beginning’ ← Yakut magnai ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *magnai: 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 būdār ‘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 ~ bider; Khalkha bidder;

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

Evenki (Uchur, May) sīwai ‘black pudding’ ← Yakut sībaı ~ 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) mānī ‘well dressed, elegant; educated; cultured; noble’ ← Yakut mānī ‘honour, respect; contentment; dear; well dressed, elegant’ ← Mongolic *mānī: cf. LM manī ‘gem, jewel, precious stone; wish-granting stone or jewel, talisman, precious object’; Buryat mānī; Khalkha mān ← Tibetan;

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


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

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Mongolic *čeber: cf. LM čeber ‘clean, pure; neat; immaculate; net (as profit)’
→ Yakut čabār ‘neat, tidy’;
→ Evenki (Tomмот, Uchor) čeber ‘neat, tidy’;
Mongolic *čabīrqa: LM čimarqa ‘temple’; cf. Buryat sabīrqa
→ Yakut čabīrqa;
→ Evenki (Tokko, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) čawurgai ~ čawurgāi ~ čawurkai.

However, in two cases the Yakut morphological and semantic criteria demonstrate incontrovertibly that the copying occurred from Yakut, e.g.
Evenki (Tokko, Tomмот, Uchor) čaçai- ‘to choke over’ ← Yakut čaçay- ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *čaça-: cf. LM čaça- ‘to choke, swallow wrongly, get water or saliva in one’s windpipe; to have a fit of coughing’; Dagur čaçi-; Buryat sasa-; Khalkha caca-;

2) The preservation of the Mongolic initial ģ-, e.g.
Mongolic *jorīya: cf. LM joriya ‘ambling, fast amble; ambler’ (← Turkic)
→ Yakut ģoruo ‘abler (horse)’;
→ Evenki (Uchor) ģorō ‘abler’;
Mongolic *jībar: cf. LM ģībar ‘cold air’
→ Yakut ģībar ‘frost; cold weather’;
→ Evenki (Tokko) ģīwar ‘cold weather in morning’;
Mongolic *jələya: cf. LM jələya ‘careless, negligent; carelessness, neglect’
→ Yakut jalača ‘careless, inaccurate’;
→ Evenki (Tokko, Tomмот, Chulman, Maja, Urmi) jalača ‘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 + ģāx, the Yakut additional final verbal sound -u-:

Evenki (Tokko, Uchor) ģūl ‘law; sentence’ ← Yakut ģūl ‘law court, legal proceedings; investigation; sentence; sense, understanding’ ← Mongolic *jūl < jūyī-l: cf. LM jūl ‘kind, species, sort, category; article, item, paragraph, point; occurrence, instance’ < jūyī- ‘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 zūl; Khalkha zūl;

Evenki (Tokko, Tomмот, Chulman, Sakhalin, Urmi) jollōk ‘happy’ ← Yakut jollōx (< jol + ģōx) ‘happy’ ← Mongolic *jol: cf. LM jōl ‘good luck, fortune, good result, success’; Buryat zol; Khalkha zol;
Evenki (Tokko, Tomмот, Uchor, Maja, Urmi) jahai- ‘to put in order; to manage, direct; to take care’ ← Yakut jahay- ‘to put in order; to manage, direct’ ← Mongolic *jasə-: cf. LM jasa- ‘to put in order, fix, repair, correct, make corrections; to improve, to decorate; to castrate’; Dagur zasa-; Buryat zaha-; Khalkha zasa-;
Evenki (Tokko, Tomмот, Uchor, Chulman) judei- ‘to grow thin, lose weight’ ← Yakut jūdāy- ‘to grow thin, lose weight; to become worse; to go off’ ← Mongolic *菊ide-: cf. LM jude- ‘to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pressure; to suffer hardship; to have difficulty in doing something’; Dagur jude-; Buryat zude-; Khalkha zude-.

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 VhV in Yakut. 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’ + ģā- (Den.V.);
Yakut uhiis ‘third’ < iis ‘three’ + (X)s (the suffix of Ordinal Number);
Yakut kuhu < kus ‘duck’ + u (Accusative);
Yakut bahım ‘my head’ < bas ‘head’ + im (Possessive Sg.1), etc.
In the Mongolic [Kahužynski 1961: 49] and Russian elements in Yakut, the intervocalic consonant VsV regularly changes to VhV [Arakin 1953: 34], e.g.
Mongolic: LM nūser ‘cumbersome’ → Yakut nūhār ‘solid, strong’;
Mongolic: LM bol(os)- ‘to rise, stand up’ → Yakut boloh-;
Russian časy ‘clock’ → Yakut čahi-;
Russian nosilki ‘stretcher’ → Yakut nahiłka;
Russian risūnom ‘picture’ → Yakut uruhūnak;

32 Cf. Old Turkic asūg ‘profit, advantage’ ← Yakut ašī ‘trade, commerce’; Old Turkic isi- ‘to be hot’ ← Yakut išiy-; Old Turkic īšī- ‘to bite’ ← Yakut īšī-.
Russian *spasibo* ‘thank you!’ → Yakut *bahiça*.

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 *uši* ‘halter, tether’ → Eastern Evenki *uhi*;
- Literary Evenki *asi* ‘woman’ → Eastern Evenki *ahi*.

Mongolic *bayitasu*: 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, Urmī, Barguzin, Uchur) *baitahun* ‘barren mare’;

Mongolic *kese*-: cf. LM *kese*- ‘to break oneself, to improve, to repent’

→ Yakut *kähäy*- ‘to learn, be taught a lesson’;
→ Evenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur, Sakhalin, Urmī, Zeja, Tungir, Jerbogachon, Ilimpi) *kehè*- ‘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, Urmī) *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) *söñu* ‘cattle; livestock’ ← Yakut *söñhu* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic *jögesi < jöge-si*: cf. LM *jöge*- ‘to move something from one place to another, transport; to gather, collect; to acquire, possess’; Buryat *zöne* ‘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 *gV* 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 *j*- 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 — Mongol-un n’uča tobčiyan

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Sg. — Singular

Muq. — Mukaddimat al-Adab

NN — Denominal Noun

pl. — Plural

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Yakut elements of Mongolic origin in Evenki


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PESIOME

В данной статье сформулированы некоторые фонологические, морфологические и семантические критерии, ха-рактеризующие якутские элементы монгольского происхождения в звеницком языке. На основании этих критериев можно отличить непосредственное заимствование из монгольского через якутский язык.

Несмотря на то, что звеницкие диалекты в Якутии и баргузинский диаект звеницкого в Бурятии относятся к восточной группе звеницких диалектов, фонетические характеристики монгольских заимствований в них показывают, что монгольские источники двух групп заимствований и периоды заимствований были разными. Монгольские элементы в звеницких диалектах, пришедшие через якутский, относятся к раннему периоду, но не демонстрируют типичных “дагурских” особенностей:
— отсутствует среднеаморгольское начальное h, характерное для прямых заимствований;
— развиваются долгие гласные на месте монгольской последовательности VгV 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;
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 $\tilde{c}$- and $\tilde{t}$- in both groups of borrowings;
- the Mongolic sequence $si$ has not developed into $\tilde{si}$.

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.

**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 $\tilde{c}$- and $\tilde{t}$- in both groups of borrowings;
- the Mongolic sequence $si$ has not developed into $\tilde{si}$.

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.

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

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

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