Khamnigan Mongol is a little known Mongolic language, spoken only by a few thousand individuals scattered along the rivers and over the steppes of Transbaikalia. Since the 1950s, information has slowly increased on the type of Khamnigan Mongol spoken in the Onon-Borzya region of Siberia and Mongolia. At the same time, it has not been generally known that the language also survives on the Manchurian side of the border, in northern Inner Mongolia, China.

The present booklet summarizes the results of the author's field work in the summer of 1989 among the speakers of Khamnigan Mongol in China. The first ever attempt at a systematic treatment of Khamnigan Mongol synchronic and diachronic phonology and morphology, the booklet also illustrates the exceptional significance which Khamnigan Mongol, with its many archaic features and areal peculiarities, has for comparative Mongolic studies.

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37 MATERIAL ON MANCHURIAN KHAMNIGAN MONGOL

Castrenianumin toimitteita 37

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JUHA JANHUNEN

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by JUHA JANHUNEN

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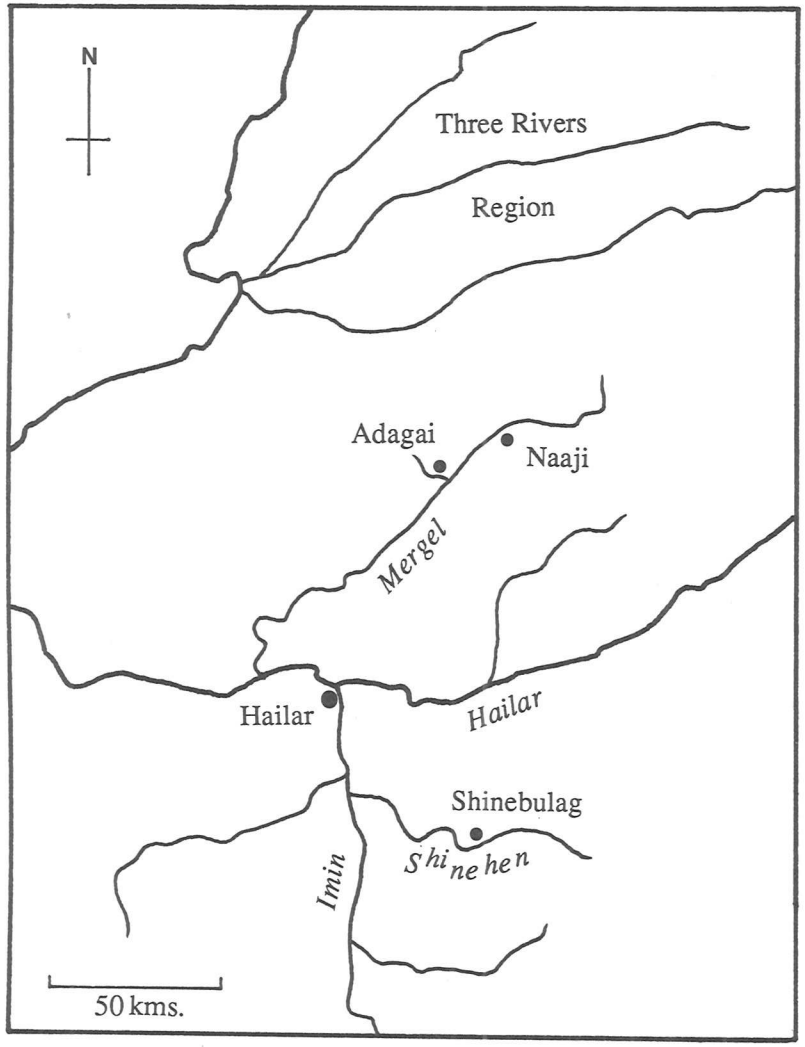
MAP



PREFACE

The present publication contains in a preliminary form some of the results of the author's field work among the Manchurian Khamnigan in northern Inner Mongolia, China. The publication has three goals: firstly, to systematize the material for the purposes of further field work in the future; secondly, to make the most essential part of the fresh data available to others involved in comparative Mongolic studies; and thirdly, to present for evaluation and discussion some new ideas about how certain details concerning the structure of Khamnigan Mongol should perhaps be understood from the synchronic and diachronic points of view.

The material comes from Adagai, the more important one of the two settlements with Khamnigan populations in China. The period of field work at Adagai remained, as always, regrettably short, lasting only two weeks, from July 20 to August 3, 1989. One more week, from August 7 to August 14, was spent at Shinebulag, the other settlement with a Khamnigan population, but for various reasons no linguistic field work was possible there, although general demographic and ethnographic observations were, of course, made. Some additional verification of the Khamnigan Mongol linguistic material was, however, carried out in Hailar, where the author stayed the rest of the time between July 13 and August 20.

It goes without saying that the material now published is extremely restricted in scope, covering only the essentials of phonology and morphology, with syntax and the lexicon remaining largely unexplored. The author hopes to be able to continue the field work in the future with the aim of gradually obtaining a more comprehensive corpus. It is not excluded that the future work will also ultimately make necessary a revision of some of the interpretations presented now. Nevertheless, the author feels that even preliminary material on Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is worth being published rapidly in the interests of comparative Mongolic studies. Moreover, in view of

the recent political developments in China, one should never count too much on the future.

This publication forms part of the results of the author's project at the Academy of Finland (Helsinki) on the minority peoples and languages of northern China. The field research among the Khamnigan was financed through a travel grant from the Academy. On the Chinese side, cooperation was effectively organized by the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences (Huhehoto). The author thanks especially Prof. He Yibing and Mr. Wu Ente, who kindly made the necessary prearrangements with the central and provincial authorities. In the field, the work was greatly facilitated by the constant practical assistance provided by Mr. Ju Leping.

The language material was supplied by several informants, whom the author had the opportunity to interview in the field. Systematic work was carried out with three persons resident at Adagai: Mr. Ssarpiim (Ru. Serafim Alekseyevich Petrov), Mr. Kvler (Chi. Huerlei), and Ms. Ssalmin (Chi. Shangmin). All of them, and particularly the one mentioned last, showed a genuine understanding of the goals and methods of linguistic fieldwork, of which none of them had previous experience. The author wishes to dedicate this modest publication to them, and through them to the whole Khamnigan community in China.

February, 1990
Helsinki

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic definition. The term Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is here used in reference to the Mongolic idiom spoken by the Khamnigan minority group living in the modern Inner Mongolian aimak of Hulun Buir (Mo. *Kölün Buir Aimaq*, Chi. *Hulun Beier Meng*), geographically and historically closely associated with Manchuria. The Khamnigan are just one the many minority groups in the aimak, and have until now been largely ignored in ethnographical and linguistic literature. Their ethnic identity may, however, be considered basically clarified, and they can be safely included in the larger context of the Khamnigan, in general.

The Manchurian Khamnigan, as they exist today, may be distinguished from the Siberian Khamnigan and the Mongolian Khamnigan, two groups living in the Transbaikalian border regions of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. Material on the Siberian Khamnigan and their language has been made available by Damdinov (1962ab, 1968, 1982), while the Mongolian Khamnigan have become known through the publications of Kőhalmi (1959, 1962), Mishig (1959), and Rinchen (1969). These authors, as well as Doerfer (1985), have also discussed problems pertaining to the ethnic history of the Khamnigan.

Although many aspects concerning the ethnic background of the Khamnigan are still obscure, there is no doubt about their position as an areal transition group between the Mongolic-speaking population of the south (Mongolia) and the Tungusic-speaking population of the north (Siberia). In this situation it is natural that the Khamnigan include both Mongolic and Tungusic components in their ethnic composition, while linguistically three types may be distinguished: the monolingual Tungus Khamnigan, the bilingual Tungus-Mongol Khamnigan, and the monolingual Mongol Khamnigan. The Manchurian Khamnigan represent the bilingual type.

Whatever their earlier ethnohistorical fates may have been, the

recent and modern homeland of the Khamnigan is located in the region of the two Transbaikalian rivers Onon and Borzya. This is the region where the Siberian and Mongolian Khamnigan still live on both sides of the Soviet-Mongolian border, and this is also where the Manchurian Khamnigan actually came from to their present territories. To be more exact, the immediate ancestors of the Manchurian Khamnigan crossed the border into Manchuria and China only in the years following the October Revolution of 1917. Against this background the term Manchurian Khamnigan turns out to have no deeper historical meaning, and its use should be confined to the modern ethnic situation only.

The migration of the Khamnigan from Russia to China took place in close connection with the contemporary migration of a considerable number of Transbaikalian Buryat. The history of these so-called Refugee Buryat, today known as the Shinehen Buryat, has been briefly discussed by LATTIMORE (1935.165ff.), who does not, however, mention the Khamnigan in this context. KORMAZOV (1928. 46ff.) and FOCHLER-HAUKE (1941.115ff.) do mention the presence of Tungusic elements among the emigrants, but fail to recognize their special status as Khamnigan. This is completely understandable in view of the ethnonymic confusion which even today prevails about the Manchurian Khamnigan.

Traditionally the Manchurian Khamnigan call themselves by two appellations: Tungus (*Tvnggvvs*) and Khamnigan (*Kamnigan* : pl. *Kamnigad*). The former appellation derives from Russian (Ru. *tungusÿ*), for the Russians never properly distinguished the Khamnigan from other groups connected with the Northern Tungus. The latter appellation, in its ethnonymic use, may be considered a Mongolism (Mo. *Qamniqan*), which also basically refers to the Northern Tungus, in general. It may be noted that hardly any Mongol in Inner Mongolia today, on hearing the ethnonym Khamnigan, comes to think of the Khamnigan proper in the first place.

Today the Manchurian Khamnigan mainly refer to themselves as Evenki (*Ebeengki*). Although this appellation has deep roots in the Tungusic ethnonymic system, its modern use seems to be mainly connected with the official Chinese classification of the minority nationalities of northern China. According to this classification the Manchurian Khamnigan are counted as representatives of the so-

called Evenki (Chi. *Ewenke*) nationality, which also includes the Northern Tungusic groups earlier known as the Solon and the «Yakut» or the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus. By an obvious mistake, so far not recognized by the Chinese authorities, the Evenki nationality, as a whole, is thought to be opposed to the so-called Orochen (Chi. *Elunchun*) nationality, the other officially recognized Northern Tungusic group in China.

To distinguish the Khamnigan from the other two types of Evenki in China, the modern Chinese terminology frequently refers to them by the rather awkward appellation Tungus Evenki (Chi. *Tonggusi Ewenke*), as opposed to the Solon Evenki (Chi. *Suolun Ewenke*) and the «Yakut» Evenki (Chi. *Yakute Ewenke*). Needless to say, this usage has no direct taxonomic value. However, to some extent the Chinese terminology has also been adopted by the Manchurian Khamnigan, who today occasionally identify themselves as Tungus Evenki (*Tvnggvvs Ebeengki*) or Khamnigan Evenki (*Kamnigan Ebeengki*), as opposed to, in particular, the Solon Evenki (*Xoloon Ebeengki*).

From a more systematic point of view it would apparently be motivated to classify the Northern Tungusic elements in China in terms of four groups of equal standing: the Solon, the Orochen, the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus, and the Manchurian Khamnigan. This taxonomy also corresponds to the historical sequence in which these groups entered Manchuria and China. Thus, the presence of the Solon in Manchuria apparently dates back to the 17th century, while the Orochen probably arrived during the 18th century. The Manchurian Reindeer Tungus are known to have crossed the Amur in the early 19th century, while the Manchurian Khamnigan arrived only in the early 20th century, as stated above.

Irrespective of the ethnonymic details, the general situation is that all of the neighbouring ethnic groups traditionally identify the Manchurian Khamnigan with the Northern Tungus. Although not exactly correct, this identification seems to reflect the prevailing ethnic feeling among the Manchurian Khamnigan themselves, a fact which certainly has relevance in an ethnohistorical context. Nevertheless, it would be taxonomically incorrect to regard the Manchurian Khamnigan simply as a variety of the Evenki, or the Northern Tungus, in general. Similarly, it would be incorrect to regard them as a

variety of the Mongols, for their actual identity involves the parallel presence of both Tungusic and Mongolic ethnic and linguistic connections. It is this situation, most clearly manifest in their bilingualism, which defines them as Khamnigan, in the first place.

Demographic data. Soon after their arrival in Manchuria, the Khamnigan immigrants were divided into two groups. One, smaller, group joined the Refugee Buryat and entered the basin of the river Shinehen (Mo. *Sineken*, Chi. *Xinihe*), an eastern tributary to the river Imin (Mo. *Imin*, Chi. *Yimin*), which, in turn, flows into the river Hailar (Mo. *Qailar*, Chi. *Hailaer*) from the south. The locality is today known as the Shinehen East Sumun (Mo. *Sineken Jexün Sumu*, Chi. *Xinihe Dong Gongshe*) of the Evenki Autonomous Banner (Mo. *Ewengki Ündesüten-ü Öber-texen Jasaqu Qosiɣu*, Chi. *Ewenke Zu Zizhi Qi*). Here the Khamnigan are concentrated in and around the settlement of Shinebulag (Mo. *Sinebulaq*, Chi. *Xinbulage*), which is the administrative centre of the sumun.

The other, larger, group of Khamnigan entered the basin of the river Mergel (Mo. *Mergel*, Chi. *Moergele*), a northern tributary to the river Hailar. This region forms today the Evenki Sumun (Mo. *Ewengki Sumu*, Chi. *Ewenke Gongshe*), which belongs to the Old Bargut Banner (Mo. *Qaɣucin Barqu Qosiɣu*, Chi. *Chen Baerhu Qi*). The recent history of the Khamnigan here, as summarized by Qarcaq & al. (1983), involves a series of attempts to settle the originally nomadic population in a fixed village. These attempts finally led to the founding of the village of Adagai (*Adagai*, Mo. *Adaqai*) or Haji (*Kaji*, Mo. *Qaji*, Chi. *Haji*), which is now the administrative centre of the sumun and the main settlement of the Khamnigan. However, a considerable proportion of the local Khamnigan still continue a semi-nomadic lifestyle.

In accordance with their present-day distribution, the two divisions of the Manchurian Khamnigan may be identified as the Shinehen Khamnigan resp. the Mergel Khamnigan. The geographical separation of the two groups correlates with a definitive social and economic splitting of the population, for the distance between the Shinehen and Mergel basins is too great to allow any regular mutual contacts. Nevertheless, the Manchurian Khamnigan do preserve a certain sense of unity even today. Kinship relations, in particular, are

still maintained, and stimulate occasional visits between representatives of the two groups.

The physical environment is very similar at Adagai and Shinebulag, both settlements being situated in river valleys dominated by a landscape of hilly steppe, suitable for cattle herding. The soil and climate also allow some limited agricultural and gardening activities. Further upwards along the courses of the rivers Shinehen and Mergel the steppe is replaced by mixed forest, while the landscape gradually rises towards the Greater Hingan Mountains, providing a place for hunting excursions. The forest region seems to be somewhat easier to reach from Shinebulag than from Adagai.

The original size of the immigrant Khamnigan population remains unknown, but it may be estimated to have been at least several hundred individuals. The present-day (1988) number of the Manchurian Khamnigan may be put at appr. 1,600 individuals, of whom appr. 1,300 live in the Mergel region and appr. 300 in the Shinehen region. The difference in the absolute sizes of the two groups is also indicative of a difference in their ethnic vigorousness. Thus, while the Mergel Khamnigan still form the majority of the local population and face no immediate threat of ethnic extinction, the Shinehen Khamnigan are rapidly losing their identity.

The modern ethnic environment of the Shinehen Khamnigan is mainly formed by the locally dominant Buryat, whose pasture lands and settlements continue westwards across the river Imin to the prosperous Shinehen West Sumun (Mo. *Sineken Baraɣun Sumu*, Chi. *Xinihe Xi Gongshe*). Other nationalities, including the Han Chinese, are considerably less numerous in the region. No traces remain of any aboriginal population that might have been indigenous to the region prior to the arrival of the Buryat and the Khamnigan. However, the Shinehen basin used to form part of the territory of the Manchurian Ölöt, today almost extinct.

In the Mergel region there are also no significant numbers of any earlier indigenous groups. At the time when the Khamnigan arrived in the Mergel basin, the region was reportedly almost empty, being only marginally populated by the Old Bargut. The Hingan Mountains in the east may have been inhabited by small groups of Orochen, as is implied, for instance, by Shirokogoroff (1933. 130ff.), but any traces of them have disappeared by the present day.

Later, a number of Solon families have been transferred to the Mergel region from the south. The modern population of the Evenki Sumun comprises, in addition to the Khamnigan, appr. 400 Han Chinese, 300 Old Bargut and other Mongols, a few dozen Solon, as well as insignificant numbers of other nationalities.

Until recently the Khamnigan used to have one more important ethnic group as their neighbours: the Russians. There were emigrant Russian settlements in the basins of both the Shinehen and the Mergel. In the latter region the Russians were especially numerous, due to the existence of a network of contacts with the old Russian villages of the Three Rivers Region (Mo. *Qurban Qool*, Ru. *Trekh-rech'ye*) in the north. In the Mergel basin the Russians were concentrated in the settlement of Naaji (*Naaji* or *Naajiin Bulag*, Ru. *Nazhinbulak*, Chi. *Naji*), located some 30 kms. upriver from modern Adagai. During the 1950s the Russians moved away with few exceptions, leaving Naaji and other settlements to the Chinese.

As a direct consequence of the previous Russian dominance, the Manchurian Khamnigan still preserve a number of Russian features in their culture, as recently recorded by Inoue (1988). In most cases it is a question of features of material culture shared by the Buryat, but unlike the latter the Khamnigan also accepted the Russian Orthodox religion, which today survives to some extent among the older generation. Many of the permanently settled Khamnigan at Adagai live in old Russian-built wooden houses brought from Naaji and the Three Rivers Region. The Russian breed of horse is common in the local herds at Adagai and is preferred by the Khamnigan to the Mongolian pony. It may also be mentioned that the physical features of many Khamnigan individuals themselves point to a recent mixture with Russian blood.

Both of the villages Adagai and Shinebulag are today still very much isolated from the rest of the world. The provincial capital Hailar (Mo. *Qailar*, Chi. *Hailaer*) lies several hours by bus from both places, and, weather permitting, buses only make the trip a few times weekly. Both villages have a small supply of government-provided or cooperative social and material services, including a shop, a dairy, a school, and a hospital. Generally, life continues on a basis of self-supply. For the Khamnigan population, especially in the Mergel region, this situation ensures a rather safe cultural continuity for the

time being. There are, however, disturbing factors, the most important of which is the huge consumption of alcohol by the Khamnigan male population.

Language situation. As a bilingual group the Manchurian Khamnigan traditionally use two languages. One of these languages is Khamnigan Mongol in its Manchurian variety, while the other one is a Northern Tungusic idiom of the Evenki type, which may be termed Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki. The two languages may naturally interfere with each other in many ways, but basically they are, as they have always been, completely separate idioms with no signs of mutual pidginization.

There is actually nothing particular in that a small transitional group like the Khamnigan is bilingual. What is particular, and in fact almost unique, is that the two languages of the Khamnigan are not simply identical with the Tungusic and Mongolic dialects of their present-day neighbours. Instead, the Khamnigan, i.e. the bilingual Khamnigan, have a dialectal form of their own both in Tungusic and in Mongolic. In other words, the Khamnigan have two native languages, both of which are being transmitted within the community itself. Moreover, this is not a recent situation, but seems to be a continuance over several generations.

The material which has been available earlier on the languages of biligual Khamnigan populations elsewhere suggests that Khamnigan Mongol is generally more aberrant in the context of Mongolic than Khamnigan Evenki is in the context of Tungusic. This is also true of the Manchurian Khamnigan, for while Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki may probably be classified as a dialect of the Evenki language, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol can only be considered a dialect of a separate Khamnigan Mongol language, rather than of any other existing Mongolic language. For this reason, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is perhaps a more relevant object of field research than Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki, although ultimately, of course, both idioms should be thoroughly investigated.

While no direct information seems to have been published before on Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, occasional remarks on Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki have appeared in recent Chinese treatments of Evenki dialects, such as those by Chao Ke (1985) and

Hu Zengyi (1986). Although concentrating on the Solon type of dialects, these treatments identify Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki as a special dialect, termed variously the Chen or the Bargu (from Chi. *Chen Baerhu*) dialect of Evenki. The authors also mention the fact that the speakers of this particular Evenki dialect are fluent in Mongolian as well. However, they do not specify the type of Mongolian, or Mongolic, concerned.

Of immediate relevance to any dialectological work on both Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki and Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol are, without doubt, the Tungusic materials of Castrén (1856). Their language is certainly very close to the type of Evenki that must have been spoken by the ancestors of the Manchurian Khamnigan. Incidentally, many of the Mongolic loanwords in the Urulga variety of Evenki, as recorded by him, show features identical with modern Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The Mongolic source idiom concerned seems to survive today in the Khamnigan Mongol dialect of Delyün, not far from Urulga, as mentioned by Damdinov (1962a). The ethnohistorical implications of these dialectal connections will require a detailed study in the future.

Important though the officially established Evenki identity may be for the Manchurian Khamnigan, the situation today is that Evenki tends to recede to the position of a kind of domestic language of only part of the population, while Khamnigan Mongol is the idiom more commonly used in everyday communication. Typically, in all age groups of the Manchurian Khamnigan there are individuals with no active knowledge of Evenki, although everyone is fully fluent in Khamnigan Mongol. This is, in particular, the situation at Adagai, while at Shinebulag the use of Khamnigan Mongol is also giving way to Buryat and local forms of Standard Mongolian.

The sociolinguistic setting of the Manchurian Khamnigan calls for a special investigation, but it may be preliminarily estimated that there are altogether some 1,500 speakers of Khamnigan Mongol in Manchuria, of whom probably not much more than 1,000 individuals also speak Evenki. The bilingual individuals would seem to prevail among the semi-nomadic groups, while the settled populations at both Adagai and Shinebulag comprise relatively more people with no active knowledge of Evenki. A common situation is that people who normally use Evenki at home, will switch to Khamnigan Mongol in

public. In other words, everyone is expected to understand Khamnigan Mongol, while Evenki is mainly used in established personal relationships.

The position of Khamnigan Mongol is today corroborated by the Inner Mongolian school system, which is completely based on the use of Written and Standard Mongolian in all minority areas. To take Adagai as an example, the village school, currently with appr. 200 pupils divided into six grades, operates fully in Mongolian, although up to 80 per cent of the children are reported to be fluent in Evenki. For many of the children in the first grade Evenki (i.e. Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki or rarely Solon) is even the best language, but the school reverses the situation and establishes Khamnigan Mongol as the principal means of oral communication, while Standard Mongolian has not yet had any definitive breakthrough in the village. Incidentally, Written Mongolian with its conservative orthography is exceptionally well suited for Khamnigan Mongol in view of the latter's archaic phonology.

It may be mentioned here that the Solon of Hulun Buir, like those of neighbouring Heilongjiang, are currently actively developing a project for a written language of their own. The Manchurian Khamnigan, by contrast, appear to have no similar plans. This situation may reflect differences in the cultural and ethnic background, but it certainly also illustrates the fact that Written Mongolian is not considered a foreign language by the Khamnigan in the same sense as it is foreign to the Solon.

Starting from the third grade, the Khamnigan school children also study Chinese. However, since few of them have any previous knowledge of Chinese, the command of that language often remains poor. It is not uncommon that even young adults, especially women in the steppe, do not understand spoken Chinese, while Written Chinese is even less comprehensible. Incidentally, this situation is also connected with the fact that the Inner Mongolian television broadcasts, which are almost completely in Chinese, are not visible either at Adagai or at Shinebulag for a considerable part of the year, for electricity is not regularly available.

Even if the knowledge of Chinese ultimately might become more common among the Manchurian Khamnigan, this need not mean a fatal threat to the native languages, for like many other small

minorities in China, the Manchurian Khamnigan have a long polyglot tradition. Thus, in addition to the two idioms of their own, which they, of course, use in communication with their Tungusic (Solon) and Mongolic (Bargut and Buryat) neighbours, they have always been rapid to acquire the elements of the languages of their political rulers, among whom the Han Chinese only represent the most recent historical stage.

Characteristically, during the period of Russian dominance, a considerable proportion of the Khamnigan population seems to have been more or less fluent in Russian. This fluency is today mainly confined to the older generation, with only a few middle-aged Russian speakers. In a very similar way, the Japanese rule in Manchuria is still reflected by the fact that some individuals of the older generation have a command of Japanese. Typically, the knowledge of both Russian and Japanese, just like that of Chinese today, is more common among males than females. This is basically not connected with any differences in formal education, for many of the old polyglots are anyway illiterate even in Written Mongolian. The explanation is, rather, that men in the traditional Khamnigan society used to be much more mobile than women.

It is interesting to note that the relative numerical importance of the Khamnigan in the Mergel region even occasionally resulted in ethnic Russians' knowing the local languages. For instance, the single remaining Russian individual at Adagai today, a lady married to a Khamnigan, has a remarkably good command of Khamnigan Evenki. An analogous situation may still be encountered among the relatively few Han Chinese living at Adagai, for some of the local Han Chinese children have not been able to avoid learning Khamnigan Mongol. The Chinese children do not, however, attend the Mongolian school at Adagai, but travel to the Chinese school at Naaji. There are also a few Chinese adult immigrants who on purpose have studied and mastered the Khamnigan Mongol idiom.

To summarize the language situation: the Manchurian Khamnigan, notably the community in the Mergel region, have surprisingly well preserved their linguistic heritage not only through the tumultuous years of the October Revolution and the Russian Civil War, but also through the subsequent decades of the Manchurian warlords, Japanese administrators, Chinese revolutionaries, Red Guards, and

the recently increasing pressure from the expanding Han Chinese population. As a reflexion of the past decades, the old generation of the Khamnigan still reveals a knowledge of Russian and Japanese, while the language of the present-day Han Chinese administrators is also gradually becoming more widely known. At the same time, the fundamental native bilingualism of the Khamnigan population has not yet been seriously affected.

However, a clear trend may be observed, which is increasing the relative importance of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol at the expense of Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki. It remains to be seen, how soon this development may also lead to the spreading of a Mongolic idiom closer to Standard Mongolian among the Khamnigan. Certainly, all of the modern Manchurian Khamnigan appear to be able to understand the Inner Mongolian variety of Standard Mongolian, and occasionally even make efforts at imitating it. On the other hand, it is not equally easy for a normal native speaker of Standard Mongolian to understand Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol without a sufficient period of adaptation.

As to the threat of massive Sinicization, currently imperiling the existence of many considerably larger minority nationalities in China, the Manchurian Khamnigan, especially at Adagai, are in a lucky position. They still possess a basically intact ethnolinguistic structure, with whole families and even small children speaking their own language, or languages. This situation also guarantees that whatever shortcomings the following linguistic notes on Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol may contain, there will be enough time to correct them with the help of competent native speakers.

PHONOLOGY

Single vowels. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol has six singly occurring vowel phonemes, here written as *a e i o u v*. The vowel paradigm may probably be assumed to be phonologically organized as follows:

v	*i*
u	*e*
o	*a*

The paradigm is identical with that of the short or single vowels in Buryat, and is characterized by the merger of *ö and *ü into a single high rounded vowel, here written as *v*. This merger is part of the process of rotation, which is also immediately reflected in the phonetic qualities of *u and *o. No paradigmatic neutralization has, however, affected the status of the latter two phonemes, a situation which allows them to be written by the traditional symbols *u* resp. *o* in conformity with the common praxis applied for the transcription of other rotational Mongolic idioms as well. The same is true of *e, which has phonetically undergone both velarization and labialization, but may for the sake of simplicity be graphically rendered as *e* in the phonological transcription.

If the actual phonetic qualities of the vowels with regard to the back–front parametre are taken into consideration, the vowel system will take roughly the following shape:

	v	*i*
u	*e*	
o	*a*	

Thus, *i* is the only vowel phoneme which is consistently realized as a palatal segment. The vowels *v e a* are normally realized as velar

segments, with occasional slightly palatal variants. The vowels *u o*, in turn, are normally realized as highly velarized, frequently even pharyngealized, segments. In general, the vowel qualities are close to those recorded from other northeastern Mongolic idioms, notably Eastern Buryat and Bargut.

The synchronic status and diachronic background of each of the vowel phonemes may be described as follows (the Finno-Ugrian transcription system is used to render the phonetic details):

■ *a* [*a* ~ *ą*] < *a, realized as an unrounded low back vowel with slight allophonic palatalization, e.g.
an [*aŋ* ~ *ąŋ*] 'game' < *ang (Mo. *ang*)

■ *e* [*ȯ* ~ *o*] < *e, realized as a rounded middle central or back vowel, very different from its counterpart in Khalkha, and also more labialized than the corresponding vowel in Buryat, e.g.
ger [GȮR ~ GOR] 'house' < *ger (Mo. *ger*)

■ *i* [*i*] < *i, realized as a uniform unrounded high front vowel, with a varying palatalizing effect on a preceding consonant, e.g.
jil [*Ḏẑ́il*] 'year' < *jil (Mo. *jil*)

■ *o* [*ɔ* ~ *å*] < *o, realized as a rounded low back vowel, distinguished from *e* [*ȯ* ~ *o*] both by its lower tongue position and by a greater degree of velarity, e.g.
on [*ɔŋ* ~ *åŋ*] '(calendar) year' < *on (Mo. *on*)

■ *u* [*ǫ* ~ *ǫ*] < *u, realized as a rounded middle back vowel, distinguished from *e* [*ȯ* ~ *o*] by its greater degree of velarity, and often by a somewhat higher tongue position, e.g.
jun [DZǫŋ ~ DZǫŋ] 'summer' < *jun (Mo. *jun*)

■ *v* [*u* ~ *u̇*] < *ö & *ü, realized as a rounded high back or central vowel, clearly higher than *e* [*ȯ* ~ *o*], e.g.
kvl [*kʿul* ~ *kʿu̇l*] 'foot' < *köl (Mo. *köl*, Kha. *xöl*)
jvg [DZUG ~ DZU̇G] 'direction' < *jüg (Mo. *jüg*, Kha. *jüg*)

All of the vowel phonemes also occur in non-initial syllables, for there is no phonologically relevant vowel reduction of the type as is known from both Khalkha and Buryat. Oppositions in non-initial syllables are, however, governed by vowel harmony, which divides the vowels into four groups: the paired lower vowels *a u*, the paired higher vowels *e v*, the odd low vowel *o*, and the neutral high vowel

i. The neutral vowel *i* may also be called harmonically inactive, as opposed to all the other vowels, which are harmonically active. The paired vowels *a/e* and *u/v* follow the original palatal–velar harmony in a rotated form, while the odd vowel *o*, as opposed to *a*, additionally follows a rudimentary labial harmony.

Although a certain amount of allophonic reduction is naturally present especially in rapid speech, the qualities of all vowels in non-initial syllables are normally auditively clear, and correspond closely to those observed in the initial syllable. An auditively perceivable difference may perhaps only be said to be present in the case of *u*, which tends to show an increasingly narrow (high) quality towards the end of a word.

The actual combinations of the five harmonically active vowels in bisyllabic sequences are illustrated by the following examples:

a – a *kara* [*kʿara*] 'black' < *kara (Mo. *qar-a*, Kha. *xar*)
a – u *tabu* [*tʿaβu̥*] 'five' < *tabu (Mo. *tabu/n*, Kha. *tab*)
o – o *koto* [*kʿɔtʿɔ*] 'city' < *kota (Mo. *qota/n*, Kha. *xot*)
o – u *modu* [*mɔɒu̥*] 'tree' < *modu (Mo. *modu/n*, Kha. *mod*)
u – a *kura* [*kʿo̥ra*] 'rain' < *kura (Mo. *qur-a*, Kha. *xur*)
u – u *uxu* [*o̥hu̥*] 'water' < *usu (Mo. *usu/n*, Kha. *us*)
e – e *nere* [*nȯrȯ*] 'name' < *nere (Mo. *ner-e*, Kha. *ner*)
v – v *kvkv* [*kʿukʿu*] 'breast' < *kökü (Mo. *kökü/n*, Kha. *xöx*)

The mutual combinations of the two vowels *e* and *v* are diachronically complicated by a tendency to assimilate *e (apparently via *ö) into *v*. The range of this tendency should be investigated in more detail in the future, but generally it seems that the assimilation has been almost regular in the regressive direction, while it has been more sporadic in the progressive direction. Some of the exceptions from the regressive assimilation are obvious borrowings from Written Mongolian or other Mongolic idioms. The combinations in question may be illustrated as follows:

e – v *mendv* [*mȯnɒu*] 'health' < *mendü (Mo. *mendü*)
ecvs [*ǫ̇tsus*] 'end' < Mo. *ecüs* (Kha. *eces*)
v – v *kvkv* [*kʿukʿu*] 'blue' < *köke (Mo. *köke*)
tvmvr [*tʿumuʀ*] 'iron' < *temür (Mo. *temür*)

v – e *vngge* [*uŋɢȯ*] 'colour' < *öngge (Mo. *öngge/n*)
vker [*ukʿȯʀ*] 'bovine' < *üker (Mo. *üker*)

The neutral vowel *i* may occur in combination with any vowel quality. It is particularly important to note that this vowel, in difference from, for instance, Khalkha, preserves its full distinctness also when following a syllable with one of the original front vowels *e v* (as well as *i* itself). Moreover, it has almost no auditively perceivable regressive (umlaut) effect on any preceding vowel quality, including the original back vowels *a o u*. There has, consequently, been no neutralization nor translocation of the palatalness conveyed by *i* in examples of the following type:

a – i *kari* [*kʿari*] 'foreign' < *kari (Mo. *qari*, Kha. *xary*)
o – i *mori* [*mɔri*] 'horse' < *mori (Mo. *mori/n*, Kha. *mory*)
u – i *guci* [*ɢo̥ʕtśi*] 'thirty' < *guci (Mo. *guci/n*, Kha. *gucy*)
e – i *beri* [*ʙȯri*] 'daughter-in-law' < *beri (Mo. *beri*, Kha. *ber*)
v – i *bvri* [*ʙuri*] 'every' < *büri (Mo. *büri*, Kha. *bür*)
i – i *kili* [*kʿili*] 'frontier' < *kili (Mo. *kili*, Kha. *xil*)

Similarly, there has normally occurred no structural change in cases involving *i* in the initial syllable and some other vowel quality in the following syllable. In other words, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, like other varieties of Khamnigan Mongol, has no palatal breaking as is evident from the following examples:

i – a *mika* [*mikʿȧ ~ mikʿä*] 'meat' < *mika (Mo. *miq-a/n*)
i – e *sine* [*śinȯ*] 'new' < *sine (Mo. *sin-e*)
i – u *kimuxu* [*kʿimo̥hu̥*] 'fingernail' < *kimusu (Mo. *kimusu/n*)
i – v *nidv* [*niɒu*] 'eye' < *nidü (Mo. *nidü/n*)

The first example shows that the low vowel *a* following a syllable with *i* is often clearly palatalized, giving almost the impression of a new «palatal harmony». No comparable palatalization occurs in the other combinations concerned. It may be further noted that no examples seem to exist of the combination of *i* with the single vowel *o* in the following syllable.

There are, however, a few examples in which *i in the initial

syllable would seem to have been regressively assimilated by the vowel of the following syllable. These are mainly cases of the prebreaking assimilation, a development chronologically prior to breaking proper. Some of the relevant examples may also be due to recent borrowing from other Mongolic idioms. Incidentally, the list also includes the two items which may be assumed to have contained the combination *i(/*ï) – *o during an earlier stage of Mongolic:

a – a *jagaxu* [ᴅzaɣahu̯] 'fish' < *jagasu ~ *jigasu (Mo. *jiɋasu/n*)
o – o *cono* [tsɔnɔ] 'wolf' < *cono ~ *cino (Mo. *cinu-a*)
yoro [jɔrɔ] 'omen' < *yoro ~ *(y)iro (Mo. *iru-a*)
u – u *jurug* [ᴅzo̯ru̯ɢ] 'picture' < *jurug ~ *jirug (Mo. *jiruq*)
nutug [no̯tʻu̯ɢ] < *nutug ~ *nitug* [nitʻu̯ɢ] < *nitug (Mo. *nutuq*)

As may be noted, most of the above examples have an original palatal consonant as the initial segment. Normally, however, there is no sign of any kind of regressive vowel assimilation even after an initial palatal consonant, as in the following examples:

i – a *cidaku* [t̋šiᴅɑ̀kʻu̯] 'to be able' < *cida-ku (Mo. *cidaqu*)
cingnaku [t̋šiŋnɑ̀kʻu̯] 'to hear' < *cingna-ku (Mo. *cingnaqu*)
jida [ɒ́ʒ̋iᴅɑ́] 'spear' < *jida (Mo. *jida*)
sira [s̋irɑ́] 'yellow' < *sira (Mo. *sir-a*)
i – v *cidvr* [t̋šiᴅuʀ] 'hobbles' < *cidör (Mo. *cidür*)
cidkvr [t̋šiᴅkʻuʀ] 'devil' < *cidkör (Mo. *cidkür*)
sidv [s̋iᴅu] 'tooth' < *sidü (Mo. *sidü/n*, Kha. *syüd*)
silv [s̋ilu] 'soup' < *silö (Mo. *silö*, Kha. *syöl*)

In this context it may be noted that the numeral root for 'nine' shows an idiosyncratic alternation of *e* with *v*. This is certainly not due to breaking, nor necessarily to the prebreaking assimilation, but may be connected with the history of the combination *e – *ü, which normally yields *v – v*:

e – e *yere* [jɔ́rɔ́] 'ninety' < *yere (Mo. *yere/n*, Kha. *yer ~ yir*)
v – v *yvxv* [juhu] 'nine' < *ye(r)sü (Mo. *yisü/n*, Kha. *yös*)

Like the other vowel phonemes, *i* regularly preserves its distinctness

not only in the first and second syllables of a word, but in the third and all subsequent syllables as well. Thus, unlike Khalkha and some other Mongolic idioms, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shows no structural change in examples of the following type:

a – a – i *adali* [ᴀᴅali] 'similar' < *adali (Mo. *adali*, Kha. *adil*)
u – a – i *ularil* [o̯lariI] 'season' < *ularil (Mo. *ularil*, Kha. *ulirel*)

Double vowels. All of the distinct vowel qualities can also occur as phonetic long vowels. From the phonetic point of view these long vowels are apparently single long segments belonging to a single syllable, but phonologically they may be assumed to represent sequences of two identical vowel segments, i.e. double vowels. It is important to note that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol has, indeed, exactly, and only, as many distinct double vowels as it has single vowels. This situation differs from Buryat and is due to a neutralization of the opposition between the original double *öö and *ee. Both are now represented by *ee*, which, incidentally, comes rather close to the quality of the very *öö, as preserved in both Buryat and Khalkha. The system of double vowels may, consequently, be presented as follows:

vv	*ii*
uu	*ee*
oo	*aa*

The double vowels occur in all the same positions as the single vowels, and their occurrence is primarily governed by the same rules of vowel harmony. Their phonetic qualities are more or less identical with those of the corresponding single vowels.

The most interesting aspect of the double vowels concerns their diachronic sources. The principal background factor is the Common Mongolic loss of an intervocalic *x, which first led to sequences of two consecutive vowels, phonetically contracted into a single syllable. Subsequently, those sequences which involved two different vowels underwent assimilatory homogenization. As a result, the mutual distinctions between many of the original vowel combinations were neutralized. It is on this point that Manchurian Khamnigan

Mongol shows some very important independent developments. The diachronic sources of the five harmonically active double vowels may be summarized as follows:

■ *aa* represents in all positions simply the earlier sequence *axa, which has thus preserved its original distinctness, e.g.

taaraku [*tʿārakʿu̯*] 'to be correct' < *taxara-ku (Mo. *taẍaraqu*)
cagaan [*tsaγāŋ*] 'white' < *cagaxan (Mo. *caq̈an*)

■ *oo* represents the original sequences *oxa and *oxo, on the one hand, and the sequence *axu, on the other hand; it also represents the sequence *uxa, which typically occurs at the junction of a nominal or verbal stem and a following suffix; in other words, *oo* appears as the uniform neutralized reflex of all the sequences which originally involved either one of the vowels *a or *o in combination with either one of the vowels *o or *u, e.g.

too [*tʿɔ̄*] 'number' < *toxa (Mo. *toẍ-a/n*)
tooriku [*tʿɔ̄rikʿu̯*] 'to go around' < *toxori-ku (Mo. *toẍoriqu*)
boroo [*ʙɔrɔ̄*] 'rain' < *boroxa (Mo. *boroẍ-a/n*)
noor [*nɔ̄ʀ*] 'lake' < *naxur (Mo. *naẍur*, Kha. Bu. *nuur*)
galoo [*ɢalɔ̄*] 'goose' < *galaxu (Mo. *q̈alaẍu/n*, Kha. *galuu*)
abood [*aβɔ̄ᴅ*] ger. prf. 'to take' < *ab-u-xad (Mo. *abuẍad*)

■ *uu* represents the earlier sequence *uxu, which has thus preserved its distinctness with regard to the sequence *axu, e.g.

uuku [*ō̯kʿu̯*] 'to drink' < *uxu-ku (Mo. *uẍuqu* ~ *uuẍuqu*)
kuruu [*kʿo̯rū̯*] 'finger' < *kuruxu (Mo. *quruẍu/n*)

■ *ee* represents, as the sole remaining harmonic counterpart of both *aa* and *oo*, several different diachronic sources, viz. *exe, *öxe & *üxe, and *exü, e.g.

neekv [*nō̄kʿu*] 'to open' < *nexe-kü (Mo. *nexekü*)
cimee [*tśimō̄*] 'noise' < *cimexe (Mo. *cimexe/n*)
beere [*ʙō̄rȯ*] 'kidney' < *böxere (Mo. *böxer-e*, Kha. *böör*)
vglee [*uɢlō̄*] 'morning' < *öglüxe (Mo. *örlüxe*, Kha. *öglöö*)
xeel [*hō̄l*] 'tail' < *sexül (Mo. *sexül*, Kha. *süül*)
kvbee [*kʿuβō̄*] 'son' < *kübexü(n) (Mo. *kübexün*)

■ *vv*, being the harmonic counterpart of *uu*, represents only a single diachronic source, the sequence *üxü, e.g.

kvvn [*kʿūŋ*] 'man' < *küxün (Mo. *kümün*, Kha. *xün/*)
kvjvv [*kʿuʳᴅᴢū*] 'neck' < *küjüxü (Mo. *küjüxüü*)

It is obvious from the list that the two double vowels *oo* and *ee* are in the focus of all the diachronic neutralizations. It is particularly their occurrence as the reflexes of the previous sequences *axu resp. *exü which distinguishes Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol from the main dialectal varieties of both Buryat and Khalkha.

While the above examples illustrate the regular developments, there are a few special cases, which may be considered irregular:

■ *aa* also occurs as the reflex of the sequence *uxa in the numeral for 'six', which also shows the prebreaking assimilation of *i; the corresponding numeral for 'sixty', on the other hand, shows no irregular developments:

jurgaa [*ᴅᴢo̯rɢā*] 'six' < *jurgaxa ~ *jirguxa (Mo. *jirq̈uẍa/n*)
jira [*ᴅ́źirȧ*] 'sixty' < *jira (Mo. *jira/n*, Kha. *jyar*)

■ *uu/vv* seem to occur in the deverbal causative suffix *-uul-/-vvl-* irrespective of the quality of the stem-final vowel, e.g.

yabu- 'to go' : *yabuulku* [*jaβū̯lkʿu̯*] < *yabu-xul-ku
oro- 'to enter' : *oruulku* [*ɔrū̯lkʿu̯*] < *oro-xul-ku
vje- 'to see' : *vjvvlnee* [*uʳᴅᴢūlnō̄*] prs. emph. < *üje-xül-ne-

■ *uu/vv* also occur in a few deverbal nominal derivatives in cases where *oo/ee* would be expected; like the causatives cited above, the words concerned may involve derivational analogy, or they may represent borrowings from other Mongolic idioms, e.g.

xurguuli [*ho̯rɢū̯l-*] 'school' < *surga-xuli (Mo. *surq̈aẍuli*)
delgvvr [*ᴅȯlɢūʀ*] 'shop' < *delge-xür (Mo. *delgexür*)

From the auditive point of view it may be noted that the vowel qualities *u* and *o*, and particularly their various combinations as single and double segments, are not always easy to distinguish from each other. This may be so for the native speakers as well, for there are some indications of a partial combinatory neutralization of the opposition between the two vowels. Thus, it seems that no combination *u – oo* exists at the surface. Whenever such a combination would be expectable in view of historical or morphological considerations, it seems to have been replaced by *o – oo*, as is suggested by the following data:

■ *i – *axu, which regularly yields *i – oo*, yields actually *o – oo* in

a single irregular item; the development is perhaps not connected with the prebreaking assimilation, but may be due to a much later exceptional assimilation of *i into *u by the preceding labial consonant and the following labial vowel; even later *u became *o* in a regular process due to the influence of the very same labial vowel (the word has thus become homonymous with the item for 'rain', which has the completely different original structure *o – *oxa):

boroo [ʙɔrɔ̄] 'calf' < *buroo < *biroo < *biraxu (Mo. *biraẍu*)

■ *u – *uxa is a combination which commonly arises in the conjugation of one-syllable verbal stems containing the vowel *u; it seems that, although the vowel of the stem is otherwise retained as *u*, it changes morphophonologically into *o*, if it is followed by *oo* in the second syllable, e.g.

xur- 'to learn' : *xorood* [*hɔrɔ̄ᴅ*] ger. prf. < *sur-u-xad

The development of *axu and *uxa into *oo* has frequently resulted in words containing the combinations *oo – a* and *a – oo*. These combinations obviously contradict the requirements of labial harmony. In this situation the principle of labial harmony has been reformulated, so that it remains fully relevant only after a syllable containing a single *o*. Only in such a position is any subsequent low vowel automatically represented by *o* resp. *oo*, while otherwise *a* resp. *aa* are normally present. The situation is evident from the distribution of suffix allomorphs, as in the following examples:

a – oo – aa *galoogaar* [*gal*ɔ̄*gāʀ*] instr. 'goose' < *galaxu-(ga-)xar
oo – aa *ooljaa* [ɔ̄*lˌᴅzā*] prt. 'to meet' < *axulja-xa

The same diachronically motivated exception from suffixal labial harmony also applies to stems in which the double vowel *oo* occurs in combination with the neutral vowel *i*, as in the following examples:

i – oo – aa *ciloogaar* [*ʧ́ilɔ̄gāʀ*] instr. 'stone' < *cilaxu-(ga-)-xar
siboogaar [*ʃ́iβɔ̄gāʀ*] instr. 'bird' < *sibaxu-(ga-)-xar

There is, however, some uncertainty about the choice of suffix allomorphs after stems which only contain the double vowel *oo*. It seems that the application of labial harmony in such cases is the

regular norm, while the occasional non-application may be due to secondary interference from Written and Standard Mongolian. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility that the variants with no labial harmony may also be connected with the diachronic background of the lexical items concerned, as in the following:

oo – oo *boogood* [*ʙɔ̄gɔ̄ᴅ*] ger. prf. 'to descend' < *baxu-(ga-)xad
(~ *boogaad* [*ʙɔ̄gāᴅ*], Mo. *baẍuẍad*, Kha. *buugaad*)
noorooxa [*nɔ̄rɔ̄ha*] abl. 'lake' < *naxur-(a-)asa
(~ *nooraaxa* [*nɔ̄rāha*], Mo. *naẍur-aca*, Kha. *nuuraas*)
toonooxa [*tʻɔ̄nɔ̄ha*] abl. 'number' < *toxa-n-(a-)asa
(? ~ **toonaaxa*, Mo. *toẍan-aca*, Kha. *toonoos*)

Labial harmony is also complicated by the development of *uxa into *oo* at the junction of a stem and a suffix, for this means that there is a contrast of *oo* vs. *aa* in words containing one of the vowels *a u i* in the initial syllable. Stems ending lexically in *a* show in such cases the double vowel *aa*, while stems ending lexically in *u* show *oo*, as in the following pairs:

a – aa *talaar* [*tʻalāʀ*] instr. 'steppe' < *tala-xar (Mo. *tala-bar*)
karaaci [*kʻarāˌʧ́i*] act. 'watcher' < *kara-xa-ci
a – oo *naxoor* [*nahɔ̄ʀ*] instr. 'age' < *nasu-xar (Mo. *nasu-bar*)
yabooci [*jaβɔ̄ˌʧ́i*] act. 'traveller' < *yabu-xa-ci

The above examples may be compared with similar word forms and derivatives containing the combination *o – oo*. Such cases are diachronically heterogeneous in that the stem can have originally ended in both *a or *o and *u. The double vowel *oo* has also a dual diachronic motivation, for in the case of the lexical combinations *o – *a or *o – *o it is due to the effect of labial harmony, while in the case of the lexical combination *o – *u it is actually due to the development of *uxa (via *ua) into *oo*:

o – oo *kotoor* [*kʻɔtʻɔ̄ʀ*] instr. 'city' < *kotaar < *kota-xar
modoor [*mɔᴅɔ̄ʀ*] instr. 'tree' < *moduar < *modu-xar

The double vowels *oo* and *ee* also represent original sequences in

which possibly no *x has been present, i.e. *au resp. *eü. It may be recalled here that the reconstruction of these sequences is mainly based on the information from Written Mongolian orthography, and their phonological status is not quite clear. From the point of view of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol these sequences differ in no way from those containing an original intervocalic *x:

■ *oo* is the reflex of *au in a single recorded example, viz.
toolai [*t'ɔ̄lại*] 'hare' < *taulai (Mo. *taulai*, Kha. *tuulei*)
cf. *koolai* [*k'ɔ̄lại*] 'throat' < *koxolai (Mo. *qoχolai*, Kha. *xoolei*)
■ *ee* occurs as the reflex of *eü in two stems, one of which also has a lexicalized plural form:
keegen [*k'ṓgẏom-*] 'child' < *keügen ~ *-ken (Mo. *keüken*)
keeged [*k'ṓgẏoD*] 'children' < *keüged ~ *-ked (Mo. *keüked*)
teeke [*t'ṓk'ó*] 'history' < *teüke (Mo. *teüke*)
cf. *dee* [*Dṓ*] 'younger brother' < *dexü (Mo. *dexüü*)
gee [*Gṓ*] 'mare' < *gexü (Mo. *gexüü/n*)

Diphthongs. All of the harmonically active vowels also occur in sequential combinations with the neutral vowel *i*. These combinations are here, following the standard praxis, referred to as diphthongs, although from the phonological point of view they are just sequences of two vowel segments.

There are two types of diphthongs in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The first type involves *i* as the initial component: these may be termed opening diphthongs. There are basically only three different opening diphthongs, but the double vowel *ii* may be considered the fourth member of the same system:

iv	*ii*
iu	*ie*

The opening diphthongs share the background of the double vowels, for they are also ultimately connected with the contractive loss of an intervocalic *x (or *y: the two segments are impossible to distinguish from each other in the position concerned). However, unlike the double vowels, the diphthongs have not undergone any phonologically relevant assimilatory homogenization. In this respect, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol differs markedly from Khalkha, where the opening diphthongs have mostly merged with the corresponding double vowels. There is also a structural difference with regard to Buryat, where it must be assumed that the opening diphthongs have been reinterpreted in terms of palatal breaking as double vowels preceded by an element of palatalization.

The system has an obvious gap in that there are no opening diphthongs ending in the two low vowels *a o*. This situation is due to a neutralization process, which has changed the earlier diphthong *ia into the presumably less marked diphthong *ie*. Thus, the latter represents two main diachronic sources, viz. *ixa (*iya) and *ixe (*iye). The diphthong *io, representing the rounded counterpart of *ia, as required by labial harmony, may also have been present at some stage of the language in the past.

In partial contradiction with the above description, it must be noted that the missing diphthongs *ia* and *io* do occasionally occur as newly introduced marginal sequences in words or pronunciations borrowed from other Mongolic idioms, notably Written Mongolian and Bargut. There is, however, a living tendency to replace them by the diachronically regular counterpart *ie*.

The opening diphthongs are normally pronounced in a way which does not mechanically correspond to the linear sequence of the two components. The phonetic segment corresponding to the initial component *i* tends to be rather short and merges with the final transition phase of the preceding consonant, producing the effect of consonantal palatalization. On the other hand, the phonetic segment corresponding to the final component of the diphthong tends to be longer than a normal single vowel, acquiring roughly the quantity of a double vowel. This means that, in spite of the structural difference, the opening diphthongs are phonetically more or less identical with their counterparts in Buryat.

As a rather automatic phenomenon in the pronunciation of the opening diphthongs, the final component tends to have a somewhat more palatal quality than normally, due to the influence of the initial component *i*. The effect is, however, generally rather small except in the important case of the diphthong *ie*, in which the segment *e* not only shows a fully palatal quality, but also lacks the rounding which is otherwise characteristic of *e*. This peculiar realization of *ie* is

quite obviously connected with the very fact that the normal single and double occurrences of *e* are pronounced as rounded back vowels, leaving the phonetic niche of the corresponding unrounded front vowel empty.

The distribution of the opening diphthongs is, according to the interpretation adopted here, restricted to the postconsonantal position. This situation is diachronically determined, for no word-initial examples are known of the original source sequences of the opening diphthongs.

The following examples illustrate the synchronic and diachronic peculiarities of the three opening diphthongs:

■ *ie* [ˊ*ē* ~ ˊ*i̯*] < *ixa (*iya), *ixe (*iye), realized as a long unrounded front vowel, preceded by a palatalized consonant; a higher quality, reminiscent of the unrounded double high vowel *ii*, is often present after a consonant of the palatal or velar series, e.g.

nieku [*ńēkʻu̯*] 'to glue' < *nixa-ku (Mo. *nixaqu*, Kha. *naax*)
kieg [*kʻi̯ɢ*] '[type of] grass' < *kixag (Mo. *kiyaq*, Kha. *xyaag*)
kied [*kʻi̯ᴅ*] ger. prf. 'to do' < *ki-xed (Mo. *kixed*, Kha. *xiigeed*)
yarie [*jaŕē*] 'speech' < *yari-xa (Mo. *yariy-a/n*, Kha. *yaryaa*)
korie [*kʻɔŕē*] 'fence' < *kori-xa (Mo. *qoriy-a/n*, Kha. *xoroo*)
vnie [*uńē*] 'cow' < *ünixe (Mo. *üniy-e/n*, Kha. *ünee*)

■ *iu* [ˊ*ō* ~ ˊ*u̯*] < *ixu, realized as a long rounded middle back vowel, preceded by a palatalized consonant; the vowel quality is higher towards the end of a word, e.g.

niuku [*ńō̜kʻu̯*] 'to hide' < *nixu-ku (Mo. *nixuqu*, Kha. *nuux*)
kariu [*kʻaŕu̯*] 'answer' < *kari-xu (Mo. *qariɤu*, Kha. *xaryuu*)

■ *iv* [ˊ*ū*] < *ixü, realized as a long rounded high back or central vowel, preceded by a palatalized consonant, e.g.

xerivn [*hòŕūŋ*] 'cool' < *serixün (Mo. *serixün*, Kha. *serüün/*)

The two marginal diphthongs *ia* and *io* are illustrated by the following somewhat problematic examples:

ia *abia* [*aɓā*] 'speech sound' < Mo. *abiya/n* (Kha. *abyaa*)
~ *abie* [*aβʻē*] (a fully adapted alternative pronunciation)

io *koriod* [*kʻɔŕɔᴅ*] appr. 'about twenty' < Ba. *xoryood*
pro **koried* (the presumable normal pronunciation)

Secondary influence from other Mongolic idioms might also be the explanation of the occasional occurrence of the double vowel *ee* instead of the expected diphthong *ie*. It cannot be excluded, however, that the phenomenon has deeper diachronic roots:

■ *ee* occurs as the only attested pronunciation in at least one item, which in Written Mongolian would imply the sequence *ixe:

jee [*ᴅzō*] 'grandchild' < *jexe (Mo. *jixe*, Kha. *jee*)

■ *ie* alternates with *ee* in the pronunciation of two items:

kejie [*kʻòˌdźē*] 'when' < *kejixe (Mo. *kejixe*)
~ *kejee* [*kʻòˌᴅzō*] (? < Ba. *xejee*) < *kejexe
nilied [*nilʼēᴅ*] 'fairly' < *nilixed (Mo. *neliyed*)
~ *nileed* [*nilōᴅ*] (? < Ba. *nileed*) < *nilexed

It should be evident from all of the above discussion that the sequence *ie* is in many ways exceptional among the opening diphthongs. Not only is the frequency of its occurrence clearly much greater than that of the other opening diphthongs, but it also has the peculiarity of being neutral from the point of view of vowel harmony. In this respect, as well as in its phonetic realization, it is closely reminiscent of the high vowel *i* (*ii*). A more detailed elaboration of the status of the diphthong *ie* may be left for the future, but it must be noted already here that its origin as a distinct sequence must be closely connected with Northern Tungusic influence. Not surprisingly, a similar sequence, with some minor differences, also occurs in Dagur, the other Mongolic idiom which has had intensive contacts with Tungusic.

The second type of diphthongs involves *i* as the final component: these may be termed closing diphthongs. All the five theoretically possible sequences do actually occur, and the double vowel *ii* may again be considered an additional member of the system:

vi	*ii*
ui	*ei*
oi	*ai*

The closing diphthongs are connected with the loss of an intervocalic *y (or *x). Unlike many other Mongolic idioms, Manchurian Kham-

nigan Mongol normally preserves the closing diphthongs as clearly diphthongoid sequences, without any consistent tendency towards monophthongization. This is particularly so in the initial syllable, where occasionally a weak transitional glide may even be heard between the two components of these diphthongs. However, increasingly monophthongoid pronunciations are possible towards the end of a word especially in the case of the three harmonically interrelated diphthongs *ai oi ei*.

The bicomponential character of the closing diphthongs is also manifest in the prosodic fact that both components tend to be independently stressed. The main stress may be said to lie on the first component if the diphthong is part of an open syllable, and on the second component if it is part of a closed syllable. In the latter case, the diphthong often produces the impression of a bisyllabic structure, leaving open the question of the relevance of the whole concept of syllable in this context. This is also the most typical environment for the occurrence of a transitional glide, particularly in the diphthongs *ai oi ui*, containing original back vowels.

Another peculiarity is that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, unlike both Khalkha and Buryat, preserves the diphthong *ei* as distinct from the double vowels *ii* and *ee*. There is also no neutralization between *ui/vi* and *ii* in non-initial syllables, as is the case in Khalkha. For these reasons, the double vowel *ii* is actually a rather rare sequence in independent lexical items. It occurs, however, more commonly at the junction of stems and suffixes.

The diachronic background and phonetic realizations of the closing diphthongs, as well as of the double vowel *ii*, are illustrated by the following examples:

■ *ai* [*ą(j)i ~ ą̆ĕi*] < *ayi, normally realized as a clear sequence of a slightly palatalized low unrounded back vowel and a high unrounded front vowel, occasionally with an additional short palatal transition phase between the two components, e.g.

airag [*ąiraɢ*] 'airak' < *ayirag (Mo. *airaq*)
ail [*ąil ~ ąjil*] 'camp' < *ayil (Mo. *ail*)
dalai [*ᴅaląi ~ ᴅalą̆ĕi*] 'sea' < *dalayi (Mo. *dalai*)
kalaakai [*kʿalākʿąi*] 'nettle' < *kalaxakayi (Mo. *qalaqai*)

■ *ei* [*ȯi ~ ȯ̆ĕi ~ ei*] < *eyi, realized as a sequence of a middle rounded to unrounded central to front vowel and a high unrounded front vowel, with an occasional transitional phase between the two components, e.g.

deilkv [*ᴅeilkʿu*] 'to cope with' < *deyil-kü (Mo. *deilkü*)
beelei [*ʙōlȯ̆ĕi ~ ʙōlei*] 'glove(s)' < *bexeleyi (Mo. *bexelei*)
erbeekei [*ȯrʙōkʿȯi*] 'butterfly' < *erbexekeyi (Mo. *erbexekei*)

■ *ii* [*ī*] < *iyi, realized as a uniform long high unrounded front vowel, with a palatalizing effect on the preceding consonant, e.g.

ijii [*iʲᴅ́ʒ́ī*] 'mother' < *ijiyi (Mo. *ejii*)
konii [*kʿɔnī ~ kʿɔńī*] acc. 'sheep' < *koni-yi (Mo. *qoni-yi*)

■ *oi* [*ɔ(j)i ~ ɔ̆ĕi*] < *oyi (in all syllables) & *ayi (in non-initial syllables, due to labial harmony), realized as a sequence of a low rounded back vowel and a high unrounded front vowel, with an occasional palatal transition phase between the two components, e.g.

oi [*ɔi*] 'forest' < *oyi (Mo. *oi*)
oiro [*ɔirɔ*] 'close' < *oyira (Mo. *oir-a*)
nokoi [*nɔkʿɔi ~ nɔkʿɔ̆ĕi*] 'dog' < *nokayi (Mo. *noqai*)
korokoi [*kʿɔrɔkʿɔi*] 'insect' < *korokayi (Mo. *qoroqai*)

■ *ui* [*u(j)i*] < *uyi, realized as a sequence of a high rounded back vowel and a high unrounded front vowel, e.g.

Xuin Gol [*hujiŋ‿ɢɔl*] topon. 'Hui River' < Mo. *Qui-yin Q̈ool*
kargui [*kʿarɢui*] 'road' < *karguyi (Mo. *qarq̈ui*)

■ *vi* [*u̇i*] < *üyi, realized as a sequence of a high rounded central vowel and a high unrounded front vowel:

kvixv [*kʿu̇ihu*] 'navel' < *küyisü (Mo. *küisü/n*)
tedvi [*tʿȯᴅu̇i*] 'so much' < *tedüyi (Mo. *tedüi*)

Special developments are connected with the following two groups of examples:

■ *ai* and *oi* may probably be considered the regular reflexes of the earlier sequences *aya resp. *oya & *oyo, in very much the same way as in Dagur; however, the sequences *aya* resp. *oyo* also occur as alternative pronunciations due to secondary influence of Written Mongolian and other Mongolic idioms, e.g.

bair [*ʙąiʀ ~ ʙąjiʀ*] 'joy' < *bayar (Da. *bair*)
~ bayar [*ʙajaʀ*] < Mo. *bayar* (Kha. *bayer*)
koir [*kʿɔiʀ ~ kʿɔjiʀ*] 'two' < *koyar (Da. *koir*)

~ *koyor* [*kʿɔjɔʀ*] < Mo. *qoyar* (Kha. *xoyer*)

■ *vi* is the regular reflex of *eyi in the combinations *ö – *eyi and *ü – *eyi, as is also the case dialectally in Buryat and Khalkha, e.g.

jvgvi [*ɒzuɣùi*] 'bee' < *jögeyi (Mo. *jögei*)
vgvi [*uɣùi*] 'absent' < *ügeyi (Mo. *ügei*)

From the point of view of labial harmony it may be noted that the distribution of the diphthongs *ai* and *oi* in non-initial syllables is basically governed by the rule which requires *oi* after an occurrence of the single vowel *o* in the preceding syllable, while *ai* is used after any occurrences of *a* as well as after the double vowel *oo*. This means that the two diphthongs seem to be in a complementary distribution as far as non-initial syllables are concerned. There is, however, the possibility of a contrast at least for some speakers in that both diphthongs occur after an initial syllable involving the neutral vowel *i*. This contrast is certainly marginal, for the combination *i – oi* is only attested in a single item, which alternatively also occurs with the assimilated vocalism *o – oi*. Nevertheless, the difference between *ai* and *oi* in non-initial syllables is obviously not a matter of mere allophonic alternation:

i – ai *mikai* [*mikʿäi*] acc. 'meat' < *mika-yi (Mo. *miq-a-yi*)
i – oi *siroi* [*s̈irɔi*] 'earth' < *siroyi (Mo. *siroi*)
~ *soroi* [*s̈ɔrɔ̆ĕi*], cf. Ba. Kha. *syorei*

A difficult phonological problem is connected with certain morphological and derivational suffixes in which the diphthongs *ai ei oi* tend to lose their mutual distinctness at the phonetic level. An example is the denominal possessive derivative suffix, also used as the comitative case ending, which according to the rules of vowel harmony should have the three allomorphs *-tai/-tei/-toi*. In fact, these allomorphs do occur in careful speech, particularly after monosyllabic stems. For instance, after a monosyllabic stem with the vowel *a* the ending can have a phonetic shape which may well be phonologically assumed to represent the allomorph *-tai*:

a – ai *gartai* [*gaʀtʿăĕi*] com. 'hand' < *gar-tai (Mo. *ǧar-tai*)
tantai [*tantʿăĕi*] com. 'you' < *tan-tai (Mo. *tan-tai*)

In normal speech, however, especially after bisyllabic or longer stems, the ending appears in an invariant phonetic shape with no auditively perceivable difference between the harmonic allomorphs. The diphthong that can be heard in such cases corresponds best to the definition of *ei*, although the final component is often inaudible due to a strong tendency towards monophthongization. The situation remains open to various phonological explanations, but it may be tentatively suggested that it is a question of a phonologically relevant neutralization of *ai* and *oi* into the presumably less marked sequence *ei*. The three potential allomorphs *-tai/-tei/-toi* can, consequently be assumed to be represented by the uniform neutralized shape *-tei*, as in the following examples:

e – e – ei *neretei* [*nȯrȯtʿei ~ nȯrȯtʿē*] 'named' < *nere-tei
u – a – ei *duratei* [*ɒo̯ratʿei ~ ɒo̯ratʿē*] 'fond of' < *dura-tai
o – i – ei *xonintei* [*hɔnintʿei ~ hɔnintʿē*] 'interesting' < *sonin-tai

In examples of the above type, the diphthong *ei* is neutral from the point of view of vowel harmony. It may be recalled that a similar status characterizes the corresponding opening diphthong *ie*. However, the latter's neutral status is regular and relevant for all syllables, while the closing dipthong *ei* occurs as a neutral sequence only optionally in certain suffixal elements.

Consonants. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol has some 17 consonant phonemes, which may be rendered as follows:

p	*t*	*c*	*k*
b	*d*	*j*	*g*
	ss	*s*	*x*
m	*n*		*ng*
	r		
	l		
		y	

The paradigm divides the consonants into four series according to the place of articulation: the labials *p b m*, the dentals *t d ss n r l*, the palatals *c j s y*, and the velars *k g x ng*. According to the mode of

articulation, seven different classes are distinguished: the strong stops *p t c k*, the weak stops *b d j g*, the fricatives *ss s x*, the nasals *m n ng*, the vibrant *r*, the lateral *l*, and the glide *y*. Two of the consonants, the strong labial stop *p* and the dental fricative *ss*, are diachronically secondary and may still be considered marginal units, since they mainly occur in loanwords. The status of the glide *y* is also open to discussion, for its distinction with regard to the high front vowel *i* is a matter of phonological interpretation. It may be noted that no corresponding labial glide is present in the system. However, the labial glide **w* could perhaps also be included in the paradigm as a marginal phoneme, occurring, for instance, in Chinese personal names (as of the type Chi. *Wang*).

The diachronic development as well as the synchronic allophonic variation of the consonant phonemes may be seen as a complex function of both the place and the mode of articulation. Therefore, the consonants are in the following presented in groups organized according to a combination of the two parametres.

To begin with the weak stops *b d g*, which probably represent the minimally marked mode of consonant articulation, these segments can freely occur in all positions within a word, i.e. word-initially, intervocalically, preconsonantally, postconsonantally, and word-finally. Their normal pronunciation is that of a weak voiceless to voiced stop sound, which in the labial and velar series tends to be spirantized between vowels. Diachronically the weak stops derive in all positions directly from the corresponding proto-segments, with the major exception that the weak dental stop also represents the original fricative **s* in syllable-final position. This is an important case of positional merger, which places Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol in one group with Buryat and Bargut, as distinct from the Khalkha type of Mongolic idioms.

The spirantization of the weak labial stop *b* in intervocalic position means that this consonant can positionally take over the function of the marginal labial glide **w*. Thus, in foreign items borrowed by Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *b* is the segment which naturally replaces any intervocalic labial glides or related sounds of the original language.

The phonetic and diachronic peculiarities of the weak stops can be illustrated as follows:

■ *b* [ʙ ~ *b* ~ *β*] < *b, realized as a weak labial stop, which is spirantized intervocalically but never postconsonantally, e.g.

bee [ʙō] 'shaman' < *böxe (Mo. *böxe*)
abu [*aβu̯*] 'father' < *abu (Mo. *abu*)
Ebeengki [*ǒβōŋkʻi*] 'Ewenki', cf. Mo. *Ewengki*
sibiecike [*s̆iβ´ē̯ʦ̆ik*ʻ*ǒ*] 'candle' < Ru. *svéchka*
kvbci [*kʻuʙ̯ʦ̆i*] 'forest' < *köbci (Mo. *köbci*)
nilbuxu [*nilʙo̯hu̯*] 'tear' < *nilbusu (Mo. *nilbusu/n*)
arba [*arʙa*] 'ten' < *arba (Mo. *arba/n*)

■ *d* [ᴅ ~ *d*] < *d (in all positions) & *s (in syllable-final position), realized as a weak dental stop, never spirantized, e.g.

doo [ᴅō] 'song' < *daxu (Mo. *daxu/n*)
kuda [*kʻo̯ᴅa*] 'relative through marriage' < *kuda (Mo. *quda*)
jed [ᴅzǒᴅ] 'copper' < *jes (Mo. *jes ~ jed*)
Kitad [*kʻitʻåᴅ*] 'Chinese' < *kitad (Mo. *Kitad*)
Orod [*ɔrɔᴅ*] 'Russian' < *oros (Mo. *Oros*)
kagad [*kʻaɣaᴅ*] 'half' < *kagas (Mo. *qaq̈as*)
bodku [*ʙɔᴅkʻu̯*] 'to rise' < *bos-ku (Mo. *bosqu*)
neidkv [*nǒiᴅkʻu*] 'to fly' < *neis-kü (Mo. *niskü*, Bu. *niidexe*)
urudku [*o̯ru̯ᴅkʻu̯*] 'to flow' < *urus-ku (Mo. *urusqu*)
vmvdkv [*umuᴅkʻu*] 'to dress' < *emüs-kü (Mo. *emüskü*)
vbvdkv [*uβuᴅkʻu*] 'to be ill' < *öbed-kü (Mo. *ebedkü*)

■ *g* [ɢ ~ *g* ~ *γ*] < *g, realized as a weak velar stop, which is spirantized intervocalically but normally not postconsonantally, e.g.

gvreexv [*ɢurōhu*] 'beast' < *görüxesü (Mo. *görüxesü/n*)
berigen [*ʙǒriɣǒŋ*] 'elder brother's wife' < *berigen (Mo. *bergen*)
belge [*ʙǒlɢǒ*] 'sign' < *belge (Mo. *belge*)
xeergee [*hō̆rɢō*] 'backwards' < *söxerge-xe (Mo. *söxerge*)
beleg [*ʙǒlǒɢ*] 'gift' < *beleg (Mo. *beleg*)

It may be worth emphasizing that there is no phonological opposition between the stop and spirant pronunciations of the velar segment *g*. Thus, unlike certain varieties of Khalkha, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol exhibits a partial morphological neutralization between consonant stems ending in *g* and vowel stems ending in *ga*, as in the following pair:

g *bag* [*ʙaɢ*] 'bundle' < *bag (Mo. *baq*, Kha. *bag*)

: *bagaaxa* [*baγāha*] abl. id. < *bag-(a-)asa (Kha. *bagaas*)
ga *baga* [*baγa*] 'small' < *baga (Mo. *baq̈-a*, Kha. dial. *baq*)
: *bagaaxa* [*baγāha*] abl. id. < *baga-asa (Kha. dial. *baqaas*)

The strong stops *p t k* probably represent the marked counterparts of the corresponding weak stops, and have a distribution restricted to the syllable-initial position. They are pronounced as fully voiceless segments, with a more or less clear phase of postaspiration but no spirantization. From the point of view of diachrony, the two segments *t* and *k* derive from the corresponding proto-segments with no active change in their paradigmatic status. In other words, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol lacks the spirantization development of *k which is to a varying extent characteristic of most other Mongolic idioms. In borrowings *k* can stand for both *k* and *x* in the original. Similarly, the new phoneme *p* stands for both *p* and *f* of the original language.

The strong stops may be illustrated as follows:

■ *p* [*pʿ*] (normally in borrowings only), realized as a strong voiceless labial stop, followed by a phase of aspiration, e.g.
peijii [*pʿòi˛ɒ́ƶ̄ī*] 'airplane' < Chi. *fēijī*
Yapoon [*japʿɔ̄ŋ*] 'Japanese' < Ru. *yapón-*
■ *t* [*tʿ*] < *t, realized as a strong voiceless dental stop, followed by a phase of aspiration, e.g.
takie [*tʿakʿē*] 'domestic fowl' < *takiya (Mo. *takiy-a/n*)
kamtu [*kʿamtʿu̯*] 'together' < *kamtu (Mo. *qamtu*, Kha. *xamt*)
■ *k* [*kʿ*] < *k, realized as a strong voiceless velar stop, followed by a phase of aspiration, e.g.
kana [*kʿana*] 'wall' < *kana (Mo. *qan-a/n*, Kha. *xan*)
xvke [*hukʿò*] 'axe' < *süke (Mo. *süke*)
ssaakar [*sākʿaʀ*] 'sugar' < Ru. *sáxar* (cf. Bu. *saaxar*)

There remain two more stop consonants, which call for special comments: the palatal stops *j* and *c*. From the paradigmatic point of view these segments are actually in no way different from the other stops. Thus, in the paradigm *c* is the strong counterpart of *j* in very much the same way as the segments *p t k* are the strong counterparts of *b d g*, respectively. However, there are certain phonotactic and allophonic peculiarities which do distinguish the palatal stops from the other stops.

The main phonotactic peculiarity of the palatal stops is that they never occur in syllable-final position. It is true, this restriction is only relevant for the weak palatal stop *j*, as the strong stops are anyway excluded from the syllable-final position. The whole situation reflects ancient diachronic circumstances and is not connected with any particular phonological developments in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol alone. Thus, in a simple diachronic analysis the palatal stops may be considered to stand in a direct one-to-one relationship with the corresponding proto-segments.

The phonetic peculiarities of the palatal stops are connected with the fact that their principal articulatory and auditive property is actually not palatalness in the proper sense, but sibilant affrication. Although it seems that the affrication moment can to a varying extent be accompanied by allophonic palatalness irrespective of contextual factors, it is normal for most speakers to use the palatal allophones only in the position before the vowel *i* (including the double vowel *ii* and the opening diphthongs *ie iu iv*). Before the vowels *a e o u v*, on the other hand, the most common allophones can be characterized as dental affricates, although the pronunciation also seems to involve a certain dorsal activity.

It may be recalled in this context that the vowel *i* has an automatic palatalizing effect on any preceding consonant. For most consonants this effect is auditively small and may well be considered transcriptionally negligible, but the palatal stops show a somewhat greater positional variation in that the allophones preceding *i* often receive a distinct hushing quality, while otherwise a more hissing sound is present. This situation is reminiscent of many other Mongolic idioms, in which, however, the interference of palatal breaking has led to the phonological separation of the allophones concerned. In Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol it is still a question of a completely allophonic variation.

It deserves to be specially noted that the palatal stops, like the velar stop *k*, have not undergone any spirantization in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. On the contrary, in borrowings the segment *j* occasionally functions as the substitute for a voiced fricative sound of the type *z* of the original language.

The allophonic variation of the palatal stops is illustrated by the following data:

■ *j* [DZ/ḎŹ/ḎŽ ~ *dz/d'ź/d'ž*] < *j, realized as a weak voiceless to voiced dental to palatal sibilant affricate, e.g.

jam [DZam ~ ḎŹam] 'road' < *jam (Mo. *jam*)
gajar [GaꜜDZaR ~ GaꜜḎŹaR] 'place' < *gajar (Mo. *q̈ajar*)
jierkele [ḎŽ̄ERk'ȯlȯ] 'mirror' < Ru. *zérkalo*
Kaji [k'aꜜd'ž̄i] topon. 'Haji' < *kaji (Mo. *Qaji*)

■ *c* [*ts'/ťś'/ťš̄'* ~ *ts/ťś/ťš̄*] < *c, realized as a strong voiceless dental to palatal sibilant affricate, followed by a phase of aspiration, which normally merges with the affrication effect, e.g.

ceceg [tsȯꜜtsȯG ~ ťśȯꜜťśȯG] 'flower' < *ceceg (Mo. *ceceg*)
ciki [ťš̄ik'i] 'ear' < *ciki (Mo. *ciki/n*)
gacie [Gaꜜťš̄e] 'village' < *gacixa (Mo. *q̈acaẍ-a/n*)

In their phonetic realizations, the palatal stops are closely parallelled by the fricative *s*, which is also realized as a sibilant sound vacillating between dental and palatal qualities. In fact, the three consonants *c j s* form the backbone of the palatal series, which could simply be termed the sibilant series were it not that the consonant paradigm also comprises the non-sibilant palatal segment *y* as well as the non-palatal sibilant segment *ss*. From the diachronic point of view, however, the sibilant *s* must, in the first place, be examined in its relationship to the velar fricative *x*, for both segments derive from a common source, the original fricative *s.

Just as in the case of the development *s > *d* in syllable-final position, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol follows the Buryat pattern in that *s in syllable-initial position has been paradigmatically split into the two phonemes *s* and *x* depending on the quality of the following vowel. The palatal sibilant *s* remains the modern representative of *s before the vowel *i*, while before all other vowels *s has undergone velarization and is represented by *x*. This situation, which must have originated as an allophonic alternation, has become phonologically relevant through the fact that *s* has also taken over the role of the earlier palatal sibilant *s̈, which was marginally present in the proto-system of consonants. Thus, in the modern system of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, *s* can also occur before

vowels other than *i* and contrasts in this position with *x*. On the other hand, *x* is never attested before *i*.

As the differentiation of *s* vs. *x* was originally connected with the syllable-initial position, no similar opposition ever arose syllable-finally in the inherited language material. However, while in the modern language *x* continues to be phonotactically unacceptable in syllable-final position, there are occasional examples of a synchronic syllable-final *s*. All of the examples available so far are recent borrowings from either Written Mongolian or other languages. It may be noted that this distributional circumstance creates a minor phonotactic difference between the palatal fricative *s* and the corresponding palatal stops *j c*.

The most recent stage in the development of the fricative system is connected with the appearance of the new phoneme *ss*. The latter is nothing else but a distinct non-palatal, or dental, sibilant consonant before vowels other than *i*. The origination of this new phoneme is due to borrowings, and its paradigmatic status is still somewhat unstable in that it can occasionally be replaced by *x*. The situation suggests that *ss* represents the marked member of the pair in its opposition with regard to *s*. In this respect, the relationship between *s* and *ss* is paradigmatically different from that between *j c* and *d t*, for in the case of the stops it may be assumed that the palatal, or sibilant, segments are more marked than the non-palatal, or non-sibilant, segments.

The postulation of a difference in markedness between *s* and *ss* means that the less marked *s* may be assumed wherever no contrast with *ss* is possible. As a matter of fact, such a contrast is possible only word-initially, for in all other positions the various developments connected with the original *s have resulted in a situation where a new *s* can be introduced in borrowings without any of the remaining distinctions being lost. The occurrence of *ss* is, consequently, restricted to the word-initial position.

Phonetically the interpretation suggested above means that a word-initial non-palatal, or dental, sibilant sound may be interpreted as an occurrence of the phoneme *ss*, while a more or less similar sound in any other position may be identified with the phoneme *s*. The latter phoneme also has more clearly palatal allophones, which typically occur before the vowel *i* and tend to exhibit a quality of the

hushing type. Before other vowels the hushing quality is normally attested in the crucial word-initial position only.

As for the velar fricative *x*, this consonant is generally pronounced as a rather weak segment reminiscent of its diachronic counterpart of the type *h* in Buryat. However, since no spirantization of the velar stop *k has taken place in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, the fricative *s > *x* can freely vary between the velar and laryngeal qualities, coming occasionally close to the realizations of *k > *x* in other Mongolic languages and dialects.

Although the situation described above may probably be taken as regular for all speakers of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, it is interesting to note the apparent easiness with which many (even illiterate) speakers can restore the original *s for *x* whenever they wish to make their speech sound more like Standard Mongolian. This restoring of *s is occasionally accompanied by the innovatory substitution of *x* for *k. At the same time, hardly any speaker is able to imitate any other characteristics of Standard Mongolian, notably the vowel system. The resulting hybrid dialect is, incidentally, reminiscent of certain forms of Siberian and Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol recorded earlier.

The question concerning the development of *s in the various forms of Khamnigan Mongol would, without doubt, deserve a more careful investigation. At this stage it may only be noted that, although normal Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol in this respect clearly belongs to the Buryat type of Mongolic idioms, the Evenki dialect spoken by the Manchurian Khamnigan is throughout characterized by the preservation of *s in all positions. This is certainly an important clue to the understanding of the ethnohistorical origins of the bilingualism of the Manchurian Khamnigan.

The synchrony and diachrony of the three fricative phonemes in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol may be illustrated as follows:

■ *x* [*h* ~ *χ*] < *s (syllable-initially before vowels other than *i), realized as a weak laryngeal or velar fricative, e.g.

xara [*hara*] 'moon' < *sara (Mo. *sar-a*)
kuxu [*kʰo̯hu̯*] 'birch' < *kusu (Mo. *qusu/n*)

■ *s* [*s* ~ *ś* ~ *s̈*] < *s (syllable-initially before *i, elsewhere mainly in borrowings) & *s̈ (syllable-initially before vowels other than *i),

realized as a voiceless dental to palatal sibilant fricative, e.g.

sibar [*s̈iβaʁ*] 'mud' < *sibar (Mo. *sibar*, Kha. *syaber*)
sasin [*s̈as̈iŋ*] 'religion' < *s̈asin (Mo. *s̈asin*, Kha. *syasin/*)
sugui [*s̈o̯ɣui*] 'forest' < *s̈ugui (Mo. *siqui*, Kha. *syugui*)
togsiur (*siboo*) [*tʻoɢs̈u̯ʁ* (*s̈iβɔ̄*)] 'woodpecker' < *togsixur
asuudal [*asō̯ɒal*] 'question' < Mo. *asaxudal*
civske [*ʦ̈ūskʻó*] 'pig' < Ru. *chúshka*
istool [*istʻɔ̄l*] 'table' < Ru. *stol*
ulus [*o̯lu̯s*] 'country' < Mo. *ulus*

■ *ss* [s] (word-initially only, in borrowings), realized as an invariable voiceless dental sibilant fricative, e.g.

ssandali [*sanɒali*] 'chair' < Mo. *sandali* (Kha. *sandil*)
ssoyoltei [*sɔjɔʟtʻē*] 'educated' < Mo. *soyoltai* (Kha. *soyeltee*)
ssvvliv [*sūlˊū*] 'plastic' < Chi. *sùliào*
ssuragci [*so̯raɢtʃ̈i*] 'student' < Mo. *suraqci* (Kha. *suregcy*)
~ *xuragci* [*ho̯raɢtʃ̈i*] (cf. also Ba. *xuregsi*)

cf. *xur-* 'to learn' < *sur- (Mo. *sur-*)

Ssolonggos [*sɔlɔŋɢɔs*] 'Korean' < Mo. *Solongqos*

cf. *Xoloon* [*hɔlɔ̄ŋ*] 'Solon' (Mo. *Solon*)

Proceeding to the nasal consonants *m n ng*, it is immediately obvious that they parallel paradigmatically the non-palatal weak and strong stops *b d g* resp. *p t k*. Conspicuously, there is no palatal nasal phoneme. However, what makes the nasals different from all other consonants is their phonotactic behaviour, which is strongly connected with various positional restrictions.

In fact, the three nasals can contrast in two types of position only: between vowels and before another nasal consonant. It is in these positions in which the velar nasal *ng* can occur as a distinct segment. This is, of course, interesting in itself, for the diachronic counterpart of the Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol intervocalic velar nasal is a sequence of the type *ng+g* in many other Mongolic idioms, including Khalkha. A true segmental intervocalic velar nasal is, however, present in Bargut.

It may be mentioned that the nasal consonant which can follow a distinct *ng* is quite often a suffix-initial *n*, which actually goes back to the lateral *l. It remains open to discussion whether the sequence concerned, i.e. *ng+n*, could be phonologically interpreted

simply as *g+n*, as is the situation both phonologically and phonetically in certain other Mongolic idioms, including both Khalkha and Buryat in their standard forms.

Both word-initially and word-finally only two distinct nasal consonants can occur. Word-initially these consonants can be easily recognized as *m* and *n* in view of their phonetic realizations. The word-final situation is more problematic, for the sounds which occur phonetically would rather suggest the segments *m* and *ng*. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the latter segment actually represents the phoneme *n* in this position. Both paradigmatic and syntagmatic criteria support the idea that *n* is the least marked member of the nasal system. Therefore, *n* must be present wherever no contrast with *ng* is possible. Morphophonologically this interpretation means that a word-final *n* can represent two different stem-final morphophonemes, *n* and *ng*, which preserve their distinctness before a suffix beginning with a vowel or a nasal.

The neutralization of the mutual distinctions between the nasal consonants goes even further in the homorganic nasal-plus-stop clusters, for in these the quality of the nasal is fully predicted by the following stop segment. In a consistent interpretation this would mean that the phonological shapes of the clusters in question should be written in terms of the minimally marked nasal *n*, i.e. *n+b*, *n+d*, *n+g* resp. *n+p*, *n+t*, *n+k*. This interpretation is, however, not adopted here, for it would lead to morphophonological problems in connection with stems ending in the labial nasal *m* (which would then appear with *n* before a following labial stop, although no phonetic alternation is present). The nasal-plus-stop clusters are, consequently, written here with the actual phonetic assimilation indicated, i.e. as *m+b*, *n+d*, *ng+g* resp. *m+p*, *n+t*, *ng+k*. This graphical solution also facilitates the incorporation of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol material into conventional-type intra-Mongolic comparisons.

As a further minor detail it must be mentioned that it remains unclear to which extent the nasals *n* and *ng* can contrast in the position before the sibilant *s*. There seems to be uncertainty about this point among the speakers, and the situation is complicated by the possibility of secondary interference from Written Mongolian and other Mongolic idioms. However, it would be tempting to assume

that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol preserves the heterorganic sequence *ng+s* among its many archaic features. A somewhat similar case of archaism is connected with the preservation of *m+d* as a lexical cluster, while most other Mongolic idioms tend to exhibit a homorganic sequence of the type *n+d*.

The nasal consonants may be illustrated as follows:

■ *m* [*m*] < *m (in cases of regressive assimilation also < *n & *ng), realized as a rather invariable labial nasal, e.g.

moo [*mɔ̄*] 'bad' < *maxu (Mo. *maẍu*)
emeel [*ȯmȱl*] 'saddle' < *emexel (Mo. *emexel*)
dumdadu [*ᴅǫmᴅaᴅu̥*] 'middle' < *dumda-du (Mo. *dumdadu*)
umbaku [*ǫmʙakʿu̥*] 'to swim' < *umba-ku (Mo. *umbaqu*)
nom [*nɔm*] 'book' < *nom (Mo. *nom*)

■ *n* [*n*] < *n (in all positions) & *ng (word-finally and in cases of regressive assimilation), normally realized as a dental nasal, but word-finally pronounced as a velar nasal (which in casual speech may be reduced to mere vocalic nasalization), e.g.

naraxu [*narahu̥*] 'pine' < *narasu (Mo. *narasu/n*)
vnege [*unȯγȯ*] 'fox' < *ünege (Mo. *ünege/n*)
vndvgv [*unᴅuγu*] 'egg' < *öndege (Mo. *öndege/n*)
anci [*anᵗśi*] 'hunter' < *angci (Mo. *angci/n*)
nidunin [*niᴅǫniŋ*] 'last year' < *nidunin (Mo. *nidonun*)
baisin [*ʙa̧iśiŋ*] 'building' < *baising (Mo. *baising*)

■ *ng* [*ŋ*] < *ng (in cases of regressive assimilation also < *n), realized as a velar nasal (never word-initially), e.g.

baisinguud [*ʙa̧iśiŋū̥ᴅ*] pl. 'building' (Mo. *baising-ud*)
angaaxa [*aŋāha*] abl. 'game' (Mo. *ang-aca*)
angnaku [*aŋnakʿu̥*] 'to hunt' < *ang-la-ku (Mo. *angnaqu*)
dungsiur [*ᴅǫŋśū̥ʀ*] 'hundred million' < Mo. *dungsiẍur*
ungsiku [*ǫŋśikʿu̥*]'to read' < *ungsi-ku (Mo. *ungsiqu*)
~ *unsiku* [*ǫnśikʿu̥*] (cf. Kha. *unsix* vs. Ba. *ungsixe*)

The vibrant *r* and the lateral *l* may perhaps be viewed as a single group of liquid consonants, although it is not immediately clear whether they share any synchronically relevant phonological characteristics. In any case, both are basically sonorant dental consonants, which show a phonetic tendency to become voiceless word-finally

and before a strong stop. This tendency is considerably more prominent in *r* than in *l*, for the latter consonant in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol never shows the quality of the voiceless fricolateral segment which corresponds to it in modern Khalkha. Distributionally *r* shares the peculiarity of *ng* in that it cannot occur word-initially. This restriction originally also concerned *l*, but the latter has secondarily extended its distribution to the word-initial position, although the examples are mainly recent loanwords.

The following data serve to illustrate the liquid consonants:

■ *r* [*r* ~ *řŘ* ~ ʀ] < *r, realized as a voiced or positionally voiceless dental vibrant sound (never word-initially), e.g.

arasien [*araś̆ēŋ*] 'mineral spring' < *(a)rasian (Mo. *rasiyan*)
siree [*śirō̆*] 'table' < *sirexe (Mo. *sirexe/n*)
erte [*ȯʀtʿȯ*] 'early' < *erte (Mo. *erte*)
kabur [*kʿaβuřŘ*] ~ [*kʿaβuʀ*] 'spring' < *kabur (Mo. *qabur*)

■ *l* [*l* ~ *l̆L̆* ~ ʟ] < *l, realized as a voiced or positionally voiceless dental lateral sound, e.g.

laampa [*lāmpʿa*] 'lamp' < Ru. *lámpa*
kele [*kʿȯlȯ*] 'language' < *kele (Mo. *kele/n*)
xalki [*halkʿi*] ~ [*hal̆L̆kʿi*] 'wind' < *salki (Mo. *salki/n*)
altan [*al̆L̆tʿaŋ*] ~ [*aʟtʿaŋ*] 'golden' < *altan (Mo. *altan*)
vbvl [*uβul*] ~ [*uβul̆L̆*] 'winter' < *ebül (Mo. *ebül*)

The last consonant phoneme to be discussed is the glide *y*, which may be regarded as an asyllabic counterpart of the high unrounded front vowel *i* word-initially and intervocalically. It may be described and illustrated as follows:

■ *y* [*j* ~ *i̯*] < *y, realized as a low-friction voiced palatal spirant, differing from the vowel *i* mainly in terms of minute details in intensity and quantity, e.g.

yeke [*jȯkʿȯ*] 'big' < *yeke (Mo. *yeke*, Kha. *yix*, Bu. *yexe*)
yaaji [*jāˌɒ́ʒ̆i*] ger. imprf. 'how' < *yaxa+ki-ji (Mo. *yakiju*)
naya [*naja*] pro **nai* 'eighty' (? < Ba.) < *naya (Mo. *naya/n*)
nayaad [*najāɒ*] appr. 'about eighty' (? < Ba.) < *naya-xad

It is evident from the data that *y* never contrasts with *i*, for the two

segments stand in complementary distribution. However, the assumption that *y* could be phonologically interpreted as a positional variant of *i* would lead to complications in the presentation of the opening diphthongs. The latter clearly form a closed system with only a limited number of vowel phonemes occurring as the final segment, while no similar restrictions are connected with the the vowel following *y*. It is, nevertheless, important to note that no sequence *y+i*, distinguishable from the double vowel *ii*, is attested in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol.

Sandhi. There are two main types of phenomena which can affect the phonological shape of a word, if it is pronounced in liaison with a following word, with no pause intervening. These phenomena may be termed the vowel sandhi and the nasal sandhi, respectively.

The vowel sandhi involves the deletion of a word-final single vowel before a word-initial vowel immediately following it, as in the examples below:

a + o *kaana ociku* 'where will (he) go' (Mo. *qan-a ociqu*)
> *kaan_ociku* [*kʿān‿ɔˌtś̆ikʿu̯*]
e + o *erte olku* '(it) will be early' (Mo. *erte bolqu*)
> *ert_olku* [*ȯʀtʿ‿ɔlkʿu̯*]
o + i *kotooxa ireebi* 'I came from town' (Mo. *qota-aca ire-*)
> *kotoox_ireebi* [*kʿɔtʿɔ̄h‿irō̆βi*]
u + u *Dumdadu Ulus* 'China' (Mo. *Dumdadu Ulus*)
> *Dumdad_Ulus* [*ɒo̯mɒaɒ‿o̯lu̯s*]
v + v *kvkv vngge* 'blue colour' [Mo. *köke öngge*]
> *kvk_vngge* [*kʿukʿ‿uŋɢȯ*]

The range and exact phonological significance of the vowel sandhi remain to be clarified in the future, but it seems, in any case, that the phenomenon does not affect a word-final *i*. Although the latter vowel as a word-final segment may also occasionally be reduced in liaison almost to zero, its presence is clearly signalled by the palatalization of the preceding consonant, as in the following cases:

i + o *xvni oloo* '(it) became night' (Mo. *söni bol-*)
= *xvni_oloo* [*huńi̯‿ɔlɔ̄*]

vdesi oloo '(it) became evening' (Mo. *üdesi bol-*)
= *vdesi_oloo* [*uɒ́ɔ́ʃ̑_ɔlɔ̄*]

In a single exceptional word stem, the item for 'day', the initial vowel can be deleted in certain established expressions, in which the stem functionally acts as a suffix. The phenomenon obviously reflects a development chronologically much prior to the normal vowel sandhi:

vdvr: *urji-dvr* [*o̤rɪ́ǯɪ̈ɒ́ɯʀ*] 'the day before yesterday'
vcvgvl-dvr [*uɪtsʻuɣulɒ́ɯʀ*] 'yesterday'
mvnee-dvr [*munɔ̄ɒ́ɯʀ*] 'today'
vglee-dvr [*uɢlɔ̄ɒ́ɯʀ*] 'tomorrow'
nvgee-dvr [*nuɣɔ̄ɒ́ɯʀ*] 'the day after tomorrow'

A similar, but a more complicated type of exceptionality is connected with the negative element (-)*vgvi* (negation of existence or possession), which also loses its initial vowel and becomes a suffix if it follows a word ending in a vowel sequence (a double vowel or a diphthong). However, if the preceding word ends in a single vowel, the whole expression seems to follow the regular pattern of the vowel sandhi, with the first of the two consecutive vowels being deleted. If the preceding word ends in a consonant, no segmental deletion takes place. The following are some examples:

vgvi: *gar vgvi* = *gar-vgvi* [*ɢar_ɯɣʉi*] 'handless'
kvl vgvi = *kvl-vgvi* [*kʻul_ɯɣʉi*] 'legless'
nere vgvi > *ner-vgvi* [*nɔ́r_ɯɣʉi*] 'nameless'
nidv vgvi > *nid-vgvi* [*niᴅ_ɯɣʉi*] 'eyeless'
irekv vgvi > *irek-vgvi* [*irɔ́kʻ_ɯɣʉi*] '(he) will not come'
kamaa vgvi > *kamaa-gvi* [*kʻamɑ̄_ɣʉi*] 'irrelevant'

The examples demonstrate the fact that the suffixal status of the negative element concerned is considerably less well developed in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol than in, for instance, Khalkha and Buryat, for in the latter two languages the suffix variant lacking the initial vowel regularly occurs not only after a preceding stem-final vowel, but also after a consonant.

As to the nasal sandhi, it is a phenomenon automatically affecting any word-final occurence of the unmarked nasal *n*, assimilating the latter's place of articulation to that of an immediately following word-initial stop consonant. In the framework adopted here, such regressive assimilation may be considered to be phonologically relevant for the cases involving either a labial or a velar stop, as illustrated below:

n + *b* *xain bainanta gv* 'how are you' (cf. Mo. *ta sain bain-a-uu*)
> *xaim_bainanta gv* [*hɑ̨im_ʙɑ̨inanʻa_ɣu*]
n + *g* *vixvn kvnvg* 'birch-bark bucket' (Mo. *üisün könüg*)
> *vixvng_kvnvg* [*ʉihuŋ_kʻunuɢ*]

Before a dental stop and also, in view of the absence of a distinct palatal nasal phoneme in the paradigm, before a palatal stop, no phonologically relevant assimilation takes place, for the word-final nasal is preserved as an unmarked segment, as in, for instance:

n + *d* *kadan deere* 'on the hill' (Mo. *qadan dexer-e*)
= *kadan_deere* [*kʻaᴅan_ɒ̄ró*]
n + *c* *dvrben cagtu* 'at four o'clock' (Mo. *dörben caq-tu/r*)
= *dvrben_cagtu* [*ᴅurʙɔ́n_tsaɢtʻu*] ~ [*-n_ʃ́saɢtʻu*]

In all other cases a word-final unmarked nasal is realized as a more or less clear velar segment. It has already been noted above in connection with the presentation of the nasal system that this phonetic velarity need not be regarded as phonologically relevant. However, if there is phonetic liaison with a following vowel or non-stop consonant, it may be reasonable to incorporate the velarity into the phonological transcription, as in the following:

n + *v* *kaloon vdvr* 'hot day' (Mo. *qalaẍun edür*)
> *kaloong_vdvr* [*kʻalɔ̄ŋ_ɯᴅuʀ*]

The choice of the transcriptional approach is in this case somewhat problematic, and the question should be reexamined in the future in the context of a more comprehensive analysis of the sandhi phenomenona. It may suffice here to point out once again that the word-final appearance of a velar nasal is not specifically connected with the

final velar nasal morphophoneme which is present in certain stem morphemes. Instead, any word-final unmarked nasal, irrespective of whether it morphophonologically represents *n* or *ng*, can be realized as *n*, *m*, or *ng*, depending on the rules of the nasal sandhi.

The fact that an unmarked nasal is word-finally realized as a velar segment plays a potential role as a criterion to distinguish between different types of suffixal bonds. For instance, unlike the paradigm of the case declension, the possessive paradigm of nominal stems ending in the nasal *n* follows the rules of the nasal sandhi in examples of the following type:

n	*kvvn* 'man' (cf. e.g. acc. *kvvnii*)
ng + *n*	*kvvngni* [*kʿūŋni*] poss. 3.
ng + *m*	*kvvngmini* [*kʿūŋmini*] poss. sg. 1.
	kvvngmene [*kʿūŋmónó*] poss. pl. 1.
n + *c*	*kvvncini* [*kʿūnʧíšini*] poss. sg. 2.
n + *t*	*kvvntene* [*kʿūntʿónó*] poss. pl. 2.

The application of the nasal sandhi in the possessive paradigm is, without doubt, indicative of a certain looseness of the suffixal bond involved. The situation is diachronically connected with the relatively recent completion of the process which established the suffixal status of the possessive elements. Synchronically it is, nevertheless, a question of true suffixes, as is evident from several other phonological and morphological circumstances. The possessive elements do, for instance, follow the rules of (the rotationally modified variant of) palatal harmony, a fact which unambiguously signals their adherence to the preceding nominal stem.

MORPHOLOGY

Case forms. Nominal declension in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is characterized by the typical Common Mongolic system of case distinctions. Five suffixally marked primary oblique case forms may be distinguished: accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, and instrumental. Additionally, there are the secondary comitative and abessive cases, which in the morphological system occupy a peripheral position, being intimately connected with other aspects of language structure. There may also exist other peripheral formations with more or less direct relevance to the system of case forms. Since information on various morphosyntactic details is still insufficient, it is reasonable to focus the following presentation on the material shapes of the case endings, as well as on their morphophonological relationship to the preceding nominal stem.

The unmarked noun, as opposed to the paradigm of the marked oblique case forms, may, of course, in itself also be considered a manifestation of a separate case, which, following the traditional praxis, may be termed the absolutive (nominative) case. The absolutive case form is normally identical with the oblique stem, to which the suffixes of the other cases are added. There are, however, certain complications which are discussed below.

A special pattern of behaviour is exhibited by the stems ending in the Common Mongolic unstable *-n. These stems show in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol two types of absolutive shapes: with and without the final nasal. Moreover, there seems to be some dialectal or idiolectal variation in this respect, for a nominal stem of the type concerned, as pronounced in isolation, generally lacks the unstable *-n in the speech of some speakers (as it does in Khalkha), while other speakers prefer the shape with the *-n preserved (as is the rule in Buryat). On the other hand, the nasal is invariably present in the speech of all speakers, if the noun is immediately followed by another word, i.e. in liaison. Most often such a noun acts as an

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attribute to a following noun, but it may also be a subject followed by the predicate.

The synchronic and diachronic status of the unstable *-n in the morphological and morphophonological system should obviously be subjected to a detailed analysis. At this stage, it may only be described as an element of stem extension, the occurrence of which is conditioned by a complex combination of lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic factors. Although the exact conditions involved are not yet clear, the very mechanism of the alternation may be illustrated as follows:

abs. *burgaaxu ~ burgaaxun* 'willow' (Mo. *burqasu/n*)
: *burgaaxun modu = burgaaxung_modu* 'willow tree'
modu ~ modun 'tree' (Mo. *modu/n*)
: *modun kvnvg = modung_kvnvg* 'wood(en) bucket'
boroo ~ boroon 'rain' (Mo. *boroẍ-a/n*)
: *boroon oronon = boroong_oronon* 'it is raining'

In addition to the absolutive case, the unstable *-n normally appears before the endings of the genitive and dative cases, and it may also be facultatively present in the ablative and instrumental cases. The only primary case form in which it is never present is the accusative. Graphically the unstable *-n may be conveniently expressed by the notation *-/n*, as demonstrated below:

abs. *mika/n* 'meat' = *mika(-) ~ mikan* (-) (Mo. *miq-a/n*)
nidv/n 'eye' = *nidv(-) ~ nidvn(-)* (Mo. *nidü/n*)
jagaxu/n 'fish' = *jagaxu(-) ~ jagaxun(-)* (Mo. *jiqasu/n*)
mori/n 'horse' = *mori(-) ~ morin(-)* (Mo. *mori/n*)

The stems involving the unstable *-n are opposed to stems with a stable final *n, and also to stems originally ending in the distinct velar nasal *ng. Stems of the latter two types show a uniform unmarked final *n* in absolute position. The nasal remains segmentally stable throughout the morphological paradigm, but the qualitative opposition of *n* vs. *ng* becomes manifest before a suffix-initial vowel. In order to distinguish the morphophonological patterns concerned, the stems ending in *ng may be graphically expressed by

using the notation *n/g* (which should be understood to be an abbreviation for the alternation *n : ng*, as opposed to the non-alternating *n : n*). The suggested convention may be demonstrated as follows:

abs. *an/g* 'game' = *an : ang-* (Mo. *ang*)
baisin/g 'building' = *baisin : baising-* (Mo. *baising*)

In addition to the differences in the behaviour of the three types of stems ending in *n* there seem to be no other stem-final alternations relevant to nominal declension. However, the phonological type of the stem can also influence the choice of the suffix variant. From this point of view it is necessary to distinguish two principal types of nominal stems: vowel stems and consonant stems. The vowel stems may be further divided into three subtypes: single-vowel stems (ending in a single vowel), double-vowel stems (ending in a double vowel or an opening diphthong), and diphthong stems (ending in a closing diphthong). The consonant stems, on the other hand, may be divided into two subtypes: obstruent-consonant stems and sonorant-consonant stems. The obstruents in this connection comprise not only the three stem-finally occurring stop consonants *b d g* and the fricative *s*, but also, importantly, the vibrant *r*. The sonorants comprise the nasals *m n ng*, as well as the lateral *l*. This general pattern is well known from several other Mongolic languages.

The accusative case is formed by a suffix which may perhaps be abstracted as *-ii* in its basic form. This shape of the suffix is present after consonant stems, notably those ending in the consonants *g* and *n*, as in the following examples:

acc. (*cag* :) *cagii* 'time' (Mo. *caq-i*)
(*kvvn* :) *kvvnii* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-i*)

For some speakers the shape *-ii* is normal after almost any kind of stem-final consonant. However, after stem-final consonants other than *g* and *n*, it seems also possible to use the suffix variant *-ei*, as in the data below:

acc. (*ger* :) *gerii ~ gerei* 'house' (Mo. *ger-i*)

(*gal* :) *galii* ~ *galei* 'fire' (Mo. *ġal-i*)

The phonetic difference between the suffix variants *-ii* and *-ei* is, of course, not very great, and in rapid speech it is not always obvious which one of the two is actually pronounced. The role of the segment *e* in the variant *-ei* seems to be connected with the fact that it eliminates the possibility of any phonetic palatalization of the stem-final consonant. Some degree of palatalization would otherwise be automatically present in connection with the variant *-ii*. It is interesting to note that the tendency to avoid positional palatalization in the final segment of consonant stems might actually be due to interference from Standard Mongolian, although the syntagmatic details in the latter are entirely different.

It is, in any case, evident from the data that the shape *-ei* of the accusative suffix belongs to the special instances in which the diphthong *ei* appears in non-initial syllables without any consideration of the rules of vowel harmony. However, the situation in the accusative is rather exceptional in that the suffix never, even in careful speech, seems to exhibit any harmonic alternants. The whole problem will certainly require additional research in the future.

A separate note is necessitated by the consonant stems ending in *s*, all of which are recent borrowings and apparently still occupy a marginal position in the system of nominal stems. Available evidence suggests that the accusative from these stems is always formed by the suffix variant *-ei*, as in the following:

acc. (*ecvs* :) *ecvsei* 'end' (Mo. *ecüs-i*)
(*ulus* :) *ulusei* 'country' (Mo. *ulus-i*)

The special behaviour of the stems concerned is perhaps connected with the rather peculiar allophonic patterns of the sibilant *s*. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that some speakers actually interpret the stem-final segment as *ss*, which would probably be phonotactically incompatible with the suffix variant *-ii*, and would, therefore, also require the variant *-ei*. However, this possibility can so far not be confirmed by any concrete data.

In connection with single-vowel stems the accusative ending appears in the shorter shape *-i*, as in the following examples:

acc. (*nere* :) *nerei* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-yi*)
(*tala* :) *talai* 'steppe' (Mo. *tal-a-yi*)
(*mika/n* :) *mikai* 'meat' (Mo. *miq-a-yi*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nidvi* 'eye' (Mo. *nidü-yi*)
(*jagaxu/n* :) *jagaxui* 'fish' (Mo. *jiġasu-yi*)
(*mori/n* :) *morii* 'horse' (Mo. *mori-yi*)

After double-vowel and diphthong stems, the suffix *-ii* is preceded by an epenthetic *g*, yielding the complete shape *-gii*. However, a shorter alternative, involving the shape *-gi*, seems also to be facultatively possible, as illustrated below:

acc. (*bee* :) *beegii* ~ *beegi* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-yi*)
(*galoo/n* :) *galoogii* ~ *galoogi* 'goose' (Mo. *galaẍu-yi*)
(*dalai* :) *dalaigii* ~ *dalaigi* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-yi*)

As can be seen, the overall allomorphic variation of the accusative suffix is complicated by several independent and interdependent phenomena. The above presentation summarizes the facts, but the ultimate explanation of these facts will only be possible in a more comprehensive synchronic and diachronic framework.

A rather complicated morphophonological situation is also exhibited by the genitive case. The basic shape of the genitive suffix may perhaps be abstracted as *-ein/-ain* (and possibly *-oin*), depending on vowel harmony. This shape of the suffix is observed after consonant stems. After single-vowel stems, the first vowel segment of the suffix is lost, yielding *-in*, while after diphthong stems even the second vowel segment is lost, yielding simply *-n*. The resulting variation in the suffix may be illustrated as follows:

gen. (*nere* :) *nerein* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-yin*)
(*ger* :) *gerein* 'house' (rhyming with *nerein*) (Mo. *ger-ün*)
(*dalai* :) *dalain* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-yin*)
(*tala* :) *talain* 'steppe' (rhyming with *dalain*) (Mo. *tal-a-yin*)
(*gal* :) *galain* 'fire' (rhyming with *dalain*) (Mo. *ġal-un*)
(*cag* :) *cagain* 'time' (Mo. *caq-un*)

Often, however, the distinction between the diphthongs *ei* vs. *ai*

(and possibly *oi*), present in the suffix variant used after consonant stems, is neutralized, yielding the harmonically neutral suffix shape *-ein*. This neutralization is of the facultative type described earlier, and it is conspicuously common after bisyllabic or longer stems, as in the following examples:

gen. (*ulus* :) *ulusein* 'country' (Mo. *ulus-un*)
(*kubiskal* :) *kubiskalein* 'revolution' (Mo. *qubisqal-un*)

It should be emphasized that the diphthong *ei* occurring in the genitive ending is morphophonologically and diachronically different from the diphthong *ei* of the accusative. While the diphthong of the genitive does reveal the harmonic counterpart *ai* (and possibly *oi*) in certain cases, the diphthong of the accusative can only alternate with the harmonically inactive double vowel *ii*.

A harmonically indifferent diphthong *ei* also normally appears in the genitive suffix after double-vowel stems. Here, however, the suffix is preceded by an epenthetic *g*, yielding the overall shape *-gein*, as in the following example:

gen. (*bee* :) *beegein* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-yin*)

After stems ending in the unmarked nasal *n* of both the stable and the unstable types, the genitive suffix loses the final *n*, while the suffix vocalism follows the patterns described above:

gen. (*kvvn* :) *kvvnei* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-ü*)
(*jun* :) *junai* 'summer' (Mo. *jun-u*)
(*mika/n* :) *mikanei* 'meat' (Mo. *miqan-u*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nidvnei* 'eye' (Mo. *nidün-ü*)
(*mori/n* :) *morinei* 'horse' (Mo. *morin-u*)

The above examples also illustrate the situation that the genitive of stems ending in the unstable *-/n* is normally formed from the stem variant with the nasal preserved. However, the nasal can occasionally be facultatively absent, as in the following two examples:

gen. (*jagaxu/n* :) *jagaxuin* ~ **jagaxunei* 'fish' (Mo. *jiqasun-u*)

(*galoo/n* :) *galoogein* ~ *galoonei* 'goose' (Mo. *qalaxun-u*)

As a final remark to the discussion of the accusative and the genitive, it may be noted that the material distinction between these case forms is never neutralized in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The distinction is, however, realized in several ways depending on the stem type, and it is occasionally manifest only as a difference in the vowel relationships within the suffix.

The dative suffix has the basic shape *-dv/-du*, with the two variants distributed according to palatal harmony. This shape of the suffix occurs after vowel stems and sonorant-consonant stems, as in the following set of examples:

dat. (*nere* :) *neredv* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-dü/r*)
(*tala* :) *taladu* 'steppe' (Mo. *tal-a-du/r*)
(*bee* :) *beedv* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-dü/r*)
(*dalai* :) *dalaidu* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-du/r*)
(*gal* :) *galdu* 'fire' (Mo. *qal-du/r*)
(*kvvn* :) *kvvndv* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-dü/r*)
(*an/g* :) *andu* 'game' (Mo. *ang-du/r*)
(*mika/n* :) *mikandu* 'meat' (Mo. *miqan-du/r*)
(*mori/n* :) *morindu* 'horse' (Mo. *morin-du/r*)
(*galoo/n* :) *galoondu* 'goose' (Mo. *qalaxun-du/r*)

After obstruent-consonant stems, the suffix has the shape *-tv/-tu*, as in the following examples:

dat. (*ger* :) *gertv* 'house' (Mo. *ger-tü/r*)
(*cag* :) *cagtu* 'time' (Mo. *caq-tu/r*)
(*ulus* :) *ulustu* 'country' (Mo. *ulus-tu/r*, cf. Kha. *ulsd*)

Generally, the formation of the dative case from all types of stems is remarkably regular and unambiguous. This is apparently connected with the fact that the dative suffix begins with a consonant, which can freely follow any type of stem-final segment, with no need to delete or add any segments.

More variation is again present in the ablative case, which may probably be assumed to have the basic suffix *-eexe/-aaxa/-ooxa*,

following both palatal and labial harmony. This shape of the suffix is attested after consonant stems, while after single-vowel stems the suffix appears in the shape *-exe/-axa/-oxa*. Thus, the distinction between vowel stems and consonant stems is neutralized in the ablative, as is illustrated below:

abl. (*nere* :) *nereexe* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-ece*)
(*ger* :) *gereexe* 'house' (rhyming with *nereexe*) (Mo. *ger-ece*)
(*tala* :) *talaaxa* 'steppe' (Mo. *tal-a-aca*)
(*gal* :) *galaaxa* 'fire' (rhyming with *talaaxa*) (Mo. *ğal-aca*)
(*cag* :) *cagaaxa* 'time' (Mo. *caq-aca*)
(*kvvn* :) *kvvneexe* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-ece*)
(*an/g* :) *angaaxa* 'game' (Mo. *ang-aca*)

Double-vowel and diphthong stems require an epenthetic *g* before the basic shape of the suffix:

abl. (*bee* :) *beegeexe* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-ece*)
(*dalai* :) *dalaigaaxa* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-aca*)

Stems ending in the unstable *-/n* occur in the ablative both with and without the final nasal, i.e. as both consonant and vowel stems:

abl. (*mika/n* :) *mikanaaxa* ~ *mikaaxa* 'meat' (Mo. *miqan-aca*)
(*galoo/n* :) *galoonaaxa* ~ *galoogaaxa* 'goose' (Mo. *ğalaẍun-aca*)

A further complication is that single-vowel stems ending in the vowels *i v u* show special developments at the juncture of the stem and the ablative suffix. Thus, the sequences *i+a* and *i+o* yield *ie*, while the sequences *v+e* and *u+a* yield *ee* and *oo*, respectively, in accordance with the phonological rules discussed earlier. These special developments are illustrated by the following examples (which additionally involve the stem-final alternation connected with the unstable *-/n*):

abl. (*mori/n* :) *morinooxa* ~ *moriexa* 'horse' (Mo. *morin-aca*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nidvneexe* ~ *nideexe* 'eye' (Mo. *nidün-ece*)
(*jagaxu/n* :) *jagaxunaaxa* ~ *jagaxooxa* 'fish' (Mo. *jiğasun-aca*)

From the diachronic point of view it may be mentioned that the ablative suffix in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is of the normal Common Mongolic type (< *-e-ese/*-a-asa), and not of the special metathetic type attested in Buryat (Bu. *-hee/-haa* etc.)

The instrumental case has the basic suffix *-eer/-aar/-oor*, which occurs after consonant stems. In connection with the other stem types, this suffix follows essentially the same morphophonological patterns as the ablative suffix. The instrumental case is illustrated by the following set of examples:

instr. (*nere* :) *nereer* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-ber*)
(*ger* :) *gereer* 'house' (rhyming with *nereer*) (Mo. *ger-iyer*)
(*tala* :) *talaar* 'steppe' (Mo. *tal-a-bar*)
(*gal* :) *galaar* 'fire' (rhyming with *talaar*) Mo. *ğal-iyar*)
(*cag* :) *cagaar* 'time' (Mo. *caq-iyar*)
(*kvvn* :) *kvvneer* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-iyer*)
(*bee* :) *beegeer* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-ber*)
(*dalai* :) *dalaigaar* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-bar*)
(*galoo/n* :) *galoogaar* 'goose' (Mo. *ğalaẍu-bar*)
~ *galoonaar* (Mo. *ğalaẍun-iyar*)
(*mika/n* :) *mikaar* 'meat' (Mo. *miq-a-bar* ~ *miqan-iyar*)
(*mori/n* :) *morier* 'horse' (Mo. *mori-bar* ~ *morin-iyar*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nideer* 'eye' (Mo. *nidü-ber* ~ *nidün-iyer*)
(*jagaxu/n* :) *jagaxoor* 'fish' (Mo. *jiğasu-bar* ~ *jiğasun-iyar*)

A minor morphophonological difference between the instrumental and ablative cases is contained in the fact that the stems ending in the unstable *-/n* very rarely appear with the final nasal in the instrumental, while the ablative is characterized by a more evenly balanced variation between the vowel stem and the consonant stem.

The comitative case has the suffix *-tei/-tai/-toi*, which may also be realized as the harmonically neutral variant *-tei*, as has been pointed out earlier. The stems ending in the unstable *-/n* have no final nasal before the comitative suffix. The comitative case may be illustrated as follows:

com. (*nere* :) *neretei* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e-tei*)
(*tala* :) *talatei* 'steppe' (Mo. *tal-a-tai*)

(*mika/n* :) *mikatei* 'meat' (Mo. *miq-a-tai*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nidvtei* 'eye' (Mo. *nidü-tei*)
(*jagaxu/n* :) *jagaxutei* 'fish' (Mo. *jiqasu-tai*)
(*mori/n* :) *moritei* 'horse' (Mo. *mori-tai*)
(*bee* :) *beetei* 'shaman' (Mo. *böxe-tei*)
(*galoo/n* :) *galootei* 'goose' (Mo. *qalaxu-tai*)
(*dalai* :) *dalaitei* 'sea' (Mo. *dalai-tai*)
(*ger* :) *gertei* 'house' (Mo. *ger-tei*)
(*gal* :) *galtai* ~ **galtei* 'fire' (Mo. *qal-tai*)
(*cag* :) **cagtai* ~ *cagtei* 'time' (Mo. *caq-tai*)
(*kvvn*:) *kvvntei* 'man' (Mo. *kümün-tei*)
(*an/g* :) **antai* ~ *antei* 'game' (Mo. *ang-tai*)

The problem with the comitative ending is that its adverbal use (as what would seem to be a case suffix) merges functionally with its adnominal use (as a denominal derivative suffix). Although the two types of use may be technically separated on the basis of syntactic criteria, the distinction often appears artificial. In the following two sentences, for instance, it could well be assumed that the suffix is basically a unifunctional derivative element, which can occur both adnominally and adverbally:

adv. *Moritei kvvn iree.* 'There came a man with a horse.'
adn. *Tere kvvn moritei iree.* 'That man came with a horse.'

This interpretational problem is not specially connected with Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, for most other Mongolic idioms are also characterized by the same dual use of the comitative suffix. For this reason, a more detailed treatment of the problem may be left to be carried out in a proper comparative context.

However, if the comitative is to be considered a case form, a similar interpretation will be inevitable for the construction involving the negative element (-)*vgvi*. This construction, which may be termed the abessive construction, will then also have to be viewed as a separate case form, the abessive case. It has already been pointed out that sandhi phenomena of a special kind may transform the item (-)*vgvi* into the unambiguously suffixal shape *-gvi*, although the latter does not have as wide a distribution in Manchurian Khamnigan

Mongol as it does in many other Mongolic idioms. The following examples, quoted here from the previous discussion of the sandhi phenomena, illustrate the possibility that the system of nominal declension might include a distinct abessive case:

ab. (*gar* :) *gar vgvi* = *gar-vgvi* 'hand' (Mo. *qar ügei*)
(*kvl* :) *kvl vgvi* = *kvl-vgvi* 'foot' (Mo. *köl ügei*)
(*nere* :) *ner_vgvi* = *ner-vgvi* 'name' (Mo. *ner-e ügei*)
(*nidv/n* :) *nid_vgvi* = *nid-vgvi* 'eye' (Mo. *nidü/n ügei*)

It seems especially noteworthy that the stems ending in the unstable *-/n* appear in the abessive without the stem-final nasal. Additionally, these stems, like any vowel stems, may lose the final vowel in accordance with the sandhi rules. However, these details only illustrate the syntagmatic behaviour of the abessive element, while they do not necessarily provide any solution to the problem concerning the status of the abessive as a possible case form. At the current level of knowledge, both the abessive and the comitative can probably best be described as case-like formations, which are not yet free from their original syntactic and derivational connections.

Pronouns. The morphology of pronouns involves a number of exceptional stem alternations combined with an otherwise essentially regular system of nominal declension. Differences between Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and the other Mongolic idioms are confined to certain material details.

Personal pronouns in the proper sense exist only for the 1. and 2. persons. Unlike nouns, which have plural as a facultative derivational category only (not discussed above), the personal pronouns are systematically characterized by an opposition between lexicalized singular and plural stems. The oblique forms of the 1. person plural show additionally separate stems for inclusive and exclusive use. The paradigm of the personal pronouns (with the exception of the possible abessive case) is summarized below:

	sg. 1.	sg. 2.
abs.	*bi* ~ *bii* 'I'	*ci* ~ *cii* 'thou'
gen.	*minii*	*cinii*

acc.	*namai*		*cimai*
dat.	*namadu*		*cimadu*
abl.	*namaaxa*		*cimaaxa*
instr.	*namaar*		*cimaar*
com.	*namatei*		*cimatei*

	pl. 1. excl.	pl. 1. incl.	pl. 2.
abs.		*bide* 'we'	*ta ~ taa* 'you'
acc.	*manii*	**bidenii*	*tanii*
gen.	*manai*	*bidenei*	*tanai*
dat.	*mandu*	*bidendv*	*tandu*
abl.	*manaaxa*	*bideneexe*	*tanaaxa*
instr.	*manaar*	*bideneer*	*tanaar*
com.	*mantai ~ mantei*	*bidentei*	*tantai ~ tantei*

The paradigm of the plural pronouns also shows a special formation, which may perhaps be considered a kind of directive case form ('to our : your place', semantically corresponding to formations involving the double declension genitive + dative in Written Mongolian):

dir.	*mantaasi* (cf. Mo. *man-u-du/r*)	*tantaasi*

In this connection it may be mentioned that there seem to exist no special predicative forms of the pronominal genitives. The so-called possessive pronouns of Written Mongolian are replaced by the ordinary pronominal genitives, as in the following sentences:

sg. 1. *Ene nom minii.* 'This book is mine.' (Mo. *minuki*)
pl. 1. *Ene ger manai.* 'This house is ours.' (Mo. *man-u-ki*)

The 3. person is expressed by using the demonstrative pronoun for 'that', which has two lexicalized plural stems, one of which seems to be reserved for the function as a personal pronoun ('they'), while the other one remains in the demonstrative function ('those'):

	sg.	pl. pers.	pl. dem.
abs.	*tere* 'that; he, she'	*tedeen* 'they'	*tedegeer* 'those'
obl.	*tereen-*	*tedeen-*	*tedegeer-*

In the demonstrative function the pronoun for 'that' can also be used adnominally. This circumstance allows, incidentally, the personal function to be facultatively transferred to an attributive construction involving the noun for 'man' ~ 'person' ('that person' = 'he, she', 'those persons' = 'they'):

	sg.	pl.
abs.	*tere kvvn*	*tedegeer kvvn*

An important peculiarity of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, shared by at least some forms of Bargut, is that the personally used demonstrative pronoun for 'they' is also commonly applied for 'you' in the sense of 2. person plural. The original pronoun for 2. person plural tends, correspondingly, to be confined to the polite sense of 'you' in speaking to a single person. Unfortunately, it is not clear, how widely and systematically this usage extends to the oblique forms of the pronouns concerned. In any case, the phenomenon has indirect relevance to the suffixal use of the pronouns in the possessive declension and the personal conjugation.

In its demonstrative function, the demonstrative pronoun for 'that' may also be seen as a counterpole of the pronoun for 'this'. The two pronominal roots form a series of parallel derivatives according to the well-known Common Mongolic pattern:

abs.	*ene* 'this'	*tere* 'that'
obl.	*eneen- ~ eexvn-*	*tereen-*
(kind)	*eime* 'like this'	*teime* 'such, so'
(amount)	*edvi* 'this much'	*tedvi* 'so much'
(place)	*ende* 'here'	*tende* 'there'
cf. (time)	*odoo* 'now'	

Derivational analogies to the demonstrative stems may be found in the interrogative and indefinite words, which appear as various lexicalized modifications of two basic consonantal roots complicated by irregular vowel alternations:

abs.	*ken* 'who'	*yee/n* 'what'
obl.	*ken-* : com. *kentei*	*yeen-* : com. *yeetei*

indef.		*yeeme* 'something'
cf. (kind)		*yamar* 'what kind of'
(manner)	*ker* 'how'	
(amount)	*kedvi* 'how much'	
(time)	*kejie ~ kejee* 'when'	
cf. (place)	*kaana* 'where'	

The material shapes of most pronominal stems and their derivatives are explainable by the general rules of phonological development, as established for Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. A detail of comparative interest is presented by the front-vocalicness of the stem for 'what', which seems to reflect an ancient harmonic dichotomy. The front-vocalic variant is also known to be present in Buryat and Bargut, as well as in a number of Inner Mongolian dialects:

yee- *yee/n* 'what' < *ye-xü-n (cf. Bu. Ba. *yüü/n*)
~ *ya-xu-n (cf. Mo. *yaxu/n*, Kha. *yuu/n*)
yeeme 'something' < *ye-xü-me (cf. Bu. Ba. *yüüme/n*)
~ *ya-xu-ma (cf. Mo. *yaxum-a*, Kha. *yum*)

The front-vocalic variant for 'what' contrasts with the back-vocalic item for 'what kind of', which is also vocalically related to the interrogative verb:

ya- *yamar* 'what kind of' < *yamar (< *ya-n-bar, Mo. *yambar*)
yaa- 'to do what' < *yaxa- (< *ya-xa+ki-, Mo. *ya(xa)ki-*)

Possessive forms. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns also occur as possessive suffixes attached to nouns. It has already been noted in connection with the treatment of the sandhi phenomena that the possessive suffixes are, in a way, more loosely connected with the preceding noun than, for instance, the case endings. On the other hand, phenomena such as palatal harmony suggest that it is no more a question of any independent words.

It deserves, however, to be specially noted that although the possessive suffixes do, indeed, follow palatal harmony, they seem to be indifferent from the point of view of labial harmony. This is obviously another circumstance pointing to the relative looseness of

the suffixal bond of the possessive elements. On the other hand, the situation may also be understood as suggesting that labial harmony is a receding phenomenon, which remains morphophonologically productive under limited conditions only.

The material shapes of the possessive suffixes in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol are fairly conservative, differing in the 1. and 2. persons from the corresponding indepedently occurring pronominal genitive forms only by the dropping of the final *-i. The 3. person suffix, which has a single shape for both singular and plural, is not synchronically connected with any independent pronominal stem. In its overall simplicity, especially as far as the relative scarceness of morphophonological variation is concerned, the possessive paradigm is somewhat closer to Khalkha than to Buryat.

The system of the possessive suffixes may be schematized as follows:

	1.	2.	3.
sg.	*-mini*	*-cini*	*-ni*
pl.	*-mana/-mene*	*-tana/-tene*	= sg.

A difference, as compared with the independently occurring personal pronouns, is present in the fact that the possessive suffix for 1. person plural is not differentiated into separate inclusive and exclusive forms. The circumstance that the possessive suffix corresponds in shape to the exclusive pronoun is diachronically connected with the secondary origin of the inclusive stem.

The possessive paradigm of the absolutive case for different types of stems may be illustrated as follows:

	aka 'elder brother'	*ger* 'house'	*mori/n* 'horse'
3.	*akani*	*gerni*	*moringni*
sg. 1.	*akamini*	*germini*	*moringmini*
2.	*akacini*	*gercini*	*morincini*
pl. 1.	*akamana*	*germene*	*moringmana*
2.	*akatana*	*gertene*	*morintana*

The possessive suffixes can also be attached to the case endings with no morphophonological complications involved, as below:

			koto 'city'
	gen.	instr.	abl.
3.	*morineini*	*morierni*	*kotooxani*
sg. 1.	*morineimini*	*moriermini*	*kotooxamini*
2.	*morineicini*	*moriercini*	*kotooxacini*
pl. 1.	*morineimana*	*moriermana*	*kotooxamana*
2.	*morineitana*	*moriertana*	*kotooxatana*

The syntactic and semantic rules governing the use of the possessive suffixes remain to be analyzed in the future. As a preliminary observation it may be mentioned that kinship terms relatively seldom occur without a possessive suffix. However, even they can occasionally occur without the indication of the possessive relationship, if they are preceded by an independent pronominal genitive. On the other hand, the occurrence of a pronominal genitive before a noun does not exclude the possibility of a pleonastically used possessive suffix. There are, consequently, three alternative possessive constructions, as exemplified by the following data:

sg. 1. (a) *minii ijii* 'my mother' (Mo. *minu ejii*)
(b) *minii ijiimini* id.
(c) *ijiimini* id.

At this stage it is difficult to establish, to which extent the alternative (a), involving a freely occuring pronominal genitive without a following possessive suffix, may actually be due to secondary influence from Standard Mongolian.

Reflexive forms. The Common Mongolic reflexive suffix survives in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol in the shape *-ee/-aa/-oo* after consonant stems, alternating with *-e/-a/-o* after vowel stems and *-gee/-gaa/-goo* after double-vowel and diphthong stems. In sandhi the suffix occasionally shows a final nasal, which may be written as *-/n*. Otherwise the phonological variation is similar to that observed in the ablative and instrumental suffixes:

	mori/n 'horse'	*nom* 'book'	*budaa* 'food'
refl.	*morie/n*	*nomoo/n*	*budaagaa/n*

The basic form of the reflexive paradigm, which has no case ending, may probably be considered a manifestation of the absolutive case, although syntactically it is normally used in the function of an object. In the other case forms the reflexive suffix appears in a shape required by the case ending preceding it. An exception is present in the genitive, which additionally incorporates the segment *k* between the case ending and the reflexive suffix. The dative ending also involves an irregularity in that it appears in the reflexive paradigm in the shapes *-de-/-da-/-do-* resp. *-te-/-ta-/-to-* instead of the normal *-dv(-)/-du(-)* resp. *-tv(-)/-tu(-)*.

The various case forms of the reflexive paradigm may be illustrated as follows:

aka 'elder brother'
refl. abs. *akaa/n* (Mo. *aq-a-ban*)
gen. *akaingkaa/n* (Mo. *aq-a-yin-iyan ~ aq-a-yuɤan*)
abl. *akaaxaa/n* (Mo. *aq-a-aca-ban ~ aq-a-acaɤan*)
instr. *akaaraa/n* (Mo. *aq-a-bar-iyan*)
com. *akateigaa/n* (Mo. *aq-a-tai-ban ~ aq-a-taiɤan*)

oro/n 'bed'
dat. *orondoo/n* (Mo. *oron-daɤan*)

It goes without saying that the categories of number and person are irrelevant to the reflexive suffix, which can refer in an invariable shape to any subject person.

As in the other Mongolic languages, the reflexive suffix also occurs in the composition of the absolutive and dative forms of the reflexive pronoun '(one)self'. The corresponding genitive form lacks the reflexive suffix:

eer- '(one)self' < *öxer- (Mo. *öber-*)
gen. *eerein* '(one's) own' (Mo. *öber-ün*)
refl. abs. *eeree/n* '(by) (one)self' (Mo. *öber-iyen*)
dat. *eertee/n* 'for (one)self' (Mo. *öber-texen*)

Numerals. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol preserves the Common Mongolic basic numeral stems for 1 to 9, for the tens from 10 to

90, as well as for the powers of 10 from 100 to 10,000. Higher numerals occur as borrowings from (or through) Written Mongolian. Starting from 3 all inherited numeral stems end in the unstable *-/n*. The stem for 1 also basically belongs to this type, although it lacks the final nasal in sandhi.

The numerals are morphologically nouns, but they have derivational peculiarities of their own. In the following list the cardinal stems are followed by a selection of ordinals in *-dvgeer/-dugaar* (with the suffix deriving from Written Mongolian), collectives in *-ele/-ala/-ola* (the phonological shape of the items marked with an asterisk will require additional verification in the future), and approximatives in *-(e)ed/-(a)ad/-(o)od* (with the same reservation as above for the items marked with an asterisk):

	card.	ord.	coll.	appr.
1	*nege/n*	*negedvgeer*		
2	*koir*	*koirdugaar*	**koyoola*	
3	*gurba/n*	*gurbadugaar*	**gorboola*	
4	*dvrbe/n*	*dvrbedvgeer*	*dvrbeele*	
5	*tabu/n*	*tabudugaar*	*taboola*	*tabood*
6	*jurgaa/n*	*jurgaadugaar*	*jurgaala*	
7	*doloo/n*	*doloodugaar*	**doloola*	
8	*naima/n*	*naimadugaar*	**naimaala*	
9	*yvxv/n*	*yvxvdvgeer*	*yvxeele*	
10	*arba/n*	*arbadugaar*	*arboola*	
20	*kori/n*		**koriela*	**koried*
30	*guci/n*		*guciela*	*gucied*
40	*dvci/n*		*dvciele*	*dvcied*
50	*tabi/n*		*tabiela*	*tabied*
60	*jira/n*		*jiraala*	*jiraad*
70	*dala/n*		*dalaala*	*dalaad*
80	*naya/n*		*nayaala*	*nayaad*
90	*yere/n*		*yereele*	*yereed*
100	*joo/n*	*joodugaar*	*joola*	*joogaad*
1,000	*mingga/n*	*minggadugaar*		*minggaad*
10,000	*tvme/n*	*tvmedvgeer*		*tvmeed*

A common type of construction is formed by letting the noun 'time, occasion' follow a cardinal numeral, which in these cases always lacks the stem-final nasal. The vowel sandhi normally amalgamates these constructions into fixed compounds, such as those below:

nege/n + udaa/n = neg_udaa 'once; for the first time'
dvrbe/n + udaa/n = dvrb_udaa 'four times; for the fourth time'

The numbers for which no basic numerals exist are expressed as compound numerals of the Common Mongolic type (indicated here by a dash between the components). The compound expressions involving tens and digits are based on addition, as in the following:

11 *arban-nege/n*
21 *korin-nege/n*

It is interesting to note that the sequence *-/n + n-* yields *-n-n-* and not *-ng-n-* in compound numerals of the above type. The irrelevance of the nasal sandhi in this connection points to the relatively early consolidation of the compounds concerned.

The compound expressions for higher numbers are based on both addition and multiplication, as in the following:

200 *koir-joo/n*
211 *koir-joo arban-nege/n*

The basic numerals for the powers of 10 can also be facultatively replaced by expressions implying multiplication:

100 *joo/n ~ nege-joo/n*
1,000 *mingga/n ~ nege-mingga/n ~ arban-joo/n*
10,000 *tvme/n ~ nege-tvme/n*

A non-final zero is expressed by a separate word according to the Chinese pattern (cf. Chi. *ling*). The item used in this function is actually the marginal conjunction *bvgeed* 'and' (probably borrowed from Standard Mongolian):

101 *(nege) joo bvgeed nege*

1001 (*nege*) *mingga bvgeed bvgeed nege*

The Chinese pattern is also followed in that 10,000 is taken as the basis for any higher numbers:

100,000	*arban-tvme/n*
1,000,000	*joon-tvme/n*
10,000,000	*minggan-tvme/n*
100,000,000	*dungsiur* < Mo. *dungsiχur ~ düngsixür*

The last-mentioned aspect of the numeral system is, of course, peripheral for everyday communication, and is a result of recent cultural influence from the Inner Mongolian variant of Standard Mongolian as well as Chinese.

Imperative forms. The simplest type of finite paradigm in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, as in the other Mongolic languages, is connected with the imperative forms. These are morphologically not differentiated according to any of the otherwise relevant categories of finite conjugation, i.e. tense, number, and person. Instead, the imperative forms involve oppositions semantically corresponding to different types of wish or command. The semantic and syntactic circumstances do, however, normally imply a more or less clear reference to a certain actor person.

While a definitive inventory of the imperative forms must be left to be established in the future, it is possible so far to point out the four most commonly occurring relevant forms, which may be identified by the traditional (Poppean) terms as the imperative (proper), the benedictive, the prescriptive, and the voluntative. The imperative (proper) has no ending, while the rest of the forms concerned show the endings *-gtvi* (or possibly *-gtvi/-gtui*), *-(e)erei/-(a)arai/ -(o)orai*, and *-yee/-yaa/-yoo*, respectively. The four forms may be illustrated as follows:

imp.	(*oro-* :) *oro* 'to enter' (Mo. *oro*)
	(*xur-* :) *xur* 'to learn' (Mo. *sur*)
ben.	(*ire-* :) *iregtvi* 'to come' (Mo. *iregtüi ~ -gtün*)
	(*xoo-* :) *xoogtvi* 'to sit' (Mo. *saχuqtui ~ -qtun*)

prescr.	(*ire-* :) *ireerei* 'to come' (Mo. *irexerei*)
	(*marta-* :) *martaarai* 'to forget' (Mo. *(u)martaχarai*)
vol.	(*ugaa-* :) *ugaayaa* 'to wash' (Mo. *ugiyay-a*)
	(*vje-* :) *vjeyee* 'to see' (Mo. *üjey-e*)

It may be noted that, in a comparative context, the benedictive is a form characteristic of the Buryat type of Mongolic idioms. However, as a case of archaic retention its presence in Khamnigan Mongol need not have any positive genetic or areal relevance.

The actor is typically the 1. person in the voluntative, and the 2. person in the other imperative forms. The benedictive and the prescriptive often correlate with the polite personal pronoun for 'you'. The pronoun to which a given imperative form refers can also be facultatively manifest as a separate word:

	yabu- 'to go'
imp.	(*ci*) *yabu* '(thou) go!'
	(*ta*) *yabu* '(you) go!'
ben.	(*ta*) *yabugtvi* '(you) go, please'
vol.	(*bide*) *yabuyaa* 'let us go'

The basic imperative (proper) is particularly important in the morphological system, since it is identical with the verbal stem and is therefore materially the least marked form of verbal conjugation. It also shows with the least ambiguity the stem type of any verb. The stem type, on the other hand, determines the morphophonological details of suffixation.

The presentation of the verbal stem types may be passed here with the general remark that they form a close parallel to the nominal stem types. The only major difference is that the nasal segments *m n ng* never occur as the final segment of a verbal stem. This means that the subtype of the sonorant-consonant stems may be redefined as lateral stems for the verbs. For diachronic reasons, there are also no obstruent-consonant stems ending in the fricative *s*.

Indicative forms. The indicative forms in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol are conspicuously close to Buryat, rather than Khalkha. In fact, this situation may prove to provide a major argument in favour

of the assumption that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat, with Bargut, belong to a single branch of Mongolic. It remains, however, to be established, to which extent the conjugational parallels concerned are really connected with common innovations, and to which extent they are just archaisms preserved separately by various languages. In any case, the indicative paradigm in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol also shows a number of archaisms of its own, which are not shared by Buryat.

The indicative forms fall into two temporal subparadigms, corresponding to the present and preterite tenses. The present tense has the suffix *-nen/-nan/-non* for all stem-types, while the past tense ends in *-e/-a/-o* for single-vowel stems, *-ee/-oo* for consonant stems, and *-gee/-gaa/-goo* (with an epenthetic *g*) for double-vowel and diphthong stems.

The present tense marker must go back to the original shape *-nem/*-nam, and is almost unique within Modern Mongolic in that it preserves the suffix-final nasal (also preserved in Moghol). It may be recalled that even Modern Written Mongolian has replaced the classical *-nem/-nam* by *-n-e/-n-a*. As to the morphophonological details of the present tense marker, there are no special complications connected with its suffixation. It is particularly important to note that consonant stems take no binding vowel before it. The present tense marker, as occurring in combination with different types of verbal stems, may be illustrated as follows:

prs. (*ki-* :) *kinen* 'to do' < *ki-nem (Mo. *kin-e*)
(*bai-* :) *bainan* 'to be' < *bayi-nam (Mo. *bain-a*)
(*yari-* :) *yarinan* 'to speak' < *yari-nam (Mo. *yarin-a*)
(*oro-* :) *oronon* 'to enter' < *oro-nam (Mo. *oron-a*)
(*neid-* :) *neidnen* 'to fly' < *neis-nem (Mo. *nisün-e*)

The final nasal, which distinguishes Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol from the neighbouring Mongolic idioms, can, admittedly, disappear in emphatic usage, which involves the lengthening (doubling) of the suffix vowel, as in the following data:

prs. (*vjvvl-* :) *vjvvlnee* 'to show' (Mo. *üjüln-e*)
(*bol-* :) *bolnoo* 'to be allowed' (Mo. *boln-a*)

It is unclear for the moment, whether the above type of emphatic usage is original in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, or is a phenomenon due to secondary areal influence from the neighbouring related idioms.

The preterite marker derives from the Common Mongolic imperfect participle in *-xe/*-xa. Although this element still occurs in its nominal function in lexicalized deverbal derivatives, it may in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, as in Buryat, be regarded primarily as a tense marker of the finite conjugation. An important morphophonological peculiarity is involved in the fact that consonant stems are combined with this suffix through a binding vowel, which was originally *u/*ü. The quality of this binding vowel is actually preserved in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol at the morphophonological level. Phonologically it merges with the suffix vowel to yield the observed double vowel *oo/ee* at the suffix juncture. The preterite marker may be illustrated as follows:

prt. (*ki-* :) *kie* 'to do' < *ki-xe (Mo. part. *kixe*)
(*joo-* :) *joogaa* 'to bite' < *juxa-(ga-)xa (Mo. part. *juẍaẍ-a*)
(*vje-*) *vjee* 'to see' < *üje-xe (Mo. part. *üjexe*)
(*xoli-* :) *xolie* 'to change' < *soli-xa (Mo. part. *soliẍ-a*)
(*ab-* :) *aboo* 'to take' < *ab-u-xa (Mo. part. *abuẍ-a*)

An exceptional case of stem alternation (or suffix reduplication) is exhibited by a single one-syllable vowel stem:

prt. (*ge-* :) *geegee* 'to say' < *ge-(xe-ge-)xe (cf. Mo. *keme-*)

Any finite form containing only a verbal stem and a tense marker represents the unmarked 3. person form of a complete personal paradigm. In the other persons the tense suffixes are regularly followed by personal endings, which for the 1. and 2. persons represent suffixed personal pronouns in their absolutive forms. The 3. person plural may also facultatively show a suffix, identical with the original plural marker *-d. The latter can, however, be used in the personal paradigm of the present tense only, in which case it replaces the final nasal of the suffix.

Just as in the possessive suffixes, no distinction is made in the

predicative personal endings between inclusive and exclusive forms for the 1. person plural. The personal ending is etymologically connected with the inclusive stem, which is also the only surviving stem used indepedently in the absolutive case. This circumstance may be of chronological relevance in that it suggests that the whole personal conjugation is a relatively recent innovation.

Below is a schematic presentation of the system of the predicative personal endings:

	1.	2.	3.
sg.	*-bi*	*-ci*	*-Ø*
pl.	*-bide*	*-te/-ta/-to*	*(-d)*

It is somewhat unclear, to which extent the personal endings are adapted to the rules of vowel harmony. However, as suggested in the above scheme, it seems that the ending for the 1. person plural may be considered harmonically neutral, being pronounced with a rather clear final *e* even after back-vocalic stems. On the other hand, the ending for the 2. person plural seems to follow both palatal and labial harmony, but the final vowel is occasionally pronounced so weakly that it, merging with the aspiration phase of the preceding *t*, can perhaps be interpreted as being reduced to zero, as is often the case in the corresponding ending in Buryat.

The combination of the personal endings with the tense suffixes is illustrated by the following sample paradigms:

	kara- 'to watch'		*kudaldu-* 'to sell'
	prs.	prt.	prt.
sg. 1.	*karanambi*	*karaabi*	*kudaldoobi*
2.	*karananci*	*karaaci*	*kudaldooci*
3.	*karanan*	*karaa*	*kudaldoo*
pl. 1.	*karanambide*	*karaabide*	*kudaldoobide*
2.	*karananta*	*karaata*	*kudaldoota*
3.	*karanad*	*karaa*	*kudaldoo*

Apart from the markers of the present and preterite tenses, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol seems to have no other productive tense markers in normal use. Literate speakers are, of course, familiar with

other Common Mongolic tense (resp. aspect) markers, but the latter are conceived as special features of Written and Standard Mongolian. As a kind of peripheral exception, the original perfect marker *-lüxe/ *-luxa (rendered in Modern Written Mongolian as *-l-e/-l-a*) is attested in the shape *-laa* in two synonymous lexicalized expressions, both of which are apparent borrowings from Standard Mongolian and are not conjugated in persons:

prf. (*bairla-* 'to rejoice' :) *bairlalaa* 'thank you' (Mo. *bayarlal-a*)
(*talarka-* 'to thank' :) *talarkalaa* id. (Mo. *talarqal-a*)

An important morphological circumstance is connected with the fact that the personal endings occurring after the two productive tense markers can also be attached to nominal words, yielding what may be termed a paradigm of nominal predicative conjugation. In principle, any simple or derived noun can be conjugated in this way, as is illustrated by the following derivative example:

endeki 'one being from here' (Mo. *endeki*)
pred. sg. 1. (*bi*) *endekibi* 'I am from here'
2. (*ci*) *endekici* 'thou art from here'
3. (*tere*) *endeki* 'he/she is from here'
pl. 1. (*bide*) *endekibide* 'we are from here'
2. (*ta*) *endekite* 'you [polite] are from here'
3. (*tedeen*) *endeki* 'they/you are from here'

The 3. person forms in the above paradigm are maximally simple nominal sentences with no material expression either for the person, or for the copula.

A special dimension is given to the predicative conjugation of nouns by the fact that it can be applied to the nominal forms of the verb, i.e. the participles. By means of the predicative conjugation the latter can act as predicates in the sentence, thus completing the otherwise somewhat incomplete system of finite tense forms.

Participles. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol preserves most of the special Common Mongolic deverbal nominal formations, here termed participles, which combine nominal morphology with certain charac-

teristic properties of verbal syntax. There are three fully productive and commonly occurring participles, which may be identified as the future, present, and perfect participles. Their markers are *-kv/-ku*, *-deg/-dag/-dog* and *-xen/-xan/-xon*, respectively. No morphophonological complications are connected with the suffixation of the participle markers.

The future participle corresponds to the Common Mongolic *nomen futurum* in *-kü(yi)/*-ku(yi), and refers in a very general way to both future and temporally neutral actions:

part. fut. (*ge-* :) *gekv* 'to say' < *ge-kü (cf. Mo. *kemekü*)
(*ki-* :) *kikv* 'to do' < *ki-kü (Mo. *kikü*)
(*daru-* :) *daruku* 'to press' < *daru-ku (Mo. *daruqu*)
(*xur-* :) *xurku* 'to learn' < *sur-ku (Mo. *surqu*)
(*vg-* :) *vgkv* 'to give' < *ög-kü (Mo. *ögkü*)

The present participle corresponds to the Common Mongolic *nomen usus* in *-deg/*-dag, and normally refers to habitual or continuous actions taking place in the present:

part. prs. (*ide-* :) *idedeg* 'to eat' < *ide-deg (Mo. *idedeg*)
(*oro-* :) *orodog* 'to enter' < *oro-dag (Mo. *orodaq*)
(*ssudal-* :) *ssudaldag* 'to research' (Mo. *sudaldaq*)

The perfect participle corresponds to the Common Mongolic *nomen perfecti* in *-(g)sen/*-(g)san, and refers to actions completed in the past. It may be noted that no trace is preserved of any binding vowel, which may have originally preceded the perfect participle suffix in combination with consonant stems:

part. prf. (*ge-* :) *gexen* 'to say' < *ge-(g)sen (cf. Mo. *kemegsen*)
(*yabu-* :) *yabuxan* 'to go' < *yabu-(g)san (Mo. *yabuqsan*)
(*ab-* :) *abxan* 'to take' < *ab-(u-g)san (Mo. *abuqsan*)
(*ol-* :) *olxon* 'to find' < *ol-(u-g)san (Mo. *oluqsan*)

When acting as predicates, the participles are followed by the personal endings of the nominal predicative conjugation. This is especially typical of the future and present participles, while the perfect participle is rarely used as a predicate in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. The conjugational paradigms of the participles may be illustrated as follows:

	kara- 'to watch'	
pred.	part. fut.	part. prs.
3.	*karaku*	*karadag*
sg. 1.	*karakubi*	*karadagbi*
2.	*karakuci*	*karadagci*
pl. 1.	*karakubide*	*karadagbide*
2.	*karakuta*	*karadagta*

The predicative paradigm of the future participle functions as a distinct future tense. This use is fairly common and regular, but in most cases the future can also be alternatively expressed by simply using the present tense form of the indicative finite conjugation. The predicative paradigm of the present participle, on the other hand, expresses a distinct habitual aspect of the present tense. Normally it can also be replaced by the indicative present tense form.

In connection with the participles it must be mentioned that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol also has a deverbal formation corresponding to the Common Mongolic *nomen actoris*. Unlike the participles, the latter seems to be a true noun with no verbal characteristics. Interestingly, this formation is based on the relatively uncommon suffix combination *-xe-ci/*-xa-ci, and not the normal *-g-ci, as attested, for instance, in Khalkha. The following examples illustrate the derivative concerned:

act. (*kele-* :) *keleeci* 'speaker' < kele-xe-ci (Mo. *kelegci*)
(*kara-* :) *karaaci* 'watcher' < *kara-xa-ci (Mo. *qaraqci*)
(*bici-* :) *bicieci* 'writer' < *bici-xe-ci (Mo. *bicigci ~ bicixeci*)
(*yabu-* :) *yabooci* 'traveller' < *yabu-xa-ci (Mo. *yabuqci*)
(*ab-* :) *abooci* 'taker' < *ab-u-xa-ci (Mo. *abuqci*)

Gerunds. As predicates of embedded sentences Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shows two widely-used Common Mongolic gerunds (converbs), which, following the established tradition, may be termed the imperfect and perfect gerunds. Their functional opposition

is basically of the same type as in the other Mongolic languages, with the imperfect gerund implying simultaneity and the perfect gerund implying anteriority of action, as compared with the verb acting as the syntactic head word.

The imperfect gerund has the ending *-ji* for vowel and lateral stems, and *-ci* for obstruent-consonant stems:

ger. imprf. (*ge-* :) *geji* 'to say' < *ge-ji (cf. Mo. *kemejü*)
(*ki-* :) *kiji* 'to do' < *ki-ji (Mo. *kijü*)
(*ire-* :) *ireji* 'to come' < *ire-jü (Mo. *irejü*)
(*juru-* :) *juruji* 'to draw' <*juru-ji (Mo. *jiruju*)
(*ol-* :) *olji* 'to find' < *ol-ji (Mo. *olju*)
(*ab-* :) *abci* 'to take' < *ab-ci (Mo. *abcu*)
(*naad-* :) *naadci* 'to play' < *naxad-ci (Mo. *naẍadcu*)
(*xur-* :) *xurci* 'to learn' < *sur-ci (Mo. *surcu*)

The imperfect gerund is often immediately followed by the verbal head word, and seems in such cases to have completely replaced the modal gerund in *-n, attested parallelly with the imperfect gerund in certain other Mongolic idioms, as in the following example:

ger. imprf. (*kurie-* :) *kurieji ab-* 'to receive' (Mo. *quriyan ab-*)

An important construction, shared by Khalkha and Buryat, is formed by the imperfect gerund followed by the verb 'to be, to exist'. This construction involves the sequence *-ji/-ci* + *bai-*, which may also be condensed into the harmonically indifferent single suffix *-jai-/-cai-*, as in Buryat. When conjugated in the present tense finite forms, this secondary suffixal construction functions as a kind of progressive present tense, as is illustrated by the following data:

	ger. imprf. + prs. =	prs. progr.
sg. 1.	*unsiji bainambi*	*unsijainambi* 'I am reading'
2.	*kiji bainanci*	*kijainanci* 'thou art doing'
3.	*keleji bainan*	*kelejainan* 'he is speaking'
pl. 1.	*xooji bainambide*	*xoojainambide* 'we are sitting'
2.	*kiji bainanta*	*kijainanta* 'you [polite] are doing'
3.	*untaji bainad*	*untajainad* 'they are sleeping'

The perfect gerund has the ending *-ed/-ad/-od* for single-vowel stems, *-eed/-ood* for consonant stems, and *-geed/-gaad/-good* for double-vowel and diphthong stems:

ger. prf. (*ge-* :) *geed* 'to say' < * ge-xed (cf. Mo. *kemexed*)
(*ki-* :) *kied* 'to do' < *ki-xed (Mo. *kixed*)
(*ire-* :) *ireed* 'to come' < *ire-xed (Mo. *irexed*)
(*oolja-* :) *ooljaad* 'to meet' < *axulja-xad (Mo. *aẍuljaẍad*)
(*yabu-* :) *yabood* 'to go' < *yabu-xad (Mo. *yabuẍad*)
(*ab-* :) *abood* 'to take' < *ab-u-xad (Mo. *abuẍad*)
(*ol-* :) *olood* 'to find' < *ol-u-xad (Mo. *oluẍad*)
(*uu-* :) *uugaad* 'to drink < *uxu-(ga-)xad (Mo. *uuẍuẍad*)

Compared with the conspicuously high text frequency of the imperfect and perfect gerunds, other Common Mongolic gerunds are either infrequent or completely absent in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. In addition to the modal gerund in *-n, the gerundial forms which remain unattested so far include the conditional gerund in *-bel(e)/*-bal(a) and the concessive gerund in *-beci/*-baci. The terminal gerund in *-tel(e)/*-tal(a) is attested in a single lexicalized item with the meaning 'until', which can take the possessive suffixes and form a personally differentiated terminal construction with a preceding verb in the imperfect gerund:

ger. term. (*kvr-* 'to reach' :) *kvrter* 'until' (Mo. *kürtel-e*)
: sg. 1. *yabuji kvrtermini* 'until I go'

There are, however, other morphological and syntactic means to express various types of subordination. Most importantly, the case forms of the participles, to which the possessive and reflexive endings can be added, can also act as predicates of embedded sentences. In fact, such forms have occasionally been included within the concept of gerund in Mongolic grammatical studies, but they may probably better be understood as a kind of quasi-gerunds, which formally belong to the declensional paradigm of the participles but functionally act as subordinate predicates.

A complete morphological and morphosyntactic analysis of the quasi-gerunds in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol cannot possibly be

attempted here, but a few examples may be cited. It seems that quasi-gerunds are most commonly formed from the future participle, as is exemplified by the following types of suffix complexes:

(type)	(function)
part. fut. dat. poss.	temporal or conditional
part. fut. dat. refl.	id. (referring to the subject)
part. fut. abl.	comparative
part. fut. instr.	final

The concrete sentence extracts below illustrate the above-listed suffix complexes and their functions:

caus. ... *kvcir baikuduni* ... 'Because it is difficult, ...'
caus. *Bi ... ajiltei baikudaa* ... 'Because I am busy, I ...'
temp. ... *yabukudaang_... oroobide.* 'As we went, we entered ...'
comp. *Tere yeemei abkooxa* ... 'Instead of taking that, ...'
fin. *Bi tereentei ooljakoor ireebi.* 'I came in order to meet him.'

Morphologically such case forms of the future participle are in no fundamental way different from the accusative of the same participle, which is used as an object, as in the following example:

obj. ... *ende baikuini medenembi.* 'I know that he is here.

Syntactic particles. Hereunder is understood a variety of different elements, most of which occupy a position between syntax and morphology. The details to be discussed below fall mainly under three large topics: firstly, the use of the words for existence and the copula; secondly, the forming of question; and thirdly, the expression of negation.

The discussion which follows will once more illustrate the fact that Khamnigan Mongol is a remarkably archaic language, in which the original shape and functional status of many grammatical elements is preserved better than elsewhere in Mongolic. Nevertheless, there are, even here, unmistakable signs of the Common Mongolic tendency to transform small grammatically functioning words into enclitics or suffixes.

To begin with the use of the words for existence, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol seems to have a rather weakly developed tendency to apply such words for the topicalization of the subject, or of other parts of the sentence. If, however, topicalization is required, it is normally carried out with the help of the relatively conservative word form *baigaad*, the perfect gerund of the verb *bai-* 'to be; to exist', as in the following sentence:

topic. *Manji baigaad Kitad keleer yarinan.*
'(As for) the Manchu(, they) speak (only) Chinese.

Standard Mongolian would in the above function normally use the particle *bol*, which is a truly grammaticalized shortening of the original conditional gerund *bol-bal(a). It is true, the item *bol* as a topicalizer is not completely unknown to the speakers of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, but it seems to be used by them only as a deliberate borrowing from Standard Mongolian.

As a matter of fact, both the verbal stem *bol- and the gerund suffix *-bal(a) are basically uncharacteristic of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. For this reason, the meaning 'if', which in many Mongolic idioms is also connected with the gerund form *bol-bal(a), is in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol expressed by a different word: *aaxa*. The latter obviously derives from *a-xasa (~ *a-xasu), which is the archaic conditional gerund of the ancient verbal stem *a- 'to be'. Since this verbal stem is otherwise no more productive in the idiom, the word *aaxa* could perhaps synchronically best be regarded as a conditional conjunction. Such an interpretation is, however, somewhat complicated by the fact that *aaxa*, when following a nominal predicate and referring to a subject representing the 3. person singular, normally takes the corresponding possessive suffix, yielding *aaxani*, as in the following sentence:

cond. *Jam xaing_aaxani, ociji cidakubide.*
'If the road is good, we will be able to go.'

The above type of expression is reminiscent of Buryat, where the etymological cognate of *aaxa* (Bu. *haa*) can also occur with the possessive suffixes. A further peculiarity of Manchurian Khamnigan

Mongol is, however, connected with the fact that *aaxa*(-) can also be turned into an enclitic with the simple shape *-xe*(-)/*-xa*(-). The latter occurs as a facultative variant of the full word after nominal predicates which involve a stem ending in a double vowel, as in the following example (the phonological details connected with other types of vowel stems have to be clarified in the future):

cond. *Jam moo aaxani ~ moo-xani ... ociji cidak-vgvibide.*
'If the road is bad, we will not be able to go...'

Moreover, like the corresponding element in Buryat, *aaxa*(-) can also follow a verbal predicate. The latter is typically in a personally unmarked form of the finite preterite paradigm, i.e. identical to the 3. person preterite form. Since this form happens to end in a double vowel, *aaxa*(-) is normally attached to it in the enclitic shape, yielding the complex sequence *-ee-xe*(-)/*-aa-xa*(-)/*-oo-xa*(-), which could fairly well also be interpreted as a conditional gerund suffix of verbal conjugation. The following sentence extracts illustrate the situation and the interpretational problems concerned:

cond. *Jayaat_vglee-dvr iree-xeni* ... 'If Jayaatu comes tomorrow, ...'
Bi vglee-dvr Naaji ocie-xa, ... 'If I go tomorrow to Naaji, ...'
Teim_oloo-xani, ... 'If (the matter) is so, ...'

The problem concerning the status of the enclitic variety of *aaxa*(-) should perhaps in the future be examined more closely in a comparative framework, for an analogous suffixally formed conditional gerund is also attested in Dagur (Da. *-(g)aas-*, with harmonic variants). It cannot be ruled out that the material and functional parallels exhibited by Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur in this respect are due to a concrete genetic or areal connection.

From the functional point of view it would perhaps be most correct to characterize the enclitic variety of *aaxa*(-) as the marker of a general subordinative construction, for it can occasionally refer not only to conditional but also to causal relations, as in the following:

caus. *Bi mvnee-dvr ajiltei baigaa-xa, ireji cidak-vgvibi.*
'Since I am busy today, I will not be able to come.'

Another word originally functioning as an expression for existence, but later transformed into a syntactically conditioned grammatical element, is *bei*, corresponding to Written Mongolian *bui*. In its most typical use this element functions in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, just as it does in Modern Written Mongolian, as an interrogative particle in sentences which contain an interrogative word. In such sentences the particle *bei* follows the predicate, which may be either nominal or verbal:

interr. *Ene yeem_bei?* 'What is this?'
Yee kiji bainanci bei? 'What are you doing?'
Tere kem_bei? 'Who is he?'
Ene kenei nom bei? 'Whose book is this?'
Kenii vjeeci bei? 'Whom did you see?'
Kentei ooljaaci bei? 'Whom did you meet?'
Ta kejie ireete bei? 'When did you [polite] come?'
Tedeeng_kaanaax_iree bei? 'Where did you come from?'

It seems that *bei* in sentences of the above type can still be analyzed as an independent word, but its fully grammaticalized function as well as its invariable final position make it closely reminiscent of an enclitic. It may be recalled that the same element has actually turned into an enclitic (with the shape *-b*) in both Khalkha and Buryat. The use of *bei* in interrogative sentences is, however, not fully obligatory in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. In casual speech similar questions without *bei* are possible, although they seem to be rather infrequent and untypical.

In this connection it may be noted that neither *bei*, nor any other material expression for the copula is used in normal nominal sentences, in which no interrogative word is present. The nominal predicate is simply expressed by the final syntactic position of the noun, as in the following:

pred. *Mvnee-dvr tenggeri xain.* 'The weather is nice today.'

The particle *bei* is also never used in interrogative sentences which do not involve any primary interrogative word. Instead, in such sentences another interrogative particle is used, which has the basic

shape *gv*. The latter is materially identical with the corresponding particle in Buryat (Bu. *gü*), but only distantly connected with the enclitic shape used in Khalkha (Kha. *-üü/-uu*). Like *bei*, the particle *gv* also typically occupies a final position in the sentence:

interr. *Xaing_gv?* 'Is it all right?' (i.e. 'How are you?')
Xaim_bainanta gv? 'Are you fine?' (i.e. 'How are you?')
Ende yeke xalkitei gv? 'Is it very windy here?'
Ende xooji bolku gv? 'It is all right to sit here?'
Yadaraaci gv? 'Are you tired?'

A problem with the particle *gv* is that it seems to be even more intimately connected with the preceding word than the particle *bei*. Thus, the possibility that *gv* should actually be interpreted as an enclitic lies very close at hand. However, all the phonetic and phonological changes which occur at the boundary of *gv* and the preceding word can be explained by the normal rules of sandhi. An unambiguous criterion to establish the status of *gv* would appear to be provided by vowel harmony: if it turned out that it actually has two harmonic variants, the particle should obviously be regarded as an enclitic. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to make a definitive judgement on this point. The word-final allophones of *v* and *u*, especially towards the end of long sequences of syllables, are often confusingly similar, and the lack of good minimal pairs makes various alternative interpretations possible.

Even more difficult problems of interpretation are connected with the negative element *vgvi*, which has been discussed previously from the point of view of the vowel sandhi. Although originally a noun, *vgvi* may synchronically be understood basically as a particle. The range of its syntactic distribution is, however, exceptionally wide, and in some of its occurrences it actually takes the role of a morphological element. The most independent occurrences of *vgvi* are connected with its role as a predicative negation of existence. In this function, it forms the negative counterpart of various conjugated forms of the verb *bai-*, as in the following example:

exist. *Cimad_aka bainang_gv?* 'Do you have any elder brothers?'
Vgvi. '(No, I have ~ there are) none.'

This kind of predicative use apparently underlies the role of *vgvi* as the marker of the abessive construction. It has already been pointed out that *vgvi* in this construction may well be analyzed as a derivative suffix, possibly even a case suffix. This is, in any case, true of the variant *-gvi*, in which the loss of the initial vowel formally signals the dependent status of the element.

However, the particle *vgvi* can also follow a verbal predicate, and this is a context in which its status is particularly difficult to determine. The verbal form which most frequently occurs with *vgvi* is the future participle. Like many other Mongolic idioms, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol uses such a negative future participle to negate not only the participial future itself, but facultatively also the indicative present tense. From the material point of view, the negative future participle can be analyzed as a syntactic construction, for the only phonological phenomenon present in it is the loss of the final vowel of the participle suffix in accordance with the basic rule of the vowel sandhi, as in the following example:

neg. *bolku* 'to be allowed' + *vgvi* = *bolk-vgvi* 'not allowed'

Here the disappearing segment is, indeed, the final vowel of the participle suffix, and not the initial vowel of the particle *vgvi*. Vowel harmony remains irrelevant, for *vgvi* appears in an absolutely invariable shape after both front-vocalic and back-vocalic verbal stems, as in the following subminimal pair:

neg. (*ire-* : *irekv* :) *irek-vgvi gv?* 'Will he not come?'
(*ila-* : *ilaku* :) *ilak-vgvi gv?* 'Will he not win?'

Unfortunately, not all occurrences of *vgvi* in connection with verbal predicates can be explained syntactically, and this circumstance leaves open the possibility that examples of the above type actually also involve a suffix, i.e. *-vgvi* (as indicated by the notation above). Thus, when following the temporal markers of the present and preterite tenses, as well as the present participle suffix, *vgvi* always adopts the suffixal shape *-gvi*. In such cases, it is probably justified to speak of an entire negative paradigm of verbal conjugation, as is illustrated by the following negative forms:

neg. (prs. *karanan* :) *karanang-gvi* 'he does not watch'
(prt. *karaa* :) *karaa-gvi* 'he did not watch'
(part. prs. *karadag* :) *karadag-gvi* 'he does not watch'

Moreover, the suffixal status of *-gvi* in such cases, and possibly even in the case of (-)*vgvi* in connection with the future participle, is confirmed by the peculiar fact that the negative element is actually inserted into the predicate complex before the personal ending, as is evident from the following sentence examples:

neg. *Bi nom unsinang-gvibi.* 'I don't read a book.'
Yadaraa-gvibi. 'I am not tired.'
Mika yeke idedeg-gvibi. 'I don't eat very much meat.'
Ireji cidak-vgvibi. 'I cannot come.'

It may be concluded that there is no simple solution to the problem concerning the status of the element (-)*vgvi* ~ *-gvi*. Although it might appear best motivated to regard the element consistently as a suffix, the suffixal bond is in many cases quite loose. Since this is also true of the personal endings following the negative element, it might not be completely impossible to analyse the negative predicates as syntactic constructions altogether.

In addition to *vgvi*, there are two other Common Mongolic negative particles in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. They present no serious problems of interpretation, for they can always be regarded as independent words. For the negation of identity, *bisi* is used after a noun. In this function, (-)*vgvi* ~ *-gvi* can only be used as an exceptional variant expression, possibly only in the following unique case:

neg. *adali bisi* ~ *adali-gvi* 'dissimilar; not the same'

For the negation of an imperative verb, the particle *bvv* is used before the predicate, as in the following sentence:

neg. *Nereini bvv martaarai!* 'Do not forget his name!'

Another item indirectly connected with negation is the emphatic

particle *ci*, which shares the peculiarity of *bei* and *gv* in that it is also very closely reminiscent of an enclitic in its behaviour, yet it does not exhibit any concrete indications about a truly dependent status. In sentences with the negative particle (-)*vgvi* ~ *-gvi* in the predicate complex, *ci* occurs in combination with the interrogative pronouns, transforming the latter into a kind of connegative pronouns, as in the following:

conneg. *Yee ci kie-gvibi.* 'I did not do anything.'

Since *ci* in examples of this type always immediately follows a pronoun, it is certainly on the way towards losing its independence with regard to the latter. Whether this has already happened or not, is a matter of interpretation. In fact, the same interpretational problem exists for many other Mongolic idioms.

It should be understood that the above discussion can only form a preliminary basis for a more comprehensive analysis of the problems connected with the various syntactic particles. The determination of the status of these elements with regard to the parametres analytic vs. synthetic, on the one hand, and syntactic vs. morphological, on the other, remains an intricate task, which requires additional research not only on morphology and syntax, but on phonetics and phonology, as well.

LEXICON

Inherited vocabulary. Although the information available on the lexical resources of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol is still very limited, a few issues may be examined here in order to illustrate the position of the idiom among the Mongolic languages.

In view of the overwhelming bilingualism of the population, it is obvious that the lexical resources of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki should in the future be investigated as two intimately connected parallel corpora. It is the combined resources of these two corpora that form the lexical material with which bilingual speakers operate. Nevertheless, it seems that even bilingual speakers do not freely mix up the two corpora, but prefer to keep them separate as much as possible. Casual borrowings do, of course, occur in both directions, but they are not conspicuously frequent. Moreover, they seem to be more common from Khamnigan Mongol into Evenki than vice versa.

It is also interesting to note that traces of older areal contacts between Mongolic and Tungusic survive in the two languages of the Manchurian Khamnigan without any immediate tendency to merge the etymologically related items. Thus, the overall lexicon used by bilingual speakers contains many lexical pairs with one member of the pair being used in Khamnigan Mongol and the other in Evenki. Following are just a few examples (the phonemic transcription of Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki follows the conventions adopted for Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol):

imaa/n 'goat' (Mo. *imaɤ-a/n*) ~ Ev. *imaga(a)n* id.
temee/n 'camel' (Mo. *temexe/n*) ~ Ev. *temegeen* id.
sileexv/n 'lynx' (Mo. *silexüsü/n*) ~ Ev. *sileesvn* id.
uliexu/n 'poplar' (Mo. *uliyasu/n*) ~ Ev. *uliesun* id.

Data of the above type confirm that Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol

and Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki represent, indeed, not only separate languages, but languages which have for a long time in the past developed under essentially different areal conditions. The question as to how the two idioms then ultimately came to be used by a single population, remains the main ethnogenetic problem connected with the Khamnigan.

For the understanding of the areal position of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol it is relevant to establish the extent to which the lexical resources of this idiom fall within the spheres of other Mongolic languages, and also the extent of idiosyncratic archaims and innovations. For the moment, the comparisons may mainly be limited to Khalkha and Buryat, although Dagur might also prove to be relevant to certain details.

There are only a few cases, in which Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol stands lexically truly apart from both Khalkha and Buryat. The most curious example is connected with the verb *ol-* 'to be; to become', which in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol lacks the initial consonant present in the other Mongolic languages. The variant with the initial consonant is also present in the idiom, but it only has the specialized meaning 'to be allowed':

ol- 'to be; to become' (cf. Mo. Kha. *bol-*, Bu. *bolo-*)
bol- 'to be allowed' : *bolnon* ~ *bolnoo* 'it is all right'

(Interestingly, the verb concerned is also known to have a shape without the initial consonant in the Monguor group. The possibility of a common background may, however, be too bold to be presented without a careful examination of all the details.)

A less curious but equally sporadic peculiarity, distinguishing Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol from most of the other living Mongolic idioms, is present in the following two items:

ajirga 'stallion' (Mo. *ajirɣ-a*, cf. Kha. *ajreq*, Bu. *azarga*)
gacie/n 'village' (cf. Mo. *ɣacaɤ-a/n*, Kha. *gacaa*)

In the first of the above items, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol preserves the presumably original *i of the second syllable intact, as does Written Mongolian, while Khalkha and Buryat share a second-

ary assimilatory change in the quality of this vowel. In the second item, even Written Mongolian, together with Khalkha, shows the innovatory development concerned, while there seem to be no data available from Buryat.

In cases which involve an irregular phonological, derivational, or semantic difference between Khalkha and Buryat, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol normally follows the Buryat pattern. In the following items, for instance, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shows a phonological shape basically identical with Buryat, as opposed to Khalkha and Standard Mongolian:

abu 'father' ~ Bu. *aba* (cf. Kha. *aab*)
ijii 'mother' ~ Bu. *ezhii* (cf. Kha. *eejy*)
vcvgvl-dvr 'yesterday' ~ Bu. *üsegelder* (cf. Kha. *öcigder*)
vlir 'wild apple' ~ Bu. *ülir* (cf. Kha. *örel*)
caarxu/n 'paper' ~ Bu. *saarha/n* (cf. Kha. *caas/en*)
degel 'coat' ~ Bu. *degel* (cf. Mo. *debel*, Kha. *deel*)
gajaa 'outside' ~ Bu. *gazaa* (cf. Kha. *gadaa*)
kalaakai 'nettle' ~ Bu. *xalaaxai* (cf. Kha. *xalgei*)
keeged 'children' ~ Bu. *xüüged* (cf. Kha. *xüüxed*)
mvlixv/n 'ice' ~ Bu. *mülyhe/n* (cf. Kha. *mös/en*)
nilbuxu/n 'tear' ~ Bu. *nyolboho/n* (cf. Kha. *nulmes/en*)
xvni 'night' ~ Bu. *hvni* (cf. Kha. *syön*)

In many of the above examples Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat actually share an unambiguous archaism, while Khalkha is characterized by an innovatory development. However, in the following items the archaic representation of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol has a parallel only in part of the Buryat dialects, while the other Buryat dialects show an innovatory shape more or less identical with that of Khalkha:

getexv/n 'stomach' ~ Bu. dial. *getehe/n* (cf. Kha. *gedes/en*)
kvvn 'man; person' ~ Bu. dial. *xüün* (cf. Kha. *xün/*)

On the other hand, there are very few cases in which Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shares the shape of a lexical item with Khalkha, as opposed to Buryat. The following two examples are the only ones

recorded so far, and it is not immediately clear, whether it is the Khalkha or Buryat type of representation which is innovatory here. In principle, it could even be a question of lexical borrowings from Standard Mongolian or related dialects into Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol:

kuruu/n 'finger' ~ Kha. *xuruu/n* (cf. Bu. *xurga/n*)
xvv/n 'milk' ~ Kha. *süü/n* (cf. Bu. *hü/n*)

In the following cases Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat show derivational innovations, as opposed to the presumably more original situation preserved by Khalkha:

ilaaxu/n 'fly' ~ Bu. *ilaaha/n* (cf. Kha. *yalaa/n*)
**docoo* 'inside' ~ Bu. *dosoo* (cf. Mo. *dotor-a*, Kha. *doter*)

(The internal consonant in the latter item, as opposed to *gajaa* 'outside', will have to be verified once more, and therefore the item is marked with an asterisk. The same notation will be used below in cases in which there is still some uncertainty about the phonological shape of certain lexical items.)

There are also several cases, in which Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shares a lexical item with Buryat, while a completely different stem is used in Khalkha, as in the following examples:

ondoo 'another' ~ Bu. *ondoo* (cf. Kha. *öör*)
vglee-dvr 'tomorrow' ~ Bu. *üglööder* (cf. Kha. *margaasy*)
mvnee-dvr 'today' ~ Bu. *münööder* (cf. Kha. *önööder*)
bacagan 'girl' ~ Bu. *basaga/n* (cf. Kha. *xüüxen/*)
borgooxu/n 'mosquito' ~ Bu. *borgooha/n* (cf. Kha. *batgen*)
**coku* 'forehead' ~ Bu. dial. *soxo* (cf. Kha. *magnei*)
jon 'people' ~ Bu. *zo/n* (cf. Kha. *xün* : *xümüüs*)
kvbee/n 'son' ~ Bu. *kübüü/n* (cf. Kha. *xüü*)
tariki 'head' ~ Bu. *tarxi* (cf. Kha. *tolgei*)
xamagan 'wife' ~ Bu. *hamga/n* (cf. Kha. *exner*)

Although some of the items cited above do have cognates in Khalkha, the latter are used as special dialectal or literary words, or in an

essentially different meaning. As a matter of fact, the Manchurian Khamnigan also passively know many of the words used in Khalkha and Standard Mongolian, although they would normally not use them in active speech.

It may be concluded that the lexical peculiarities of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol are generally closer to the Buryat type of Mongolic idioms than to Khalkha and Standard Mongolian. However, in most cases it seems to be a question of shared archaisms, as opposed to secondary innovations in Khalkha. On the other hand, the lexical parallels with Buryat may, of course, also partly be due to secondary areal factors, for some borrowing from Buryat into Khamnigan Mongol has certainly taken place in view of the geographical and historical connections.

Mongolian borrowings. It is not known exactly, when the first individuals literate in Written Mongolian appeared among the Manchurian Khamnigan, or among the Khamnigan, in general. However, this may have happened at least a couple of generations ago. Although many of the representatives of the old generation are still illiterate today, the middle and young generations have learnt to rely on Written Mongolian for all written communication. For this reason, the lexical resources of Written Mongolian are available to the Manchurian Khamnigan as an additional corpus, which can be used for increasing the inherited vocabulary whenever necessary.

Not surprisingly, Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol shows a rather large number of Written Mongolian loanwords. The number of such loanwords must, in fact, be even greater than can be explicitly shown, for many of the diachronic developments which are responsible for the phonological peculiarities of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol are still productive as substitutional processes in borrowings. Only such items which are phonologically not fully adapted, or which are semantically connected with clearly alien concepts, can be recognized as unambiguous loanwords.

A case in point are the words, in which the original fricative *s, when not followed by the vowel *i, is represented by *ss* word-initially or *s* elsewhere, as in the following examples:

asuudal 'question' < Mo. *asaχudal*, cf. Kha. *asuudel*

ecvs 'end' < Mo. *ecüs*, cf. Kha. *eces*
ulus 'country' < Mo. *ulus*, cf. Kha. *uls*
vndvstvn 'nationality' < Mo. *ündüsüten*, cf. Kha. *ündesten/*
bagas 'small ones' < Mo. *baqas*, cf. Kha. *baqes*
dvrsv/n 'grammatical form' < Mo. *dürsü/n*, cf. Kha. *dürs/en*
kubiskal 'revolution' < Mo. *qubisqal*, cf. Kha. *xubysgel*
ssandali 'chair' < Mo. *sandali*, cf. Kha. *sandil*
Ssolonggos 'Korean' < Mo. *Solongqos*, cf. Kha. *Solengges*
ssoyol 'education' < Mo. *soyol*, cf. Kha. *soyel*
ssuragci 'student' < Mo. *suraqci*, cf. Kha. *suregcy*

Certainly, it cannot be claimed that all of such loanwords have entered Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol directly from Written Mongolian. In many cases it is equally possible that the borrowing has taken place through the intermediation of various spoken Mongolic idioms, notably the Inner Mongolian variety of Standard Mongolian, and in some cases perhaps Buryat and Bargut.

In view of the general archaism of Khamnigan Mongol, there must have been a period in the past, when this idiom developed in isolation from the rest of Mongolic. However, after the contacts were resumed with Buryat, Bargut, and Standard Mongolian, there has been a constant infiltration of lexical influence upon Khamnigan Mongol. While loanwords in this situation are difficult to detect, it is even more difficult to identify semantic influences, which must also have been active, modifying the meaning of inherited lexical items. The following are a few examples of words which phonologically do follow the rules of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, but which have apparently received additional modern meanings due to contacts with the other Mongolic idioms:

vrgee/n *'residence' > 'station' ~ Mo. *örgüxe/n*, Kha. *örgöö*
cag 'time' : 'timepiece' ~ Mo. *caq*, Kha. *cag*
jakidal 'order' : 'letter' ~ Mo. *jakidal*, Kha. *jaxydel*
gajar 'place' : 'kilometre' ~ Mo. *qajar*, Kha. *gajer*
modu/n 'tree; wood' : Chi. 'li' ~ Mo. *modu/n*, Kha. *mod/en*

In some cases it is virtually impossible to determine, whether a given Common Mongolic word has been preserved in Manchurian Kham-

nigan Mongol as an inherited item, or has been only secondarily reintroduced due to lexical contacts. This is the case concerning words for certain basic concepts for which Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol normally uses items different from the typical Common Mongolic expressions. Since the latter are, nevertheless, also known to the Khamnigan, it remains unclear whether they are borrowings or just old synonyms which have retreated into the realm of passive vocabulary. The following are three pairs of examples:

jee- 'to nomadize' [active expression] ~ Mo. *jöxe-* 'to move'
vs. *nee-* 'to nomadize' [passive] ? < Mo. *nexü-* id.
kada/n 'mountain' [active expression] ~ Mo. *qada/n* 'rock'
vs. *oola/n* 'mountain' [passive] ? < Mo. *aχula/n* id.
kvbci 'forest' [active expression] ~ Mo. *köbci* 'ridge'
vs. *oi sugui* 'forest' [passive] ? < Mo. *oi siqui* id.

In the last-mentioned example, the regressive vowel assimilation, reminiscent of breaking, would also seem to suggest that the item is, indeed, a borrowing.

In addition to material loans, loan translations from Written and Standard Mongolian also occur in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol. They may be illustrated as follows:

jurugt_vrgee/n 'television station' < Mo. *jiruqtu örgüxe/n*
narin bicieci 'secretary' < Mo. *narin bicixeci*
neidkv onggoco/n [rare] 'airplane' < Mo. *niskü ongqoca*

As a final remark to the discussion of Mongolian borrowings it must be noted that, in spite of their apparently growing amount, they seem not to be threatening the position of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol as a distinct idiom. On the contrary, it may well be that Written Mongolian plays a role in the preservation of some of the archaic features of Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol.

Russian borrowings. During the period of intensive contacts with the Russians both before and after their emigration from Siberia to Manchuria, the Manchurian Khamnigan adopted a considerable number of Russian lexical elements. Many of them are parallelly used in

both Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol and Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki, and some are even more widely known in various Mongolic and Tungusic idioms of the region. Therefore, it is not always easy to determine, whether a given Russian borrowing entered Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol directly, or through the intermediation of some other, perhaps a Tungusic, idiom.

Older Russian borrowings are often connected with housing, food, and settled agriculture, and many of the concepts concerned can also be expressed by Mongolic words, as is illustrated by the following items:

istool 'table' (= *siree/n* id.) < Ru. *stol*
civske 'pig' (= *gakai* id.) < Ru. dial. *chúshka*
jierkele/n 'mirror' < Ru. *zérkalo*
kampieta 'candy' < Ru. *konféta*
kartoobka 'potato' < Ru. dial. *kartóvka*
kooska 'cat' < Ru. *kóshka*
kvvrice/n 'hen' (= *eme takie/n* id.) < Ru. *kúrica*
laampa 'lamp' < Ru. *lámpa*
pieci 'oven' < Ru. *pech'*
**pitug* 'rooster' (= *ere takie/n* id.) < Ru. *petúkh*
siere 'chewing gum' < Ru. dial. *séra*
sibiecike 'candle' < Ru. *svéchka*
**toboor* 'textile material' < Ru. *továr*

It may be noted that all of the above items are nouns, and some of those stems ending in a vowel have been secondarily adapted to follow the stem type involving the unstable *-/n*; in fact, due to the lack of a sufficient amount of morphological material on many of the items concerned, this stem type may be even more common in Russian loanwords than indicated above.

Many items of the type cited above have also been parallelly borrowed into other Mongolic idioms, notably Buryat. However, the phonological appearance of, at least, some of the words shows that they have entered Khamnigan Mongol directly from Russian, without the intermediation of Buryat.

Another semantic group of Russian loanwords is concerned with modern technology. This group apparently represents a some-

what more recent chronological layer than the previous one, and is considerably smaller in size. Moreover, some of the items also occur parallelly not only in Buryat, but also in Modern Written and Standard Mongolian, and may therefore in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol actually represent indirect borrowings:

**araadiba* 'radio' ~ Mo. *radio* < Ru. *rádio*
**ireblaan* (= *neidkv onggoco/n*) 'airplane' < Ru. *aeroplán*
masiin 'automobile' ~ Mo. *masin* < Ru. *mashína*
taraagtar 'tractor' ~ Mo. *traktor* < Ru. *tráktor*

Indirect borrowings may also be in question in the case of some, though not all, appellations for various foreign and local nationalities, as is illustrated by the following examples:

Aanggili 'English' ~ Mo. *Anggili* < Ru. *Ángliya*
Amierika 'America(n)' ~ Mo. *Amerika* < Ru. *Amérika*
Tvnggvvs 'Tungus' ~ Mo. *Tünggüs* < Ru. *tungús*
Yapoon 'Japan(ese)' ~ Mo. *Yapon* < Ru. *yapón-*

It is, without doubt, this kind of widespread Russian loanwords which will survive longest in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol, supported as they are by Written and Standard Mongolian. By contrast, some of the other Russian loanwords seem to be gradually replaced by their Standard Mongolian equivalents, or by newly introduced Chinese borrowings.

Chinese borrowings. Since by far not all of the present-day Manchurian Khamnigan are fluent in Chinese, the overall impact of Chinese borrowings on Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol remains still at a reasonably low level. The borrowed items are normally adapted to conform with the phonological peculiarities of the inherited vocabulary, although they do occasionally contain such new phonemes as *ss* and *p*. Semantically, the Chinese borrowings are often connected with technological innovations that have reached the Manchurian Khamnigan only after the end of the local Russian dominance. In some cases, however, older terms of Russian origin tend to be lost in favour of the more recently introduced Chinese counterparts. The

Chinese borrowings may be illustrated by the following tiny corpus of examples:

dempaaja 'light bulb' < Chi. *dēngpàozi*
nangku (= *kaloon xaba*) 'vacuum bottle' < Chi. *nuǎnhú*
peijii (= *neidkv onggoco/n*) 'airplane' < Chi. *fēijī*
ssvvliv 'plastic' < Chi. *sùliào*

Additionally, a number of older Chinese borrowings, attested also in Written and Standard Mongolian, are known to the Manchurian Khamnigan. The following are two examples:

congko/n 'window' ~ Mo. *congqo/n* < Chi. *chuānghu*
meegv 'mushroom' ~ Mo. *mögü* < Chi. *mógu*

Although the above cases may involve indirect borrowings, the continuing influence of the Chinese originals cannot be ruled out. (The present discussion will not be extended to the really ancient Chinese borrowings with a Common Mongolic distribution, some of which also survive in Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol.)

Generally, the inevitably increasing influence of Chinese in the region inhabited by the Manchurian Khamnigan would require a special sociolinguistic survey. Such a survey might prove to be of help, if any plans should be drafted for the future preservation of the native languages of the Manchurian Khamnigan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Language names

Ba.	Bargut	Ev.	Evenki
Bu.	Buryat	Kha.	Khalkha
Chi.	Chinese	Mo.	Written Mongolian
Da.	Dagur	Ru.	Russian

Linguistic terms

ab.	abessive	imp.	imperative
abl.	ablative	imprf.	imperfect
abs.	absolutive	incl.	inclusive
acc.	accusative	indef.	indefinite
act.	actor	instr.	instrumental
adn.	adnominal	interr.	interrogative
adv.	adverbal	neg.	negative
appr.	approximative	obj.	object
ben.	benedictive	obl.	oblique
card.	cardinal	ord.	ordinal
caus.	causal	part.	participle
coll.	collective	pers.	personal
com.	comitative	pl.	plural
comp.	comparative	poss.	possessive
cond.	conditional	pred.	predicative
conneg.	connegative	prescr.	prescriptive
dat.	dative	prf.	perfect
dem.	demonstrative	progr.	progressive
dial.	dialectal	prs.	present
dir.	directive	prt.	preterite
emph.	emphatic	refl.	reflexive
excl.	exclusive	sg.	singular
exist.	existential	temp.	temporal
fin.	final	term.	terminal
fut.	future	topic.	topicalization
gen.	genitive	topon.	toponym
ger.	gerund	vol.	voluntative

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