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ON SOME ANCIENT MONGOLIAN LOAN-WORDS
IN TUNGUS

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The history of the Manchu-Tungus languages is practically unknown. With the exception of Juchen (Juch.)¹ and Manchu (Ma.), none of them was a literary language until a few decades ago. Therefore, comparative study of the Tungus languages must be satisfied with what conclusions may be drawn from the correspondences and divergences in the Tungus languages spoken at present.

It is common knowledge that the Manchu-Tungus languages had, in the past, close contacts with Mongolian. There are numerous Mongolian borrowings in all Manchu-Tungus languages. The Mongolian elements in Manchu were studied by Sanžeev² and Ligeti.³ However, the Mongolian loan-words in Solon, Evenki, Lamut, and other Tungus languages have not yet been investigated. A few of them will be discussed in this paper.

Mongolian language history is divided into three periods: ancient, middle, and modern.⁴ A characteristic feature of Ancient Mongolian (AMo.) is the preservation of *g in the so-called weak position,⁵ e.g., *ayūla "mountain" versus Khalkha (Kh.) ūl id. The AMo. period lasted until the XII or XIII century and was followed by Middle Mongolian (MMo.). The most characteristic feature of MMo. was the disappearance of the consonants *g, *b, etc. in weak position, e.g., aula "mountain". All available documents from the XIII century give only such forms. Consequently, AMo. was no longer spoken in the XIII century. On the

¹ Vide Dr. Wilhelm Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen* (Leipzig, 1896).

² Г. Д. Санжеев, "Манчжуро-монгольские языковые параллели", *Известия Академии Наук СССР, Отделение гуманитарных наук*, 1930, pp. 601 ff.

³ L. Ligeti, "Les anciens éléments mongols dans le mandchou", *Acta Orient. Hung.*, X:3 (1960), pp. 231ff.

⁴ N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki, 1955), pp. 15-16.

⁵ N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, Teil 1: *Vergleichende Lautlehre* (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 41.

other hand, Written Mongolian (Mo.) was based on AMo., cf. Mo. *ayula* "mountain". The fact that no Mongolian writings older than the so-called Chingis Khan's Inscription (appr. 1225) have ever been found might be an indication that script had not existed very long before that date. It might have existed for about a century or so but hardly for much longer. To be on the safe side, one might assume that the script was introduced among the Naimans and Kereits, the first literate groups of Mongols, some time in the XII century. The fact that the newly introduced written language was based on AMo. suggests that Ancient Mongolian was still spoken at that time. Precise chronology is impossible in such cases. However, one point is quite doubtless, namely, that AMo. is not a fiction. Words as *ayūla* "mountain", *sayā-* "to milk", *sayū-* "to sit", *emegēl* "saddle" etc. did really exist, and were also pronounced more or less in accordance with Written Mongolian orthography, i.e., they had a consonant (*g*, *w*) between the respective vowels. Speaking of **g*, one may assume that it was a deep-velar fricative in words of back vowels, but a voiced velar stop, namely, *g* in words of front vowels. Phonemically it was /*g*/, of course, its allophones [ɣ] and [g] occurring in strictly defined positions. This is evident from numerous borrowings in various Tungus languages, which have preserved the consonant in question. In addition to *ɣ* (*g*) in weak position, Tungus has also preserved alternate forms with **b* in strong position which is rendered with *w* in Tungus,⁶ e.g., Evenki (Ev.) *kewer* "meadow, steppe" < AMo. **keber* / **kebēr* > Mo. *keger*, Khalkha (Kh.)⁷ *xēr* "steppe"; Ev.C⁸ *dawari-* "to pass by, to call on someone" < AMo. **dabari-* > Mo. *dabari-* "to run into, encounter, occur",⁹ cf. the alternate form **dabāri-* > AMo. **dawāri-* > Mo. *dayari-*, SH *da'ari-*, Kh. *dair-*, Bur. *dāri-* "pass by, call on someone", etc. A naive observer, ignorant of the situation in Tungus, might assume that such words are borrowings from Written Mongolian. There is hardly any need to point out the absurdity of such an assumption, if it were ever made, because the Tungus did not have any system of writing, and most of the ancient Mongols with whom the Tungus had contacts were also illiterate. However, those Mongols spoke AMo. which, in many aspects, was identical with Mo. In this connection let it be mention-

⁶ Intervocalic **b* is *w* in Evenki, Solon, etc.

⁷ *Монгольско-русский словарь*, Под общей редакцией А. Лувсандэндэва (Москва, 1957).

⁸ M. A. Castrén's *Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichnis* (St. Petersburg, 1856).

⁹ Cf. N. Poppe, "Notes on the Monument in Honor of Mönke Khan, I: The Mongolian Inscription", *CAJ*, VI:1 (1961), pp. 16-17.

"stick", Kh. *berē* "stick, staff", Bur. *berē* / *burē* "handle of the whip".

Ev.Barg.V *bogoli*, Ev.Barg.P *bogōli* "rope" < cf. Mo. *boyo-* "to bind", SH *bo'o-*, Kh., Bur., Kalm. *bō-* id., cf. suff. *-li* in Mo. *sayali* "milch cow" from *sayā-* "to milk", Mo. *sačuli* "libations" from *saču-* "to strew", *qočorli* "remainder" in *qočorli ügei* "without remainder, completely, in full" from *qočor-* "to remain", etc.

Ev.V *bogorči* "ladle, scoop" < AMo. **boyōrči* id., cf. SH *bo'orči* / *bo'orču* name of one of Chingis Khan's aides.²⁰

Solon (Sol.)²¹ *buntutugē-* "to fulfil" < AMo. **bütügē-*, cf. Mo. *bütüge-*, Kh., Bur. *bütē-* id.

Sol. *dagari* "saddle sore, sore on the spine of a mount" < AMo. **dayāri*, cf. Mo. *dayari(n)*, SH *da'ari*, Kh. *dair*, Bur. *dāri* "a sore on the spine caused by the saddle" = Ancient Turkic (AT) *yayri-* "to become sore".

Ev.V, Ev.Barg.P *emegen*, Lamut (Lam.)²² *emgun* / *umgun*, Sol. *emegēl* "saddle" < AMo. **emegēl*, cf. Mo. *emegel*, Kh., Bur. *emēl* id.

Ev.V *gēg*, Ev.Barg.P *gōγ* "mare" < AMo. **gegū*, cf. Mo. *gegüü*, Kh. *gūu*, Bur. *gūy* id.

Ev.V *gudigē* "stomach, peritoneum", Ev.Barg.P *gudigē* "stomach", Lam. *gudi* id. < AMo. **güdigē*, cf. Mo. *güfige*, Kh. *guzē* "stomach", Bur. *guzñn* "abdomen, peritoneum".

Ev.V *idegē* "object, property" < AMo. **idegē(n)*, cf. Mo. *idege(n)*, Kh. *idē*, Bur. *edēn* "food" from *ide-* "to eat".

Sol. *iyōr* "bottom" < AMo. **iyuyār*, cf. Bur. *oyōr* id.

Ev.V, Ev.Barg.P *imagan* "goat", Sol. *imayāā* id. < AMo. **imayān*, cf. Mo. *imayan*, SH *ima'an*, Kh. *yamā*, Bur. *yamān* id. Cf. Ma. *niman* "billy-goat" < Mong., cf. Bur.West *namān* "goat".²³

Ev.Barg.V *jalagan*, Ev.Barg.P *jalagān* "tassel on the hat" < AMo. **jalayān*, cf. Mo. *jalayan*, SH *jala'an*, Kh. *zalā*, Bur. *zalā* "tassel, crest of the rooster".

Ev.Barg., Nerch.V, Ev.Barg.P *filuga* "reins", Sol. *d'iluya* id. < AMo. **filuyā*, cf. Mo. *filuya*, SH *filo'a* / *filu'a*, Kh. *folō*, Bur. *žolō* id.

Ev.V *jegin* / *ješwin* < **jegün* "left" < AMo. **jegün*, cf. Mo. *jegün*, SH *je'un*, Kh. *zūn*, Bur. *zūn* id.

²⁰ Some Mongolian tribes used to name their newborn children after the very first object seen by the mother after giving birth. The Kalmucks had this custom as recently as at the beginning of the XX century.

²¹ Н. Н. Поппе, *Материалы по солонскому языку* (Ленинград, 1931).

²² Проф. В. И. Цинциус и Л. Д. Ршлес, *Русско-эвенкий словарь* (Москва, 1952).

²³ Санжеев, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

Ev.C *jugu-* "to transport, to carry from one place to another", Lam. *jugu-* < AMo. **jügē-*, cf. Mo. *jüge-*, SH *jö'e-*, Kh. *з^г*, Bur. *z^г* id.

Ev.V *kamagd* "calamity, suffering, disease" < AMo. **qamayā* / **qamiyā*, cf. Mo. *qamiya* "relation, concern", Kh. *xamā* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *korigan* "fence, enclosure", Sol. *xorigā* id. < AMo. **qoriyān*, cf. Mo. *qoriya*, SH *qoriya'an*, Bur. *xorō* "fence, enclosure", Kh. *xorō* "yard, ward in a city, station".

Ev.C *kukuwun* "container for kumis" < AMo. **kökügür*, cf. Mo. *köküür* "skin for liquids", Kh. *xüxür*, Bur. *xuxür* "skin for kumis".

Ev.Barg.V, P *owur* "mortar", Sol. *oyör* id., cf. Ma. *oyo* < **oyör* id. < AMo. **oyür*, Mo. *uur*, Kh., Bur. *ür* id.

Sol. *saga-* "to milk" < AMo. **sayā-*, cf. Mo. *saya-*, Kh. *sā-*, Bur. *hā-* id.

Sol. *šigu-* "to filter, filtrate" < AMo. **šigū-*, cf. Mo. *šigū-*, SH *šī'ü-*, Kh., Bur. *šū-* id.

Sol. *tāyu* "jackdaw", Ev.Nerch.V *tagu*, Ev.Nerch.C *tāgu* / *tāwu* < AMo. **tayū*, cf. Mo. *tayu*, Kh. *tū*, Bur. *tūn* id.

Ev.V *temegen*, Ev.Ong.V *temgen*, Ev.Barg.P *temgyön*, Sol. *temeggē* "camel" < AMo. **temegēn*, cf. Mo. *temegen*, SH *tem'en*, Kh. *temē*, Bur. *temēn* id.

Sol. *tottogō-* "to establish, to make stand, to stop" < AMo. **toḡtayā-*, cf. Mo. *toḡtoya-*, Kh., Bur. *toḡtō-* id. Cf. Ev.V *toktō-* "to stop" < Yakut or a modern Mongolian language, such as Buriat.

Sol. *unigē* / *unegē* "cow" < AMo. **ünigēn*, cf. Mo. *üniyen*, pre-classical Mo. *ünigen*, SH *üni'en* / *üniyen*, Kh. *unē*, Bur. *unēn* id.

Sol. *xušigē* "fence" < AMo. **köšigē*, cf. Mo. *köšiye* "ancient monument, stele, stone statues in the steppe (sometimes fenced with large stones)", Kh. *xöš^г* id.

As both Sanžeev and Ligeti have demonstrated, there are also Mongolian borrowings in Manchu which have preserved the velar consonant in intervocalic (and weak) position.

An old borrowing is Jurchen (Jur.) *medige* "information", Ma. *meḡige* id. < AMo. **medigē*, cf. Mo. *medege*, SH *mede'e*, Kh. *medē* id.²⁴ That it is old is evident from the preservation of the syllable *di* in Jurchen and from the development to *ji* in Manchu, whereas Mo. has *mede-*, an assimilated form in which *de* < **di* prior to the beginning of the development **di* > *ji* in Mongolian. Another old borrowing is Ma. *gurgu*

²⁴ Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

"wild animal" which goes back to **görüge*, cf. Mo. *görüge*, Kh. *gör^h* "hunt".²⁵

However, one cannot be quite sure about the age of most of the Manchu words which have preserved the velar consonant, because they might have been borrowed from Written Mongolian in the XVI-XVII century, e.g., Ma. *xalxun* "hot" (cf. Mo. *qalayun*), *boljoyon* "agreement, term" (cf. Mo. *boljuyan*), *delixun* "spleen" (cf. Mo. *deligün*), *kubuxen* "border, hem" (cf. Mo. *köbügē*), etc. Likewise, one cannot be quite sure whether some "Middle Mongolian" forms in Manchu are really borrowings taken at that time. Such words are Ma. *deo* "younger brother", cf. SH *de'ü* id.; Ma. *neo-* "to move to another place, nomadize", cf. SH *ne'ü-* id., etc. They might not be Middle Mongolian borrowings but loan-words taken from Dagur, which Sanžeev might have had in the back of his mind when he regarded such forms as reflecting "the Dagur stage".²⁶ Therefore, one should be rather cautious as far as Manchu is concerned. However, some Mongolian words in Manchu are old. They penetrated into Manchu via Jurchen which had borrowed them from AMo.

2. PRESERVATION OF *t* AND *d* BEFORE *i*

One of the characteristic features of Mongolian is the development **ti* > *či*, **di* > *ji*.²⁷ Ancient Mongolian still had *ti* and *di*. This is evident from a few borrowings in Tungus.

Sol. *adirga* / *adigga* "stallion" < AMo. **adirga*, cf. Mo. *afirga*, SH *afirga*, Kh. *azraga*, Bur. *azarga* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *atiga* "knapsack", Ev.Sh. *atiga* "load carried by a horse", Ma. *ačixa* id.²⁸ < AMo. **atiyā*, cf. Mo. *ačiya*, SH *ačī'a(n)*, Kh. *ačā*, Bur. *ašān* "load transported on horseback".

Ev.V *bitekēn* "not long, a little (of time)"? < AMo. **bitiqān*, cf. Mo. *bičiqan*, Bur. *bišāxan*, Kalm. *bičkən* "little, small".

Ev.V *gedikēn* "cue, pigtail (of a girl)" < AMo. **gedikēn*, cf. Mo. *gefige* id., SH *gefige* "rear-guard, reserves", Kh. *gezeg* "cue", Bur. *gezege* "cue".

²⁵ Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²⁶ Санжеев, *op. cit.*, pp. 610-11.

²⁷ Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, pp. 14-15, 22, 50-53.

²⁸ Ma. *č* is a regular development. Therefore, Ma. *ačixa* could also be an AMo. loan-word taken at a period preceding the beginning of **ti* > *či* and **di* > *ji* in Manchu.

Ev.V *gudigē*, Ev.Barg.P *gudigē* "stomach" < AMo. **güdigē*, cf. Mo. *güfige* / *güfege*, Kh. *guzē* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *gutin*, Sol. *gotī* "thirty" < AMo. **gutin*, cf. Mo. *gučtn*, Kh. *guč* (subst.) / *gučīn* (adj.), Bur. *gušan* "thirty".

Ev. V *kadiwūn* "scythe" < AMo. **qadiyūr* > **qajiyūr* > Bur. *xazūr* id., cf. **qadiyūr* > **qaduyūr* > Mo. *qaduyur*, Kh. *xadūr* id.

Ev.V *kaīt* "scissors" < AMo. **qayiti*, cf. Mo. *qayiči*, Kh. *xaič*, Bur. *xaiša* id.

Ev.V *kaptiwūn* "a press for ski" < AMo. **qabtiyūr*, cf. Mo. *qabčiyur*, Kh. *xawčūr* "instrument for squeezing, pincers, pliers, forge-tongs".

Although the examples given are not numerous, they lead to the conclusion that preservation of *ti*, *di* and preservation of the velar consonant in weak position refer to the same period. It is of particular importance that some loan-words display both features, i.e. *ti(di)* and *g*, cf. *atiga* "load", *gudigē* "stomach", *kadiwun* "scythe". This proves that the reconstructed AMo. forms **adirga* "stallion", **kedigē* "when" (Mo. *kejiye*, Kh. *xezē*), **güdigē* "stomach", **artiyur* "kerchief" (Mo. *arčiyur*, Kh. *alčūr*) are not fictitious but did really exist.

3. THE VOWELS OF THE NON-FIRST SYLLABLES

The Tungus words of Mongolian provenience have preserved the original vowels of the non-first syllables. It is known that the vowels in the non-first syllables have undergone various changes in spoken Mongolian languages. Thus, in Khalkha and Buriat they underwent assimilation by the vowel of the first syllable, e.g., Kh. *amar*, in precise phonetic transcription, *amr* "peace, rest".²⁹ In Kalmuck, the vowels in question have become "shwa"³⁰ or disappeared completely, e.g., *am^r* or *amr* "peace", cf. Mo., SH, Mu. *amur* "peace". There are only few spoken Mongolian languages in which the original vowels have remained unchanged. Such languages are Urdus³¹ and Mogol,³² e.g., Urd. *amur* "peace", Mog. *daruna* "he presses", etc.

Tungus is in this aspect like Urdus: it has preserved *u* after *a*, and *a*

²⁹ Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, pp. 53ff.

³⁰ J. C. Street, "Kalmyk Shwa", *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics* (= *Uralic and Altaic Series*, 13) (Bloomington, Indiana, 1962), pp. 263ff.

³¹ A. Mostaert, C.I.C.M., *Dictionnaire Ordos* (Peking, 1941-44).

³² L. Ligeti, "Les voyelles longues en moghol", *Acta Orient. Hung.*, XVII:1 (1964), pp. 31 ff.; G. J. Ramstedt, "Mogholica", *JSFOu*, XXIII:4 (1906).

after *u*, cf. Ev.V *kadu*- "to mow" = Mo. *qadu*-, Urd. *xadu*- id.; Ev.Barg.P *buka* "bull" = Mo. *buqa*, Urd. *buxa*. However, **a* after *o* of the preceding syllable is *o* in Evenki, like in Urdus, e.g., Ev.V *ŋowo*- "to be in need, suffer, be mournful" = Urd. *ŋowo*-, cf. Mo. *ŋoba*- < **ŋoba*- "to suffer". Assimilation of **a* by *o* is ancient, cf. SH *ŋobo*- / *ŋoba*- "to suffer", SH *ŋobolan* "suffering" = Mo. *ŋobalan* id.; SH *noqot* "dogs" = Mo. *noqas* id.; SH *obog* "family", Mo. *obog* / *omog* "clan", Urd. *omog* < **obag* id. (if it had been **obug* the Urdus form would have been **umug*); SH *olon* "many" = Mo. *olan*, Urd. *olon* id., etc.

Consequently, Tungus has preserved the old Mongolian vocalism of the non-first syllables. This should not be interpreted, however, in such a sense that the Ev. forms of the type *kadu*- "to mow" were borrowed from AMo. As a matter of fact, the original vocalism of the non-first syllables was also preserved in Middle Mongolian, cf. such forms as Mu. *arasun* "skin", *dalu* "scapula", *nasun* "age", *qabur* "spring", *dabusun* "salt", etc. On the other hand, Urdus has preserved the old vocalism almost equally well. The conclusion from this is that *u* in the second or third syllable of a word having the vowel *a* in the first syllable cannot serve as criterion in determining whether the word concerned is a borrowing from AMo., MMo., or a newer language. However, it is important to note that the Mongolian languages spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Evenki have not preserved the original vocalism of the non-first syllables. It is quite possible, therefore, that the borrowings in Evenki reflect the older forms of Buriat or Khalkha.

On the other hand, Tungus has preserved the original Mongolian long vowels very well.³³ In his valuable article on the long vowels in Mogol, Ligeti has demonstrated that Mogol has long vowels in many cases exactly in the same words as in Evenki, e.g., Mog. *qarā* "black" = Solon (Sol.) *xarā*, Ev.Barg.P *karā* id.; Mog. *qalyāsun* "hair" = Ev.V *kilgāhun* id. = Bur. *xilgāhan* "horse hair, hair of the tail", etc. The material presented by Ligeti is a splendid corroboration of Hattori's³⁴ and my own findings, the best corroboration one could ever have hoped for.

Not dwelling on the subject of preservation of the Mongolian primary vowels in borrowings in Tungus,³⁵ I shall confine myself to the reflexes

³³ N. Poppe, "The Primary Long Vowels in Mongolian", *JSFOu*, 63:2 (1962), pp. 15ff.

³⁴ Shirō Hattori, "The Length of Vowels in Proto-Mongol", *Studia Mongolica Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comit. Scient. et Educat. Altae Reipublicae Populi Mongoli*, 1:12 (Ulaanbaatar, 1959), pp. 3-6.

³⁵ The author of these lines hopes, however, to return to this subject and expand his previous findings in another article.

of Mongolian **u* and **ü* in the non-first syllables in borrowings in Tungus. The discussion will be limited to **u* after *a* and *o*, and to **ü* after *e*, because in the words referring to these categories **u* and **ü* have lost their original articulations in Khalkha, Buriat, and other Mongolian languages geographically closest to the Tungus linguistic area.

The vowel **u*

1. In the second syllable

After *a*:

Ev.Nerch.V *adugun* "herd of horses", cf. Mo. *aduyun*, SH *adu'un* id.

Ev.Barg.V *bargu* "the Barguzin area", cf. Mo. *bargu* Barga (in NW Manchuria), SH *bargujin tökü*m a region in Transbaikalia, cf. Urd. *bargudüd* name of a clan.

Ev.Barg.P *čačuli* "libation", cf. Mo., SH *sačuli*, Urd. *sačuli* / *jačuli*, Kh. *cacali*, Bur. *sasali* id.

Ev.V *dajdu* "world, universe", cf. Bur. *dajda* < **dajdu* id., cf. Urd. *dädu* name of a clan (which might be of different origin).

Ev.V *daku* "kind of women's waistcoat, fur caftan", cf. Mo., SH *daqu* "fur coat", Urd. *daxu* "fur jacket", Kh. *dax*, Bur. *daxa* "fur coat".

Ev.V *dalü*, Ev.Barg.P *dalü* "scapula", cf. Mo. *dalü*, Mu. *dälu*, Mogol (Mog.) *dälu*, Urd. *dalu*, Kh. *dol*, Bur. *dala* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *dapkur* "double", cf. Mo., SH, Mu. *dabqur*, Urd. *dabxur* / *dawxur*, Kh., Bur. *dabxar* id.

Ev.V *daru-* "to weave", cf. Mo., SH *daru-* "to press", Mu. *daru-*, Mog. *däru-*, Urd. *daru-*, Kh. *dar-*, Bur. *dara-* "to press, oppress, suppress".

Ev.Barg.P *darugä* "village mayor", cf. Mo., SH *daruga* "chieftain", Urd., Kh., Bur. *darga* "chief".

Ev.C *dawusun* / *dawuhun*, Ev.Barg.P *dawuhun* "salt", cf. Mo., Mu. *dabusun*, Mog.R *dabsun*, Urd. *dawusu*, Kh. *daws*, Bur. *dabahan*, Kalm. *daws^{on}* id.

Ev.V *žilуга*, Sol. *dilya* "reins", cf. Mo. *žilya*, SH *žilu'a* / *žilo'a* id.

Ev.Barg.P *žargu* "court of justice", cf. Mo. *žargu* "court, court procedure", SH *žargu* "lawsuit", Urd. *žargu*, Kh. *žarga* "lawsuit", Bur. *zarga* id.

Ev.V, C, Ev.Barg.P *kadum* "father-in-law (father of the husband)", cf. Mo., Mu. *qadum*, Urd. *xadam*, Bur., Kh. *xadam* id.

Ev.V *kapturga* / *gapturga* "tobacco pouch", cf. Mu. *qabturja* "pocket", Urd. *gabtarga* "purse, pouch".

Ev.V *katun* "wife of a knight or hero in sagas, lady", cf. Mo. *qatun* "queen, princess, lady", SH *qatun* "wife", Mu. *xatun*, Urd. *gatun* "lady", Kh., Bur. *xatan*, Kalm. *xatŋ* "queen, princess, lady, wife (polite expression)".

Ev.V *maltu-* "to dig snow (of reindeers), to unfold, unwrap, to overturn, to fold" < AMo. **maltu-*, cf. Mo. *malta-* (an assimilated form)³⁶ "to dig", SH *malta-* "to dig, drill", Urd., Kh., Bur. *malta-* "to dig".

Ev.Barg.P *nahun*³⁷ "age", cf. Mo. *nasun* id., SH *nasutu* "aged, having the age of", Mu. *nasutu* id., Urd. *nastu* id., Kh. *nas*, Bur. *nahan*, Kalm. *nasŋ* "age".

Ev.Barg.P *sārsun*³⁸ "paper", cf. Mo. *čayasun* / *čayalsun* / *čayarsun* "paper", SH. *ča'alsun*, Kh. *cās*, Bur. *sārhan*, Kalm. *cāsŋ* id.

Ev.Barg.P *takul* "epidemic, epidemic disease", cf. Mo. *taqul*, Urd. *daxul*, Kh., Bur. *taxal* id.

Ev.V, Ev.Barg.P *yawudal* "action, deed", cf. Mo. *yabudal* id., SH *yabudal* "course, service" from *yabu-* "to walk, to go, to act, to behave in a particular way", cf. Mu. *yabuba* "he went, acted", Kh. *yawdal* "action", Bur. *yabadal* id., Kalm. *yowdŋ* id.

After *o*:

Ev.Barg.P *bolturuk* "earthen pot", cf. Bur. *boltorog* id.

Ev.Nerch.V, C *golumta* "hearth", cf. Mo., SH *golumta*, Mu. *γolumtan*, Urd. *gulumta*, Kh. *golomto*, Bur. *gulanta* id.

Ev.Barg.P *olum* "ford", cf. Mo. *olum*, Kh., Bur. *olom*, Kalm. *olŋ* id.

Ev.Nerch.C, Ev.Barg.P *tokum* "saddle cloth, felt put under the saddle", cf. Mo. *toqum* id., SH *toqu'ul-* "to put the saddle on", Ibn Muhanna (IM) *toqum* "saddle cloth, felt under the saddle", Kh., Bur. *toxom* "saddle cloth", Urd. *doxom* < **toxom* < from another Mongolian language.

2. In the third syllable

After any vowel:

Ev.Barg. *arātu* "wild beast", cf. Mo. *ariyatu* / *arayatu* "wild beast", SH *ard'atu mogai* "venomous (? , lit. "having canine teeth") snake", Mu.

³⁶ Like Mo. *altan* < Ancient Turkic *altun* "gold".

³⁷ In Evenki of Barguzin *-*s*- > *h*.

³⁸ Initial *s* in Ev. is a substitute for *c* (= *ts*) of one of the newer Mongolian languages such as Khalkha where **č* before vowels other than **i* has resulted in *c* (= *ts*). Old Buriat had also **c* which is now *s*. Vide Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, pp. 110-12.

ari'ātu "having canine teeth", Kh. *arāt* "wild beast, carnivorous beast", Bur. *arāta* "fox", Kalm. *arāt* id.

Ev.Barg.P *baĭtahan*³⁹ "barren mare or cow", cf. Mo. *bayitasun*, Urd. *bādasu*, Kh. *baĭtasun* *gū* "barren mare", Bur. *baĭtahan* id.

Ev.Barg. *balgahun* "house", cf. Mo. *balgasun* "palast, city", SH *halagasun* "city", Mu. *balyasun*, Urd. *balgasu*, Kh. *balgas* "city, ruin of a city in the steppe", Kalm. *baly^osŋ* "city".

Ev.Barg. *gatahun* "stake, pale", cf. Mo. *gadasun*, Urd. *gadusu*, Kh. *gadas*, Bur. West *gatahan* id.⁴⁰

Ev.Barg.P *gowohun* "wild garlic", cf. Mo. *gogosun*, Urd. *gogod*, Kh. *gogod*, Bur. *gogohon* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *alirsun* "red bilberries", cf. Mo. *alirsun*, Kh. *alirs*, Bur. *alirhan* id.

The vowel *ü

Ev.V *dēsun*, Ev.Nerch.C *dāsūn* / *dāhūn* "rope, string", cf. Mo. *degestün*, Mu. *dēsūn*, Urd. *dēsū*, Kh. *dēs*, Bur. *dēhen* id.

Ev.V *gwur* "steep slope", cf. Mo. *ebür* "southern slope, southern side", Dag. *gūr* "front", Urd. *öwör* id., Kh. *öwör* "southern slope", Bur. *uber* id.

Ev.V *mendu* "how are you?" (greeting), cf. Mo. *mendü*, Urd. *möndu* Kh., Bur. *mende* "healthy, how are you?"

Ev.V *mengun* "silver", cf. Mo. *möngün*, SH *müngü(n)*, Urd. *muṅgu*, Kh. *mōṅg*, Bur. *muṅgen* id.

Ev.Nerch.C *sünäsün*, Ev.Barg.P *sunghun*, Ev.V *sunṣun* "soul", cf. Mo. *sünesün*, Urd. *sumes*, Kh. *suns*, Bur. *hunehen* id.

The number of examples could be increased but those already given demonstrate that Tungus is an important source for the study of history of the Mongolian languages. There is no doubt that the above examples of the types *adugun*, *atiga*, and *adirga* are borrowings from Ancient Mongolian. To them Ev.Barg.P *hiruḡen* "blessing" should be added which corresponds to SH and hP'ags-pa *hirü'er* "blessing" - Mo. *irüger*, Kh. *yör⁵l*, Bur. Alar *ör⁵r* id. - Ma. *firugen* "blessing". The Barguzin Evenki form is of particular interest because it has preserved the AMo. *-*g-*. As for the initial *h*, it is the Tungus substitute for initial *p* in Goldi

³⁹ Most of the examples given here are stems formed with the suffix *-*sun*.

⁴⁰ The Evenki form reflects the older Buriat form **gatasun*. This is evident from *-t-* versus *-d-* in all the other Mongolian languages.

and initial *f* in Manchu. Having no *p* but only *h* in initial position, Evenki is in no position to preserve the AMo. initial **p*. The Manchu form *firugen*, however, reflects the AMo. form accurately: it preserves both *-*g-* and *f- < *p-*.

Other forms with initial *h* in Evenki are probably Middle Mongolian loan-words, e.g., Ev.Barg.P *hečę-* "to become tired" = MMo. *heče-*, Mo. *eče-* id.; Ev.V *him* "a mark on the ear of a reindeer which is made in order to distinguish it from other people's reindeers" = MMo. *him*, Mo. *im* "mark on the ear of a sheep"; Ev.Barg.P *hokorsōl* "coccyx" = MMo. *hoqor* "short" + *se'ül* "tail" = Mo. *segül*, Kh. *sül* "tail"; Ev.Nerch.C *hükür* "cow" = MMo. *hüker*, Mo. *üker* "neat", Kalm. *ükř* "cow"; Ev.Barg.P *hulō*, Ev.V *hula* "outgrowth on the trunk of birches, agaric, punk, tinder" = MMo *hula*, Mo. *uula*, Kh. *ül* id., etc.

In conclusion, let it be remarked that Evenki is also conservative as far as **i* of the first syllable is concerned. In preserving it, it displays forms which are either AMo. or MMo.,⁴¹ e.g., Ev.V *řiluga*, Sol. *điluya* "reins" = Mo. *řiluya*, Kh. *řolō* id.; Ev.V *řirę* "ambler" = Mo. *řiruya*, Kh. *řorō* id.;⁴² Ev.Vitim, Nerch.V *řida* "spear" = Mo. *řida*, Kh. *řad* id.; Ev.V *řilę* "broth" = Mo. *řilü*, Kh. *řül* id.; Ev.V *čiwaj* "a sausage made of intestines stuffed with cooked blood" = Mo. *řibaj*, Kh. *řawaj* id.; Ev.V *čidar* "hobble for horses, a strap for hobbling horses" = Mo. *čidür*, Kh. *čüdür* id.; Ev.V *čiwukę* "awl" = Mo. *řibüge* < **řibükē*, Kh. *řüwüg* id.,⁴³ etc.

⁴¹ The vowel **i* was preserved in AMo. and in MMo. The so-called "breaking" of **i* began in Middle Mongolian. Vide N. Poppe, "On the So-called Breaking of **i* in Mongolian", *UJ*, XXVIII:1-2 (1956), pp. 43ff.

⁴² The Evenki form proves that AMo. was *řiruyd*. In other words, this Mongolian word is not a borrowing from Turkic and has nothing in common with the Turkic word *yorř-* "to walk, to go".

⁴³ Ev. *č* is a substitute for Mongolian *ř*. In other words, Ev. *čiwukę* goes back to **řibükē* but not to **řibükē*. As a matter of fact, the syllable **si* of Mongolian words is rendered by *ři* in Evenki, cf. Ev. *řilę* "broth"; *řiwa-* "to coat, to besmear" = Mo. *řiba-* id.; Ev.V *řiwęř* "swampy lawn in a forest" = Mo. *řibir*, Bur. *řeber* "swampy thicket"; Ev.Nerch.V *řil* "glass" = Mo. *řil* id.; Ev.Barg. *řirga* "light-bay" = Mo. *řirga*, Kh. *řarga* id., etc.