

fig. 7

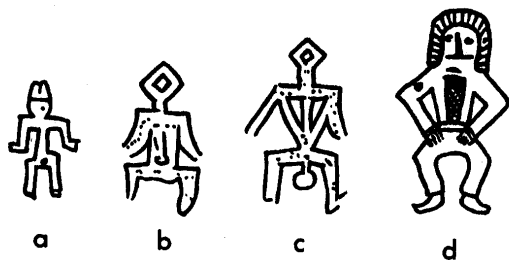


fig. 8

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✓ ON SOME MONGOLIAN LOAN WORDS
IN EVENKI

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The Manchu-Tungus languages, like any other language group, have numerous loan words from other languages. There are borrowings in Manchu from Chinese,¹ Turkic,² and Mongolian,³ and there are numerous borrowings in Lamut and Evenki from Mongolian and Yakut which have not yet been studied thoroughly.⁴ And yet, the Mongolian and Yakut loan words in Lamut and Evenki deserve attention as an important material for the study of the history of both the borrowing and lending languages in question.

In the present article, the preservation of some old features and the development of some sounds in Mongolian loan words in Evenki will be discussed.

1. The preservation of *-g-

The preservation of intervocalic *g in Tungus loan words taken from Ancient Mongolian (AMo.) has already been demonstrated in another article of the author of these lines.⁵ Here some examples of Evenki *k* = AMo. *g will be given.

Ev. E, Tkm.* *okurga* "snare, sling (for catching birds)", Brg.

¹ P. Schmidt, "Chinesische Elemente im Mandschu", *Asia Major* VII (1931), pp. 573-628, VIII (1932), pp. 233-436.

² W. Bang, "Türkisches Lehnwort im Mandschurischen", *UJ* 4 (1924), pp. 15-19.

³ G. D. Sanžeev, "Mančžuro-mongol'skio jazykovye paralleli", *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de l'URSS* 1930, pp. 601-626, 673-708; L. Ligoti, "Les anciens éléments mongols dans le mandchou", *AOH* 10 (1960), pp. 231-248.

⁴ Only a few Mongolian loan words in Evenki have been investigated so far, cf. N. Poppe, "On Some Ancient Mongolian Loan Words in Tungus", *CAJ* XI (1966), pp. 187-198.

⁵ Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.

⁶ G. M. Vasilović, *Evenkijsko-ruškij slovar'*, Moskva, 1958. All examples of Ev. words have been taken from here if not specified otherwise. The abbreviations

ukurga id. < AMo. **ugūrğa* > Written Mongolian (Mo.) *uyruḡa* "catching pole, a pole with a sling for catching horses," Kh(alkha) *ūrğa* id. Turkie Bar(aba) *uḡruq* (Radloff, *Wörterbuch* I, p. 1613) is a borrowing from Mongolian. Cf. also Ev. *oku*- "to catch a bird with a snare."⁷

Ev. *čikēn* "urine," Lam(ut) Benzing* *čikan*, Go(ldi) *čigen* id.,⁸ Ma(nohu) *sike* id. < AMo. **sigē*- > Mo. *šige*- "to urinate," Mo. *šigesün* < **sigēr-sün* "urine," Kh. *šē*- "to urinate," *šēs* "urine" = Ancient Turkie (AT)¹⁰ *sid*- "to urinate," *sik* "urine." Ev. *čikēn* probably goes back to **šigēr*.¹¹ Ev. *č*- is a substitute for AMo. *š* which phoneme is alien to most Tungus dialects. On Ev. *č*- versus Mongolian *š* vide *infra*.

Ev. Tng., Z, Ald., Učr., Urm. *bōkän* "servant, farm hand," also "slave" (now obsolete) < AMo. **boḡāl* > Mo. *boḡol* "slave," Kh. *bōl* id. Cf. Lam. Ts.¹² *bōl* "slave" < Modern Mongol. *bōl*. Mo. *boḡol* is a noun, with the suff. -l, formed from the verb Mo. *boḡo*- < **boḡā*-, Kh. *bō*- "to bind" = Turk. *boy*- "to strangle, to strangulate, to forbid."¹³

Ev. Rinčen *gēku* "mare,"¹⁴ Ev. Brg. *gōy* id., Sol(on) *gēy* id.¹⁵ < AMo. **geḡd* > Mo. *geḡüü*, Kh. *gū* id.

Ev. *tokor*- "to turn, to rotate, to wind, to go around" < AMo. **toḡāri*- > Mo. *toḡori*-, Kh. *toiro*- "to go around, to circumambulate, to wind around."

Ev. Z, Ald., Učr., Urm., Sx., P-T, V-L, S-B, Nrč. *deḷkin* < **deḷkün*¹⁶ "spleen," Ma. *deḷirun* id. < AMo. **deḷigün* > Mo. *deḷigün*, Kh. *deḷü* "spleen."

variations of the names of dialects are those used by the author of the dictionary.

⁷ This may be a verb borrowed from AMo. which has not been preserved in Mongolian.

⁸ J. Benzing, *Lamutische Grammatik, Mit Bibliographie, Sprachproben und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, 1955, p. 153.

⁹ Quoted from Vasilevič, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

¹⁰ *Drevnetjurkčikij slovar*, Leningrad, 1969, p. 499.

¹¹ On Ev. -n < -r in Mongolian loan words vide N. Poppe, "Mongolian -yur and Evenki -wün", *CAJ* XIII (1969), pp. 260-261.

¹² V. I. Cincius i L. D. Rišes, *Rusko-čevenskij slovar*, Moskva, 1952, p. 505.

¹³ M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuches der Türkisprachen*, Helsinki, 1969, p. 78.

¹⁴ Rinčen, *Mongol arč ulayn zamnigan ačolḡu*, Ulaanbaatar xot, 1969 on, p. 120.

¹⁵ N. Poppe, *Materialy po solonokomu jazyku*, Leningrad, 1931, p. 52.

¹⁶ V. I. Cincius, *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čeurskiz jazykov*, Lenin-

Ev. Tkm., V-L *yadaku* "poor, pauper" < AMo. **yādaḡū* > Mo. *yadayu* "poor, unable to do anything," Kh. *yadū* id. Cf. AT *yaday* "pedestrian, on foot." Mo. *yadayu* is a noun formed with the suff. -yu from *yada*- < AMo. **yāda*- "to be unable, to be exhausted." Cf. Trkm. *yāda*- "to be tired, to be exhausted."¹⁷

Ev. Tkm. *činukai* "wolf" < AMo. **činuḡāi* > **činuya(i)* > Mo. *činua* "wolf," SH *čind* id.,¹⁸ Mu. *činä* id.,¹⁹ Kh. *čono* id.²⁰

Mo. -y- (-ḡ-) is represented by -k- in older borrowings from Ancient Mongolian whereas Tung. -ḡ- corresponds to Mo. -y- (-ḡ-) in loan words taken from Ancient Mongolian at a later period, probably at the end of the Ancient Mongolian period. Examples of Tung. -ḡ- are given in another article by the author of these lines.²¹ It is known that Mo. -y- (-ḡ-) goes back, in many cases, to *p or *b, e.g., Mo. *qayā*- < **kapā*- "to close, to lock up" = AT *qapa*- id.; Mo. *qayul*- < **kabül*-, Kh. *xül*- "to skin, to peel off" = Osman *qavla*- "to bark a tree." In these cases, Evenki has -w- (= Ma. -b-), cf. Ev. *kewer* "open space, steppe, marshland" < AMo. **kebēr* > Mo. *keger*, Kh. *xēr* "steppe, desert."

Evenki material evidences that the suffix Mo. -yur (-ḡür) of the names of tools²² goes back to -*pūr,²³ cf. Ev. E. I, Brg. *gupčiwün* "seine" < AMo. **gupčibūr* > Mo. *gubčiyur* "seine", Kh. *gubčür* id.; Ev. P-T, I, S, Učr. *tuḡuwün* "a pole for pushing the boat off the bank" < AMo. **tuḡabūr* > Mo. *tuḡayur* "pole, prop, support," Kh. *tuḡūr* id.; Ev. Urm., Sx. *olḡiwün* "a hanger for drying meat or fish" < AMo. **elgübür* > Mo. *elḡügür* "hanger," Kh. *olḡür* id.

grad, 1940, pp. 89-92; J. Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen, Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik* (- Abh. d. Geistes- und Soz. Kl., Jahrg. 1955, No. 11), Wiesbaden, 1956, p. 24; (t. Doerfer, "Urtungusisch -ʔ-, -ʔi-, -ʔu-, -ʔü in Evenkischen", *ZDMG* 117 (1967), p. 116.

¹⁷ Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁸ E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 28.

¹⁹ N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*, č. I-II, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938, p. 134.

²⁰ The Tungus form *činukai* proves that Mo. final *ua* in *činua* goes back to **uya* with loss of the final *i* as in SH *širo'ai* "earth, dust," Mo. *široi* (*širyuai*/*širuya* id., Mo. *oḡtorḡoi*/*oḡtorḡo* "sky", etc. This refutes Doerfer's hypothesis that *ua* in Mo. was only an orthographic representation of final *o*, cf. G. Doerfer, "Zur Schreibung des auslautenden o der mongolischen Schriftsprache", *ZDMG* 117 (1967), p. 116.

²¹ Poppe, "On Some Ancient Mongolian Loan Words in Tungus".

²² N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 46.

²³ Poppe, "Mongolian -yur and Evenki -wün".

Evenki evidence is important for reconstruction of Ancient Mongolian forms. Thus, the suff. *-γun* in Mo. *γayun*, Kh. *yū* "what" is easily reconstructed as AMo. *-*γun* on the evidence of Ev. *ḡtān* "who, what."

2. The preservation of initial *h*

Middle Mongolian had, at the onset of many words, the fricative *h* which goes back to **p-* or **f-*, and which is still preserved as *x* in Taitsikar Dagur and as *x*, *f*, *ś* in various positions in Monguor. On the other hand, in some Tungus languages, ancient **p-* or **f-* has yielded *h*, namely, in some dialects of Evenki and Lamut = Negidal *x/h*, Oroči *x/h*, and Udehe *x*.²⁴

The occurrence of initial *h* both in Middle Mongolian and Evenki enabled the speakers of the latter language to borrow the respective words from Middle Mongolian without changing the initial consonant. Indeed, there are Evenki words with *h-* which are Mongolian loan words. In Mongolian languages spoken at the present time in areas adjacent to the territory occupied by speakers of Evenki, *h-* < **p-* disappeared long ago. There is no *h-* < **p-* in Buriat, Khalkha, and other languages from which the Evenki might have borrowed the words in question in relatively recent times. Consequently, the loan words concerned should be regarded as old borrowings. They are borrowings from Middle Mongolian.

Ev. I, P-T *haptai* "sorcerer, medicine man" < MMo. **habtai*, cf. Ibn Muhannā *hab* "sorcery,"²⁵ Mo. *ab* "sorcery, witchcraft," *abla-* "to seduce," Bur. *ab* "magic," *abtai* "magic," *abtai xūγ* "sorcerer." The Ev. form *haptai* is formed with the well-known Mongolian suffix *-tai* from **hab*.

Ev. P-T, N, E, Tng., V-L, Ald., Učr., Urm., Sx. *harun* "dizziness" < MMo. *harun*, cf. Mu. *harun* "stubborn (horse)"²⁶ < Chag. *harun* id., cf. Osm. *harin* "tired."

Ev. Brg. *hečē-* "to be tired," Lam. *hečē-* "to be at the end of the

strength"²⁷ < MMo. *heče-* "to be tired," cf. Mu. *hečebe* "was tired," Mo. *ete-* "to be tired," Kh. *ete-* id.

Ev. Brg., Tng., Z, Ald. *him* "a mark on the ear of a reindeer, property sign" < MMo. **him*, cf. Mo., Kh. *im* "property mark, a mark, incision on the ear of a sheep." Cf. AT *im* "sign, pass-word."²⁸

Ev. P-T, I, S, Tng., Z, Ald., Učr. *hōi* "a moss swamp" < MMo. **hōi* "forest, grove," SH, Mu. *hoi* "forest," Mo., Kh. *oi* id. Cf. Turkm. *ōj* "depression," Middle Turkic *ōj* "depression, low land,"²⁹ AT *oj* (probably *ōj*) "hole in the ground, depression."³⁰

Ev. Brg., Z, Ald., Xng., Učr. *hukur* "cow," Ev. Xng. *hukul* id., Lam. Ts. *huken/heken* "cow"³¹ < MMo. *hūker* "ox, bovine animal, neat," Hua-l-ih-yū *hūger* "ox,"³² Mo. *ūker* "ox," Kh. *ūzer* id.

Ev. P-T, N, E, I, Tng., Z, Učr. *hulti-* "to perforate, to tear" < MMo. **hūltū-* > Mo. *ūltū-* "to crush," Kh. *ūlle-* "to boil to pieces," Ev. P-T, N, E, I, S, Tng., Z, Učr., Urm. *hultirge-* "to be torn, to wear out, to crack" < MMo. **hūltirgē-* > Mo. *ūltirgē-* causative of *ūltüre-* "to fall to pieces," Kh. *ūltre-* id.

Ev. Brg. *hokorōl* "coccyx"³³ < MMo. **hoqar se'ül* lit. "short tail," cf. Ibn Muhannā *hoqar* "short,"³⁴ Mo. *oqor* id., Kh. *oxor* id., cf. Mu. *se'ūlen* "his own tail" (acc.), Mo. *segül* "tail," Kh. *sül* id. Cf. Mo. *oqor segül* "coccyx," Kh. *axar sül* id., Urd(us) *uxur sül* id., Bur(iat) *oxor hūl* id.

Some words with initial *h* are obvious borrowings from Ancient Mongolian. It is possible that Ancient Mongolian had dialects in which **p-* had yielded *h-*. On the other hand, Evenki may have borrowed the words discussed *infra* from an Ancient Mongolian dialect which had **p-* or **f-*. In this latter case **p(*f)* must have developed into *h* in Evenki in which Common Manchu-Tungus **p-* yielded *h*. The two Ancient Mongolian forms with *h-* in Evenki are the following.

²⁴ N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (= MSFOu 110), Helsinki, 1955, pp. 96ff.; P. Aalto, "On the Altaic Initial **p-*," *CAJ* I (1955), pp. 9ff.; N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil I: Vergleichende Lautlehre*, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 10ff.; N. Poppe, "On the Initial *h* in the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih," *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. and Philology, Academia Sinica*, vol. XXXIX, In Honor of Dr. Li Fang-kuei on His 65-th Birthday, Part 2, Taipei, Taiwan, China, 1969, pp. 267ff.

²⁵ Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p. 437.

²⁶ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

²⁷ Cincius-Rišes, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

²⁸ *Dremetjurkskij slovar'*, p. 209.

²⁹ Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

³⁰ *Dremetjurkskij slovar'*, p. 365.

³¹ Cincius-Rišes, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

³² M. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XVI^e siècle, Le Houa-yi gi-yu de 1389, Vocabulaire-Index*, Wrocław, 1959, p. 61.

³³ N. N. Poppe, *Materialy dlja isledovanija tunguskogo jazyka, Narečie buruzinskiz tungusan*, Leningrad, 1927, p. 58.

³⁴ Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p. 438.

Ev. Rinöen *hulakan* "red"⁸⁸ < AMo. **hulagān* (or **pulagān*) > MMo. *hulān* id. > Mo. *ulayan* id., Kh. *ulāy* id.

Ev. Brg. *hirugē-* "to bless," *hirugēn* "blessing" < AMo. **hirügē-* (or **pirügē-*) "to bless," **hirügēr* (or **pirügēr*) "blessing," MMo. *hirü'e-* "to say a benediction," *hirü'er* "benediction," of. SH *hirü'er* "prayer," Mu. *hirēbe* "he expressed good wishes," Mo. *irüge-* "to say a benediction," *irüger* "benediction," Kh. *jöröl* id.

It is interesting to note that Evenki has also borrowings from Yakut which have *h-* in Evenki but do not have it in Yakut. On Evenki evidence, one may conclude that Yakut must have had *h-* going back to **p* in the following etymon words:

Ev. Ald. *herbək* "finger" < Ancient Yakut (AY) **hārbāk*, cf. Yak. *ārbār* "thumb," cf. MMo. *herekei* id., SH *heregei* id., Mo. *erekei* id., Kh. *erzi* id.

Ev. Ald. *heksari* "faster! (hold faster!)" < AY **hīksari* > Yak. *īksari* "very close" from *īksa* "close, tight" < Mongol, cf. Mo. *igči/igčü* "full, tight, dense."

3. On some ancient diphthongs

Tungus does not have diphthongs of the type *ai, oi, etc.*,⁸⁹ and their present reflex is *i*.⁹⁰ Words which have cognates in Mongolian or are borrowings from Mongolian have *i* instead of Mongolian *ai, oi, etc.*

Ev. P-T, Brg., Nrč., Z, Učr. *siruḡi* "sand, sand bank in a river," Go. *siyan* id. = Mo. *širuyai/širuyai/široi* "earth, dust," Kh. *šoro* id.

Ev. *akī* < **akai* "uncle, elder brother" = Mo. *aqai* "brother, Russ. *bratec*," Bur. *axai* "elder brother."

Ev. E, Z, Ald., Učr., Urm. *andagī* "friend, acquaintance, companion" < MMo. **andagai* > Mo. *andagai* "oath," Kh. *andgai* id., MMo. *anda* "sworn friend." Cf. Turk. *ant*, Osm. *and* < **and* "oath."

Ev. *balī* "blind" < Mong. *balai*, Mo. *balai* "blind," Kh. *balai* id. Ev. Nrč. *gulsakī* "wry, oblique (e.g., line)" < Mong., cf. Mo. *gulšagai* id., Kh. *gulžagai* id.

Ev. E, I, Učr., Urm. *tōkikān* < **tōkai kān* (with the diminutive suff. *-kān*) "bend, turn, bend of a river" < AMo. **tōkai* > Mo. *toqai* "elbow, bend," Kh. *toxoi* "elbow, cubit, river bend."

⁸⁸ Rinöen, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁸⁹ Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*, p. 25; Benzing, *Lamutische Grammatik*, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*, l.c.

Ev. *ḡēri* < **gērei* "brightness, light," Lam. Ts. *ḡērīn* "light"⁹¹ < AMo. **gērei* > Mo. *gere* "light," Kh. *gerē* id.

Ev. Učr., Tng. *keḡdi* (which probably should be *keḡdi*) "cave, hollow" < AMo. **kōḡdei* > Mo. *kōndei* id., Kh. *xōndi* "hollow, empty, cavity, cave, hollow, valley."

Ev. *enī* < **eḡe* > dim. -i "mother!, mom!," S, Xng. "sister of the mother," cf. Turk. Altai *ānāi* "mother, old woman, woman," Sagai, Koibal *enāi* "old woman, wife."

Ev. P-T, N, E, I, S, Brg., Z, Ald. *etki* "father-in-law," Lam. Ts. *etki/ḡkki* id.⁹² from **etike* + dim. -i = AMo. **etike* > Mo. *eḡige*, Kh. *etseg* "father."

Ev. P-T, N, Brg., Tng., Z, Ald., Učr., Urm. *sigi* < *sigui* "thicket" = AMo. **sigui* > Mo. *šigui* "forest," Kh. *šugui* id.

Ev. P-T, N, E, I, Z, Ald., Učr., Urm. *agī* < **agui* "forest, field," Brg. "open space, steppe" = AMo. **agui* > Mo. *agui* "spacious, vast, large; cave," Kh. *agui* "cave."

Ev. *ekī* < **ōkūi* "aunty, sister!" (in addressing) < AMo. **ōkūi* > Mo. *ōkūi*, Kh. *ōxūi* "aunty."

On the above evidence, the Evenki suffix of the genitive (also called suffix of possessive nouns) -*ḡi* (cf. *hunātḡi* "of the daughter") is to be regarded as a development of an older *-*ḡgai*, cf. Mo. *minugai* < **minuyai* "mine," SH *minu'ai* id.

Likewise, final *i* goes back to diphthongs in Ev. *sagdi* < **sagdai* "old," cf. Ma. *sagda* id., Ev. *sagdawū* "elder," *sagdan* "old age;" Ev. *asī* < **asai* "woman," plur. *asāl* "women;" Ev. *eḡi* < **eḡei* "husband," pl. *eḡēl* "husbands,"⁹³ cf. Ev. *eḡē* "husband, wife, comrade, friend."

4. On the representation of *š

In loan words taken from Mongolian, the consonant **s* before **i* is often rendered in Tungus with *š*, this being an evidence that **s* in such cases had already become *š* in the lending dialect. It is known that Tungus has no phoneme *š* different from *s*. Tungus *š* is a substitute for *š*.

Ev. N *čergolši* "ant" < Mong. *širgölši* < **širgugālšin* > Mo. *širgölšin*, Kh. *šorgölš* id.

⁹¹ Cincius-Rišca, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

⁹² Cincius-Rišca, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

⁹³ K. H. Menges, "Die tungusischen Sprachen," *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, I Abt., 5. Bd., *Altaiistik*, 3. Abschn. *Tungusologie*, Leiden/Köln, 1968, p. 60.

Ev. S-B *šiwai* "reindeer intestines filled with blood and cooked, a kind of sausage" < Mong. *šibai*, Mo. *šibai*, Kh. *šawai* "intestines of sheep filled with blood and cooked."

Ev. Brg. *šiwukę* "awl, long needle" < Mong. *šibūke*, Mo. *šibūge*, Kh. *šiwóg* id.

Ev. V-L *šiwękčün* "womancook" < Mong. *šibegčün*, Mo. *šibegčün*, Kh. *šiwękčiy* "maidservant."

Ev. I *šigī* "thicket" < Mong. *šigui*, Mo. *šigui*, Kh. *šugui* "forest." Cf. Ev. *šigī supra*.

Ev. *šikęn* "urine," Ma. *šike* id. < Mong. **šigēr*, Mo. *šigesün* < AMo. **šigērsün* "urine," Kh. *šēs* id.

Ev. Brg. *šinghun* "larch tree" < Mong. *šinesün*, Mo. *šinesün*, Kh. *šünes* id.

Ev. Tng. *šowko* "top of a mountain" < Mong. *šobqo*, Mo. *šobqo* "pointed, peaked," Kh. *šowzo* id., Bur. *šobzo* id.

The borrowings in question are of relatively late date because Russian *š* and *š* are also rendered with *č*, e.g., Ev. P-T *čükę* "moskito net" < Russ. *šetka* [šetke] "net," Ev. Tng., Z, Ald. *čompor* "ramrod" < Russ. *šompol* id.

It is difficult to explain the appearance of Ev. *č* instead of Mongolian and Russian *s* in Ev. Nrč. *čagā* "to milk" < AMo. **sagā* > Mo. *saγa*-, Kh. *šā*- id. and Ev. P-T, S *čanki* "sleigh" < Russ. *sanki* id. respectively.

5. On Evenki *š*

Evenki *š* goes back to **ja*⁴¹ which, in initial position, may have been **ya*, cf. Ma. *ya* "who, what," Ev. *šma* < **yama* "what kind of," Ev. *šlā* < **yalā* "why," Lam. *yāk/ęk* "what kind of," Lam. *yādu* "why" = Mo. *ya-yun* "what," MMo. *yan* "what kind of," MMo. *yama* "something."⁴²

The development **ja* > Ev. *š* is corroborated by the correspondence of Ev. *š* to Yakut *ia* and *īa* in borrowings from the latter language, e.g., Ev. Z, Učr., Urm., Sx. *kēi* "to vanquish, conquer, defeat" < Yak. *kiai* "to be able, overcome, vanquish, defeat," Ev. Učr. *kēp* "pattern" < Yak. *kīap* id.

On the other hand, Ev. *š* in borrowings corresponds to Yak. *ī*, e.g., Ev. Učr., Urm., Čmk., Sx. *kēhalga*⁴³ "torment, suffering" <

Yak. *kēhalya* "need, poverty," Ev. Ald., Učr., Urm., Čmk. *kēlar* "squinting" < Yak. *kīlar* id.

Likewise, Written Mongolian *ī* is rendered both as *ē* and *ī* in Mongolian loan words in Evenki.

Ev. P-T *bēldārā* "to crack" < Mong., cf. Mo. *bilγara* "to fall to pieces."

Ev. N. *bēru* "sheep" < Mong., cf. Mo. *birayu* "calf in its second year," Kh. *barū* id.

Ev. V, Nrč. *čērga* "sleigh" < Mong., cf. Mo. *čirga* id., Kh. *čarga* id.

Ev. Učr., Čmk. *gēltan* "clear, transparent (water)" < Mong., cf. Mo. *giltay* id., Kh. *gialgana* "splendor, brightness," *gialgar* "bright, shining."

Ev. P-T, Sx. *kēk* "to gnaw, to bite off" < Mong., cf. Mo. *kiga* "to intimidate, to oppress," Kh. *xāxa* id.

Ev. N *kērga* "to cut off with shears, to clip" < Mong., cf. Mo. *kirga* "to cut with shears or scissors, clip," Kh. *xārga* id.

Ev. Nrč., Urm., Sx. *kēla* "a wide valley" < ? Mong., cf. Mo. *kira* "mountain range, ridge," Kh. *xīar* id.

It is known that AMo. **i* has become assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable in Modern Mongolian, e.g., in Khalkha, Buriat, etc. which development is commonly called "the breaking of *i*."⁴⁴ Breaking began at the end of the Middle Mongolian period.⁴⁵ Consequently, when the ancestors of the Evenki borrowed words at that period or later, **i* in most cases had already developed to *ia* (*a*), *iu* (*iu*), etc. at least in some Mongolian dialects. The Evenki forms of the type *kirga* certainly date from the time before breaking of **i* in Mongolian had begun. On the other hand, forms as *bēru*, *čērga*, *gēltan*, and *kērga*- go back to *biarū*, *čiarga*, *giallan*, *kiarga*- respectively, i.e., to forms in which these words occur in some Modern Mongolian languages, e.g., Khalkha.

The above examples demonstrate, once more, how important the Mongolian loan words in Evenki are for the study of the history of the two languages.

⁴¹ Although one would have expected this form to be *kēhalga* for that simple reason that only *ē* occurs in words which have *a* in the following syllable, Vasilevič's dictionary gives this form as *kēhalga* which must be a misprint. However, in her *Rusko-čvenkijskij slovar*, Moskva, 1948, p. 151, Vasilevič gives the correct form *kēhalga*.

⁴² Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, pp. 34ff.

⁴³ N. Poppe, "On the So-called Breaking of **i* in Mongolian," *UAJ* 28 (1956), p. 47; S. Kalužiński, "Zur Frage der *i*-Brechung im Mongolischen," *UAJ* 36 (1965), pp. 340ff.

⁴¹ Bonzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*, p. 25.

⁴² Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, p. 32.