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Khamnigan language in Mongolia: preliminary field notes of 2019 expedition³

Khamnigan language is an endangered language spoken in Mongolia, China and Russia. Mongol Khamnigans live mainly in the North-East of Mongolia in Khentii and Dornod provinces. Some settlements are located in Töv and Selenge provinces. Many Khamnigans moved to Mongolia from Russia in the 19th – early 20th century.

Our data was collected during the summer expedition⁴ in July-August 2019 to Dornod (Bayan-Uul, Tsagaan-Ovoo *somons*), Khentii (Dadal and Binder *somons*) and Töv (Khögshidiin Khotkhon *somon*) provinces of Mongolia. We also met some Khamnigan speakers in Ulaanbaatar (they moved to the capital from Khentii and Dornod provinces) and Choibalsan city.

The number of Khamnigans is rather small. Till 2000 they were officially considered as part of the Buriad nation and had no separate mention in the census results. In 2010, according to the National census data the number of Khamnigans was 537, while the actual number of speakers is much less, hardly more than a few dozens by our estimation. All Khamnigans in Mongolia are fluent in Khalkha Mongolian. During our expedition we met Khamnigans belonging to the following tribes: Ba:gašil (Khögshidiin Khotkhon), Ba:gašil Sartu:l (Dadal), Ba:gašid (Bayan-Uul), Ba:gašinar (Khögshidiin Khotkhon), Bargudžin (Binder, Dadal), Dulica:d (Binder, Bayan-uul), Dzaltu:d (Tsagaan-Ovoo), Dzamal (Dadal), Gurinkha (Khögshidiin Khotkhon), Khalzad (Binder), Khatagin (Dadal), Khasag (Bayan-Uul), Noyan Dulia:d (Binder), Sartu:l Kharcana (Bayan-Uul), Šarga adzarga Sartu:l (Dadal), Talac (Bayan-Uul), Üdzö:n (Dadal), Khügdü:d (Bayan-Uul), Caga:dai (Dadal).

According to J. Baatartsogt (62, Bayan-Uul), who had a good command of Khamnigan, the Khamnigans call themselves *Qalimig*. It is surprising because it is definitely the same name as *Xalimig* which is the usual name for Volga Kalmycks. Our other language consultants did not know this designation, with an exception of J. Damdin (70, Bayan-Uul, Tsongol Buriad), who confirmed that *Xalimig* is also used as a general name for Khamnigans. Other native speakers only admitted *Qamnigan*, *Khamnigan* or *Khamnigan Buriad* as a self-designation.

According to our data only elderly people, usually above 60, can speak Khamnigan to a certain extent and even they do not speak Khamnigan in everyday life, they use Khalkha Mongolian instead. Many Khamnigans preserve some phonetic peculiarities of their original language while speaking Khalkha. The main features of this “Khamnigan pronunciation” are those:

- /k/ instead of /x/ in both RTR and ATR words.
- absence of reduction in non-initial syllables
- palatal /š/ instead of /ṣ̌/
- labial /ö/ instead of /e/

Khamnigan language is known as the most phonologically archaic Mongolic language. As Janhunen puts it (Janhunen 2003: 85): “Khamnigan Mongol is characterized by a unique property, in that it is the single most conservative Mongolic language spoken today. Khamnigan Mongol simply lacks almost all the innovations that have affected its neighbours since Middle Mongol times”. In the phonological system of Khamnigan that we witnessed in Mongolia 2019 there are many innovations mainly, but not exclusively, due to heavy interaction with Khalkha and to less extent with Buriad, although many archaic features are definitely preserved. We would not present here a general description of Khamnigan phonetics and

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phonology, referring the reader to Yu Wonsoo (2011: 17-34) and K. U.-Kóhalmi (1959: 165-171). However, several remarkable features should be pointed out:

- 1) Fricative /x/ vs. plosive velar /k/ and uvular /q/ are in free variation. Even one and the same person might pronounce e.g. *Qamnigan* and then *Xamnigan* in fricativized khalkhicised form.
- 2) Regressive assimilation of /i/, so called “*i-breaking*” is generally absent:
Cf. *kimusu* ‘nail’ ~ Bur. *xumha(n)* ~ Khalkha *xums(an)* ~ Written Mong. *kimusu(n)*; *čirgu* ‘nozzle, distilling device funnel’ ~ Bur. *sorgo* ~ Khal. *corgo*. This word is especially interesting, because in Written Mongolian (Kovalevski 1849: 2221, Lessing 1960: 198, Tsevel 1966: 792) the only form of this word is *čorgu*. Thus, Khamnigan demonstrates here even more archaic form than Written Mongol. It is hardly a hypercorrection, but it might have another dialectal source than the Written Mongolian form.
- 3) Various speakers pronounce the reflex of Proto-Mong. *si- as /ši/ or /ši/.
- 4) Sporadic /c/ instead of expected /č/: *cu:lgan* / *ču:lgan* ‘gathering’ (cf. Khalkha *ču:lgan*; Onon Khamnigan *cugla:n* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 339)), *ücö:kön* ‘small quantity’ (cf. Khalkha *öčü:xen*; Onon Khamnigan *ücö:n*, *öcö:n* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 307)). This innovation influenced even new loanwords: *culki*: ‘stockings’ ← Russ. *čulki* id.
- 5) One of the few separating Khamnigan innovations is the evolution of Proto-Mong. *e into /ö/. J. Janhunen (2003: 86) notes that “in the case of *e, velarization is accompanied by rounding”, but prefers to designate the corresponding phoneme as /e/.
- 6) However Proto-Mong *e in *eCü sequences gives /üCü/. Proto-Mong. *ö also turns into /ü/ like in Buriad.

B. Rinchen (1968: 81-83) describing the archaic features of Khamnigan speech provides highly interesting data about the reflexes of Middle Mongolian initial fricative /h-/. He claims that a certain part of elderly speakers have /h-/ in those words that had /h-/ in Middle Mongolian. The full list of Rinchen’s examples are⁵: *hüker* ~ *xüker* ‘cattle, cow’, *huguldža* ‘argali horns’, *ho:li* ‘adz’, *hümekei* ‘stinky’, *hunin manan* ‘fog’, *hulu:bulu:* ‘?unnecessary troubles’, *hodun* ~ *xodun* ~ *odon* ‘star’, *haluka* ~ *xaluka* ‘hammer’, *herekei* ‘thumb’, *hekin* ‘head’, *halakan* ‘palm’, *harban* ~ *xarwan* ‘ten’, *haniska* ~ *xaniska* ~ *aniska* ~ *anitka* ‘eye-lid’.

However, Rinchen’s Khamnigan texts published in the same book do not contain any forms with initial /h-/. Moreover, they contain forms without initial /h-/ in some of the words listed above: e.g. *ukuri* ~ *ukeri* ‘cow’ (1968: 91,95), *arban* ‘ten’ (1968: 92,93,94). K. U.-Kóhalmi who had recorded Khamnigan speech in the same Dadal somon as Rinchen did, but several years before, in 1957, had not published any data confirming the existence of initial /h-/ in Khamnigan. Materials of Mishig (Mishig 1961) also lack the words with initial h-, those words that started with /h-/ in Middle Mongolian demonstrate vowel Anlaut in his Khamnigan data.

That is why one of the goals of our expedition was to find any traces of initial /h-/ in Khamnigan. We paid special attention to recording words which had initial /h-/ in Middle Mongol, but none of them appeared to have any traces of a fricative Anlaut in modern Khamnigan.

Thus, it remains unclear what was the source of Rinchen’s data. *Hüker* ‘cow’ might probably be a loan from Evenki (Barguzin Evenki *hukur*⁶), but this explanation does not suit other cases.

It is well known that the Khamnigans have deep linguistic and ethnic connections with Evenki (Janhunen 1990: 7-10, 13-17; Shimunek, Mönkh-Amgalan 2007:29, Khabtagaeva 2017: 48). Rinchen (1968: 61-80) described the Evenki-Khamnigan diglossia in Mongolia and published several texts in Evenki dialect of Khamnigans collected in Dadal *somon* of Khentii province. This diglossia to a certain extent is preserved in Khamnigan communities in Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia (China) (Janhunen 1990: 13, Gruntov,

⁵ B. Rinchen did not give translations, only Written Mongolian parallels, so the translation here is our conjecture.

⁶ B. Khabtagaeva (2017: 89) speculates that Khamnigan *hukur* (*sic!*) may be the source for Barguzin Evenki *hukur*, but this proposal faces several problems: 1) a doubtful status of Khamnigan form itself 2) *hukur* is present not only in Barguzin Evenki, but also in Upper Aldan and Uchur-Zeya dialects spoken several thousand km. eastwards (Vasilevič 1958: 491). Evenki *hukur* might be a loanword from Middle Mongolian **hüker*, but there is also an obviously related Even *höken* ‘cow’ (TMS2, 341) which is not so easily explained as a loanword.

Mazo 2015b: 165), but in Mongolia it is now definitely lost. Mongol Khamnigans do not use Evenki any more. None of our consultants⁷, including the most elderly ones (D.Tseden-Ish (born 1926), D. Nergüi (born 1929), N. Dolgorsüreng (born 1929), Tsendgombo (born 1930) remember that Khamnigans were bilingual in Evenki and Khamnigan even when they were small children. However, Baatartsogt (62 years old, Bayan-Uul, Khentii) underlines that there used to be Khamnigan language (*xamnigan hel*) and Khamnigan pronunciation (*xamnigan ayalgu*). Khamnigan pronunciation is the way to pronounce Khalkha words with Khamnigan phonetics while Khamnigan language was absolutely different but no one speaks it now.

Not only Khamnigan Evenki dialect became extinct but even the sphere of usage of Khamnigan Mongol is rapidly decreasing. Our language consultants usually were able to remember some songs and separate phrases in Khamnigan, few of them were able to produce a simple conversation in Khamnigan or short texts, and none of them used to speak Khamnigan in spontaneous dialogues with their neighbors. The Khamnigan speech is typically affected by code-switching, when a speaker starts the sentence in Khamnigan and finishes it in Khalkha. Lot of them were born in mixed families where one of the parents was Khamnigan, while another was Buriad or Khalkha. Besides, there was a widespread custom of children adoption in the North-Eastern Mongolia. Childless families very often adopted children from families with many children. Thus, many Khamnigan children grew up in Buriad families. On the other hand, we also met several Buriad persons who were brought up in Khamnigan families and learnt Khamnigan language from their foster parents. Khamnigans quite often married Buriad or Khalkha and the main language in such mixed families as a rule was not Khamnigan.

Many Khamnigans told us that when they were kids other children humiliated them calling Khamnigans the worst nation and Khamnigan language the worst language, their classmates laughed at their pronunciation, so they tried to speak Khalkha or Buriad in order to be like the rest.

All these factors along with the absence of education in Khamnigan are leading to the shrinking of language proficiency.

In recent years, some attempts have been made to revive the national identity of Khamnigans. S. Mönkhzhargal established The Khamnigan Study Center (Khamnigan Sudlalın töv) in Ulaanbaatar. In 2018 he organized in Dadal the first international festival of the Khamnigan nation with the participation of Khamnigans from Mongolia, China and Russia. The next event is planned to be held in Russia in 2021. The Khamnigan Study center created Khamnigan's flag and hymn, and published some materials on Khamnigan history, customs and folklore. In order to stimulate language revival in August 2020 the Khamnigan Study Center started to publish the newspaper 'Xamnigan sudlal' in Khamnigan language.

First materials on Khamnigan (Onon Khamnigan) language and folklore were collected in 1911 by Ts. J. Jamtsarano in Russian Transbaikalia and were prepared for publishing by D.Damdinov only in 1982 (Jamtsarano, Damdinov 1982). First studies of the Khamnigan language appeared only in the second half of the 20th century.

The language of the Onon Khamnigan was described in multiple works of D.Damdinov and his colleagues, e.g. (Damdinov 1962ab, 1967, 1968, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1988, 1973, 19795, 2002, Damdinov, Sundueva 2015). The language of Khamnigans in Manchuria was investigated by J.Janhunen (1990, 2005). The language of the Mongolian Khamnigan was first described in the works of K. U-Kóhalmi (1959, 1964, 1995), L. Mishig (1961), B. Rinchen (1968). The results of more recent research are presented in the works of Yu Wonsoo (Yu 2011), A. Shimunek, Y. Mönkh-Amgalan (2007), A. Shimunek (2014). The relation of Khamnigan Mongol and the Evenki dialects of Buryatia is discussed in B. Khabtagaeva (2017). The relation with Russian language is described in J. Janhunen (1991) and I. Gruntov, O. Mazo (2015b). The taxonomic position and the language features are discussed by G. Doerfer (1985), J. Janhunen (1992, 1996, 2003), I. Gruntov, O. Mazo (2015a).

⁷ After the acceptance of the paper for print we found in our data the testimony of our language consultant A. Bat (Bayan u:l somon) who claimed that there had been elders capable to speak both Mongolian and Tungusic varieties.

Although Mongol Khamnigans do not use their mother tongue in everyday life, they used it actively when they were kids and learnt a lot from their grandparents. Thus, it is quite typical when you ask a language consultant to say something in Khamnigan to get sentences like this:

Kū:gō; qangil-a: ašira amna:-garagti:

Son-Voc bucket-Poss a-bit-later bring-lmv2Sg

My son, please, bring the bucket later.

These phrases are grounded in the early memory of speakers. Likewise, they remember very well Khamnigan words and traditions concerning children and childhood.

Finger names

Mongolic people (and some other ethnic groups living in contact, e.g. Tuvans and Kazakhs) have a peculiar tradition of double naming of fingers. They use one set of names as a neutral, “anatomical” set of finger names, while another one is used to play with little children. During this game a grown-up person names fingers and makes the child repeat it. In some versions of the game the fingers talk to each other.

This lexical stratum is in active use while the speakers are in their early ages. That is one of the reasons while these names are preserved relatively well even among those Khamnigans who later ceased to speak their language and shifted to Khalkha.

The first “neutral” set of finger names is quite stable in North Mongolic (see Table 1), while the second one demonstrates high variability among Mongolic peoples and even within the same language or dialect. Sometimes special names are used for left and right hands, sometimes toes get specific names e.g. Khalkha *badar xuirag* ‘second toe’, *gidžgen bömbi*: ‘little toe’. However, we will provide both sets of names for the sake of completeness.

Table 1. “Standard” finger names in North Mongolic languages⁸

	thumb	index finger	middle finger	ring finger	little finger
Khamnigan (Mongolia)	örököi kuru:	dolo:wor kuru:	dunda kuru:	yadam kuru:, nörögüi kuru:	čigči: kuru:
Khamnigan (Russia) ⁹	ereki:, erekei (357)	doli:obor, dole:ber (124)	dunda (333) eke xuru: (Delyun subdialect) (138)	neregüi xuru: (224) ba:xan xuru: (Delyun subdialect) (33)	čigiči: (342)
Khalkha ¹⁰¹¹	erxiy xuru:	dolo:wor xuru:	dund xuru:	nergüi xuru: / yadam xuru:, tomči xuru (Potanin 1881:122)	čičgiy xuru:

⁸ Figures in brackets refers to the pages of the source book indicated in the first column of the table.

⁹ Damdinov, Sundueva 2015

¹⁰ BAMRS2001-2002

¹¹ Certain fingers in Khalkha might also have other descriptive or dialect names, not connected to “playing” names. Eg. index finger is also called *yorin xuru*: (lit. ‘sinister finger’), *dza:x xuru*: (lit. ‘index finger’), *dzanax xuru*: (lit. ‘finger used for threatening’), perhaps a loan-translation from Tibetan *sdigs mdzub* ‘index finger’, lit. ‘threatening finger’, *uran xuru*: (lit. ‘dexterous finger’), *xomxoi xuru*: (lit. ‘greedy finger’). Ring finger is also called *ariu:n xuru*: (lit. ‘pure/saint finger’), *nančid örgödög xuru*: ‘vodka offering finger’, *domč xuru*: (lit. ‘healer finger’).

Buriad ¹²	erxi: (737)	dolyo:bor (212)	dunda (219)	neregüi (354)	šegši: (711)
Kalmyk ¹³	erkε: (125)	xomxä: \xumxä: (184)	dund ^o (102)	ner-ugε: (275)	šig ^o čī, šikčī, čigčə, čikčε:, čikč ^o gε: (356,439, 441)
Ordos ¹⁴	erexī xuru: (243a)	xomogō: xuru: (351a)	dundatu xuru: (162b), dunda xuru: (field data)	idam xuru: (377a)	šigeči: xuru: (614b)

Standard set of finger names in North Mongolic languages is quite uniform. We would not here dwell on details as it is not the main purpose of our paper, it is sufficient to say the following. There is a single term for thumb going back to Proto-Mongolian * *herekei* ‘thumb’ (Nugteren 2011: 353). The names for index finger are based on two stems: * *dola-* + *war* ‘lickable’ from * *dola-* ‘to lick’ (Nugteren 2011: 317) as in Khalkha, Buriad and Khamnigan, and * *qomuqai* ‘greedy’ as in Ordos and Kalmyk (actually in some regional variants of Khalkha as well). Name for middle finger uniformly goes back to * *dumda* ‘middle’ (Nugteren 2011: 319), except for Onon Khamnigan dialectal variant *eke xuru:* (lit. ‘big finger’) (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 138). Ring finger has two names: *nerε-ügei* (lit. ‘nameless’) and *idam* ← Tib. *yi-dam* ‘personal deity, patron’ (see Sukhebaatar 1997: 231). The designation of the 4th finger as “nameless” is also found in Sanskrit, Chinese, Russian, Finnish, Old Uyghur etc., at least in over 50 Eurasian languages (Zalizniak A. et al (2002-2020)), thus implying a loan-translation pattern, although the exact pathways of spreading of this loan-translation are not clear. The immediate source of Mongolic calque is presumably the Tibetan *ming med* ‘ring finger’ (lit. ‘nameless’), which in turn is a loan-translation from Sanskrit *anāmikā* id. The little finger name goes back to the Common Mongolic * *čigečij* / * *sigečij*.

The second set of names, used in games, is much more variable even within one language and etymologies are often unclear.

Table 2. Finger names used in games¹⁵

	thumb	index finger	middle finger	ring finger	little finger
Khamnigan (Mongolia)	barwa:dai	batan tu:lai, bačin tu:lai, badam tu:lai, bacan tu:lai	ündür noyon	ükin qatun	b ^l ackan bü:wei, džidžig bü:wei, čigči: bü:wei, bičixan čigčü:dei, bičixan bü:wei, bidžikan bü:wei ¹⁶
Khamnigan (Russia) ¹⁷	barba:džai (43)	batan tu:lai, bačin tu:lai (49)	?	ükin xatun (300)	biči:xan bü:bei, biči:xan biču:dai (55)

¹² Cheremisov 1951

¹³ Ramstedt 1935

¹⁴ Mostaert 1968

¹⁵ Figures in brackets refers to the pages of the source book indicated in the first column of the table. Forms with the same lower index belong to the same set of 5 fingers.

¹⁶ Cf. Urianxai name for little finger *biči bobei*, *biči böbik* recorded by Potanin (1883: 144).

¹⁷ Damdinov, Sundueva 2015

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Buriad ¹⁸	barba:dai (92), barba:xai (92, <i>Ehirit</i>), bad ba:lai (81), bad ba:rin, bad ba:xai, bad baranxai (81)	see full list in the footnote ¹⁹	to:xon tobšo (443)	toli ba:tar (Western dial.) (439); toli baisa	see full list in the footnote ²⁰
Khalkha ²¹	erxiy mergen ₁ , erxiy xuru: ₂ , bat erxiy ₃	erdene šorxor ₁ , emč domč ₂	da: noyon ₁ , dund noyon ₂	dagu:l noyon ₁ , dugar dzaisan ₂ , otgon xuru: ₃	čigči: ma:mu:1, čigci: bū:wei ₂
19 th century Khalkha dialects ²²	erke mergen ₁ , batma erik ₂	dombu čimb ₁ batan xuru ₂	donda noyon ₁ . oyto baytik ₂	it'im dzalim ₁ otxon xuru ₂	čikči boguldei ₁ , čikče baytix ₂
Khaklha regional	bañdárae ²⁴ (13),	badañ yurae ³¹ (13)	dunda nojoñ ³⁷ (20)	šagdar džaesen ⁴² (20), ariún	oyotor bitšetši ⁵¹ (20)

¹⁸ Cheremisov 1951

¹⁹ *badan tu:lai* (Cheremisov 1951:81), *batan tu:lai*; Bokhan, Nukut, Ekhirit, Selenga *batan to:loi*; Alar, Tunka *batan tō:lei*; Zakamensk *batan tū:lei*; Alar *batan xō:len* (Cheremisov 1951:98), *balan tō:lei* (Cheremisov 1951:88); Alar, Nukut, Ekhirit *badan to:loi*; Bokhan *badan to:xoi*, *badan to:doi*; Oka *badan tō:dei*; Alar *badan tō:lei*; Unga *badan xo:loi*, *badan xoro:xoi* (Cheremisov 1951:81); Ekhirit *bartan tu:lai* (Cheremisov 1951:95); *bašin tulai* (Balagan Buriad (Khangalov 2004: 270 - field materials of the second half of the 19th century.)

²⁰ Alar *bišaixan šoxo:don*, *bišaixan šegebše:*, *bišxan būmbō:dei*, Bokhan *bišaixan še:dei*, *bišaixan bešū:xei*, *bišaixan šemšū:xei*, *bišaixan bū:mbei*, *bišaixan šegešxei*, *šed bū:bei*; Bokhan, Nukut, Ekhirit *bišaixan šū:dei*, Aga, Bokhan *bišxan bešū:dei*; Nukut *bišaixan baš u:dai*; Ungin *bišxan šu:dai*, *to:bdzogonu:rai be:beldei*; Džidin *bišxan ču:dai*; Chita *bišaixan šegšū:dei*; Selenga *biši:xan čiči:xan*; Tunka *za:xan šū:šei*, *nešen tu:lai*; Kaban *tū:xen tobšo*; Ivolga *bišxan ši:šgaldai*, *bišaixan ši:šxaldai*, *šesežen gū:bei*; Ekhirit *bišaixan tet'ū:xei*, *bišxan t'ut'u:gai*, *bišaixan šu:dai*, *ši:šxi bi:šxi*; Nukut *bišxan t'ut'u:*, *bišaixan šesū:dei*; Zaigraev *bišxan šigšū:dai*; Zakamensk *za:xan bu:maldzan*, *bišxan šūršegeldei*; Khorin *bišxan šegšū:dei* (Cheremisov 1951: 711), Bokhan *šed bū:bei* (Cheremisov 1951:712); *toli* (Sc! Cheremisov 1951: 439); Nukut *bišaixan bašu:dai* (Cheremisov 1951:100); Balagan *bišxan šišūxe* (Khangalov 2004: 270.)

²¹ Khalkha forms with indexes 1,2 are reported by our language consultant B. Davaasüreng, those with index 3 are from BAM RS

²² Potanin 1881: 122. Forms with indexes 1,2 belong to two different sets of finger names.

²⁴ short and wide

³¹ Badan, come

³⁷ middle lord

⁴² chieftain Shagdar

⁵¹ short scribe

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variants from ²³	badná eřenbý ²⁵ (13), erki mergen ²⁶ (20), erki bélei ²⁷ (12), badda wáraň, bata bóron, bósö aldag ²⁸ , yodili örgödög ²⁹ (13), xúlitši nojoň ³⁰ (12)	badam xýreň ³² (13) emtše domtšo ³³ (20) erdene šoňxor ³⁴ (12) xowodog nojon ³⁵ (12), bórö yaryadag ³⁶ (15)	táxae talbu ³⁸ (12) öndörä ³⁹ (13) toe tošlog ⁴⁰ (13) tsoxtšo nojoň ⁴¹ (12)	xurú ⁴³ , serdžem örgödög, nantšid örgödög ⁴⁴ , tartšig nimbú ⁴⁵ , duyur džaesaň ⁴⁶ , ötötö bátar ⁴⁷ , bitšig nádag, dzasaktša nojoň ⁴⁸ , otkan tšigtše ⁴⁹ (sic!), towoe tórtsog, xirgye bergeň, tošlog	džaxaň tseňker ⁵² , dzáxan nojon ⁵³ (12), narmae uxadag, / tšigtši mergen, tšigtši býwei ⁵⁴ (14)
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²³Damdin B, Lubsangdagva Ch. 1975. Forms are cited in the transcription used in this publication. These names include not only game names, but other periphrastic names as well. In the footnotes we also cited literal translations from this paper although some of them are obviously folk-etymology.

²⁵(eřenbū = Rinpoche??)

²⁶ good archer

²⁷ thumb-mitten?

²⁸ lice killer

²⁹ arrow riser

³⁰ legislator lord

³² lotus-brown

³³ physician and sorcerer

³⁴ gem-falcon

³⁵ glutton-lord

³⁶ kidney extractor

³⁸ broad-?

³⁹ tall one

⁴⁰ hard-ground round hole for marmot

⁴¹ forehead-filipper lord

⁴³ pure/saint finger

⁴⁴ vodka offering

⁴⁵ indigent-Nyambú

⁴⁶ chieftain Dugar

⁴⁷ larva hero

⁴⁸ administrator lord

⁴⁹ the youngest little finger.

⁵² small pale-blue

⁵³ little lord

⁵⁴ small kid

				boetog ⁵⁰ (14)	
Ordos (field data) ⁵⁵	batalai ₁ , badaŋ hüreŋ ₂ , badmairan ₃	badaŋ hüreŋ _{1,3} , badmairan ₂	towtairan 1, uul temee ₂ , oyilon dombo ₃	xočiŋor baatar ₁ , usun hayirčiŋ ₂ , orgi xudalči ₃	sigčii mu: ₁ , sigčii bū:wei _{2,3}

We did not manage to find any terms of the second set in Kalmyk. All our Kalmyk language consultants claimed that there was no such double-naming of fingers in Kalmyk. The only trace we found was the term *öndr ölē* (Ramstedt 1935: 304) ‘der Mittelfinger (in der Kindersprache)’. Ramstedt’s word might indicate that the system of children finger names had been present in Kalmyk at an earlier stage but later was lost.

The Khamnigan names for thumb, index finger and small finger are similar to Buriad. However, the names of middle finger and ring finger *ündür noyon* ‘high lord’, *ükin qatun* ‘daughter-lady’ to the best of our knowledge have no exact cognates in other Mongolic languages.

The name of the index finger in Khamnigan presents an interesting etymological problem. The second component of Khamnigan name *tu:lai* is literally translated as ‘hare’. However, comparison with Buriad forms shows that there are plenty of variants, including *tö:lei* and *tü:lei*. Here we agree with A.Dybo (Dybo 1995: 25) who proposed the connection of this Buriad form with *tö:* ‘measure of length, distance between the ends of outstretched thumb and middle finger, span’. Later this form became folk-etymologically reanalysed as *tu:lai* ‘hare’. The first component have remarkable phonetic variation *batan*, *bačan*, *bacan*, *bačın*, *badam*, *badaŋ*, *bartan*, *balan* which could not be reconstructed to a single form. This diversity may indicate that the original root became the subject of later contaminations with such roots as *batu* ‘firm strong’, *bačim* ‘emergent, in hurry’, *badam* ‘lotus’ etc. Definitely connected are Turkic names of the index finger: Shor *pađıŋol* (<*pađıŋ-kol*), Uzbek dial. *badam barmaq*, Turkish dial. *badem barmaq*, *badam barmaq*, *bade parmak*, *badi parmak*; Turkmen dial. *bādam barmaq*; Kyrgyz *badalakei*, *badal zürök*, and, perhaps, Tatar dial. *balan barmaq* (Dybo 1995: 24-25). A.Dybo (1995: 27) proposes that Mongolic forms can be borrowed from Turkic, while Turkic forms in their turn may have emerged from the Iranian source, e.g. **barz-* ‘big, high’ > Persian *baland*, with various reflexes of *-rz-* cluster in Iranian languages.

Khamnigan *barwa:dai* ‘thumb’ on the first sight looks like an onomatopoeic derivate from a certain depictive verb (Cf. e.g. Buriad depictive verb *barbiy-* ‘to hang loose, to hand down (of lips) or *barbay-* ‘to be shaggy’, which are quite far semantically). However, if we take into account such Buriad forms as Alar *bad ba:rin*, Bokhan *bad ba:xai*, Unga *bad baranxai* ‘thumb’ (Cheremisov 1951: 81), Khalkha *bad bairag* ‘big toe’, Khalkha *badda wáraŋ* (Damdin B, Lubsangdagva 1975: 13), Ordos *badmairan* etc., we may speculate that in case of Khamnigan *barwa:dai* and Mongolic forms mentioned above we have a distorted Turkic loanword, the source of which might be something like **badam barmaq* (see above under the index finger). Because the inner form of the Turkic source was not clear for the speakers of Mongolic languages and due to specific playing context of its usage it became the subject to various contaminations, reanalysis and metathesis. The same name for thumb and index finger can be used even within Mongolic: see Ordos situation where *badaŋ hüreŋ* and *badmairan* can both express the meaning of thumb and index fingers in different idiolects.

Khamnigan names for the little finger consist of two components, where the first means ‘small, little’: *bičixan*, *džidžig*. The second component is either *bū:wei* ‘child, kid’ (cf. Khalkha *čigči: ma:mu*: lit. ‘little finger + kid’) or *čigčü:dei*. In the latter case the root is the anatomical name for the little finger *čigči:*, while the formant *-dei* is the typical antroponymic affix, thus making a human name from the name of a finger. Proper names are widely used in these playing designation of fingers, e.g. Khalkha names: *duyur džaesaŋ* ‘chieftain Dugar’, *šagdar džaesen* ‘chieftain Shagdar’.

⁵⁰ hard-ground boot

⁵⁵ Ordos terms *badmairan* and *badaŋ hüreŋ* can be used as names for both thumb and index finger in different sets.

Namesgiving practices

We asked our interlocutors how they choose the name for their own children or how their own names were chosen. We manage to identify the following patterns:

Parents or relatives choose the name:

- Parents give the name at their own discretion. E.g. one of our interlocutors was born on the bank of the river during the season migration, so the parents chose the name *Tungalag* 'transparent'.
- Parents and grandparents write the proposed names on pieces of paper and put them into a vessel with rice or wheat grains. Then one of them shakes the vessel until one of the names comes out.

Ritual specialists choose the name:

- Parents may ask lama for the name of the child. Usually the lamas give the names of Tibetan origin. Another option is to give the name themselves but later ask lama for approval.
- Parents may ask shaman for the name (only one case in our data).

Doctors give the name

- Quite often doctors or maternity nurses gave the name to a child. In many cases they were Russian and correspondingly the names were also of Russian origin. However, these names not necessarily were conventional Russian names. One of our interlocutors was named *Džowron* ← Russian *žavoronok* 'lark' because he cried too much and loud at mornings (*žavoronok* is a Russian word, but by no means Russian name). Although his parents changed his name before school it is still used as a kind of a secret name. S. Ginema (born 1953) mentioned that a child can have two or three names, e.g. one of her friends was named *Sumya*: by a nurse because he was born on Monday, but at his registration the official declined this name and required a new one, so the child was registered as *Otgonbayar*. However, he is still *Otgonbayar* for official situations and *Sumya*: for friends and relatives.

Random passerby chooses the name:

- Parents may ask a random passerby for a name. One of our language consultants was named *Pavel* (typical Russian name), because the random passerby in his case was a Russian. At the time of entering school the parents changed his name to a Mongolian one.

Name is predicted before birth

- One of our interlocutors Tserendulam (80 years old) has seven children, whose names include component *Gombo*. When she was pregnant she by chance met a little boy who told her: "Please, bring *Gombo*, I want to play with him".

Changing names

The practice of changing the name is wide-spread among Mongolic peoples. Khamnigans are no exception. The name can be changed in case of illness or ill-fate. (See e.g. Kalmyki 2010: 244-245, Mitroshkina 1987: 57-61 etc.). We recorded a case when a child named *Gandordž* was seriously ill and his name was changed into *Altangerel*. After the recovery he again officially became *Gandordž* (although at home his relatives still used the short name *Gerel* for him).

In some cases a lama can recommend a person to change his or her name if it is too "heavy". It means that the reason for a person's misfortune in life is due to the wrong choice of name which is incompatible with the person. Heavy names are the names of famous historical leaders, khans, mountains or deities.

Our interlocutor's name was *Oyunceceg* (given in hospital by a doctor). When her elder brother named *Altai* (name of the mountain and the deity of the mountain) died her parents went to lama. Lama told them that the name of a great mountain did not fit the boy. Besides, he said that *Oyunceceg* is not a good name either, because it contains component *ceceg* 'flower', and flowers blossom in spring and die in autumn. Thus, her parents changed her name to a euphemistic name *Mönbiš* (lit. 'not this one').

It was a regular practice in case of frequent infant death, that the parents give the newborn child a euphemistic name to protect it from the evil forces. It may be changed later to a more conventional name. One of our language consultants was born in a family where several children had died soon after birth. Her

mother passed her three times under the spotted dog's belly and gave her the name *Gülüg* 'puppy'. But the girl was afraid to be mocked by schoolmates, so before entering school they went to the monastery and the lama gave her a new name *Badmagaraw* 'white lotus' (a Tibetan name).

Namesakes

In certain speech acts some names became tabooed. E.g. you may not address your namesake (or a namesake of your parents/parents-in-law) by name. The taboo varies within the community, not every language consultant confirmed the existence of this taboo. However, we found the evidences of this taboo in various parts of Mongolia, not only among Khamnigans.

There are several terms used to designate namesakes and to address them.

1. *amida*: 'namesake' Cf. Onon Khamnigan *amidai* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 21), Buriat *amidai* (Cheremisov 1951: 52), Ordos *amidä*: (Mostaert 1968: 20), Khalkha *am'dai*, *aminda*., *amindai*, Bargut *amida*.. This is the usual designation of a namesake in Mongolic languages.
2. *xecü*: *nertei* 'with a hard name'. This is a general tabooistic name, used in various parts of Mongolia, not only for humans, but also for wolves or other animals, see, e.g. (Gruntov, Mazo, Solovyeva 2016: 47, 55).
3. *nere negtei* 'with one name' .
4. *andagdzai* 'namesake' (cf. Evenki *andak* 'friend' (Vasilevich 1958: 31) + *ža* (Denominal affix (Vasilevich 1958: 755)).
5. *ü:r* 'namesake'.

Besides we found also a jesting Buriad designation *šix negtei* 'with a single ear' used by Buriad and Khamnigans in Tsaga:n Owo: (Dornod province).

The names of parents, elder relatives or husband are also subject to tabooing, especially for women. This practice was widely spread in the Mongolic languages at earlier times (e.g. Aalto 1971, Rudnev 2011 etc.). Our Khamnigan interlocutors also recall some fragments of this practice which is mostly out of use now. E.g. it's a taboo to call your husband by name, you should use the word *übegün* 'old man' or *kögsö:n* 'old man'. If a name coincides with a usual object you can not name this object with a conventional name. E.g. if the name of your husband or elder relative contain *Süxe* 'axe', then you should call an axe *čabčigč* (Nomen Actoris from *čabči*- 'to chop with an axe').

If you are addressing a person whose name is the same as your elder relative's then you should greet him periphrastically, e.g. *a:win nert*, *sain u:?* lit. 'How are you, having my father's name?'

Euphemisms

In many languages the words connected with death are substituted with different euphemisms. In Khalkha, for example, the verb *üxe*- 'to die' in neutral speech is usually substituted with standard euphemistic expressions, such as *nas bara*- (lit. 'lifetime is over') or *burxan bolo*- (lit. 'to become Buddha'). In Khamnigan we found the following euphemisms: *bürle:č bolo*- 'to become destroyed', *bürle*: /*bürlö*: 'has died' (lit. 'destroyed'); *burxan bolo*- (lit. 'to become Buddha'), *burxanda*: *oči*:- (lit. 'to go to Buddha'); *üngürö*: (lit. 'passed away'), *biye bara*- (lit. 'body is over'); *gö:gdö*- (lit. 'to get lost'; passive from *gö*:- 'to loose').

Hunting is another "natural" lexical domain prone to euphemistic changes. Dangerous animals and games, hunting equipment or process, meat of the game are subject to various euphemistic substitutions. The Mongolic data collected in our previous expeditions are summarized in (Gruntov, Mazo, Solovyeva 2016). Khamnigans also have rich material for euphemistic studies.

The very process of hunting might be tabooed. Instead of 'I'm going for a hunt' they say 'I'm going to the forest for gathering firewood'. Instead of *ala*- 'to kill' the hunters may use the word *suna*:-. Instead of particular names of the animals the hunters may use the descriptive designation *tom yum* (lit. 'big thing') for larger game and *baga yum* (lit. 'small thing') for a smaller one. *Tom yum suna*:- 'killed a wild boar'. The hunting prey and the objects of hunting are often called *aŋai xišig* (lit. 'hunting blessing'): *aŋ ki:x gadzara:sa*:

aŋai xišig güidži:na ‘the game is running from the place of hunting’. Instead of saying ‘I brought you marmots’ meat’ they say *tarbaganai xišig xürtlō*: ‘The blessing of marmots has reached’.

As in other Mongolic languages the wolf is the animal with the most variety of euphemistic terms. The neutral name *čono* is rarely used, instead we recorded the following names: *danzan axai* (lit. ‘elder brother Danzan’), *kō:rei amitan* (lit. ‘Steppe animal’), *kō:rei noqoi* (lit. ‘Steppe dog’), *xecū: nert* (lit. ‘with a hard name’), *ulīa*: (lit. ‘howling’), *bo:xoi* (lit. ‘blocking’ ? from *bo*:- ‘to tie’), *sa:ral bo:xoi* (lit. ‘grey blocking’), *xūxe* (lit. ‘blue’), *kūkū sa:ral* (lit. ‘blue and light-yellow’), *kō:rei subqu:l* (lit. ‘Steppe thing walking unnoticed’), *bu:ral xaŋgai* (lit. ‘Grey-haired Xangai’), *bulgan daxatai* (lit. ‘with sable coat’). Bear is called *ba:xaldai*, *oin amitan* (lit. ‘forest animal’), *xōvči:n amitan* (lit. ‘taiga animal’), *xar ütügūs* (lit. ‘black old man’; cf. Khalkha *ötög* ‘old man; bear’). However, some of our respondents claimed that the bears live nearby Khamnigans and do not present any danger for them, thus it is not necessary to use tabooed names for them. When a Khamnigan hunter comes to the bear’s log he should say the following formula:

*Ütügūs, či ör*⁵⁶ *asan bol džīnsaa*⁵⁷ *avagtei öm*⁵⁸ *bol būsō*.⁵⁹ *tailagtei* ‘Bear, if you are a man (lord), please take off your hat/crown (lit. ‘the button of rank worn on top of the hat’), if you are a woman (lady), please, take off your belt’. The speakers explain it as a warning to the bear in order not to kill a pregnant she-bear or a bear with cubs accidentally.

Snake is called *urt amitan* (lit. ‘long animal’); *urt qorqoi* (lit. ‘long worm’), *lusin amitan* (lit. ‘animal of Lus (the deity of the water source)’ or just *qorqoi* ‘worm’. Fox is called *dzalītai śar* (lit. ‘cunning yellow’). Marmot is called *xulgar śar* (lit. ‘short-eared yellow’).

Hunting lexicon

Another lexical domain where Khamnigans preserve a considerable amount of lexicon and customs is hunting. It has been a traditional activity for Khamnigans who were famous among locals as good hunters. Having killed carnivorous animal Khamnigan hunters used to make nine incisions in the muscles of the animal’s neck, so anyone passing by can easily learn that the prey was killed by a Khamnigan hunter.

Khamnigan hunters appealed to the spirit of nature *Bayan XanGai* (lit. ‘rich Khangai’) saying: “*sō:xör, sō:xör, sō:xör*”. Etymology of these words is not clear, but the native speakers explain them as an incantation to make spirit bring to the hunters more animals in future. Another variant of hunting incantation addressed to *Bayan Xangai* or *Bayan Delxiy* (lit. ‘rich world’) sounds like “*ba:r ba:r ba:r*” or “*ba:r ba:r*”: “*ba:r ba:r ba:r bayan delxiy mini xišige: xayrla:ragti*: ‘Bar-Bar-Bar, oh Bayan Delxiy, send me your blessing’. *Bayan Xangai ba:r ba:r ex eceg elenceg xulancagtaiga: mini: gandzagand ire:č* ‘Bayan Xangai, ba:r ba:r, with your mother, father and grandgrandparents, come to my hunting bags’. The structure of this incantation, i.e. threefold repetition of a word is typical for Khamnigan formulas. See e.g. *möndö: möndö: möndö*: a form of traditional greetings (from Proto-Mongolian *mendü ‘health’)⁶⁰ or *ga:raw ga:raw ga:raw dzai* also used as a greetings or shamanistic invocation.

Quite often Khamnigans hunt wild boars. There is a proverb:

gaqai ala-xu-du maxa-tai,

Swine kill-PART-DatLoc meat-COM

alda-xu-da baxa-tai amitan

miss-PART-DatLoc joy-Com animal

If you kill a swine you’ll get meat, if you’ll miss you’ll get joy. (Because boar hunting is a highly stressful event).

There are special words for wild boars of different ages: *miviš* ‘a three-year old wild boar’, *śašir* (or *cacar*) ‘two year old wild boar (with tusks)’ (cf. Onon Khamnigan *cacari* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 337)).

⁵⁶ variants: *noyon/xa:n* ‘lord / khan’

⁵⁷ variant: *tīme*: ‘crown’

⁵⁸ variant: *xatan* ‘lady’

⁵⁹ variant: *u:dža*: ‘long sleeveless garment worn by women over the dress’

⁶⁰ Buriats and Kalmyks use just single *mend* as a greeting.

Wolverine is called *dzantaki* ← Evenki. *dzantaki*: (Vasilivech 1958: 150) (cf. Onon Khamnigan *zantaki*: (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 151), Buriad *zantaxi* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 266)).

Dog is not a subject to euphemistic change, however, in Khamnigan we recorded many alternative names for this animal:

gogoroi (from *gogoro-* 'to bark' ← Evenki. *gogo-* 'to bark', *gogor* 'bark (n.)' (Vasilevich 1958: 90); *inegai*, *inakun* ← Evenki *inakin* (Vasilevich 1958: 169); *mönöki* (?? from Evenk *ḡinakin* id. (Vasilevich 1958: 294)); *noqoi* ← Proto-Mong. **noqai*; *saba:ka* ← Russ. *sobaka*; *ulia:n* 'pejorative name for a dog' < *ulia-* 'to howl'; *ulia:ḡgar* '1. pejorative name for a dog 2. bitch, female dog 3. wild homeless dog 4. wolf 5. a wolf and dog hybrid'; *xačira:ḡ* (cf. Onon Khamnigan *xačixa:n noxoi* 'dog' (Damdinov, Sandueva 2015: 321) ← Evenki *xačixa:n* 'puppy' (Vasilevich 1958:473).

Evenki lexical influence

Due to the aforementioned diglossic situation Khamnigans of Mongolia absorbed many Tungusic loanwords into their Mongolic language. However, there is not too much left in the contemporary usage. A. Shimunek and Y. Mönkh-Amgalan identified only 17 words as words of Evenki origin in Khamnigan (Shimunek, Mönkh-Amgalan 2007: 34-41)⁶¹, while Yu Wonsoo (2011:2) found none of Tungusic words in his 2900 lexical collection of Khamnigan words and stated that "the loss of Evenki proficiency has been completed".

During our fieldwork we managed to collect a number of lexical items of presumably Evenki origin, some of them are presented below.

1. *andagdzai* 'namesake' ← Evenki *andak* 'friend' (Vasilevich 1958: 31) + *ža* (Denominal affix (Vasilevich 1958: 755)).
2. *gi:na-* 'to howl (of a wolf)' ← Evenk *gina-mi*: 'to grumble, squel, bark' (Vasilevich 1958: 88). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *gi:na-* 'to squel, whine' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 101).
3. *dünkū:le-* 'to clink glasses' ← Evenki *dung-mi* 'to beat' (Vasilevich 1958: 125)
4. *dzantaki* 'wolverine' ← Evenki. *djantaki*: (Vasilevich 1958: 150). Evenki form is also the source for Buriad *zantaxi* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *dzantaki*: id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 151).
5. *dzümügjō*: 'the traditional hut of Khamnigans, adobe, dugout shelter, with earth floor and flat roof' ← Evenki *dzimugja* (See. Shimunek, Mönkh-Amgalan 2007:36) ← Russ. *zimovjō*. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *dzimovjo*, *dzimuvjo* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 153).
6. *gogor-* 'to bark' ← Evenki *gogo-* 'to bark', *gogor* 'bark (n.)' (Vasilevich 1958: 90)
7. *gogoroi* 'dog' ← Evenki *gogor* 'bark (n.)'.
8. *gulwu:n / golwu:n / guluwun* 'a fallen tree used to make a camp-fire' ← Evenki *guluwun* 'camp-fire' (Vasilevich 1958: 96). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *gulbu:n*, *golbu:n*, *galbu:n* 'camp-fire' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 106).

⁶¹ A. Shimunek and Y. Mönkh-Amgalan (Shimunek, Mönkh-Amgalan 2007, 34-41) recorded following 17 words of presumably Evenki origin: бүгүтүнэ 'mosquito', гогор- 'to bark', дөрөгөнөө 'mischievous, misbehaved, hyper (e.g. of children), зүмүгөө 'house', ичиг 'summer boots', ичикөө 'elder sister', йинакон 'dog', каваргаа 'musk deer', камниган 'Khamnigan', көр 'dried animal hide with hair intact (of gazelle?)', курайка 'brother-in-law (elder sister's husband)', күпөө 'dried gazelle hide', пәгри- 'to blow air through one's closed lips like a horse snorting', сохоро- 'to cry', түрөсөөл 'tree trump', үнөп- 'to cry', үтөө 'son'.

9. *inegai, inakun* 'dog' ← *inakin* (Evenki Nerchi, TMS661).
10. *kirikidö*: 'bad (e.g. behaviour, words, clothes)' (*yamar kirikdö: yum ümsö:č?* 'what an awful thing do you wear?'). Cf. Ewenki *kirikeg!* 'fie! (interjection)' (Vasilevich 1958: 605). In this case the Ewenki origin is not certain.
11. *kö:n, kö:nkön* 'boy, son' ← ? Evenki Nerchi *kuŋa, kuŋaka:n* 'child' (Vasilevich 1958: 220). Cf. Khamnigan *ḳōŋ* 'Kind, Sohn' (Uray-Kóhalmi 1959:194).
12. *küpö*: 'very warm deer skin with thick winter fur' ← Evenki *kupu* 'summer skin of a deer' (Vasilevich 1958: 222), *kupo* 'fur-coat' (Vasilevich 1958: 221).
13. *qur'aaqa* 'elder sister's husband' ← Barguzin Evenki *kuraka:n* 'younger sister's husband' (Vasilevich 1958: 222). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kürigen, körogön* 'younger sister's or daughter's husband' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 186).
14. *mönöki* 'dog' (?? from Evenk *ŋinakin* id. with dissimilation of two nasals (Vasilevich 1958: 294).
15. *oilto:n* 'echo' ← Evenki *o:ltan, u:lta* 'id'. (TMS2, 263)
16. *šilüksä* 'dew' ← Barguzin Evenk *silikse* (Vasilevich 1958: 352). Cf. Tarbaldzhei Khamnigan *silekse* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 251).
17. *süpiro*: 'dead tree, brushwood' ← Evenki *supire*: 'bush, dogrose, rosehip' (Vasilevich 1958: 371)
18. *taliawan* 'stick for stirring up a fire' ← ? Evenki *taliwu:n* 'wooden harpoon for night fishing with fire' (Vasilevich 1958: 384). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *tale:bun* 'stick for stirring up a fire' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 271).
19. *tatimin* 'soup with meat made on Tsagaan sar' ← Evenki Nerchi *tatami*: 'soup' (Vasilevich 1958: 389).
20. *tütü*- 'to walk slowly' ← Evenk *tutu-mi*: '1. to crawl 2. to crawl away 3. to move away 4. to waddle, to walk, waddling from side to side' (Vasilevich 1958: 405).
21. *una:dž(n)* 'girl, maiden' ← Barguzin Evenki *una:di* (Vasilevich 1958: 445), also *una:d, una:č* (Vasilevich 1958: 445), see also forms with initial h-: *huna:t, hona:t, huna:č* 'id.' (Vasilevich 1958: 495).
22. *ütö*: '1. son, child; 2. term of addressing to a younger person' ← Evenki *ute* 'child' (common Evenki **hute* (Cydendambaev 1978: 89; 1981: 83)); cf. Onon Khamnigan *ütö:, üte:, ötö:* 'children' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 306). Shimunek & Mönkh-Amgalan (2007:40) give the only meaning 'son'.
23. *xačira:ŋ* 'dog' ← Evenki *xačixa:n* 'puppy' (Vasilevich 1958:473). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xačixa:n noxoi* 'dog' (Damdinov, Sandueva 2015: 321).

It is not clear whether the words *mönöki*, *inegai* and *inakun* are all borrowed from the various dialectal variants of Evenki **ŋinakin* 'dog', but if it is the case, then the formation of Khamnigan language might be much more complicated and involve interaction with several Evenki adstrats.

Russian lexical influence

A considerable share of Khamnigans moved to Mongolia from Russia in the beginning of the 20th century. That is why Khamnigans use a lot of Russian borrowings in their speech. Most of them are shared also by Buriad living in Mongolia and other inhabitants of regions near Russian border.

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1. *adiyal* 'bed cover, coverlet' ← Russ. *odeyálo* 'blanket'. It's interesting that the blanket preserves its Mongolic name *kündžilö*, while the Russian borrowing is used for the bed cover.
2. *amba:r* 'barn, shed' ← Russ. *ambár*. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *amba:r* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 21)
3. *anda:tar* 'muskrat, ondatra' ← Russ. *ondátra* id.
4. *ba:nk* 'glass jar' ← Russ. *bánka* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ba:nxa* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 32).
5. *ba:reški* 'mittens' ← Russ. *wárežki* (Pl.) 'id.'. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *wa:reska* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 168). Here Russian plural form is borrowed.
6. *balga:n* 'hut made of sticks and branches' ← a back-loan from Russ. *balagán*. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *balagan* 'Russian wooden house' (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169); Onon Khamnigan *balaga:n* 'hut of branches' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 39). In Russian this word is most probably of Mongolic origin.
7. *bati:nx* 'boots' ← Russ. *botínki* id.
8. *bedro:* 'bucket (larger than *qangil*)' ← Russ. *vedró* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *bidro:*, *vidro:* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 51).
9. *binto:w* 'rifle' ← Russ. *vintóvka* id.
10. *birda:nx*, *birda:n* 'Berdan rifle' ← Russ. *berdánka*. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *birdanxa* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 54)
11. *bito:n* 'water can' ← Russ. *bidón* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *bito:n* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 54).
12. *bu:lač* 'bun, sweet bread' ← Russ. *búločka* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *buločika* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 173).
13. *buti:lka* 'bottle' ← Russ. *butílka* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *buti:lka* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169).
14. *culki* 'stockings' ← Russ. *čulki* (Pl). Here Russian plural form is borrowed.
15. *dara:nk* / *dara:nc* 'shingles, roof tiles' ← Russ. *dránka* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *darni:ca* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 121).
16. *duga:᠖* 'shaft bow (part of horse harness)' ← Russ. *dugá* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *duga:* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 126).
17. *dura:kda-* 'to play cards', *küdzüri dura:kda-* 'to play cards' ← Russ. *durák* 'name of a card game'. *küdzür* 'playing cards' is also a Russian loanword (← Russ. *kózyr* 'ruff, trump card'), but the latter might be originally borrowed into Khalkha *xödžör* and later entered Khamnigan from Khalkha.
18. *dzama᠖* 'lock (of a firearm)' ← Russ. *zamók* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *dzama᠖* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 150); Buriad *zama᠖* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 264).

19. *dzaro:d* 'haystack, hayrick' ← Russ. dial. *zoród / zaród* 'id.' (SRNG 1974: 386). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *dzaro:d* 'id.' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 151).
20. *džarxo:* 'pieces of meat fried in cream' ← Russ. *žarkóye* 'id.'
21. *ga:lstug* 'necktie' ← Russ. *gálstuk* id..
22. *gara:wI* 'rake' ← Russ. *grábli* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *gara:bli*, *gra:bki*: id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 98).
23. *goršo:g* 'cast-iron pot' ← Russ. *gorshók* 'pot'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *goršo:g* 'cast-iron pot; pot' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 105, 345).
24. *ierodrom* 'aerodrome' ← Russ. *aerodróm* id.
25. *iri:ba* 'fish' (rare) ← Russ. *ri'ba* id.
26. *ismena* 'shift (in work)' ← Russ. *sména* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *smene* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 261).
27. *išö:* 'again, once more' ← Russ. *yeščó* id. Cf. Buriad *üšö:* (Cheremisov 1951: 523), Onon Khamnigan *üšö:*, *öšö:*, *isö:* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 307).
28. *istakan* 'glass, drinking glass' ← Russ. *stakán* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *istaka:n* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169); Onon Khamnigan *staxa:n*, *istaxa:n* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 255).
29. *kilö:mö* 'bread' ← Russ. *xleb* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kile:me(n)*, *kilö:me(n)* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 172), Manchurian Khamnigan *xilp:ma* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 168).
30. *la:mp* 'oil lamp' ← Russ. *lámpa* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *lampa* 'lightbulb' (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 171), Onon Khamnigan *la:mpačka* 'electric lamp', *la:mpa* 'oil lamp' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 197).
31. *ma:slo* 'butter' ← Russ. *máslo* id.
32. *marmela:d* 'marmalade, jelly' ← Russ. *marmelád* id.
33. *maši:na* 'mechanism' (*sü:nei maši:na* 'milk machine', *oyodoloi maši:na* 'sewing machine') ← Russian *mashína* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *maši:n*, *maši:nka* 1 'car' 2 'sewing machine' (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 183); Onon Khamnigan *maši:na* 1 'car' 2 'sewing machine' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 201).
34. *maudzer* 'Mauser rifle' ← Russ. *máuzer* id.
35. *mišo:g* 'sleeping bag' ← Russ. *spalny meshók* 'id.'
36. *mo:ršig* 'a kind of shoes made of cow skin tightened at the ankle with a lace' ← Russ. Amur dial. *moršni* 'a kind of shoes made of one piece of skin tightened at the ankle with a lace' (Starygina 2013: 125). Variant *po:ršig* (see below).
37. *mompase:* 'montpensier candy' ← Russ. *monpas'yé* id.
38. *morxo:w* 'carrot' ← Russ. *morkóv* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *morxo:bxo* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 204) ← Russ. *morkóvka* id.

39. *oglo:lbi* 'thill' ← Russ. *oglóbli* (*pl.*) 'id.'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *oglo:lbi* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 225). This word contains a metathesis in a consonant cluster.
40. *owdi:-* 'to offend, to insult' ← Russ. *obídet* 'id.' (One of the few borrowed Russian verbal roots in our data, in Manchurian Khamnigan speech there were more borrowings of verbal roots, see (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 176-177)).
41. *pa:lka* 'stick' ← Russ. *pálka* id.
42. *pala:x* 'floor (opposed to ceiling)' ← Russ. dial. *plálha* 'log; board; floorboard' (SRNG 1992: 101). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *pala:xa* 'block, log split in half; floor (in the room)' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 236).
43. *palic* 'wheel rim'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *palica* 'wheel radius' ← Russ. dial. *pálec* 'wheel radius' (SRNG 1990: 168). It is not clear whether there is a real shift of meaning or our language consultant just made a mistake.
44. *pamido:r* 'tomato' ← Russ. *pomidór* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *pamidɔɔr* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 171), Onon Khamnigan *pamido:r* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 238).
45. *paxla:ška* 'flask, vessel' ← Russ. *bakláška* id.
46. *pe:šin* 'oven' 'oven' ← Russ. *peč* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *pe:ti*, *pe:çi* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169), Onon Khamnigan *pe:či* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 237), Buriad *pe:šen* id. (Cheremisov 1951:385).
47. *piče:n* 'cookie' ← Russ. *pečénie* id.
48. *pirwa:dz* 'ferry' ← Russ. *perevóz* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *pirva:s* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 237).
49. *piso:g* 'granulated sugar' ← Russ. *pesók* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *piso:k* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 168).
50. *po:ršig* 'a kind of shoes made of cow skin tightened at the ankle with a lace' ← Russ. dial. *póršni* (SRNG 1996 :116-118). See *mo:ršig*.
51. *polk* 'shelf' ← Russ. *pólka* id.
52. *polote:nce* 'towel' ← Russ. *poloténce* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *polote:nce* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 238).
53. *porso:nx* 'piglet' ← Russ. *poros'ónok* id. Cf. Kurulga Khamnigan *porošo:nxo* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 238).
54. *potlo:g* 'ceiling' ← Russ. *potolók* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *potolo:g* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 238).
55. *pula:d* 'kerchief, babushka' ← Russ. *plat* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *pula:d* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 239).

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56. *qala:č, qala:či* 'round bread' ← Russ. *kaláč* 'kalach'. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *kala:fi* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 168), Onon Khamnigan *kalač, xala:či* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 169).
57. *qali:wr / xali:wer* 'small bore rifle' ← Russ. *melkokalibernaya vintovka* id.
58. *qaminda: / xaminda:* 'commandant' ← Russ. *komendánt* id.
59. *qapu:sta* 'cabbage' ← Russ. *kapústa* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *kapu:sta* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 170-171).
60. *qarto:bxá, qarta:bxá* 'potato' ← Russ. dial. *kartóvka* id (SRNG 1977:101). Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *karto:bka/karto:ška* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 171), Onon Khamnigan *karto:ško* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 169), *xorto:bxo* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 328), Buriad *xarto:bxá*, Khalkha *xarta:b* (Bat-Erdene 2015: 77).
61. *qostru:l* 'pot, casserole, saucepan' ← Russ. *kastryúlya* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *kastaru:l* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169).
62. *sa:xar* 'sugar' ← Russ. *sáxar* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *sa:xar* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 168); Onon Khamnigan *saxar* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 192)
63. *saba:ka* 'dog' ← Russ. *sobáka* id.
64. *samaŋo:t* 'airplane' ← Russ. *samolót* id.
65. *sarai* 'barn, shed' ← Russ. *sarái* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *sarai* 'shed, canopy' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 249).
66. *šarki* 'type of leather shoes with straps' ← Russ. dial. *čarki* (Fasmer 1987: 316). Rincen (1968: 115) attested the form *čarki*. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *čarki* 'shoes' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 341), Buriad *šarxi* (Cheremisov 1951: 693).
67. *šarowa:r* 'straight wide trousers' ← Russ. *šarováry* id. Cf. Khalkha *šarwa:r* id.
68. *sati:n* 'sateen' ← Russ. *satín* id.
69. *ši:ne* 'wheel tyre' ← Russ. *šína* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ši:ne* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 348).
70. *si:tec* 'chintz' ← Russ. *sítec* id.
71. *šidžo:lko* 'leather cushion put under the saddle girth' ← Russ. *sidyólka* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *sidyo:lko, sideolko, sedžo:lko* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 251).
72. *skoworda: / xuwarda:* 'pan' ← Russ. *skovorodá* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *xuwardaa* id. (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 169), Onon Khamnigan *skovoroda:, xubarda:* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 251).
73. *sto:l* 'table' ← Russ. *stól* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *sto:l* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 255).
74. *suma:* 'bag' ← Russ. *sumá* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *suma:* 'big leather bag' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 257).

75. *suxa:ɾa:* 'rusk' ← Russ. *suxárj* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *suxari* 'rusks' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 76, 188).
76. *ta:wčig* 'slipper' ← Russ. *tapoček* id. Cf. Khalkha *ta:wčig*. Here the borrowing could enter the Khamnigan via Khalkha intermediary.
77. *tröxlineik* '3-line rifle' ← Russ. *tryoxlinéika* id.
78. *tües* 'a special vessel made of birch bark' ← Russ. *túyes* id.
79. *uglu:* 'corner' ← Russ. *úgol* id. Perhaps the word was borrowed in the locative form: cf. Russian *v uglu* 'in the corner'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *uglu:* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015:289).
80. *ürü:mk* 'shot glass' ← Russ. *ryúmka* id.
81. *va:lenx* 'felt boots' ← Russ. *válenki* id. It is interesting that although here the plural form was borrowed (*válenok* is singular form), the final vowel has dropped in contrast to the other cases of borrowing the plural forms from Russian: see *ba:reški*. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ba:linxa*, *ba:linxu* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 32).
82. *vare:nj* 'jam, confiture' ← Russ. *varénjye* id.
83. *xodo:g* 'small wagon' ← Russ. *xodók* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xodo:g* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 322).
84. *xomno:* / *komno:* 'haystack, hay shock' ← Russ. *gumnó* 'stackyard'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xomno:* 'hay shock'. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 324).
85. *xomu:t* 'collar, yoke' ← Russ. *xomút* id. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xomu:s* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 324)
86. *xormu:sl* 'carrying pole, rocker arm, yoke' ← Russ. *koromí'slo* id.
87. *ya:blak* 'apple' ← Russ. *yábloko* id. Cf. Manchurian Khamnigan *yabloko* (Gruntov, Mazo 2015b: 171).
88. *yapo:ška/ yapo:šk* 'flat round cake' ← Russ. *lepyóška* id.

In the following glossary we tried to avoid including those Khamnigan words that regularly correspond to their cognates in both neighboring languages Khalkha and Buriad with trivial phonetic correspondences (/k/ instead of /x/ etc.), those words were consistently recorded in Yu Wonsoo's work (Yu Wonsoo 2011: 95-189). Rather we tried to collect here those words that are absent or rare in Khalkha or Buriad, have peculiar semantic, morphologic or phonetic development, differ in the contexts of usage or are cognate with only one member of Buriad / Khalkha pair.

Glossary (not including words from previous two chapters)

1. *a:šir, a:širxan* 'later, a bit later'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *a:ša:r* 'by evening, later' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015:9).

2. *adza*: '(paternal) grandfather' Cf. Onon Khamnigan *adža*: id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 15), Khalkha *adzai bu:ral* 'grey haired (of old persons)'.
3. *amna*:- 'to bring'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *amna*:- id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 22).
4. *anagu* 'bad, ugly'
5. *aqai* 'elder brother'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *axai* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 29), Buriad *axai* (Cheremisov 1951:71).
6. *ar n'aru*: '(human) back'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ara, ara be*: id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 24), *niru:(n), niruga(n)* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 218), Khalkha *nuru*:, Buriad *n'u:rgan*.
7. *ayagüi* 'intensifying particle': *ayagüi olon dzagastai* 'there are plenty of fish (in this river)', *ayagüi qurdan* 'very quickly'. Cf. Khalkha *ayagüi* 'unpleasant', Onon Khamnigan *ayagüi* 'indecent, unpleasant'. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 31).
8. *acra*- 'to bring'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *acara*- (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 29), Buriad *asar*- (Cheremisov 1951: 69), Khalkha *acra*- 'id.'
9. *ba:r* a kind of hunter's incantation (usually repeated twice or trice).
10. *baču:da*- 'to get angry ?'.
11. *bailga*: 'wooden vessel for diary'. Cf. Altan Khamnigan, Kyra Khamnigan, Tarbaldzhei Khamnigan, Ulhun-Partiya Khamnigan, Kurulga Khamnigan *bailga:na*, Uzon Khamnigan *bailgacu* 'birch bark vessel for milk' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 37), Tokchin Khamnigan, Gunui Khamnigan *bailgu:r* 'a small wooden vessel, where the milk is kept for separation' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 37) (see *baylganc, bailga:n*) < Onon Khamnigan *bailga*- 'to cease, to stop' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 37). Cf. Buriat *bailgansag* 'wooden jar for milk' (Cheremisov 1951: 84).
12. *bailganc, bailga:n* 'the top of the milk; creams'. Noun derivative from the verb *bailga*- 'cause to be'. The Khamnigans put milk into the wooden vessel and leave for the night, it is called *süne: bailga*-, then take off the top layer, which is *baylganc*.
13. *bacagan* 'daughter'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *bacagan* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 49), Buriad *basagan* (Cheremisov 1951: 97)). .
14. *bö:lö*- 'to sing' . Cf. Onon Khamnigan *bö:le*- 'to perform a shamanistic ritual' < *bö*: 'shaman'. It's interesting that Mongolian Khamnigans use this word in non-shamanistic context as a neutral verb for singing.
15. *börkө* 'good, well; well done'. *awu mini l ücügüldür l ayaga: sínaga: börkө:r uga:ga:d l бүдžигинд yawadž bolku gej kölösön* 'Father told me yesterday: "you may go to the dances if you wash dishes well"'. *Börköl baina* 'that's great'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *berke, bөрke* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 90).
16. *boro*- 'to bark (of a dog)'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *boro*- 'to lash out barking; to bark' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 65).
17. *bulam* 'a sort of round bread baked in ashes' < from *bula*- 'to dig in' semantically motivated by the way of baking. Cf. Buriad *bulamar, bulaša* 'flat bread baked in ashes' (Cheremisov 1951: 121, 122).
18. *bult* 'all, everything', *bulta:ra*: 'everyone, all together'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *bultu, bulta* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 71).
19. *bülüg dze*: 'a term of endearment to the relative's children'
20. *bümbüre:n* 'spherical, globular' Cf. Khamnigan *bөmbөрө* 'drum' (Yu Wonsoo 2011: 107), Khalkha *bөmbөгөр*, Buriad *bümbeger* 'globular' (Cheremisov 1951: 136).

21. *bürle-* 'to die'. Cf. Khalkha *bürle-* 'to be destroyed; to die'. In Modern Khalkha it is a very rare word, in Khamnigan it is one of the main verbs for 'to die'. It's absence in the dictionary of Onon Khamnigan (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015) is remarkable.
22. *būslexüi* 'waist, waistline': *būslexüi-cö: usand oruson* 'Entered water until his waist'. Cf. Khalkha *būs* 'belt', Onon Khamnigan *büse, būsü, bühü, busa* 'belt; waist', *büsecö:* 'until the waist' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 85-86).
23. *cavirgai* 'temple, templebone'. Cf. Khalkha *čamarxai* id., Buriad *sabirgai* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 393), Onon Khamnigan *cabirgai, cabarxai, cabarixai* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 335). Here Khamnigan is closer to Buriad both in treating of intervocal –b–, and the development of initial affricate.
24. *čac* 'muscles of the animal shin'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *čica* 'tibia, shin' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 345), Khalkha *čac* 'extremities; legs and arms'.
25. *čirgo:lgo* 'long leather strap'.
26. *čisu* 'blood'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *čisu(n)* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 345), Khalkha *cus*, Buriad *šuha(n)* 'id.' (Cheremisov 1951:706).
27. *coqu* 'forehead'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *coxo* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 338). Khalkha *coxu* has a more narrow meaning 'the top of the forehead', Buriad *soxo* 'forehead' is used only in several dialects (Cheremisov 1951: 407).
28. *dawši/dawči* 'boar sternum fat; boar sternum meat'. Cf. Nurinsk Khamnigan *dabči* 'diaphragm (of animals)' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 116).
29. *doin* 'part of food to be burnt as an offering to deities during hunting or funerals'. Cf. Dagur *doij* 'offering' (Poppe 1930: 76).
30. *dörgönö* 'fidgeting, restless, energetic (of kids, especially boys)', *dörgönö:- / dörgönö:tö-* 'to fidget, to be always in motion (of kids)'. Shimunekand Mönkh-Amgalan (2007: 36) suggests Evenki *derü:gi-* 'to tire (trans.)', but this etymology faces both semantic and morphological issues.
31. *düimög* 'slow poke, fool'. Cf. Khalkha *düinge* 'silly'.
32. *dza:laxan* '1. young (e.g. relative to the speaker, "younger than me"); 2. narrow (e.g. of a road)', *dza:lalda:* 'at my early age'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *dza:la:* 'small, young; child; few' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 145-146), Khalkha *dža:l* 'little, child', Buriad *ža:* 'little, a bit' (Cheremisov 1951: 246), *za:l* 'a bit' (Cheremisov 1951: 255).
33. *dzöm* 'hunting prey'. Cf. Khalkha *dzem* 'carrion, animal lifted by a wolf'.
34. *dzutara:ncag* 'loser, luckless man'
35. *ga:raw* a kind of greeting or shamanistic invocation (usually repeated thrice).
36. *g'alba:* 'Venus; star; lightning'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *gilba-* 'to shine' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 101); Khalkha *g'alba:* 'flash, glitter, lightning', Buriad *gilbama* 'glittering, shining' (Cheremisov 1951: 167).

37. *gö:gd-* 'to die' < passive from *gö:* 'to loose' < from Proto-Mong **geye-* 'to loose'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ge:gdekü* 'to fall behalf; be abandoned; to die' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 113), Khalkha *ge:-* 'to loose'.
38. *göle-* 'to gather (e.g. cattle)'
39. *görgön* 'wife'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *gergen*, *görgön* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 113); Buriad *gergen* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 189); Khalkha *gergiy* id.
40. *göwicöldö-* 'to fight each other'. Cf. Khalkha *göwšildö-* id.
41. *ičikö;* *öčikö:* 'elder sister'. Schimunek and Mönkh-Amgalan (2007: 36) give one form *ičikö:* and suggest Evenki origin from *eki:n* 'elder sister; aunt, mother's or father's younger sister' which is dubious phonetically. This form might be related to Dagur *aška;* *ačaka:* 'mother's elder sister', *ačxa:* 'elder brother's wife; mother's elder sister' (Todaeva 1986: 132) and hardly connected to Onon Khamnigan *egeči,* *ögöčö* 'elder sister'. (Damdinov, Sundueva 354), Khalkha *egč* id, Buriad *egeše* (Cheremisov 1951: 722).
42. *ide:le-* 'to eat'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *idekü,* *idikü* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 163).
43. *itxuncag* 'kind of stick with sharp end used in hunting'
44. *kö:rö:* 'bay-brown (horse color)'
45. *köntöglö-* 'to be angry'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kentegle-* 'to swear; to get angry' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 194), Khalkha *xentegle-* id.
46. *kü:* 'son', *kü:gö:* 'child (vocative)'. Cf. Tarbaldzhei Khamnigan, Mangut Khamnigan, Uihun-Partiya Khamnigan *kü:* 'son' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 188).
47. *kü:gen* 'girl'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kü:ken* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 188), Khalkha *xü:xen* 'girl', Buriad *xü:xen* 'girl', *xü:gen* 'child, kid; girl' (Cheremisov 1951: 619).
48. *küdüs* 'crafted leather'. Cf. Khalkha *xödös* 'crafted sheep leather', Buriad *xüdehe(n)*, 'not crafted sheep leather' (Cheremisov 1951: 604).
49. *kügšín kügše:* 'father's father, paternal grandfather'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kügšín kügše:* 'great-grandfather' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 178).
50. *kügšín ümbö:* 'father's mother, paternal grandmother'
51. *küke:n* 'joy, gladness'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *küke:n* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 179).
52. *ma:nar,* *manu:s* 'we'
53. *miviš* 'a three-year old wild boar'
54. *muxur^lu:la-* 'to ride (the car, motorcycle)' lit. 'to roll, twirl' *qoyula: muxur^lu:lya* 'let's go for a ride'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *muxari-* 'to roll over' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 206), Buriad *muxari-* 'to roll' (Cheremisov 1951: 321), Khalkha *muxri-* 'to roll, to turn over'.

55. *nagacu kügšín* 'mother's father, maternal grandfather'.
56. *nagacu ümbö*: 'mother's mother, maternal grandmother'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *nagaca* 'maternal relatives'; Ulhun-Partiya Khamnigan *nagacu ümbö*: 'mother's father'; *nagacu übö*: 'mother's mother' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 212); Khalkha *nagac* 'maternal relatives'.
57. *nilbusu* '1. tears 2. saliva'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *nilbusa(n)*, *nilbusu(n)* 'tears' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 217), *nisu(n)* 'saliva' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 218); Khalkha *nulims* 'tears', Buriad *nyolboho(n)* 'tears, saliva' (Cheremisov 1951: 342)..
58. *nitug* 'locality, native place', *nitugla-* 'to live somewhere'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *nitug*, *ńutug* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 218), Khalkha *nutag*, Buriad *ńutag* (Cheremisov 1951: 358) 'locality, native place'.
59. *ö:lpönö* 'fidgeting, restless, frolic (of girls)'. See also *dörgönö*.
60. *ömbö*: 'grandmother' cf. Onon Khamnigan *ümbö*; *ömbö*: (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 302). B.Khabtagaeva (2017: 54) proposes the development from Literary Mongolic *emegen* 'old woman, grandmother' to Onon Khamnigan *emegē* ~ *ömögö* ~ *ömbö*, Mongolian and Manchurian Khamnigan *eme*.
61. *önidkō* 'eye-brow'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *nidke*, *ünidkü*, *enidkü*, *önitkō* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 215). The form is most probably related to Buriad *nidxe* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 342), but the initial epenthetic vowel is irregular
62. *önkerö*: 'tender, sensitive, sickly, unhealth (of a child)'. Cf. Khalkha *enxrij* 'tender, endearing', Buriad *enxergen* 'tender, endearing' (Cheremisov 1951:733).
63. *öwkö-* 'to go all over, to travel all over'.
64. *palči-* / *pilči-* 'to swim'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *palči-* 'to flounder in the water, to strike about in the water' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 237). ??Cf. Buriad *palšagana-* 'to squelch through the mud' (Cheremisov 1951: 383).
65. *porči-* 'to shrink'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *burči-* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 75).
66. *qanġil* / *xanġil* 'bucket'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xanġil* 'metal bucket' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 315).
67. *qumir* 'the roof of dzümügjö:, traditional Khamnigan hut; mountain top'
68. *samgan* 'wife, especially elderly wife'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *samagan*, *hamagan* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 246); Buriad *hamgan* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 644).
69. *šaru:s* 'barbecue, meat roasted on a sharpened stick' (< *šar-* 'to roast'). Cf. Onon Khamnigan *širu:su* 'meat of an animal slaughtered for guests' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 351).
70. *šašir* (or *cacar*) 'two year old wild boar (with tusks)'. Cf. Ulhun-Partiya Khamnigan *cacari* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 337).
71. *šidžigine-* 'to get angry ?' .
72. *šines* '*larix, larch-tree*'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *šinüsü(n)*, *šinese(n)* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 350); Buriad *šenehe(n)* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 716), .
73. *šinġi* 'like, as, similar' (postposition). Cf. Khalkha *šig*, Buriad *šerġi* (Cheremisov 1951:714) 'id.'
74. *širam* 'pancake' < *šira-* 'to fry'

75. *sō:xör* a kind of hunter's incantation (usually repeated thrice).
76. *sögše-* 'to become glad, joyful'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *segši-* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015:264).
77. *suna:-* 'to kill (euphemism)'
78. *ta:na* 'wild garlic'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ta:na* 'wild garlic' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 269); Khalkha *ta:na* 'wild leek'.
79. *talxa:rc* 'a kind of dish: soar milk curds boiled in meat soup'. A composite word including *a:rc* 'curds' as a second component. The first part *talx* coincides with *talx* 'bread', but bread is not contained in this dish.
80. *taqa* 'padding for a sole on *šarki*; horseshoe'. Cf. Khalkha *tax* 'sole, horseshoe'; Buriad *taxa* 'horseshoe' (Cheremisov 1951: 431).
81. *taraki* 'head'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *taraki(n)* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 272), Bur. *tarxi* id. (Cheremisov 1951:429), Khalkha *tarxi* 'brains'. Only one language consultant used this word, others claimed that *tolgoi* is the only word for 'head'.
82. *tatu:rga* 'tongs' < *tata-* 'to pull'. In Onon Khamnigan, Buriad and Khalkha *tatu:rga* is derived from the same verb and has a wide range of meanings (Damdinov and Sundueva 2015: 274, Cheremisov 1951: 431).
83. *tawic* 'kind of creams' < *tawi-* 'to put'.
84. *tō:tende* 'very far away'
85. *tödō:d* 'they' (Gen. *tödō:si:n*), *ödō:d* 'they (near deixis)'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *tede:n*, *tedō:n*, *tödō:n* 'they' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 286), Kurulga Khamnigan *ede*, *edō:n* 'these; they' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 354).
86. *tögnö* 'meatballs'
87. *toŋgoru: xudag* 'sweep well'. Interesting case of semantic development. It might be originally a loan-translation from Russian: *kolodec-zhuravl* 'crane well' > *togoru:* 'crane' + *xudag* 'well', but later a contamination with the phonetically close verb *toŋgoro-* 'to turn upside down' occurred.
88. *tū:nkü* 'Adam's apple'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *tūben*, *tūbengi*, *tūbū:ngi* (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 282), Buriad *tūbengi* (Cheremisov 1951: 454), Khalkha *tövönx* 'id.'
89. *tügö:rö-* 'to go astray, to get lost'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *tö:ri-* 'to loose one's way' (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 279), Khalkha *tö:ri-* id. The rare case where Khamnigan preserved intervocalic -g- lost elsewhere.
90. *tunqu* 'kettle'. Cf. Khalkha *tunxu:* id.
91. *tüngerceg* 'leather bag for collecting wild lily roots'. Cf. Zugalai Khamnigan, Delyun Khamnigan *tüngerceg*, *töngörcög* 'small bag made from animal skin pieces'. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 283).
92. *ū:r* 'namesake'
93. *ükö:rüken* 'nice, lovely'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *kö:riken* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 175), Khalkha *xö:rxön* id., Buriad *xö:rxen* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 587).
94. *ulia:ŋgar* '1) pejorative name for a dog 2) bitch, female dog 3) wild homeless dog 4) wolf 5) a wolf and dog hybrid'.

95. *üpür-* 'to cry'. A. Shimunek and Y. Mönkh-Amgalan proposed a Tungusic etymology for this word (Evenki *upure:n* 'to purse one's lips' (Shimunek, Mönkh-Amgalan 2007: 40)), but this comparison looks semantically far-fetched.
96. *üxre-* 'to call, shout'. Cf. Tarbaldzhei Khamnigan, Mangut Khamnigan *ü:kirkü* 'to cry at the top of the voice' (Damdinov, Sundueva, 2015: 307).
97. *ücügüldür* 'yesterday'. Cf. Onon Khamnigan *ücügülder*, *ücegelder* id. (Damdinov, Sundueva 2015: 307), Buriad *üsegelder* id. (Cheremisov 1951: 519), Khalkha *öčigdör* id.
98. *xapurga-* 'to chew'.
99. *xar'ta* 'the back side of cattle shin' Cf. Onon Khamnigan *xarti* 'shinbone' (Damdinov and Sundueva 2015: 319), Buriad *xarti* 'shinbone' (Cheremisov 1951:557). Khalkha *xar't* 'humerus'
100. *xatle:* 'stitch, seam'. Breaking of vowel harmony in this word may imply a loanword, but the source is unknown.
101. *xu:gi-* 'to ride (the horse)'.

Folklore sample

We collected many pieces of oral folklore. Here we'll cite one riddle (3) told by D. Byambasüreng (Ulaanbaatar, originally from Dadal, Khentii, 64)

(3)

<i>Ündür-ei</i>	<i>bö:rindü</i>	<i>ülen-ei</i>	<i>xadžu:du</i>
High-Gen	kidney-DatLoc	intestines	next.to

<i>Köke</i>	<i>mantaj</i>	<i>uja:</i>	<i>gö:če:</i>	<i>gösö:mbi</i>
Blue	big	rope	loose	loose-PST-1Sg

<i>Törö:n-ijg</i>	<i>olson</i>	<i>kün-ijg</i>
This-Acc	find-PST	person-Acc

<i>müngö:r</i>	<i>molixo-wi</i>
money-Instr	decieve-1Sg

<i>torgo:r</i>	<i>tolixo-wi</i>
silk-Instr	pay_back-1sg

Tentative translation: 'Near the kidneys in the height, next to intestines I've lost a blue big rope. I won't pay money to the person who will find it, I will pay him with silk'.

The answer is *dölü:* 'spleen'. The riddle refers to the custom of using cow's spleen as a gluing material while sewing national clothes *deeli*.

CONCLUSION

In Mongolia, the Khamnigan language is on the verge of extinction. Young people prefer to speak Khalkha Mongolian, and for older and middle-aged speakers Khamnigan is not the language of everyday communication. Total number of speakers amounts to few dozens. Absence of education in Khamnigan and

the general derogatory attitude to the Khamnigan language and Khamnigan speakers from Buriad and Khalkha population in the past (according to numerous Khamnigan testimonies) accelerated the process of language shift. Only in recent years some attempts for national identity revival became visible.

The Mongolic-Evenki diglossia recorded by B.Rinchen in 60-s and preserved to a certain extent among Khamnigans in China is now completely lost in Mongolia, and even the most elderly interlocutors do not remember the parallel use of the Khamnigan Evenki and Khamnigan Mongol within community. Evenki influence in the past manifests via a number of loanwords still in use.

Khamnigan language in Mongolia preserves a number of archaic phonetic features, however we have not found any consonant reflexes of Middle Mongolian initial fricative /h-/ mentioned by Rinchen.

In this paper we presented a part of our lexical materials and folklore samples along with description of some customs collected during our expedition to Mongolia in 2019. A considerable share of collected data have not been attested in previous lexicographic and folklore works on Khamnigans of Mongolia.

Abbreviations

acc	accusative case	n	noun
com	comitative case	pl	plural
dat.loc	dative-locative case	poss	possessive
dial.	dialectal	ptcp.imprf	participle imperfective
gen	genitive case	ptcp.prf	participle perfective
imv	imperative	sg	singular
instr	instrumental case	voc	vocative form

List of language consultants:

Khamnigan language:

Khamnigan language:

– in Khögshidiin Khotkhon: D. Nergüi (90), D. Bat-Sükh (70), Tungalag (65).

– in Choibalsan: A. Bat (57).

– in Bayan-Uul: J. Baatartsogt (62), Sh. Badamgarav (72), V. Ölzijhutag (59), I. Xishigt (54), J. Dulam (87), J. Damdin (72).

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– in Binder: Ts. Tsendgombo (89), Ch. Tserendulam (95), L. Enhtuya (60), N. Amarsaixan, Ts. Hovroo (86), D. Enkhbat (56), S. Ginemaa (66).

– in Ulaanbaatar: M. Tsetsegmaa, D. Byambasureng (64), L. Erdentsogt.

Ordos language: Naranzandan.

Kalmyck language: G. Ts. Pyurbeev, T. Basangova.

Buryat language: B. Badmaev, O. Bat-Tuya.

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