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Khamnigan Mongol

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PREFACE

This is my third separately published book(let) on the language(s) of the Khamnigan (after Janhunen 1990a and 1991a), and my third grammatical description of Khamnigan Mongol (after Janhunen 1990a and 2003). In order not to repeat myself I have decided to focus the present volume on the two most important issues connected with the Khamnigan Mongol language: first, its status as the ethnospecific community language of a population of which large sections also speak another ethnic language (Ewenki); and second, its exceptional conservativeness as far as its linguistic structure and substance are concerned. Apart from these specific issues, this volume also contains a skeleton grammar (phonology and morphology). For additional information on synchronic details the reader may refer to the earlier titles mentioned in the Bibliography.

I worked among the Khamnigan during only four relatively brief field periods between 1989 and 1994. The main result of this work was the very (re)discovery of Khamnigan Mongol as a living language, as it still survives today in the Mergel basin of Hulun Buir, Inner Mongolia, China, at the same time as other known communities of Khamnigan in Russia and Mongolia are rapidly becoming (or have possibly already become) linguistically extinct. However, concerning the linguistic properties of Khamnigan Mongol, and also of the Ewenki dialects spoken by the Khamnigan, much detail work remains to be done. The currently available database inevitably leaves even many trivial questions unanswered. The present volume should therefore be accepted as another intermediate report on a language that would deserve much more careful attention.

In fieldwork among a small speech community with an endangered (or at least a potentially endangered) language, one cannot avoid noticing how fast time goes. Much of the material in my database derives from a few elderly informants, and recent information tells me that several of them, including the unforgettable persons of Sarpiim (Serafim) and Gulugein Gonchig (Nikolai), have passed away during the decade that has elapsed since my last visit to the Khamnigan. Although the language is still extant, its traditional social and ecological context is undergoing fundamental changes, and these changes may turn out to be too rapid to allow the language to survive. Whoever is going to work among the Khamnigan in the

future, the issue of linguistic survival (and possibly, revival) will have to be increasingly in the focus of all research. As for myself, I hope to be able to return to the Khamnigan at least for editing a collection of texts that still remains to be published.

Since leaving the Khamnigan, I have been working on the so-called Shirongolic languages of Amdo in a physical and cultural environment in many ways different from that of the Khamnigan habitat in northwestern Manchuria. Interestingly, the physical distance is also reflected on the linguistic level, in that the extreme conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol stands in stark contrast to the conspicuous innovativeness of the Shirongolic languages. The reasons for the different diachronic behaviour of languages which ultimately belong to the same genetic stock are still little understood, but it is obvious that the history of an individual language can only be studied against its entire comparative background. In this way, my work on other related languages may ultimately have opened new perspectives for me on Khamnigan Mongol also.

Completing this modest contribution to Khamnigan studies, I repeat my gratitude to all of my informants and local friends (some of whom were mentioned above), my companions in the field (especially Mr. Ju Leping and Prof. Borjigin Buhchulu), and the institutions which have supported my work: Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences and the Academy of Finland. For the revision of the English language of the text I am grateful to Dr. Robert Whiting (State Archives of Assyria Project, University of Helsinki).

Helsinki, December 2004

Juha Janhunen

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1p.	first person	priv.	privative
2p.	second person	progr.	progressive
3p.	third person	px	possessive suffix
		refl.	reflexive
abl.	ablative	res.	resultative
acc.	accusative	sg.	singular
ag.	agentive	term.	terminative
appr.	approximative	vol.	voluntative
aor.	aorist	vx	personal ending
ben.	benefactive		
coll.	collective	C	consonant
cond.	conditional	V	vowel
conf.	confirmative	#	word boundary
conv.	converb	-	morpheme boundary
corr.	corrogiative	/	unstable segment
dat.	dative	-	sandhi liaison
dur.	durative	*	reconstructed form
emph.	emphatic	~	alternative form
excl.	exclusive	<	diachronically from
fut.	futuritive	>	diachronically to
gen.	genitive	↑	synchronically from
hab.	habitive	→	synchronically to
imperf.	imperfective	:	morphological relationship
incl.	inclusive		
indef.	indefinite		
instr.	instrumental		
interr.	interrogative		
mod.	modal		
neg.	negative		
obl.	oblique		
ord.	ordinal		
part.	participle		
perf.	perfective		
pl.	plural		
poss.	possessive		
prescr.	prescriptive		

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INTRODUCTION

§1. Definition. *Khamnigan Mongol*, or simply *Khamnigan*, is the community language of an ethnolinguistic group that is best referred to as the *Khamnigan*. Genetically, Khamnigan Mongol belongs to the Mongolic language family, but areally it has evolved in close interaction with the Northern Tungusic Ewenki language. Politically, the speakers of Khamnigan Mongol have long lived in the context of the Russian, Chinese, and Mongolian states.

Since the Khamnigan ethnic group has nowhere an official status, its members are classified as belonging to other nationalities, including the Mongols proper (in Mongolia), Buryat (in Russia), and Ewenki (in China). Correspondingly, Khamnigan Mongol has been classified as a dialect of either Mongol proper (in Mongolia) or Buryat (in Russia). To some extent, these interpretations reflect the different cultural orientations as well as the different bases of bilingualism of the various local groups of Khamnigan. Linguistically, however, Khamnigan Mongol is a well-defined language, which can only be recognized as a separate member of the Mongolic family.

§2. Distribution. The native territory of the Khamnigan is located in and around the Onon and Argun river basins of Transbaikalia (Fig. 1). Smaller local basins occupied, or known to have been occupied, by the Khamnigan include, in particular, those of the rivers Onon-Borzya (flowing into the Onon) as well as Upper Borzya, Middle Borzya, Lower Borzya, Gazimur, and Urulyngui (all flowing into the Argun). Khamnigan communities have also existed in the basins of the rivers Ingoda and Aga (flowing into the Onon).

It is unclear to what extent the Khamnigan territory has historically extended to the right bank of the Argun, but at least in modern times groups of Khamnigan have lived and moved in parts of the Bargu (Barga) steppe, notably in the so-called Three Rivers Region (Khamnigan *Gurban Gol*, Russian *Trëkhrech'ye*), as well as in the basins of the rivers Imin, Mergel, and Hailar.

Administratively, the Khamnigan territory is today divided between Russia, China, and Mongolia. On the Mongolian side, the Khamnigan are mainly concentrated in the administrative entity of Dadal Sumun of Khentei Aimak. In Russia, the Khamnigan have lived especially within Nerchinsk District (*Nerchinskii okrug*) of Chita

Province (*Chitinskaya oblast'*). In China, the main area occupied by the Khamnigan forms the Ewenki Arrow (*Ewenke Sumu*) of the Old Bargut Banner (*Chen Baerhu Qi*) of Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia. A smaller group of Khamnigan lives in the Imin basin, within the Ewenke Banner (*Ewenke Qi*) of Hulun Buir.

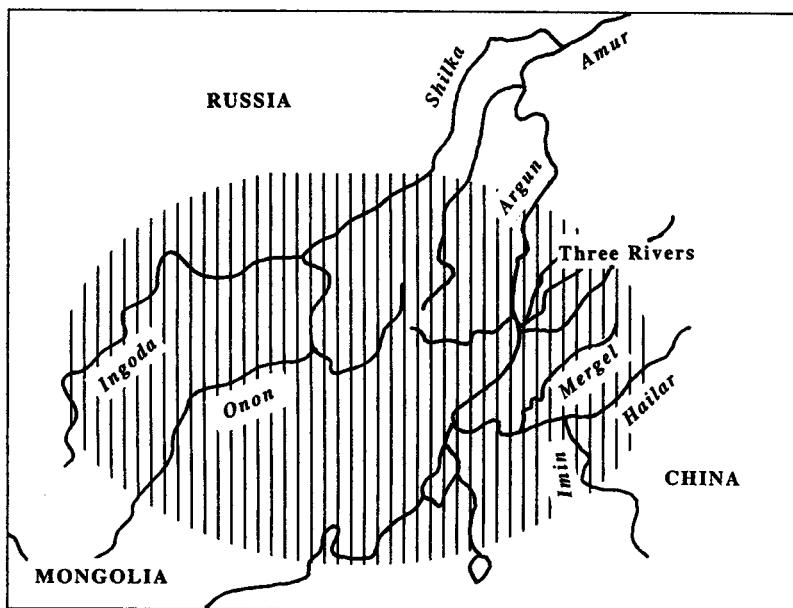


Fig 1. Khamnigan native territory.

§3. **History.** Although the Khamnigan native territory was the very source of expansion of the historical Mongols under Chinggis Khan, it remained a neglected periphery of both Mongolia and China until the arrival of the Russians, whose advance in the region was marked by the founding of the fort of Nerchinsk (1654). Soon after this, an important group of Khamnigan under the leadership of Prince Gantimur (*Khamnigan Gantumur*) submitted themselves to Russian rule (1667), initiating a process of acculturation during which the Khamnigan were even partially incorporated into the Russian Cossack system of hereditary borderguards.

After the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), which settled the Sino-Russian border along the Argun, there is no information on any

Khamnigan groups living on the Chinese side of the river. There were, however, Khamnigan living in the Mongolian part of the Onon basin, which also provided a refuge for additional Khamnigan groups escaping the Russians. With time, contacts between the Khamnigan in Russia and Mongolia grew increasingly scarce.

A new group of Khamnigan on the Chinese side of the border arose when significant sections of the population of Nerchinsk District moved across the Argun in the years following the October Revolution (1917). The dominant element among the emigrants was White Russian Cossacks, who settled mainly in the Three Rivers Region. There were, however, also Buryat, who occupied a part of the Imin basin, as well as Khamnigan, who were divided between the Imin and Mergel basins, where their descendants still live today.

§4. Material culture. From the socioeconomic point of view the Khamnigan are best characterized as semi-nomadic cattle breeders with a minor impact of other forms of subsistence economy. The animals most typically kept by the Khamnigan include cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, but under Russian and Chinese influence pigs and poultry also occur. The herding mode of life involves an annual cycle of movements, which necessitates the use of movable dwellings (yurts) of the Mongolian type. In the winter camps, most Khamnigan today live in Siberian-style log houses.

In other aspects of material culture also, the Khamnigan are characterized by a combination of Mongolian and Russian features. Their traditional clothing is similar to that of the Buryat, but the Russian style of European clothing has become common among the male population of the Khamnigan in Russia and China. The diet is dominated by mutton, beef, and milk products, augmented by bread of the Russian type, as well as, occasionally, potatoes.

Under modern conditions, the Khamnigan in Russia and China have adopted elements of gardening and agriculture. On the other hand, traces of an old hunting culture, involving hunting expeditions to forested mountain regions, such as that of the Greater Khingan Range (*Da Xing'an Ling*), have persisted until recent times. Wild animals are hunted both for the meat and the raw materials.

§5. Spiritual culture. The traditional world view of the Khamnigan is based on concepts and practices close to the Siberian type of Shamanism. Practising shamans survived until the political purges of

the Great Terror (1934-1937) in Russia and the Cultural Revolution (1967-1976) in China. More recently, there has been a partial revival of the shamanist traditions among the Khamnigan in China.

With the beginning of the contacts with the Russians, Orthodox Christianity also came to influence the Khamnigan cultural heritage. A conversion on a larger scale started after the Russian archpriest Kirill Sukhanov settled among the Khamnigan (1772). Among the emigrant Khamnigan in China, there are still elderly individuals following Russian Orthodox customs. The shamanist and Christian elements are, however, becoming syncretized with more recent Buddhist influences, which are reaching the Khamnigan through the Buryat.

The Khamnigan have possessed a rich folkloric heritage of epic tales, part of which seem to be common with the Buryat, Dagur, and Ewenki. This heritage is, unfortunately, rapidly being replaced by modern influences radiating from the dominant Russian, Chinese, and Mongolian cultures.

§6. Appellations. The term Khamnigan (native shape *Kamnigan* : pl. *Kamnigad*) has no satisfactory etymology, but it seems originally to have been used by the Northern Mongols to denote the Northern Tungusic Ewenki speakers of the Baikal region. Due to the interaction between Mongolic and Tungusic populations, the term was transferred to denote also the speakers of Khamnigan Mongol, many of whom were and are bilingual in Ewenki.

As a technical term, the ethnonym Khamnigan is also used in Russian (*khamnigán* : pl. *khamnigáne* or *khamnigány*), but traditionally the Khamnigan used to be known to the Russians as the "Equestrian Tungus" (*kónnye tungúsy*), or "Horse Tungus", of Transbaikalia. In spite of the Mongolic community language of the Khamnigan, the Tungusic identification has been adopted into the Chinese usage, in which the Khamnigan of China are referred to as the "Tungus Ewenki". As a Russian loanword, the ethnonym Tungus is also known to the Khamnigan themselves (*Tungguus*).

Historically, there seems also to have been confusion among the Russians between the Khamnigan and the Dagur. The core part of the Khamnigan native territory in what later became Nerchinsk District is traditionally known to the Russians as Dauria (*Dauriya*) 'Dagur Land'. Since there is no evidence of Dagur ethnic presence in this region, the term was probably transferred from the Upper Amur region, where, indeed, a contact had existed between the Russians and

the Dagur. Most toponyms on early Russian maps from Dauria derive clearly from the Khamnigan Mongol language.

§7. Population size. The number of the Transbaikalian "Tungus" population under the Gantimur House reached ca. 25,000 people towards the end of the Czarist period (1897). It is, however, not clear how large a proportion of this population was actually using the Khamnigan Mongol language; in any case, the figure must have included an unknown number of monolingual Ewenki speakers, as well as fully assimilated Russian and even Buryat speakers. The size of the Khamnigan Mongol speech community is therefore likely to have been smaller, perhaps just several thousands.

In the 20th century, assimilation by speakers of Russian, Buryat, and Khalkha has further reduced the number of Khamnigan Mongol speakers in both Russia and Mongolia. The current number of remaining speakers in these two countries is unknown, but it may be down to only a few elderly individuals. Since the continuity of Khamnigan Mongol as a living language in both Russia and Mongolia has apparently been interrupted, the language is bound to disappear soon all over its earlier territory in the Onon basin.

On the Chinese side, however, Khamnigan Mongol remains a vigorous community language among the emigrant Khamnigan group in the Mergel basin. The number of Khamnigan Mongol speakers in the Mergel basin is currently over 1,500 people. The number of the Khamnigan in the Imin basin is probably less than 200, and assimilation by the local dialects of Mongol proper and Buryat seems to be progressing with an increasing speed.

§8. History of research. The earliest systematic information on the "Horse Tungus" of Transbaikalia and their ethnic environment was supplied by Grigorii Spasskii (1822) and Vasilii Parshin (1843, 1844), but it was only the Russian Mongolist A. M. Pozdneev, who (1880: 185-186) listed Khamnigan Mongol as a separate idiom, which he classified as the "Onon Buryat dialect" of the Buryat language. This identification was retained by the Buryat scholar Ts. J. Jamtsarano, who, in 1911, collected important samples of Khamnigan epic folklore, published much later (1982) by D. G. Damdinov.

Damdinov, himself a native Khamnigan, is also the author of a number of dialectological (1962, 1968), diachronic (1975, 1988), and ethnohistorical (1993) works on the Khamnigan and their Mongolic

language. Research on Khamnigan Mongol in Mongolia was initiated by Käthe U.-Köhlmi (1959) and L. Mishig (1961). The former (1964, 1981) has also written on the ethnic and political history of the Khamnigan. Other ethnohistorical works include those by B. O. Dolgix (1960: 326-351), A. S. Shubin (1973), V. A. Tugolukov (1975), T. B. Uvarova (1982) *née* Naumova (1979, 1982), A. M. Reshetov (1986), and J. O. Habeck (1994).

The Khamnigan who today live on the Chinese side of the border were first studied from the point of view of ethnology by a team of Japanese scholars, including Koichi Inoue (1988) and Shiro Sasaki (1989). Linguistic material was collected by Juha Janhunen (1990ab, 1997), who has also authored a number of specialized papers on the sociolinguistic (1991b, 1996a), diachronic (1992, 1996b), and synchronic (2003) position of Khamnigan Mongol. More recently, linguistic field work among the Khamnigan in China has been carried out by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi.

In parallel with the Khamnigan Mongol language, the Ewenki dialects spoken by the Khamnigan have been an object of research since the "Tungus" grammar of M. A. Castrén (1856), republished (in Russian) by Ye. I. Titov (1926). Castrén's data (from Titov) seem to have formed the basis for the discussion by B. Rinchen (1969), who also supplies independent information on Khamnigan Mongol. The diachronic and taxonomic status of the Ewenki dialects spoken by the Khamnigan was analyzed by Gerhard Doerfer (1985). A sketch of the Ewenki speech of the Khamnigan in present-day China is contained in Janhunen (1991a).

ETHNOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

§9. External delimitation. Since the Mongol(ic) term *Khamnigan* (Written Mongol **qamniqhav** : pl. **qamniqhat**) refers generically to all the Tungusic-speaking Ewenki tribes living to the north of the Mongols, it has been historically used also of local populations that are not Khamnigan in the technical and linguistic sense. An example of such a population are the so-called "Armak Khamnigan" living in the Zakamna region south of Lake Baikal. The Armak Khamnigan, as reported by Damdinov (1977), are a group of Buryatized Ewenki speakers whose modern language is more or less identical with the local Buryat dialects in the region. The language shift from Ewenki to

Buryat seems to have taken place relatively recently, and there are no indications that this group would ever have spoken a Mongolic language of the Khamnigan Mongol type.

Another apparently fully assimilated group of former Ewenki speakers are the "Iro Khamnigan", studied by J. de Talko-Hryniewicz (1904). The Iro Khamnigan used to live in the basin of the river Iro (**vIrugae**), a tributary to the Orkhon in Northern Mongolia, and their territory was already in premodern times surrounded from all sides by Khalkha Mongol pastoral areas. Judging by the closeness of the Iro basin to the Khamnigan areas further to the east in Khentei Aimak, it cannot be ruled out, however, that they may at some earlier stage have been speakers of Khamnigan Mongol.

The ambiguity of the groups identified as "Khamnigan" also raises a question concerning the status of the Ewenki language in Mongolia. Ewenki is still occasionally listed as a language allegedly spoken in parts of Northeastern Mongolia, but no first-hand Ewenki language material has ever been published from the Mongolian side of the border. Most likely, any Ewenki speakers that may have been present among the Mongolian "Khamnigan" were assimilated already some generations ago.

§10. Bilingualism. Much of the confusion that surrounds the concept of "Khamnigan" is connected with their widespread bilingualism. In contrast to the ordinary monolingual speakers of both Ewenki and the various modern Mongolic languages (including Buryat and Mongol proper), a considerable proportion of Khamnigan Mongol speakers are bilingual in Ewenki. Within the bilingual sections of the Khamnigan community, the two languages (Ewenki and Khamnigan Mongol) are intertwined to the extent that it is impossible to tell which one is the actual vernacular. The Khamnigan are therefore a type example of what may be termed *ethnic bilingualism*.

The phenomenon of ethnic bilingualism is synchronically well attested and preserved among the Khamnigan community living today in the Mergel basin in China. Historically, an identical pattern of bilingualism is documented for those Khamnigan of whom today only remnants remain in the Russian part of Transbaikalia. It is therefore not unlikely that bilingualism was once also characteristic of the Khamnigan living on the Mongolian side of the border, although the former presence of the Ewenki language in Mongolia remains undocumented and somewhat controversial.

The ethnic bilingualism of the Khamnigan does not, however, cover the entire community. Judging by the situation among the modern Khamnigan in China, it seems that at least one third of the population has traditionally been monolingual in Khamnigan Mongol, while only up to two thirds of the population have been bilingual in Ewenki. By contrast, there are virtually no Khamnigan individuals monolingual in Ewenki only.

The observed asymmetry in the pattern of bilingualism suggests that Khamnigan Mongol has always functioned as the dominant community language of the Khamnigan, while Ewenki has filled the role of a second ethnic language. All over the Khamnigan territory, the Ewenki language has been slowly regressing, and this regression continues today among the remaining bilingual Khamnigan. Even so, the persistence of the bilingual pattern has been surprisingly strong, which can only be explained by assuming that it has become a part of the Khamnigan ethnic identity.

§11. Taxonomic status. It is important to note that while Khamnigan Mongol is taxonomically a separate Mongolic language, with a clear genetic distance from all other Mongolic languages (including Buryat and Mongol proper), the Ewenki speech of the Khamnigan seems to remain within the overall context of the Ewenki language. At the dialectal level, however, the varieties of Ewenki spoken by the Khamnigan are different from all other known varieties of this language and may therefore be identified as *Khamnigan Ewenki*. Both Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki are thus ethnospecific idioms peculiar to the Khamnigan only.

The difference in the taxonomic status of the two languages of the Khamnigan means that while Khamnigan Mongol is distinct enough to prevent immediate communication with the speakers of other Mongolic languages, Khamnigan Ewenki would seem to allow relatively smooth communication with other Ewenki speakers. In practice, however, there is little evidence of the use of Khamnigan Ewenki in interethnic contacts. Most of the external relations of the Khamnigan have traditionally been carried out in languages other than either Khamnigan Mongol or Ewenki.

Although Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki remain two completely distinct languages representing two separate language families, they belong historically to the same areal and typological complex ("Altaic"). Moreover, due to their coexistence as the ethnic

languages of a single population, they have developed a number of special interaction phenomena, which have further increased their inherent phonological and morphological parallelism. In this interactive relationship, it has generally been Khamnigan Ewenki that has adapted to the patterns offered by the more dominant Khamnigan Mongol language, rather than vice versa.

§12. Tribal division. Corresponding to their ethnic bilingualism, the Khamnigan are historically composed of tribes some of which seem to have been originally Mongolic speaking, while others were Tungusic speaking. There is no doubt that the mixing of the two components took place only when both Khamnigan Mongol and Ewenki had been formed as distinct languages, which gives a dating no earlier than the late Middle Mongol period (15th to 16th century). An even later date is suggested by the internal dialectal differences within both Khamnigan Mongol and Ewenki. On the other hand, information on the tribal history of the Khamnigan implies that the basis of their ethnic bilingualism had already been formed by the times of Gantimur (mid 17th century). After that, the two ethnic languages have coexisted in a relatively stable symbiosis.

There are some indications that the two ethnic languages of the Khamnigan were originally contributed by two separate tribal unions known by the Russian names Nelyud (*nelyudy* or *nelyuli*) and Namyat (*namyasincy*). Of these, the former mainly comprised tribes with clearly Ewenki names, many of which are still in use among the Khamnigan, including such as *Bayagiid*, *Duligaad*, *Cimcagiid*, and others. The latter, by contrast was dominated by tribes with Mongolic names, such as *Cibcinuud*, *Koonud*, *Jaltood*, and others, gathered around the central tribes *Kara Namied* 'Black Namyat (Naiman)' and *Shira Namied* 'Yellow Namyat (Naiman)'.

Altogether, the Khamnigan are composed of ca. 20 historical tribes, though some of them may be connected with secondary ethnic developments. Due to the ethnic mixing that has taken place it appears impossible to link the tribal identities with any synchronic linguistic parameters (such as bilingualism in Ewenki or dialectal differences). Also, most of the Khamnigan tribal names are well known from other Mongolic and/or Tungusic ethnic groups as well.

§13. Dialects. The material available today from Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki allows both idioms to be divided into two

main dialects, labelled (after Castrén) according to the Transbaikalian localities of *Urulga* (*Urul'ga*) and *Mankovo* (*Man'kovo*). The two Khamnigan Mongol and two Khamnigan Ewenki dialects yield four possible bilingual combinations, all of which exist, or have existed, among certain sections of the Khamnigan population, as can be inferred from the linguistic material.

Among the modern Khamnigan in the Mergel basin, both of the two forms of Khamnigan Ewenki but only one form of Khamnigan Mongol survive. The surviving Khamnigan Mongol dialect may be identified as (a descendant of) the historical *Urulga* dialect, which is thus combined in a bilingual relationship with both the *Urulga* and the *Mankovo* dialect of Khamnigan Ewenki (also known as the *Urulyungui* and *Borzya* dialects, according to the localities from where the immediate ancestors of their modern speakers are assumed to have come to the Chinese side of the border).

§14. Ethnic environment. Historically, the Khamnigan native territory was surrounded by the areas of three Mongolic languages: (Eastern) Buryat in the west, *Dagur* in the northeast, and Mongol proper (including the *Khalkha* dialect) in the south and southwest. The presence of Buryat gradually increased due to ethnic movements which led to the formation of the Old and New Bargut in Hulun Buir (17th to 18th centuries) as well as the *Aga Buryat* in Eastern Transbaikalia (18th to 19th centuries). The location of *Dagur* also underwent changes, the most important of which was the intrusion of a *Dagur* group to the *Hailar* region of Hulun Buir (18th century). At the same time, a group of originally *Oirat*-speaking *Oelet* was imported to the region from *Jungaria*.

Ewenki was originally spoken all over the northern limits of the Khamnigan territory from Lake Baikal to the Upper Amur. An early dialectal split seems to have divided *Ewenki* into two forms, which may be termed *Siberian Ewenki* and *Manchurian Ewenki*. Of the two dialects of Khamnigan Ewenki, the *Urulga* (or *Urulyungui*) dialect belongs to the *Siberian Ewenki* branch, which is also represented by the dialects of the *Manchurian Reindeer Tungus* (in the Lower *Argun* region) and the *Orochen* (in the *Khingan* region). By contrast, the *Mankovo* (or *Borzya*) dialect of Khamnigan Ewenki belongs to the *Manchurian Ewenki* branch, which is also represented by the *Solon Ewenki* dialects in both the *Nonni* basin (since the 17th century) and the *Hailar* region (since the 18th century).

Since the formation of the Sino-Russian border (17th century), Russians have been an integral part of the ethnic environment of the Khamnigan. On the Chinese side (Fig. 2) Russian emigrant groups survived until recently (mid 20th century), and a trace of them is still preserved by a mixed group known as "Sino-Russians".

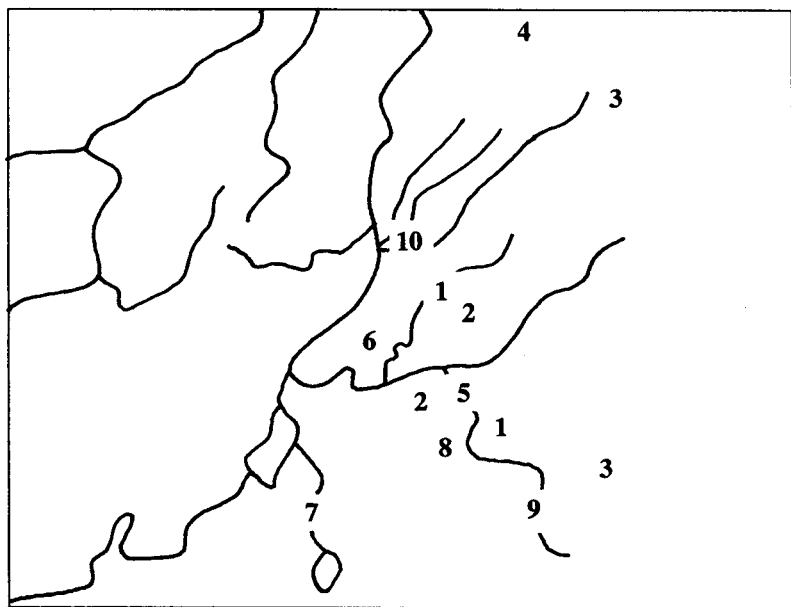


Fig. 2. Ethnic groups of Hulun Buir.

1. Khamnigan. 2. Solon. 3. Orochen. 4. Manchurian Reindeer Tungus. 5. Dagur. 6. Old Bargut. 7. New Bargut. 8. Buryat. 9. Oelet. 10. Sino-Russians. (Mongols proper and ethnic Chinese are not indicated.)

§15. Interethnic languages. In interaction with the neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups, the Khamnigan only rarely use their own languages, though bilingual individuals of the oldest generation mention having occasionally communicated in Ewenki with other Ewenki-speaking groups (the Orochen and the Solon). Buryat seems to have been used historically in communication with the Buryat, a circumstance that has led to the Buryatization of part of the Khamnigan population in Russian Transbaikalia. On the Chinese side today, communication between the Khamnigan and the other

Mongolic-speaking groups normally takes place in various local varieties and approximations of Mongol proper.

The dominant dialect of Mongol proper in Hulun Buir is Khorchin, but the presence of several other Mongolic languages (Dagur, Oirat, and Buryat, including two varieties of Bargut) makes the dialectal situation complicated, with each group exhibiting its own variety of diglossia and/or bilingualism. For school education and written communication, all Mongolic-speaking groups in the region, including the Khamnigan, use (Modern) Written Mongol. Literacy in Written Mongol among the Khamnigan is, however, a recent phenomenon (from the latter half of the 20th century).

Apart from the local ethnic languages, the Khamnigan linguistic environment has been variously influenced by the colonial spheres of Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. Russian used to be the principal colonial *lingua franca* in the region, and many Khamnigan still regard it as the most important language of higher civilization. Japanese was introduced as a language of education in Hulun Buir during the Manchukuo period (1931-1945), but it has subsequently been replaced by Chinese, which today is the only language of colonial administration and mass communication in the region.

§16. Sociolinguistic trends. The sociolinguistic developments among the Khamnigan today follow the state borders closely. On the Russian side, both Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki have been more or less completely replaced by Russian (as well as, earlier, Buryat), while in Mongolia the Khamnigan have come under the increasing pressure of Mongol proper (Khalkha). In China, standard Mandarin is becoming the main interethnic language among the Khamnigan, although both Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki are still well preserved, apparently thanks to the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Khamnigan population.

Individuals monolingual in Khamnigan Mongol, or bilingual in Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki, are today restricted to preschool-aged children, as well as females of the old and middle generations. Due to the consistent use of Khamnigan Mongol as the community language, children from Chinese and Mongol-speaking families living in a Khamnigan environment also tend to develop fluency in Khamnigan Mongol, though normally not in Khamnigan Ewenki. Starting at school age, however, all local children develop a knowledge of Mongol proper, though their Mongol speech remains

influenced by Khamnigan features. The knowledge of Russian used to be common among adult males, but its position is now being taken over by Chinese. Even so, the number of Khamnigan individuals fully fluent in Chinese is still very small.

The greatest danger threatening the languages of the Khamnigan in China today is the possibility of uncontrolled Chinese immigration to the Khamnigan territory. This possibility has been anticipated by the founding of the administrative center of Haji (*Kaji* or *Adagai*), which today functions as the “capital” of the Ewenki Arrow and can potentially draw a Chinese-speaking population which could rapidly overturn the local linguistic situation. Fortunately, due to its relative remoteness and scanty resources, except for semi-nomadic cattle breeding, the Khamnigan territory is not the first choice for Chinese immigrants. So far, most of the administrators coming to the area have been ethnic Mongols or Dagur.

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§17. Syllable structure. The Khamnigan Mongol syllable consists of a core vowel surrounded by optional single consonants: (C)V(C). The place of the core vowel can also be filled by a sequence of two (either identical or different) vowel segments: (C)VV(C). A single syllable can function as an independent utterance (word), but the maximally simple syllable type (C)V is confined to a few uninflected auxiliary elements (pronouns, particles) in unstressed use. Most underived stems and inflected forms have two or more syllables, with all non-initial syllables beginning with a consonant segment: (C)V(V)(C)-CV(V)(C)(-). Clusters of up to two consonants can therefore only occur at word-internal syllable boundaries.

There are no phonologically distinctive suprasegmental features. In words pronounced in isolation, the prosodic prominence (stress and pitch) tends to be on the first complex vowel, if present, or otherwise on the initial syllable. Morphophonological phenomena like palatal and labial harmony (§19-20) and sandhi (§30) also suggest that the initial syllable is prosodically dominant.

§18. Simple vowels. Previous descriptions of Khamnigan Mongol have postulated a system of either six or seven vowels. The six-vowel system (as in Janhunen 2003: 86-87) contains three plain vowels (*a e*

i) and three rounded vowels (*u* *ũ* *o*) in three degrees of opening. The seven-vowel system (as in Damdinov 1968: 79-80) contains an extra rounded vowel (*ö*), which would seem to imply that the four rounded vowels are actually divided into two back (*ũ* *o*) and two central (*u* *ö*) vowels. However, the postulation of the extra rounded vowel may actually be due to a misinterpretation of the phonetic situation, in which the corresponding mid-high plain vowel (*e*) is normally pronounced with lip rounding.

It now also appears increasingly possible that the distinction that has been assumed to be present between a high and a mid-high rounded vowel (*u* *ũ*) might actually be due to the influence of Mongol proper in the speech of bilingual individuals. The distinction may well be valid for some forms of Khamnigan Mongol, but it is likely to be absent in others. The situation is similar for Khamnigan Ewenki. It is therefore tentatively assumed here that the Khamnigan vowel system contains only five distinctive units (Fig. 3).

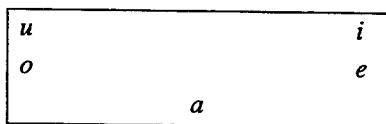


Fig. 3. Khamnigan Mongol simple vowels.

Phonetically, the vowels *a* *u* *i* are close to the cardinal values (IPA) [a u i], though each of them can slightly vary on the palato-velar axis. The vowel *o* is normally pronounced with the lowered quality [ɔ] in distinction from *e*, which can vacillate between the qualities [ə ɵ ɔ]. The five vowels contrast clearly in monosyllabic stems of the type CVC, e.g. *gar* 'hand; arm', *gol* 'river', *kul* 'foot; leg', *ger* 'dwelling', *tib* 'earth; continent'.

§19. Palatal harmony. In bi- or polysyllabic words, the distribution of the vowels is governed by palatal (palato-velar) harmony, which divides the vowels into three diachronically motivated classes which may be termed back, front, and neutral vowels. The class of neutral vowels has previously been assumed to comprise only the vowel *i*, which can both precede and follow any other vowel quality, e.g. *mika/n* 'meat', *sine* 'new', *mori/n* 'horse', *huri* 'every'. However, the assumption of no distinction between a high and a mid-high rounded

vowel (*u* *û*) renders *u* also a neutral vowel, cf. e.g. *gurba/n* 'three', *durbe/n* 'four', *modu/n* 'tree; wood', *nidu/n* 'eye'. In this interpretation, the class of back vowels has only the two members *a o*, while the class of front vowels has the sole member *e*. The classes of back vowels and front vowels cannot be combined in a single word, cf. e.g. *kara* 'black' vs. *nere* 'name'.

The elimination of the mid-high rounded vowel (*û*) from the paradigm means that the cases of potential contrast with regard to the high rounded vowel (*u*) will have to be reanalyzed. The number of words containing a potentially contrastive mid-high rounded vowel is very small, and as a tentative solution it is assumed here that the segment is (for the speakers concerned) phonemically *o* in the initial syllable and *u* in non-initial syllables, e.g. *jon* 'summer' (previously phonemized as *jûn*), *ohu/n* 'water' (for *ûhu/n*), *goci/n* 'thirty' (for *gûci/n*), *nitug* 'home(land)' (for *nitûg*). Further research will reveal whether this interpretation is correct or not.

§20. Labial harmony. The distribution of the vowels *a o u* is further affected by labial harmony, which does not allow *o* to be combined with *a* or *u* in a single word (Fig. 4).

initial syllable	non-initial syllables				
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>o</i>		<i>o</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>e</i>			<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>

Fig. 4. Harmonic combinations of simple vowels.

The cumulative effects of palatal harmony and labial harmony define synchronically three major classes of vowels. The first class comprises the neutral vowel *i*, which can both follow and be followed by any other vowel. The second class comprises the neutral vowel *u*, which can follow any other vowel, but which can only be followed by the vowels *a e u i* (but not *o*). The third class comprises the vowels *a o e*, each of which can be followed only by its own quality, as well as by the neutral vowels *u i*.

Both palatal harmony and labial harmony are regular features which have no exceptions in plain stems or inflected forms containing

only simple vowels. Some complex vowels exhibit, however, slightly different phonotactic patterns which, at least from the point of view of surface phonology, may be seen as violations of the harmonic rules (§22). It also seems that in some cases the looseness of a morphological bond (perhaps implying cliticization) can be signalled by the exceptional absence of harmonic adaptation.

§21. Complex vowels. The complex vowels in Khamnigan Mongol are of three types: monophthongoid sequences of two identical vowels (VV), diphthongoid sequences ending in the neutral vowel *i* (Vi), and diphthongoid sequences beginning with the neutral vowel *i* (iV). The three categories merge in the sequence *ii*. The distinction between the vowels *a o e* is neutralized in the sequences beginning with *i*, yielding the uniform complex vowel *ie*. This results in altogether eleven different complex vowels (Fig. 5).

<i>aa</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ie</i>
<i>oo</i>	<i>oi</i>	
<i>ee</i>	<i>ei</i>	
<i>uu</i>	<i>ui</i>	
<i>ii</i>		

Fig. 5. Khamnigan Mongol complex vowels.

Phonetically, the complex vowels are realized as long monophthongs or diphthongs following the qualities of the corresponding simple vowels. The complex vowel *ie* is, however, pronounced with the front unrounded mid-high quality [e:], which differs markedly from the quality of the corresponding simple vowel *e*.

Complex vowels are probably best understood as monosyllabic entities, and all of them can occur in any syllable of a word. Morphologically, however, complex vowels are often segmentable, with the latter component forming (or belonging to) a suffixal element, as in part. imperf. (*ki-* :) *ki-e* 'to do', (*kara-* :) *kara-a* 'to watch', acc. (*mori/n* :) *mori-i* 'horse', (*nidu/n* :) *nidu-i* 'eye'.

§22. Vowel phonotactics. Due to diachronic (as well as, possibly, synchronic deep-level) phenomena, words containing the complex vowels *ie oo* do not necessarily follow the otherwise valid harmonic rules of vowel combination. The vowel *ie* is harmonically fully neutral

and can be combined with any of the vowels *a o e*, as well as with *u i*, as in *yarie/n* 'speech', (*mori* :) refl. *morie/n* 'horse', *erien* 'motley', *unie/n* 'cow', (*bici*- :) part. imperf. *bici-e* 'to write'. The vowel *oo*, on the other hand, does not condition labial harmony, and can both follow and precede the vowels *a aa*, as in *galoo* 'goose', *boodal* 'hotel', (*noor* :) abl. *noor-aaha* 'lake'.

The implications of the elimination of the mid-high rounded vowel (*ũ*) from the paradigm remain to be further studied from the point of view of palatal and labial harmony. Tentatively, it seems that the complex vowels *uu iu* (for *uu ũũ iu iũ*) may also turn out to be harmonically ambivalent, implying that they can both precede and follow any other vowel qualities.

§23. Harmonic alternations. Palatal harmony and labial harmony (§§19-20) form the basis of vowel harmony, which regulates the distribution of vowels in Khamnigan Mongol words. Apart from plain stems, vowel harmony also applies to dependent elements, which are invariably of a suffixal character (suffixes or postpositional clitics). However, due to the presence of neutral vowels and combinatory exceptions, as specified by the rules of vowel phonotactics (§22), vowel harmony in Khamnigan Mongol has many restrictions both in the lexicon and in the morphology.

The harmonic rules imply that suffixes containing a low vowel normally have three alternant shapes, containing the segments *a o e*, respectively, e.g. dur. (*kara*- :) *kara-nan* 'to watch', (*oro*- :) *oro-non* 'to enter', (*uje*- :) *uje-nen* 'to see'. The same situation also applies to the corresponding double vowels (*aa oo ee*) and diphthongoid sequences ending in *i* (*ai oi ei*). In all these cases, the suffixal low vowel may be interpreted as a lexically partly unspecified archi-phonemic segment (*A AA Ai*).

Suffixes containing the neutral vowels *i u* or the corresponding complex vowels (*ii uu iu ui*) have only one harmonically invariant shape. The neutralized diphthongoid sequence *ie* likewise appears in an invariant shape in suffixes, but due to the impact of process phonology (§29) it can (at the surface) occur in a morphophonological alternation with the low double vowels *aa oo ee*.

§24. Consonants. In the consonant system Khamnigan Mongol makes a distinction between four places of articulation (labial, dental, palatal, velar) for two series of stops, strong (*p t c k*) and weak (*b d j g*).

Additionally, there are two fricatives (*s h*), three nasals (*m n ng*), a vibrant (*r*), a lateral (*l*), and two glides (*w y*) (Fig. 6).

The distinction between the two series of stops is phonetically based on the presence (in *p t c k*) or absence (in *b d j g*) of aspiration, though in intervocalic position the weak stops (especially *b g*) can also be voiced and spirantized. When voiced, the weak labial stop (*b*) merges with the labial glide (*w*), which is often pronounced as a dentilabial [v]. The distinctive labial glide (*w*) is best classified as a marginal phoneme, which occurs only in initial position and mainly in loanwords, as in *wang* 'king' (from Chinese).

<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ng</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>
		<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
	<i>r</i>		
	<i>l</i>		
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>	

Fig. 6. *Khamnigan Mongol consonants.*

The palatal stops (*c j*) are realized as affricates, which have a sibilant release similar to the quality of the palatal fricative (*s*). The palatal quality of the sibilant consonants (*c j s*) is most conspicuous before the vowel *i* (including *ii ie iu*), while before other vowels the dental realizations [ts^h dz s] are also possible, though not obligatory. Other consonants, with the exception of the dental stops (*t d*), also show a tendency of (secondary) palatalization before *i*.

The velar fricative (*h*) is normally pronounced as a voiceless or voiced laryngeal spirant of the types [h ɦ] with no observable velar friction. For diachronic reasons, this segment (< *s) occurs normally only before the vowels *a o e u*, though an example of the position before *i* may be synchronically present in *bihilig* (or *bihelig*) 'finger ring'. Correspondingly, the sibilant fricative (*s*) does not occur before vowels other than *i*, except in marginal non-native vocabulary, as in *suuliu* 'plastic' (from Chinese).

§25. Consonant phonotactics. The distribution of the consonants is governed by several positional restrictions. The entire inventory is attested only in intervocalic (word-internal syllable-initial) position

(VCV). The word-initial position (#CV) excludes the vibrant (*r*) and the velar nasal (*ng*), while the word-final (VC#) and syllable-final (VCC) positions exclude the strong stops (*p t c k*), the palatal stops (*c j*), the velar fricative (*h*), and the glides (*w y*). In word-final position, the distinction between the dental and the velar nasal (*n ng*) is neutralized. The sibilant fricative (*s*) is also rare both word-finally (only in loanwords) and syllable-finally, e.g. *olus* 'state' (from Mongol proper), *ooski/n* 'lung/s' (native).

Clusters composed of a nasal and a stop are normally realized as homorganic sequences (*mp mb nt nd nc nj ngk ngg*), as in *amba/n* 'governer', *congko/n* 'window'. Such cases could technically also be interpreted in terms of a neutralized nasal archiphoneme. The labial nasal (*m*) can, however, also occur before heterorganic stops, as in *umdaa/n* 'drink', *soomka/n* 'bag' (from Russian). Before consonants other than stops, the three nasals do contrast, though the occurrence of the velar nasal seems to be restricted to the position before a dental nasal (*ngn*), as in *angna-* 'to hunt'.

§26. Stem types. Apart from the effects of palatal and labial harmony on suffixal vowels (§23), the shape of the suffix depends on the distinction between vowel stems (ending in a vowel) and consonant stems (ending in a consonant). The suffixal boundary itself is not phonologically detectable, and in some cases morphological segmentation is open to alternative analyses (§32). Also, in many morphological categories, the distinction between the different stem types is phonologically neutralized in inflected forms.

Vowel stems are further divided into simple vowel stems (ending in a simple vowel) and complex vowel stems (ending in a double vowel or a diphthongoid sequence). In consonant stems, a distinction is made between obstruent stems (ending in an obstruent consonant) and sonorant stems (ending in a sonorant consonant). For diachronic reasons, the category of obstruent comprises in this context not only the syllable-finally attested actual obstruents (*b d g s*), but also the vibrant (*r*). Sonorants occurring in stem-final position include the three nasals (*m n ng*) and the lateral (*l*).

For some forms of the nominal declension it is also relevant to establish a subclass of nasal stems. In the technical sense, this subclass comprises only stems ending in the dental nasal *n*, but not in the labial and velar nasals *m ng*, which in stem-final position behave like the remaining sonorant *l*. From the point of view of stem structure, there

are two types of nasal stem: those ending in a stable *n*, and those ending in the unstable nasal /*n* (§34). Both types of nasal stem have an identical effect on suffix allomorphy.

§27. Connective segments. In contrast to independent words, suffixes can both consist of a single consonant segment (-C#) or begin with a consonant cluster (-CCV). Since, however, consonant clusters are not permitted in syllable-final position, such suffixes condition the addition of a connective vowel after consonant stems. The connective vowel is invariably /*u*, e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : ben. *ab/ugtui*. Synchronically it seems impossible to determine whether the connective vowel is a part of the stem, a part of the suffix, or (as assumed here) a contextually conditioned independent segment.

To avoid sequences of more than two vowel segments (VV), the consonantal connective segment /*g* is added after complex vowel stems before suffixes beginning with a (double) vowel, e.g. *joo-* 'to bite' : part. imperf. *joo/g-aa*. After nominal stems, the connective consonant can sometimes be replaced by the unstable nasal /*n* (§32), which basically is a semantically void morphological element (stem extension) with a lexically restricted distribution, e.g. *galoo/n* 'goose' : abl. *galoo/g-aaha ~ galoo/n-aaha*.

§28. Consonant alternations. The only stem-final consonant alternation in Khamnigan Mongol concerns the nasals *n* and *ng*, which, though lexically distinct, are neutralized both word-finally and before most suffix-initial consonants. The neutralized nasal is pronounced variously with a dental or a velar quality [*n* ~ *ŋ*], or even as vowel nasalization, but phonologically it is probably best analyzed as the dental segment *n*. The lexical distinction is maintained before a suffix-initial vowel (as well as before *n*), e.g. *on* 'year' : instr. *on-oor* vs. *an* (lexically *ang*) 'hunting' : instr. *ang-aar*.

A suffix-initial consonant alternation is present in suffixes beginning lexically with the weak dental and palatal stops *d j* (and marginally the velar *g*), which after obstruent stems are manifested as the corresponding strong stops *t c* (and *k*), e.g. *gal* 'fire' : dat. *gal-du* vs. *ger* 'dwelling' : dat. *ger-tu*, *yabu-* 'to travel' : conv. imperf. *yabu-ji* vs. *gar-* 'to exit' : conv. imperf. *gar-ci*.

§29. Vowel transformations. Both the insertion of connective segments (§27) and the presence of consonant alternations (§28) could

also be explained by postulating phonological processes. A process-oriented approach is in any case synchronically the best way to describe the surface representation of certain complex vowels that arise at the juncture of stems and suffixes. The relevant complex vowels are *oo* and *ie*, which occur as alternants of the otherwise expectable harmonic vowels *aa ee*.

Irrespective of whether the rules of labial harmony are applicable or not, the vowel *oo* is present in the inflection of back-vocalic stems (both nouns and verbs) ending in *u*, while stems ending in *a* exhibit the regular suffixal vowel *aa*, e.g. conv. perf. (*kara-* :) *karaad* 'to watch' vs. (*yabu-* :) *yabood* 'to travel'. In such cases, it has to be assumed that the actual suffix at the deep level (or lexically) begins with a harmonically alternating simple low vowel (A), which merges with the stem-final *a* and *u* to yield the complex vowels *aa* and *oo*, respectively, i.e. *karaad* ← *kara-Ad* vs. *yabood* ← *yabu-Ad*. This means that the surface vowel *oo* is in these cases derived from the deep-level sequence *ua* (*u-A*).

A harmonically irregular *oo* is also present in the inflection of back-vocalic consonant-stem verbs, e.g. conv. perf. (*ab-* :) *abood* 'to take'. In such cases, the underlying sequence *ua* is due to the insertion of the connective vowel *u*, i.e. *abood* ← *ab/u-Ad*. A similar derivation probably has to be postulated for the corresponding front-vocalic consonant stems, which at the surface show the vowel *ee*, e.g. (*kur-* :) part. imperf. *kuree* ← *kurue* ← *kur/u-A*. The connective vowel in these cases is synchronically conditioned by morphological factors, and its presence in the sequences *oo ee* (← */u-A*) is confirmed by the behaviour of the vowel stems in *u*.

A somewhat similar transformation is observed in stems (both nouns and verbs) ending in the neutral vowel *i*, which instead of the suffixal vowels *a o e* show the invariable complex vowel *ie*, e.g. (*mori/n* :) instr. *morier*. In such cases, the surface representation may be seen as the result of a secondary process, accumulated upon the regular harmonic representation of the deep level, e.g. *morier* ← *morior* ← *mori-Ar*.

§30. Sandhi. Independently pronounced words are marked in continuous speech by a lexically non-distinctive word stress (prosodic prominence), which in words with no complex vowels normally lies on the initial syllable (§17). The prosodic dominance of the initial syllable is also signalled by vowel harmony, though the harmonic

patterns are to some extent disturbed by the presence of neutral vowels in the system (§23).

At word boundaries in rapid speech, two types of segmental simplification are observed: vowel sandhi and nasal sandhi. Vowel sandhi involves the loss of the final simple vowels *a o e u* before an initial vowel of the following word, e.g. *tende ocie* → *tend_ocie* '(he) went there'. The vowel *i* is normally dropped only before another *i*, e.g. *kurci iree* → *kurc_iree* '(he) arrived'. In certain grammaticalized elements, notably the negative particle *ugui* (§50), the initial vowel can also be lost, e.g. *iree ugui* → *iree-gui* '(he) did not come', *idedeg ugui* → *idedeg-gui* '(he) does not usually eat'.

Nasal sandhi involves the partial assimilation of the word-final nasal *n* (lexically both *n* and *ng*) to a following word-initial stop, e.g. *manan boogaa* → *manam_boogaa* '(there) appeared fog', *naran garoo* → *narang_garoo* 'the sun rose'. This phenomenon is also observed in the morphology, e.g. *kuun* 'man' : vx sg. 1p. *kuum-bi* 'I am a man'. At the word boundary, nasal sandhi normally also applies to the position before a word-initial nasal, but in the morphology a final *n* is represented as *ng* before suffixes beginning with *m*, cf. e.g. px 1p. sg. *kuung-mini* 'my man'.

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§31. Parts of speech. Morphologically, Khamnigan Mongol makes a clear distinction between three parts of speech: nouns (nominals), verbs (verbals) and invariables. Nouns and verbs are distinguished by their separate inflectional patterns, while invariables are characterized by the absence of any inflection. Categories of nominal morphology (declension) include number and case as well as personal and reflexive possession. Categories of verbal morphology (conjugation) include tense and aspect (indicative forms), modality (imperative forms), nominalization (participles), and serialization (converbs). A category shared by both nouns and verbs is morphologically marked personal predication.

Both nominal and verbal stems can occur either with or without suffixal morphological markers. The processes of suffixation are similar for both classes, though the productive use of the connective vowel *u* (§27) seems to be confined to verbs. There is no major formal difference between nominal and verbal stems, but a minor difference

is that verbal stems, unlike nominal stems, cannot end in a nasal consonant (*m n ng*). For diachronic reasons, there are also no verbal stems ending in the sibilant *s* (the nouns of this stem type being recent loanwords). Thus, verbal stems can end in either a vowel, one of the obstruents *b d g*, or the lateral sonorant *l*.

On semantic and syntactic grounds, as well as on the basis of minor morphological differences, both nouns and verbs can further be divided into subclasses. Functionally distinct nominal subclasses are spatial, numerals, and pronouns, while a verbal subclass is formed by auxiliaries (auxiliary verbs). Within the class of nouns, it would also be possible to postulate a subclass of adjectives, which, unlike most other nouns (except numerals and some pronouns) are mainly used in dependent position (adnominally or adverbally). Finally, the class of invariables can be divided into subclasses on the basis of various differences in their discourse functions.

§32. Types of juncture. Although most morphological markers are obvious suffixes firmly attached to the preceding stem, the strength of the suffixal bond varies. An indicator of a relatively loose bond is the absence of vowel harmony in the suffixal element. In such cases, the suffixal element can often be replaced by a full word, and the absence of vowel harmony might be taken as an indication that the word boundary is retained, as in the progressive construction of verbs, e.g. progr. dur. *kele-ji+bai-nan* → *kele-j_ai-nan* or *kele-j-ai-nan* '(he) is speaking'. Apparently, such cases exemplify the process of on-going grammaticalization and suffixalization.

When the grammatical marker contains only harmonically neutral vowels, it is sometimes virtually impossible to determine whether a form should be analyzed as a sequence of two separate words or as a suffixally inflected single word. Structural criteria would often seem to support the suffixal interpretation, as in the privative construction (privative case), which is functionally the opposite of the suffixally formed possessive case, e.g. *nidu/n* 'eye' : poss. *nidu-tie* vs. priv. *nidu+ugui* → *nid_ugui* → *nid-ugui*.

For functional and distributional reasons, certain grammatical and discursive markers could possibly also be analyzed as clitics. Unfortunately, the distinction between the categories of suffix and clitic in Khamnigan Mongol is vague. In the absence of unambiguous criteria it is, for instance, impossible to determine the status of the personal markers (enclitic personal pronouns) of possession (§42) and

predication (§49) in this respect. The same is true of the negative marker *ugui* → *_ugui* → *-ugui* : *-gui* (§50), especially when used with verbal forms (negative conjugation).

The two elements closest to a distinct category of clitics (§53) are the sentence-final question particles interr. *-gu* and corr. *-bei*, which can follow any part of speech. Even so, a consistent basis for separating cliticization from suffixal morphology is difficult to establish even in these cases. Similar problems of interpretation are encountered with emphatic particles like *-ci* and *-l*.

§33. Morphological segmentation. For most details, Khamnigan Mongol morphology follows the principle of rather mechanical agglutination, leaving no doubt concerning the location of the suffixal juncture. Problems of segmentation are, however, encountered in forms containing a complex vowel at the suffixal boundary. In many morphological categories, a complex vowel is present at the suffixal boundary irrespective of whether the stem is a simple vowel stem, a complex vowel stem, or a consonant stem.

In the least ambiguous type of case, the complex vowel at the suffixal boundary may be explained as being composed of a stem-final simple vowel and a suffix-initial simple vowel, e.g. *kara-* 'to watch' : conv. perf. *karaad* = *kara-ad* ← *kara-Ad*. This explanation is also possible for consonant stems when they (in verbal inflection) take a connective vowel (§27), e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : conv. perf. *abood* = *ab/o-od* ← *ab/u-Ad*. In such examples, the complex vowel of the inflected form is morphologically segmentable.

The situation is more problematic when (in nominal inflection) no connective vowel is present after consonant stems. While simple vowel stems in such cases would seem to take a suffix variant beginning with a simple vowel, e.g. *tala* 'steppe' : instr. *tala-ar*, consonant stems take a variant beginning with a complex (double) vowel, e.g. *gal* 'fire' : instr. *gal-aar*. Alternatively, it could be assumed that the suffix contains an invariable complex vowel, which causes the final vowel of simple-vowel stems to be deleted, i.e. *tala* : *tal-aar*. Since there is no unambiguous basis to determine what the correct segmentation is, the decision depends on whether suffix allomorphy is preferred to stem allomorphy, or vice versa.

An argument possibly favouring the assumption of suffix allomorphy is that if the suffix begins with a vowel quality different from the last vowel of the stem, no vowel deletion takes place, cf. e.g. acc.

(*tala* :) *tala-i* vs. (*gal* :) *gal-ii*. On the other hand, complex vowel stems take suffix allomorphs beginning with a complex vowel, with the insertion of a connective consonant, e.g. *bee* 'shaman' : instr. *bee/g-eer* : acc. *bee/g-ii*. This might suggest that the lexical shape of all suffixes beginning with a vowel contains a complex vowel.

§34. The unstable nasal. Unlike the connective segments (§27), which are basically phonologically conditioned, some nominal stems end in the morphologically conditioned element of stem extension /*n*, known as the unstable nasal. The nouns concerned have two stems, the one with and the other without the unstable nasal, e.g. *mori/n* 'horse' : *mori-* ~ *morin-*. The distribution of the two stems depends on the morphological category. In some forms, both stems are permitted, e.g. abl. *mori-eha* ~ *morin-ooha*.

There are also nouns that end in a stable *n*. Due to the neutralization of lexical *n* and *ng* in word-final position (§28), the stable *n* can lexically represent both the dental segment *n*, as in *kaan* (lexically *kaan*) 'emperor' : *kaan-*, and the velar segment *ng*, as in *baisin* (lexically *baising*) 'building' : *baising-* : *baisin-*.

The unstable nasal occurs also in the nominal subclasses of numerals and pronouns, as well as in the suffixal element functioning as the reflexive marker of the nominal declension (§43). Adjectival nouns, however, can only end in a stable *n*, e.g. *hain* 'good' : *hain-*, and even ordinary non-adjectival (substantival) nouns ending in the unstable nasal always retain the nasal when used adnominally (as attributes), e.g. *modu/n* 'tree; wood' : *modung_kunug* 'wooden bucket'. Such behaviour of the unstable nasal would perhaps allow it to be classified alternatively as a case marker (attributive case) or as a denominal derivative suffix (adjectival nouns).

§35. Nominal number. Number marking is not obligatory in the regular nominal declension. The unmarked nominal stem (and its case forms) in Khamnigan Mongol can therefore have both singular and plural reference. This is particularly interesting from the point of view of areal typology, since Khamnigan Ewenki (like Ewenki, in general) has obligatory plural marking for all countable nouns.

For facultative plural marking, Khamnigan Mongol uses several suffixal elements. The most basic plural suffix is *-d*, which replaces the final (either stable or unstable) nasal *n* of the nominal stem, e.g. *keegen* 'child' : pl. *keege-d* 'children', *mori/n* 'horse' : pl. *mori-d*

'horses'. After other consonants, the suffix has the shape *-uud* (with a doubled connective vowel *uu*), e.g. *cerig* 'army, soldier' : pl. *cerig-uud* 'soldiers', *baisin* (lexically *baising*) : *baising-uud*. All of these plural forms may be regarded as more or less lexicalized. A suppletive lexicalized plural is present in *kuun* 'man, person' : *jon* 'people', also pl. *jon-uud*. The only possibly productive plural marker seems to be *-nuud*, e.g. *bacagan* 'girl' : pl. *bacagan-nuud*, but even its use is not obligatory and seems to be confined to cases of individualizable plurality (especially with +animate nouns).

Due to its non-obligatory character and lexically conditioned formal diversity, plural marking in Khamnigan Mongol is probably best regarded as a feature of derivative (rather than inflectional) morphology. In the nominal declension, the plural markers regularly precede the case endings.

§36. Primary cases. Apart from the basic unmarked (nominative) form (subject, indefinite or unspecific direct object) and the case-like (attributive) use of the unstable nasal (§34), Khamnigan Mongol has five suffixally marked primary cases (fig. 7): genitive (possessor), accusative (definite or specific direct object), dative (location at or movement to, indirect object), ablative (movement from), and instrumental (instrument, causee)

	VV	C	V
gen.	/g-A-	-A-	-in
acc.	/g-i-	-i-	-i
dat.			-du
abl.	/g-A-	-A-	-AhA
instr.	/g-A-	-A-	-Ar

Fig. 7. Khamnigan Mongol primary cases.

The variation in the shapes of the case endings is perhaps most conveniently described in terms of one basic set, which is used as such for simple vowel stems (V). Before endings beginning with a vowel, consonant stems (C) add a vowel segment, while double vowel stems additionally require the insertion of the connective consonant /g (Fig. 7.). What the actual lexical shape of the case endings is assumed to be depends on what approach is taken to the relevant issues concerning morphological segmentation (§33).

Additional variation is conditioned by the alternation of the suffix-initial consonant of the dative ending (*d* : *t*) after obstruent stems (§28). Stems ending in a diphthongoid sequence of the type *Vi* behave generally like double vowel stems, but take the exceptional plain genitive ending *-n*, e.g. *dalai* 'sea' : gen. *dalai-n*. Nasal stems (in *n* or */n*) show the entirely idiosyncratic genitive ending *-ie*, e.g. *galoo/n* 'goose' : gen. *galoo/n-ie*.

§37. Secondary cases. Of the primary cases, the genitive is always used adnominally, while the other cases are normally adverbial. There are, however, two other case-like forms, here termed secondary cases, which appear in both adnominal and adverbial use. These are the possessive case in *-tie* and the privative case in *+ugui* → *-ugui*, as in *nerē* 'name' : poss. *nerē-tie* 'with a name' : priv. *ner_ugui* 'without a name'. The question as to whether the privative marker is a suffix (privative case) or a separate particle (privative construction) is open to different interpretations (§32).

The synchronic problem concerning the status of the secondary cases is connected with the fact that, in their adnominal use, the possessive and privative forms could be analyzed as denominal (adjectival) nouns, e.g. *mori-tie kuun* 'a man with a horse, having a horse'. In principle, the adverbial occurrences of these cases could also be interpreted as denominal nouns, e.g. *mori-tie iree* '(he) came (in the state of being) with a horse'. From the diachronic point of view, it might be safest to say that the grammaticalization of these forms has not yet been fully completed.

§38. Spatial. A special group of nouns is formed by the so-called spatial, which express various spatial and temporal relations and are used either independently (as adverbs) or postnominally (as postpositions), e.g. *deere* 'above, up (there)', *kadan_deere* 'on the rock'. Although morphologically nouns, spatial have a defective paradigm, in which the basic (synchronically unmarked) form carries a locative (dative-locative) meaning. Other case forms, notably the ablative, are formed by adding the regular case endings.

§39. Numerals. The basic numerals have separate lexical stems for the digits from one to ten: *nege/n* 'one', *koir* 'two', *gurba/n* 'three', *durbe/n* 'four', *tabu/n* 'five', *jurgaa/n* 'six', *doloo/n* 'seven', *naima/n* 'eight', *yuhu/n* 'nine', *arba/n* 'ten'. The multiple decades are

expressed by the likewise lexically separate (though etymologically related) stems *kori/n* 'twenty', *goci/n* 'thirty', *duci/n* 'forty', *tabi/n* 'fifty', *jira/n* 'sixty', *dala/n* 'seventy', *naya/n* 'eighty', *yere/n* 'ninety', while the items for the powers of ten are *joo/n* 'hundred', *mingga/n* 'thousand', *tume/n* 'ten thousand'. With the single exception of the item for 'two', all numeral stems end in the unstable nasal. The attributive form of the numeral for 'one' is, however, exceptionally *nege* : *neg_* (with no final nasal segment).

Complex numerals are formed by the principles of addition, e.g. *arban_negen* 'eleven', and multiplication, e.g. *koir_joo/n* 'two hundred'. The higher powers of ten are based on 'ten thousand' (as in Chinese), e.g. *joon_tume/n* 'a million'. Some speakers also know the separate technical item *donsiur* 'a hundred million' (from Tibetan through Mongol proper and Written Mongol).

The main peculiarity of the numerals as a subclass of nouns is that they have a number of derivational categories of their own, including the ordinals in *-dA-ki* or *-dugAAr*, the collectives in *-Ula/n*, and the approximatives in *-Ad*, e.g. ord. *gurba-daki* ~ *gurba-dugaar* 'third', coll. *durbe-ele/n* 'four together', appr. *tabi-ed* 'about fifty'.

§40. Demonstratives. The demonstrative pronouns are based on the monosyllabic roots *e-* (proximal) vs. *te-* (distal), from which the actual pronominal stems, including pronominal adjectives, pronominal spatial, pronominal adverbs, and pronominal verbs, are derived by a number of idiosyncratic suffixes. The most common forms are *ene* : obl. *enee/n-* 'this' : *enee/g-uur* 'this way' : vs. *tere* : obl. *teree/n-* 'that' : *teree/g-uur* 'that way', pl. *ede* : obl. *edee/n-* 'these' vs. *tede* : obl. *tedee/n-* 'those', *ende* 'here' vs. *tende* 'there', *eime* 'like this' vs. *teime* 'like that', *edui* 'this much' vs. *tedui* 'that much', *eingge-* ~ *eige-* 'to do like this' vs. *teingge-* ~ *teige-* ~ *tege-* 'to do like that'.

The corresponding interrogatives, which are also used in the function of indefinite pronouns, are based on the root *ya-* ~ *ye-* ~ *yu-*, as attested in *yee/n* ~ *yuun/n* 'what' : dat. *yeen-du* ~ *yuun-du* 'why', *yeeme/n* 'something', *yamar* 'what kind of', *yaa-* 'to do how' : conv. imperf. *yaa-ji* 'how' : conv. perf. *yaa/g-aad* 'why' : part. perf. *yaa-han* 'what kind of'. A separate interrogative stem is present in *ali/n* 'which' : pl. *ali-d* 'of which clan'.

§41. Personal pronouns. Actual personal pronouns exist for the first and second persons singular and plural. The singular pronouns *bi* 'I'

vs. *ci* 'thou' stand in a synchronically arbitrary relationship with the corresponding plural pronouns *bide* 'we' vs. *ta* 'you', but inflectional patterns define all personal pronouns as a coherent class of nominal words (Fig 8.). The personal pronouns are also used enclitically to yield grammaticalized sets of suffixes denoting personal possession (§42) and personal predication (§49).

					vx	px
sg.	1p.		nom.	<i>bi/i</i>	<i>-bi</i>	<i>-mini</i>
			gen.	<i>min-ii</i>		
			obl.	<i>nama-</i>		
	2p.		nom.	<i>ci/i</i>	<i>-ci</i>	<i>-cini</i>
			gen.	<i>cin-ii</i>		
			obl.	<i>cima-</i>		
	3p.				<i>-ni</i>	
pl.	1p.		nom.	<i>bide</i>	<i>-bida</i>	<i>-mAnA</i>
		incl.	gen.	<i>biden-ie</i>		
			obl.	<i>biden-</i>		
		excl.	gen.	<i>man-ie</i>		
			obl.	<i>man-</i>		
		2p.		nom.		
			gen.	<i>tan-ie</i>		
			obl.	<i>tan-</i>		

Fig. 8. *Khamnigan Mongol personal pronouns*

The morphology of the personal pronouns involves several special features, including the use of a nasal stem in the genitive and plural oblique cases, the appearance of the stem extension element *-ma-* in the singular oblique cases, the exceptional ending *-ii* in the singular genitive forms, and the initial alternation *b : m* in the first person singular stem. The monosyllabic singular and second person plural pronouns, which in unstressed position have the structure CV, also appear in the shape CVV when stressed.

An additional feature of the first person plural pronoun is the division of the genitive and oblique forms into an inclusive (*biden-*) and an exclusive (*man-*) variety, though the distinction is not consistent in actual speech. The second person plural pronoun is often used in an honorific function with reference to a single person, while

an actual plural reference can be specified by using the lexicalized plural form *taa-nar* 'you (many)'.

The function of a third person pronoun is filled by the demonstrative *tere* 'that' → 'he/she/it', which is often accompanied by a suitable noun, e.g. *tere kuun* 'that person'. The plural form *tedeen* 'those' is, however, also used as an honorific for 'you'.

The interrogative personal pronoun is *ken* 'who'. From the same root *ke-* (general interrogative), a number of non-personal question words are also formed, including *ker* 'how', *kejie* 'when', *kedui* 'how much', *kedun* 'how many; some'.

§42. Personal possession. The possessor of an entity referred to by a noun can be expressed by a set of possessive suffixes, which represent the shortened forms of the pronominal genitives (Fig. 8), e.g. *ger* 'house': px sg. 1p. *ger-mini* 'my house': 2p. *ger-cini* 'thy house': pl. 1p. *ger-mene* 'our house': 2p. *ger-tene* 'your house'. The third person possessive suffix is *-ni*, which is used for both singular and plural reference, e.g. px 3p. *ger-ni* 'his/her/their house'. The possessive suffixes can also be added to inflected case forms, e.g. *mori/n* 'horse': instr. px sg. 1. *mori-er-mini* 'with my horse'.

In the presence of a regular pronominal genitive, the use of the possessive suffixes is not obligatory, e.g. *minii ijii-mini* ~ *minii ijii* 'my mother'. On the other hand, the second and third person possessive suffixes are often used in discourse functions separate from possession, including definiteness and topicality, e.g. px 3p. *nege-ni* 'the one, one of them', *ugleedur-ni* 'on the next day', px sg. 2p. *tanie koir ukin-cini* 'those two daughters of yours (of which we have talked)'. In such functions, the possessive suffixes can also be attached to pronominal stems and forms, e.g. px sg. 2p. *ene-cini* 'this one here', *tende-cini* 'there', *bide-cini* 'we'.

§43. Reflexive possession. Reflexive reference to the subject of the clause is expressed by the reflexive suffix *-A/n* (after simple vowel stems) ~ *-AA/n* (after consonant stems) ~ */g-AA/n* (after double vowel stems). The reflexive suffix occurs, as it seems, freely both with and without the final unstable nasal */n*.

The plain reflexive form denotes a direct object, e.g. *aka* 'elder brother': refl. *aka-a/n*. The reflexive suffix can also be added to inflected case forms, e.g. instr. *aka-ar*: refl. *aka-ar-aa/n*, poss. *aka-tie*: refl. *aka-tie/g-aa/n*. Exceptionally, in the genitive, the synchronically

empty segment *-k-* is inserted before the reflexive suffix, e.g. gen. *aka-in* : refl. *aka-ing-k-aa/n*. In the dative, the dative ending appears in the exceptional shape *-d-* (*-t-*) or *-dA-* (*-tA-*), e.g. *abu* 'father' : dat. refl. *abu-daa/n* 'to his father'.

The reflexive suffix is also normally used on the reflexive pronoun *eer-* '(one)self', e.g. refl. *eer-ee/n* 'oneself; by oneself' : dat. refl. *eer-tee/n* 'for/to oneself'. The genitive form *eer-ein* 'one's own' has, however, no reflexive suffix.

§44. Finite verbal forms. The plain verbal stem is used as a finite predicate in the function of a second person imperative, e.g. *yabu* 'go!'. Other finite verbal forms are marked by suffixes, which indicate a variety of modal, temporal, and aspectual distinctions (Fig. 9). The actual shapes of the finite suffixes show examples of the addition of the connective vowel /*u* after consonant stems (C), and of the connective syllable /*g-A-* after double vowel stems (VV). The basic suffix shapes are used after simple vowel stems (V). Certain suffixes also have emphatic (lengthened) variants.

	VV	C	V	emph.
vol.			-yAA	
ben.		/u-	-gtui	
prescr.	/g-A-	/u-	-Arie	
dur.			-nAn	-nAA
term.			-bA	-bAA
conf.			-lAA	
res.			-ji	-jie

Fig. 9. Khamnigan Mongol finite markers.

Apart from the plain imperative, three of the commonly used finite forms may be characterized as imperatives: the voluntative (intended action of the first person), the benedictive (request to the second person), and the prescriptive (exhortation to the second person), e.g. vol. *yabu-yaa* 'let us go!', ben. *yabu-gtui* '(would you) please go!', prescr. (*yabu-Arie* →) *yabo-orie* '(please) go!'. The remaining forms have a basically temporal-aspectual function, but only one of them, the durative (basic form of the present tense range), is used actively in normal speech, e.g. dur. *yabu-nan* '(he) goes; (he)

travels'. The three forms labelled the terminative, the confirmative, and the resultative (all mainly with a past tense reference, possibly differentiated according to aspectuality and evidentiality), seem to be restricted to the realm of archaic oral narratives, e.g. term. emph. *yabu-baa*, conf. *yabu-laa*, res. emph. *yabu-jie*.

§45. Participles. Participles in Khamnigan Mongol may be defined as a class of multifunctional verbal forms with a nominal morphology. In principle, participles can occur in the sentence in the position of finite predicates, adnominal attributes, and (with the appropriate case endings) adverbial complements. The degree of multifunctionality varies, however, and there is a gradual transition towards the realms of derivation (deverbal nouns), on the one hand, and finite conjugation (temporal-aspectual forms), on the other.

	VV	C	V
fut.			-ku
imperf.	/g-A-	/u-	-A
perf.			-hAn
hab.			-dAg
ag.	/g-A-	/u-	-Aci

Fig. 10. Khamnigan Mongol participle markers.

Of the five forms that may be classified as participles (Fig. 10), only three, the futuritive, perfective, and habitive participles, exhibit a full range of both verbal and nominal properties, e.g. *ire-* 'to come' : part. fut. *ire-ku* '(one who will be) coming', *ab-* 'to take' : part. perf. *ab-han* '(one who has) taken', *uje-* 'to see' : part. hab. *uje-deg* '(one who is) always seeing'. The imperfective participle is most commonly used as a finite form (past tense), e.g. *ala-* 'to kill' : part. imperf. *ala-a* '(they) killed', and its adnominal or adverbial use is rare. The agentive participle, on the other hand, mainly functions as a fully nominal agentive noun (*nomen actoris*), e.g. *kele-* 'to speak' : part. ag. *kele-eci* '(one who is) speaking; speaker'.

The functional differences between the participial forms involve both temporal and aspectual distinctions. The perfective and imperfective participles both have a past tense reference accompanied by an aspectual difference. The habitive participle has a present or atemporal (or aorist) habitive (or iterative) reference. The futuritive participle,

apart from referring to the future tense, is also used as a general action noun (infinitive) with no temporal content.

§46. Converbs. Converbs in Khamnigan Mongol may be defined as non-finite verbal forms which function as intermediate predicates in complex sentences. By definition, the relationship of a converb to the following finite verb is probably always best understood as one of syntactic subordination. Converbs often serve to serialize verbs into chains in which each verb (including converbial forms) serves as the syntactic headword of the preceding verb.

	VV	C	V
mod.		/u-	-n
imperf.			-ji
perf.	/g-A-	/u-	-Ad
cond.	/g-A-	/u-	-Aha

Fig. 11. Khamnigan Mongol converb markers.

Of the four basic converbs (Fig. 11), the two most common are the imperfective and perfective converbs, which indicate simultaneous and anterior action, respectively, e.g. *bedere-* 'to seek' : conv. imperf. *bedere-ji* '(while) seeking', *oci-* 'to go' : conv. perf. *oci-ed* '(after) having gone'. The modal converb is functionally close to the imperfective converb, e.g. *ide-* 'to eat' : conv. mod. *ide-n* 'eating', but it is more often used in lexicalized verbal pairs or repetitive constructions. It is also used to form the only extant negative converb, marked by the complex ending *-ng-gui*, e.g. *kele-* 'to say' : conv. mod. neg. *kele-ng-gui* 'without saying'. The conditional converb expresses a clear conditional or temporal subordination, and unlike the other converbs it can also take the third person possessive suffix to indicate personal marking, e.g. *ire-* 'to come' : conv. cond. *ire-ehe* ~ px 3p. *ire-ehe-ni* 'if/when he/she/they come/s'.

A fifth converb, which mainly seems to be confined to folkloric texts, is the terminative converb in *-tAr*. The reference is that of simultaneous or anterior action ('while', 'until'), e.g. 1p. sg. gen. + conv. term. *minii ire-ter* 'until I come'.

§47. Quasiconverbs. Clausal subordination can also be expressed by the regular adverbial case forms of the participles, to which the

possessive suffixes or the reflexive suffix can be added as person markers. Such constructions may be termed quasiconverbs, since they fulfil the role of converbs, but remain morphologically transparent and segmentable. The distinction between converbs and quasiconverbs is basically one of synchronic morphology, while functionally the two categories form a coherent system of subordinative verbal forms. Interclausal syntactic relations for which no actual converb marker is available are therefore expressed by a suitable quasiconverbial construction. In most cases, quasiconverbs involve functionally a considerable degree of grammaticalization.

The most common type of quasiconverb is based on the dative form of the futuritive participle with or without a personal marker. The meaning is normally temporal ('when', 'as', 'during'), e.g. *uje-* 'to see' : part. fut. dat. *uje-ku-du* 'during (the process of) seeing', *garga-* 'to take out' : part. fut. dat. px 3p. *garga-ku-du-ni* 'when he took (it) out', *yabu-* 'to travel; to go' : part. fut. refl. (with reference to a first person plural subject) *yabu-ku-daa/n* 'as (we) went'. A final meaning ('in order to') is expressed by the instrumental case form of the futuritive participle, e.g. *oolja-* 'to meet' : part. fut. instr. *oolja-ko-or* 'in order to meet', while the ablative case conveys a selective meaning ('instead of', 'rather than'). e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : part. fut. abl. *ab-ko-oha* 'instead of taking'.

§48. Tense and aspect. The finite forms (§44) and the participles (§45) together offer a wide selection of potential finite predicative forms with a variety of temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions. Out of this multitude, the Khamnigan Mongol everyday language normally only uses four forms to build the basic temporal-aspectual paradigm of modally unmarked predicative forms. In this paradigm, the present tense range is expressed by the finite durative form, the future tense range by the futuritive participle, and the past tense range by the imperfective participle, e.g. *yabu-* 'to travel; to go' : dur. *yabunan* '(he/she) goes' : part. fut. *yabu-ku* '(he/she) will go' : part. imperf. *yabo-o* '(he/she) went'.

The confirmative, terminative, and resultative forms of the actual finite paradigm also represent the past tense range, but the synchronic functional differences (if any) of these forms are obscured by the dominance of the imperfective participle as the normal past tense predicative form of main clauses. On the other hand, in non-finite (participial) functions the dominant form with a past (perfective)

reference is the perfective participle. This suggests an on-going process of restructuring in which the imperfective participle is becoming specialized as a finite form, while the perfective participle is being limited to non-finite functions only.

The fourth predicative form is the habitive participle, which is used as an aspectually marked (iterative) form of (mainly) the present tense range, e.g. part. hab. *yabu-dag* '(he/she) normally goes'. Like the futuritive participle, the habitive participle retains a full range of both finite and non-finite uses.

§49. Personal predication. To specify the subject person, a finite predicate may take the predicative personal endings, which represent the enclitically used basic forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (§41). Most commonly, the predicative personal endings are attached to the four verbal forms functioning as predicates (§48), e.g. *kara-* 'to watch' : dur. vx 1p. sg. (present tense) *kara-nam-bi* 'I watch' : part. fut. vx 2p. sg. (future tense) *kara-ku-ci* 'thou shalt watch' : part. imperf. vx 1p. pl. (past tense) *kara-a-bida* 'we watched' : part. hab. vx 2p. pl. (habitual) *kara-dag-ta* 'you often watch'.

The predicative personal endings can also be attached to a noun functioning as a nominal predicate without a copula, e.g. *kuun* 'man, person' : vx 1p. sg. *kuun-bi* 'I am a person', *endeki* '(one) from here' : vx 2p. pl. *endeki-te* 'you are from here'.

A third person subject is always unmarked for person. The plural number of a third person subject can, however, be facultatively marked on the durative marker *-nan* : 3p. pl. *-na-d*, e.g. dur. 3p. *kara-nan* '(he/she) watches' : pl. *kara-na-d* 'they watch'. The plural marker *-d* in this form is formally identical with the basic marker of nominal plurality (§35), suggesting that the durative form has also a nominal identity, although it is not used participially. The plural is never marked on other verbal forms, including the predicatively used futuritive, imperfective, and habitive participles.

§50. Negation. All the four basic temporal-aspectual forms used as finite verbal predicates (§48) can be negated by adding the negative particle *ugui* 'absent; not', which in most of the relevant forms appears in the shape *-gui*, e.g. *kara-* 'to watch' : dur. neg. *kara-nang-gui* '(he/she) does not watch' : part. imperf. neg. *kara-a-gui* '(he/she) did not watch' : part. hab. neg. *kara-dag-gui* '(he/she) does not usually watch'. The negative form of the futuritive participle is probably best

analyzed as containing the suffix *-ugui*, e.g. *cida-* 'to be able to' : part. fut. neg. *cida-k-ugui* '(he/she) is not able to', reflecting the effect of vowel sandhi (§30). The negative forms are a verbal analogy of the privative construction of nouns (§37).

The personal predicative endings are regularly added after the negative marker, e.g. *ki-* 'to do' : part. imperf. neg. vx 1p. sg. *ki-e-gui-bi* 'I did not do (it)'. It remains an open question whether the elements of personal and negative marking are synchronically true suffixes or relatively loose clitics. The strict order of the elements would seem to support the suffixal interpretation, allowing the system to be viewed as a manifestation of a fully developed and grammaticalized negative conjugation of the verb.

The negative marker *-gui* can also be added to non-finitely used participial forms. The normal negative counterpart of the perfective participle is, however, based on the imperfective participle, e.g. *yabu-* 'to travel' : part. perf. *yabu-han* '(one who is) gone' : part. imperf. neg. *yabo-o-gui* '(one who is) not gone'. In a somewhat similar way, the negative form corresponding to the perfective and imperfective converbs is based on the modal converb, e.g. *ab-* 'to take' : conv. imperf. *ab-ci* 'taking' : conv. perf. *ab/o-od* 'having taken' : conv. mod. neg. *ab/u-ng-gui* 'without taking'.

In distinction from other verbal forms, the imperatives are negated by the preposited prohibitive particle *buu* 'do not!', e.g. *buu kele* 'do not say (it)!', also used in the phrase *buu mede* '(I) don't know; who knows' (literally: 'do not know!'). Nominal identity is negated by the postposited negative particle (negative copula) *bisi*, e.g. *ene bisi* '(it is) not this (one)'.

§51. Auxiliaries. There is no morphologically distinct class of auxiliary verbs in Khamnigan Mongol. Certain verbs can, however, function as auxiliaries (or quasi-auxiliaries) in that they modify the meaning of other verbs. In such constructions, the auxiliary takes the position of the syntactic headword, which can form either a finite or a non-finite predicate, while the verb to be modified (the semantic main verb) stands before the auxiliary in the invariable non-finite form of imperfective converb.

The verbs functioning as auxiliaries typically add a modal or a directional meaning, as in *ire-ji cida-k-ugui* '(he) cannot come' with the auxiliary *cida-* 'to be able to' (modal), *guilge-ji ire-ed* 'he came galloping (his horse) and (...)' with the auxiliary *ire-* 'to come'

(directional). All auxiliaries can also be used as independent verbs with a basic meaning of their own.

The most basic and common auxiliary is *bai-* 'to be, to stay, to stand', which in combination with the imperfective converb of a preceding verb forms what may be called the progressive construction, e.g. *kele-* 'to say' : progr. dur. *kele-ji bai-nan* '(he) is saying'. The progressive construction involves a series of marked progressive tenses, as opposed to the basic tense forms (§48), which have a more general temporal reference. Due to its frequent occurrence in speech, the progressive marker appears facultatively also in the synthetic shape *-j-ai-*, e.g. progr. dur. *kele-j-ai-nan*. Even so, the progressive marker remains harmonically invariant (§32).

§52. Invariables. The class of invariables in Khamnigan Mongol comprises a variegated selection of adverbs, postpositions, interjections, conjunctions, and particles. Many of these are petrified forms of actual nouns and verbs, some of which are still extant in the language. The postposition *kurter* 'until', for instance, is formally the terminative converb (*kur-ter*) of the verb *kur-* 'to reach'. On the other hand, the conjunction *aaha* 'if; if (it) is' represents the productive category of conditional converb (*a-aha*) from the otherwise synchronically unattested verbal stem (*)*a-* 'to be'.

Although invariables are, in principle, a feature of the lexicon, rather than of the grammar, their borderline against inflectable words is transient. Invariables can, for instance, take possessive suffixes to indicate personal reference, cf. e.g. px sg. 1p. *yabu-ji kurter-mini* 'until I go', px 3p. *xain aaha-ni* 'if it is good'.

In ordinary running speech, several kinds of significant word, including the pronouns *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that' and the adverb *odoo* 'now', are frequently used as filling words ('well') and markers of pauses. In a slightly more grammaticalized function, the topicalization of a noun (often in subject position) can also be marked by the word *baigaaha*, formally the conditional converb of *bai-* 'to be' : conv. cond. *bai/g-aaha* 'when (it) is' > 'as for'. As a feature borrowed from Mongol proper, the invariant particle *bol* (cf. *bol-* 'to become') is also occasionally used for the same purpose.

§53. Clitics. Insofar as the privative construction (§37), the possessive suffixes (§42), the predicative personal endings (§49), and verbal negation (§50) are considered as features of suffixal morphology, the

realm of potential clitics in Khamnigan Mongol is confined to a few suffix-like particles which always stand in final positions, and which express various general discourse functions.

Interrogation (bi-polar question) is expressed by the interrogative particle *-gu*, which can be attached to any word or form. In a typical sentence with a finite predicate, the interrogative particle ends a fully conjugated verbal form, which forms the last word of the sentence, e.g. dur. vx sg. 2p. interr. *cida-nan-ci-gu* 'are you able to?', part. fut. neg. interr. *ire-k-ugui-gu* 'will (he) not come?'.

The interrogative particle is not used in sentences containing an interrogative pronoun or related word (non-bi-polar question), but the latter type of sentence normally nevertheless requires the presence of the corrogative particle *-bei*, e.g. *yeem_bei* 'what is (it)?', part. imperf. vx pl. 2p. corr. [*kejie*] *ire-e-te-bei* '[when] did you arrive?'. Thus, an interrogative sentence normally always ends in a particle, but the two particles *-gu* and *-bei* are in complementary distribution.

Emphasis on any word is expressed by the particles *-l* ~ *-lA* and *-dAA*, e.g. *yabu-* 'to travel' : conv. imperf. emph. *yabu-ji-l*, *guice-* 'to catch up' : dur. emph. *guice-nen-dee*. A similar role is played by the particle *-ci*, which, however, also forms marked indefinite pronouns from the interrogatives, e.g. *yee/n* 'what; something' : indef. *yee-ci* 'something; anything'. In sentences with a negative predicate, the indefinite marker has a connegative function, e.g. *yee-ci ki-e-gui-bi* 'I did not do anything'. Obviously, these cases lie in the borderzone between discourse, syntax, inflection, and derivation.

DIACHRONIC ASPECTS

§54. Areal position. In the context of the Mongolic language family, Khamnigan Mongol may be classified as the northeastern member of the core group also termed Common Mongolic (Fig. 12). The other entities comprised by Common Mongolic are: Buryat in the north(west), Oirat in the west, Ordos in the south, as well as Mongol proper, which, in turn, is divided into the Khalkha (central) and Khorchin (eastern) groups of dialects. Due to its location, Khamnigan Mongol has natural connections with both Buryat and Mongol proper (both dialect groups). These connections are evident from a number of shared features (both archaisms and innovations), which may have either a genetic or an areal background.

Outside of Common Mongolic, the Mongolic family comprises three peripheral entities, which are: Dagur (in the northeast), Moghol (in the southwest), and Shirongolic (in the south). Of these, only Dagur is of immediate diachronic relevance to Khamnigan Mongol. The Dagur homeland was originally located on the Upper Amur, immediately to the northeast of the Khamnigan native territory in historical Dauria, and secondary ethnic movements have also introduced Dagur speakers to the Mergel and Imin basins, the modern territory of the surviving Khamnigan population in China.

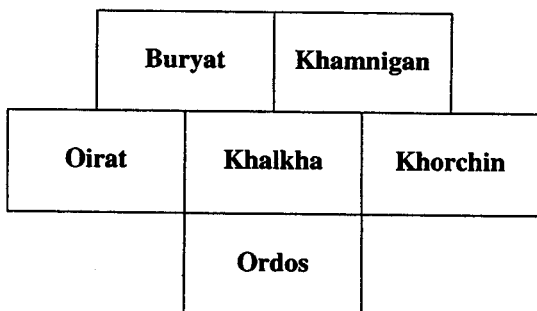


Fig. 12. *The Common Mongolic languages.*

§55. **The impact of time.** Khamnigan Mongol is often characterized as an exceptionally “archaic” or “conservative” Mongolic language, implying that time has had little effect on its properties. This conclusion is particularly well justified if the facts of diachronic and comparative phonology are considered.

If the reconstructed Proto-Mongolic state is taken as a basis, it is obvious that Khamnigan Mongol has undergone substantially fewer phonological innovations than any other living Mongolic language, including Dagur, Buryat, and Khalkha (as well as other dialects of Mongol proper). In this respect, there is no significant difference between the two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol (Mankovo and Urulga). The total number of phonological innovations in Khamnigan Mongol ranges from 10 (Mankovo) to 12 (Urulga), while the neighbouring Mongolic languages all show a minimum of some 21 innovations, or even more if their individual dialects are considered (Fig. 13, data adapted from Janhunen 1992).

Important phonological innovations absent in Khamnigan Mongol, but present in the neighbouring Mongolic languages, include prebreaking (as in Mongol proper), palatal breaking (as in Dagur, Buryat, and Mongol proper), labial breaking (as in Dagur), palatal umlaut (as in Khorchin), non-initial-syllable vowel reduction (as in Buryat and Dagur) or loss (as in Mongol proper, dialectally also in Dagur), and the spirantization of the velar stop **k* (as in Mongol proper and Buryat, positionally also in Dagur) and of the palatal stop **c* (as in Buryat, dialectally also in Mongol proper).

The general conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol phonology renders a conspicuously archaic look to many actual words and word forms in the language, cf. e.g. **mika* 'meat' > Khamnigan Mongol *mika* vs. Buryat *myaxa* vs. Khalkha *max*, part. fut. **cida-ku* 'to be able to' > Khamnigan Mongol *cidaku* vs. Buryat *shadaxa* vs. Khalkha *cadx*, **koni/n* 'sheep' > Khamnigan Mongol *koni/n* vs. Khalkha *xony* vs. Khorchin *xön*.

It is more difficult to point out unambiguous morphological or syntactic features for which Khamnigan Mongol would be more conservative than its neighbours. However, due to the absence of innovations in segmental phonology and syllable structure, many morphological markers are better preserved in Khamnigan Mongol than in any other living Mongolic language. A case in point is the durative marker *-nAn* < **-nAm*, which in all other Mongolic languages appears in the shapes (*-)*nA* ~ **nAA* ~ **nAi*. The preservation of the unstable /*n* in the basic form of nominal stems (as also in Buryat) is possibly another archaic morphological feature.

§56. Comparative evidence. It is illustrative to take an overall look at the distribution of the phonological innovations in Khamnigan Mongol and its Mongolic neighbours (Fig. 13).

Although the exact numbers of shared and separating features are always subject to alternative interpretations (depending on the details of the synchronic, diachronic, and dialectological analysis), it is an undeniable fact that the number of phonological innovations shared by the two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol with each other (8) or with the neighbouring Mongolic languages (6-10) is smaller than the number of innovations shared by the latter languages among themselves (10-15). On the other hand, the number of innovations separating the two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol from each other is very small (6), compared with the number of innovations separating

the neighbouring Mongolic languages from Khamnigan Mongol (15) or from each other (12-22).

	T	shared with					separating from				
		M	U	B	Kh	D	M	U	B	Kh	D
M	10	-	8	8	8	8	-	6	15	15	15
U	12	8	-	9	6	10	6	-	15	21	13
B	21	8	9	-	15	10	15	15	-	12	22
Kh	21	8	6	15	-	10	15	21	12	-	22
D	21	8	10	10	10	-	15	13	22	22	-

Fig. 13. *Distribution of phonological innovations.*

M = the Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Mongol, U = the Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Mongol, B = Buryat, Kh = Khalkha, D = Dagur, T = total number of phonological innovations.

It may be concluded that Khamnigan Mongol is, indeed, a distinct language, which, at least when judged by the distribution of phonological innovations, stands clearly apart from its Mongolic neighbours. The two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol are united not so much by the number of shared innovations as by the absence of any separating innovations. This is understandable against the background of the general conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol.

§57. Relation to Buryat. The occasional claims made by some scholars (notably Damdinov) according to which Khamnigan Mongol should be classified as a "dialect" of Buryat are apparently based on political, rather than linguistic, considerations. Even so, there are also linguistic features that do link Khamnigan Mongol with Buryat. The question is whether these features represent actual shared innovations, secondary areal borrowings, or original Proto-Mongolic properties that have been lost in the other Mongolic languages.

At the lexical level, Khamnigan Mongol shares with Buryat (sometimes only with certain dialects of Buryat) many obvious archaisms, which definitely do not imply any primary connection between the two languages. In such cases, a secondary sporadic innovation has taken place in the other Mongolic languages, especially in Mongol proper. Examples are offered by, e.g., **abu* 'father' > Khamnigan Mongol *abu* = Buryat *aba* vs. Khalkha *aaw* (sporadic

lengthening), **küün* 'man, person' > Khamnigan Mongol *kuun* = Buryat *xüün* ~ *xün* vs. Khalkha *xüng* (sporadic shortening), **söni* 'night' > Khamnigan Mongol *huni* = Buryat *hüni* vs. Khalkha *shön* (sporadic metathesis and breaking), **caarsu/n* 'paper' > Khamnigan Mongol *caarhu/n* = Buryat *saarha/n* vs. Khalkha *tsaas/ng* (sporadic simplification of medial cluster).

In other examples, it is impossible to determine which side is innovative, Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat (sometimes dialectally) or Mongol proper (and other Mongolic languages). This is the case in, e.g., *degel* 'garment' > Khamnigan Mongol *degel* = Buryat *degel* vs. **de(x)el* > Khalkha *deel*, **getesü/n* 'stomach' > Khamnigan Mongol *getehu/n* = Buryat (dialectal) *getehe/n* vs. **gedesü/n* > Khalkha *geds/ng*, **ölir* 'wild apple' > Khamnigan Mongol *ulir* = Buryat *ülir* vs. **öril* > Khalkha *örl*. The general conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol would certainly suggest that in most of these cases, Mongol proper (with Khalkha) is the innovative side.

The situation is similar in morphology. Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat share a number of morphological properties, but at least some of them are archaisms. An example is the conditional converb of the type *-AsA, as opposed to secondary formations in most other Mongolic languages. Other features are ambiguous. For instance, the unmarked (neutral) finite past tense is normally expressed in both Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat by the imperfective participle, while most of the other Mongolic languages use the perfective participle for the same purpose. Ultimately, both of these usages may involve an innovation, but their chronology remains unclear.

Another ambiguous morphological feature is the presence of a system of personal predicative endings in both Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat. Although absent in Mongol proper and most other Mongolic languages, this may be a feature deriving from the Proto-Mongolic level (Middle Mongol). Both the presence and absence of personal conjugation is supported by the areal environment (the neighbouring non-Mongolic languages), and the absence of the feature may also represent an areal innovation.

There are ultimately only three phonological developments that may represent innovations common to both Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat. These are: the syllable-final development **s* > *d*, as in part. fut. **neis-kü* 'to fly' > Khamnigan Mongol *neidku* = Buryat *niidexe* vs. Khalkha *nix*, the prevocalic development **s* > *h* (except before **i*), as in **seül* 'tail' > Khamnigan Mongol *heel* = Buryat *hüül* vs.

Khalkha *süül*, and the paradigmatic neutralization $*\ddot{o} > (*\ddot{u}) > u$, as in $*\ddot{o}d\ddot{u}r$ 'day' > Khamnigan Mongol *udur* = Buryat *üder* vs. Khalkha *ödr*. However, these developments are documented only from the Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Mongol, and they may be due to specific links between this particular dialect and Buryat.

§58. Relation to Mongol proper. In contrast to the Urulga dialect, the Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Mongol is reported to lack the developments $*s > d$ and $*s > h$, possibly also the development $*\ddot{o} > u$, though the presence or absence of the latter feature is difficult to verify against the relatively unreliable primary documentation available from the Mankovo dialect. In any case, it is obvious that the Buryat orientation, as observed in the Urulga dialect, is less strong or even absent in the Mankovo dialect. Since, however, the preservation of $*s$ and $*\ddot{o}$ would not involve any shared innovations, it is not immediately clear whether the Mankovo dialect may be said to have a similar positive orientation towards Mongol proper.

There are at least two possible explanations of the situation. On the one hand, the Urulga dialect may really have been secondarily influenced by Buryat, while the Mankovo dialect may or may not have undergone a corresponding influence of Mongol proper. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Urulga and Mankovo dialects derive from two primary forms of Mongolic, which were only secondarily united into a single language. This possibility is supported by the fact that the two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol have very few shared innovations as far as phonology is concerned. Even so, they appear to be morphologically, morphosyntactically, and lexically very close to each other, and in these respects the Mankovo dialect is also closer to Buryat than to Mongol proper.

Since the two dialects of Khamnigan Mongol, together with the two known dialects of Khamnigan Ewenki, were traditionally spoken within the same relatively small and compact ethnic population, there may have been instances of dialect mixture. Among the modern Khamnigan in China, certain old speakers seem to possess an ability to modify their language between the "Buryat" and "Mongol" types of speech. Most importantly, it is a question of replacing the otherwise normal intervocalic *h* by the "Mongol" *s*, but other changes are also possible. It is difficult to judge whether this limited diglossia is connected with the remnants of an old dialectal dichotomy, or with the more recent influence of Mongol proper.

The younger generation of the Khamnigan in China are today largely bilingual in Mongol proper (of the Khorchin type). Although sophisticated individuals are able to keep the two languages apart, less careful speakers may mix them, resulting in various types of structural and lexical interference. The impact of this interference on the future of the Khamnigan Mongol language remains to be seen.

§59. Relation to Dagur. Although Dagur speakers are not known to have been in immediate contact with the Khamnigan before recent times, Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur share a number of common features, which may be due to areal interaction. Most importantly, the vowel systems in the two languages show similar tendencies. Both Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol possess the long (complex) vowel *ie*, deriving (by harmonic neutralization) from earlier **iA*, e.g. **taria/n* 'crop' > Khamnigan Mongol *tarie/n* = Dagur *tarie* vs. Khalkha & Buryat *taryaa/n*. The development **ö* > **ü* (> *u*) common to Khamnigan Mongol and Buryat, is also shared by Dagur. The overall reduction of the vowel paradigm from the original seven simple vowels (with **ö*) first to six (with **ü*) and finally to five (with only *a o u e i*) is an established fact in Dagur, and it seems also to be the situation in at least some forms of Khamnigan Mongol.

In the consonantism, the syllable-final development **s* > *d* in Buryat and the Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Mongol, which involves a positional neutralization of the distinction between **s* and **d*, has a possible parallel in the Dagur rhotacism **s* & **d* (& **b* & **g*) > *r*, which is also a neutralizational development, cf. e.g. *bös* 'textile' > Khamnigan Mongol (Urulga) *bud* vs. Dagur (> **bud* > **bur* >) *huri*. This might imply an old areal link which, however, would exclude the Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Mongol.

As far as morphology and morphosyntax are concerned, the most obvious property shared by Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur is the system of personal predicative endings, also present in Buryat. In many other respects, Dagur shows idiosyncratic features (both archaic and innovative) which leave it outside the Common Mongolic complex, to which Khamnigan Mongol belongs.

§60. Relation to Ewenki. At least some of the features common to Khamnigan Mongol and Dagur are probably best explained as being due to the parallel influence of Ewenki. This is, in particular, true of the developments connected with the vowel system. Ewenki influence

may also have been a factor supporting the stabilization of the system of personal predicative conjugation in both Dagur and Khamnigan Mongol, as well as, possibly, in Buryat. Importantly, however, the development **s > h*, although attested in many Ewenki dialects (with varying positional conditions), is not present in either of the two known dialects of Khamnigan Ewenki.

The phenomenon of Mongolic-Tungusic ethnic bilingualism is shared by only two populations in the region: the Ewenki-speaking Khamnigan, virtually all of whom are also fluent in the Khamnigan Mongol language, and the Solon Ewenki, most of whom use Dagur as their second language. There is, however, a difference between the two cases. In the case of the Dagur and Solon, the two populations are still ethnically and ethnonymically distinct, and most native Dagur speakers do not speak Solon Ewenki. The Khamnigan, by contrast, have been since several centuries integrated into a single ethnic population, a considerable proportion of whom have long been fluent in both Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki.

The long interaction of Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki is manifested in a considerable degree of agreement especially in morphosyntax (isomorphy) and phonology (isophony). The hierarchy between the two languages is evident in the fact that most of the shared structural features seem to have originated in Khamnigan Mongol. For instance, the suffixal negative conjugation of Khamnigan Mongol has produced a close analogy in Khamnigan Ewenki, as in Khamnigan Mongol part. fut. neg. vx sg. 1p. *ug-k-ugui-bi* 'I will not give' = Khamnigan Ewenki conn. neg. vx sg. 1p. *buu-r-esi-m*. Both dialects of Khamnigan Ewenki also belong to those (Manchurian) forms of Ewenki which have a suffixally marked genitive case.

At the present time, among the bilingual Khamnigan in China, the impact of Khamnigan Mongol on Khamnigan Ewenki is probably greater than ever. Apart from the factor of actual code switching, it is common to borrow almost any lexical items, including underived verbal stems and suffixal constructions from Khamnigan Mongol to Khamnigan Ewenki, cf. e.g. Khamnigan Ewenki *nene-ji bolku* 'it is possible to go', composed of Ewenki *nene-* 'to go' and Khamnigan Mongol conv. imperf. *-ji* + part. fut. *bol-ku* 'it is possible'. Such hybrid constructions are probably symptomatic of the decline of Khamnigan Ewenki within the community.

Even so, it is important to note that Khamnigan Ewenki still retains structural features not present in Khamnigan Mongol. For

instance, the Tungusic negative construction, involving the use of a negative auxiliary with an invariant connegative form of the main verb is still current, e.g. Khamnigan Ewenki neg. aor. vx sg. 1p. + conn. *e-si-m baka-ra* 'I do not find'. For diachronic reasons, the system of verbal personal endings is also more complicated in Khamnigan Ewenki than in Khamnigan Mongol. The temporal-aspectual systems are, however, more or less identical.

§61. Contextual background. It is not without interest to search for reasons underlying the diachronic properties of Khamnigan Mongol. The conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol correlates well with its areal position on the northeastern periphery of the Common Mongolic complex. It may be assumed that most innovations within Common Mongolic have started in Mongol proper, and only a small portion of them have reached Khamnigan Mongol. This basic constellation of dialect geography is confirmed by the fact that both Buryat in the north(west) and Ordos in the south are also relatively conservative languages in the Common Mongolic context.

It is, however, important to note that Dagur, even further to the northeast, is not conservative in the same sense as Khamnigan Mongol. Although Dagur does preserve a number of diagnostic and often-cited Proto-Mongolic features, such as the initial spirant *x and the primary durative marker *-m (instead of the periphrastic *-n+a-m), it is in other ways very innovative and contains a multitude of secondary phonological and morphological peculiarities of its own. This general innovativeness is in line with the fact that Dagur has evolved in close interaction with Tungusic, not only with Solon Ewenki, but also with Manchu.

Although most of the innovative features of Dagur cannot be explained as Tungusic borrowings, the very fact of intensive contact with Tungusic has certainly favoured a rapid pace of linguistic evolution in Dagur. Against this background, the conservativeness of Khamnigan Mongol appears irregular. Whether the explanation is connected with linguistic or extralinguistic circumstances, remains to be clarified. In any case, it is certain that the case of Khamnigan Mongol can offer important insights into the factors regulating the speed of diachronic change. This is probably the greatest theoretical challenge of Khamnigan Mongol studies.

SAMPLE TEXT

This sample is an extract from a folktale titled *Kara gureehunie kubeen* 'The Son of a Bear', recorded by Juha Janhunen and Borjigin Buhchulu from Mr. Tumaa (born 1926) at the village of Haji (*Kaji* or *Adagai*), Ewenki Arrow, Old Bargut Banner, Hulun Buir League, Inner Mongolia, China, on 1 July, 1991. A son of a shaman and the last great story-teller of the Khamnigan, Tumaa is fully bilingual in the Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Mongol and the Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Ewenki. He also knows an approximation of Mongol proper (somewhat reminiscent of the Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Mongol), as well as some oral Russian.

teige-ed *odoo* *ene* *ubugeng-ni* *odoo* *ajil*
do.like.that-conv.perf. now this old.man-px3p. now work

ki-k-ugui *jalkoo* *eige-ed* *jalkoo-ra-ad*
do-part.perf.-neg. idle do.like.this-conv.perf. idle-dx-conv.perf.

bai-ku-du-ni *hamagang-ni* *ajil* *ki-nen* *ajil*
be-part.fut.-dat.-px3p. wife-px3p. work do-dur. work

ki-deg *teige-ed* *neg_* *udur* *odoo*
do-part.hab. do.like.that-conv.perf. one day now

hamagang-ni [---] *odoo* *modu* *tulesi/n-d_* *oci-boo*
wife-px3p. now wood fuel-dat. go-term.

teige-ed-l_ *odoo* *oci-ed-l_* *odoo*
do.like.that-conv.perf.-emph. now go-conv.perf.-emph. now

kubci/n-du *modu* *tee-j_* *ai-tar-ni*
forest-dat. wood load-conv.imperf. progr.-conv.term.-px3p.

ene *neg_* *ene* *kuun* *kara* *gureehu/n* *urida-aha-n_*
this one this man black beast front-abl.-px3p.

ire-e *ee* *odoo* *bi* *cima-i* *odoo*
come-part.imperf. oh now 1p.sg. 2p.sg.-acc. now

<i>hamaga-d-daa</i> wife-pl.-dat.refl.	<i>abaaci-naa</i> take-dur.emph.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	<i>ene</i> this	<i>kuun</i> man
<i>kara</i> black	<i>gureehu/n-cini</i> [---] beast-px2p.sg.	<i>tere</i> that	<i>hamagan-ii-cini</i> wife-acc.-px2p.sg.	
<i>teige-ed-le</i> to.do.like-that-conv.perf.-emph.		<i>yaa/g-aad-la</i> to.do.how-conv.perf.-emph.		
<i>urguul-eed-le</i> lift-conv.perf.-emph.	<i>ger-tee/n</i> home-dat.refl.	<i>yabo-o</i> travel-part.imperf.	<i>odoo</i> now	
<i>ger-tee/n</i> home-dat.refl.	<i>oci-ed-la</i> go-conv.perf.-emph.	<i>bai/g-aad</i> be-conv.perf.	<i>bai/g-aad</i> be-conv.perf.	
<i>odoo</i> now	<i>ger</i> home	<i>eime-l</i> such-emph.	<i>ger-tie</i> home-poss.	<i>teree/n-du-l</i> that-dat.-emph.
<i>bai-ku-du-ni</i> be-part.fut.-dat.-px3p.	<i>koy-oola/n</i> two-coll.	<i>teige-ed</i> to.do.like-that-conv.perf.		
<i>teige-ed</i> to.do.like-that-conv.perf.	<i>kedui-ci</i> how.many-indef.	<i>gurban</i> three	<i>durben</i> four	<i>jil</i> year
<i>bai/g-aa</i> be-part.imperf.	<i>ene</i> this	<i>hamagang-ni</i> wife-px3p.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>keege-d-tie</i> child-pl.-poss.
<i>ol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.	<i>keege-d</i> child-pl.	<i>turu-ku-du-l</i> be.born-part.fut.-dat.-emph.		
<i>kubee-tie</i> son-poss.	<i>ol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.	<i>teige-ed</i> to.do.like.that-conv.perf.		
<i>kubeeng-ni</i> son-px3p.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>uliger</i> story	<i>yeeme-cini</i> something-px2p.sg.	<i>uda-n</i> grow.slow-conv.mod.
<i>tude-neng-gui</i> end-dur.-neg.	<i>tomo</i> big	<i>bol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>gui-deg</i> run-part.hab.
<i>ol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.	<i>ene</i> this	<i>kubeen</i> son	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>nilied</i> fairly
				<i>tom_</i> big

<i>ol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.		<i>gureehu/n</i> beast		<i>gureele-n</i> beast-dx-conv.imperf.		
<i>ang-na-ji</i> game-dx-conv.imperf.		<i>cida-l-tie</i> to.be.able-dx-poss.		<i>ol-oo</i> become-part.imperf.		
<i>ene</i> this	<i>kubeen</i> son	<i>teige-ed</i> to.do.like-that-conv.perf.		<i>neg_</i> one	<i>udur</i> day	
<i>tere kara</i> that black	<i>gureehu/n</i> beast	<i>abu-ni-l</i> father-px3p.-emph.		<i>ang-na-ji</i> game-dx-conv.imperf.		
<i>oci-e</i> go-part.imperf.	<i>ene</i> this	<i>kubeeng-ni</i> son-px3p.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	<i>ene</i> this	<i>min-ii</i> 1p.sg.-gen.	
<i>abu</i> father	<i>yuu/n-du</i> what-dat.	<i>man-aah_</i> 1p.pl.-abl.	<i>ondoo</i> different	<i>bei</i> corr.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	
<i>ene</i> this	<i>uhu-tie</i> hair-poss.	<i>niur-ni</i> face-px3p.	<i>uhu-tie</i> hair-poss.	<i>gar</i> hand	<i>beye-ni</i> body-px3p.	<i>koo</i> all
<i>man-du</i> 1p.pl.-dat.	<i>yuun-d_</i> what-dat.	<i>ugui</i> absent	<i>bei</i> corr.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	<i>gee</i> look	<i>ene</i> this
<i>cin-ii</i> 2p.sg.-gen.	<i>abu</i> father	<i>bisi</i> neg.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	<i>cin-ii</i> 2p.sg.-gen.	<i>abu-cini</i> father-px2p.sg.	
<i>odoo</i> now	<i>kolo</i> distant	<i>kubci-in</i> forest-gen.	<i>jaka-du</i> edge-dat.	<i>bai-nan</i> be-dur.	<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	
<i>ene-cini</i> this-px2p.sg.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>namai</i> 1p.sg.-acc.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>modu</i> wood	<i>tulie/n-d_</i> firewood-dat.	
<i>ire-ed</i> come-conv.perf.		<i>ire-hen-du-mini</i> come-part.perf.-dat.-px 1p.sg.			[---]	
<i>bari-ed</i> grasp-conv.perf.		<i>nama-i</i> 1p.sg.-acc.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>acara-a</i> bring-part.imperf.	<i>odoo</i> now	
<i>nama-i</i> 1p.sg.-acc.	<i>odoo</i> now	<i>hamaga-d-daa</i> wife-pl.-dat.refl.	<i>ki-e</i> do-part.imperf.		<i>ge-nen</i> say-dur.	

<i>eige-ed</i>		<i>bi</i>	<i>odoo</i>	<i>kedun</i>	<i>jil</i>
to.do.like.this-conv.perf.		1p.sg.	now	how.many	year

<i>bai/g-aad</i>	<i>odoo</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>gar/o-o</i>	<i>ge-nen</i>
be-conv.perf.	now	2p.sg.	to.come.out-part.imperf.	say-dur.

<i>arg_</i>	<i>ugui</i>
means	absent

Free translation. So, this old man did not work but was idle. While he idled, his wife did all the work. She was always working. So, one day, his wife went to gather firewood. When she went like this and collected firewood in the forest, a male bear appeared in front of her and said: "I will take you to my wife." So, the male bear lifted her up and went home. After coming home they lived and lived. They had such a house, and they lived there together. Some three or four years went like this. Then the wife bore a child. A child was born, and they got a son. So, the story does not end, he grew big. He started to walk, and then he grew fairly big. He grew able to hunt wild animals, this son. Then, one day that father bear went hunting. The son said: "Why is our father different from us? He is hairy, his face is hairy, his arms and body are completely hairy. Why don't we have hair?" "Look, this is not your father," she said. "Your father is at a distant edge of the forest. When I came to gather firewood, this one took me and brought me here. He made me to his wife. After some years, you appeared. We cannot do anything about it," she said.

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