

Chapter 5

On some shared and distinguishing features of Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki dialects

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The present paper is a brief addition to the author's recent monograph (Khabtagaeva 2017) which deals with Mongolic elements in Ewenki dialects (Barguzin, Nercha, Baunt and North-Baikal) spoken in the territory of Buryatia, Russia. Today Nercha Ewenki is no longer spoken. During the initial years of Soviet rule (ca. 1918–1932) some Nercha speakers crossed the border into Manchuria, China, and today their descendants are speakers of Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki. The aim of this paper is to find out similarities and differences between the extinct Nercha Ewenki dialect and Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki.

Keywords: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki, etymology, Mongolic loanwords

1 Introduction

The present paper is a brief addition to the author's recent monograph (Khabtagaeva 2017) which focuses on Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki dialects spoken in the territory of Buryatia, Russia. The idea to write this paper was motivated by the author's trip in September 2017, to carry out fieldwork among Mongolic and Tungusic people in Manchuria.

The main goal of the published monograph (Khabtagaeva 2017) was to clarify the status of early Mongolic (i.e. non-Buryat) and later Mongolic or Buryat layers in Ewenki, with the main finding being that almost all phonetic characteristics of



Mongolic loanwords in Ewenki dialects coincide with Khamnigan Mongol. This implies that an “early” Mongolic language related to Modern Khamnigan Mongol¹ was spoken in the Transbaikalian territory before the Buryat tribes arrived here, and this language had a considerable effect on Ewenki dialects in the earlier stages of borrowing (Khabtagaeva 2017: 200–201).

The introductory part of Khabtagaeva (2017) provides a brief overview of the Ewenki dialects of Buryatia (Barguzin, Nercha, Baunt and North-Baikal), their language status, common phonetic and semantic features and differences among them. However, in contrast with other Ewenki dialects, Nercha Ewenki is not spoken any more (Khabtagaeva 2017: 34–35). In my published monograph I very briefly mentioned the Khamnigan Ewenki people, but I did not explicitly connect them with the Nercha Ewenki people. The fieldwork among the Khamnigan Ewenki people (September 2017, Hulunbuir, China) has proven my early assumptions to be correct.

The aim of this paper is to compare the lexical material of Nercha Ewenki published by Castrén (1856) with the Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki data published by Janhunen (1991) and our fieldwork materials.

2 Ewenki dialects

The Ewenki language belongs to the Tungusic language family, traditionally believed to form the Altaic language family together with the Turkic and Mongolic languages. Although the classification of Tungusic languages is not definitive, Tungusic languages are traditionally divided into two branches (for more details, see Khabtagaeva 2017: 17–18). The northern branch includes 51 dialects and subdialects of Ewenki, Ewen or Lamut, Negidal, etc. The southern branch is divided into two groups. The Manchuric group consists of Jurchen or Old Manchu,

¹Nowadays Khamnigan Mongol has three dialects, which are close to each other linguistically but differ geographically. Khamnigan Mongol is spoken in three different countries. (1) The Trans-Baikalian or Onon Khamnigan dialect is spoken in the Chita Province of Russia, and in several Regions of the Buryat Aga National District. (2) The Khamnigan Mongol dialect of Mongolia is spoken in the northeastern region of Mongolia in Khentei Province and in Dornod Province. The Khamnigan dialect of Dadal sum of Khentei Province was investigated by Uray-Kõhalmi. (3) The Manchurian Khamnigan dialect is spoken in the northeastern region of China, in the Hulunbuir district in the Ewenki Autonomous Arrow of the Old Bargut Banner.

Khamnigan Mongol is an endangered Mongolic language, its speakers total approximately 2,600 persons: Onon Khamnigans number 600, Manchurian Khamnigans 1,500, while Khamnigan Mongols of Mongolia 530 speakers (for more details and references, see Khabtagaeva 2017: 49).

Manchu, and its sole living member Sibe ~ Sibó (Xibe ~ Xibo). The Amuric group includes Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch, Oroch, and Udihe.²

The Ewenki people live in Russia, China and Mongolia,³ scattered over a vast territory. Janhunén (1997: 130) suggests a differentiation of the Ewenki people into two groups: (1) the Siberian Ewenki in Russia and (2) the Manchurian Ewenki in China.

1. In Russia, the Ewenki people live in small groups of a few thousand people, far from each other. They number approximately 37,100 (Ewenki statistics in 2010).⁴ The Ewenki language in Russia has 51 dialects, which can be grouped into northern, southern and eastern branches (Atkine 1997: 115; Bulatova 2002: 270–271). Literary or Standard Ewenki is based on the Stony Tunguska dialect, which belongs to the southern branch (for more details, see Khabtagaeva 2017: 19–23);
2. In Northeastern China, along the rivers Mergel and Hailar, in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner of the Hulun Buir Region at least four historically and linguistically distinct groups live in close proximity:
 - a) the Solon Ewenkis – the largest group (25,000 or 90% of the Ewenki by nationality in official statistics);⁵

²A new classification of Tungusic languages was recently proposed by Janhunén (2012: 16), where the northern branch includes the Ewenic group as well as the Udegheic group, while the southern branch consists of the Nanaic and Jurchenic groups. Accordingly, the Tungusic languages are divided into two branches. The NORTHERN TUNGUSIC branch includes the Ewenic group: a) Siberian Ewenic (Ewen, Arman, Ewenki, Negidal, Orochen and Urulga dialect of Khamnigan Ewenki); and b) Manchurian Ewenic (Mankovo dialect of Khamnigan Ewenki, Nonni Solon, Hailar Solon and Ongkor Solon). The Udegheic group includes Udeghe and Oroch. The SOUTHERN TUNGUSIC branch contains two groups: a) the Nanaic (Nanai, Kili and Kilen) and Ulchaic (Ulcha and Oroch) group and b) the Jurchenic group (Jurchen, Manchu and Sibe).

³A group of Ewenkis of unknown size also lives near Lake Buir in Northeastern Mongolia.

⁴The Republic of Yakutia – 21,008; the Krasnoyarsk Region – 4,372; the Khabarovsk Region – 4,101; the Republic of Buryatia – 2,974; the Province of Amur – 1,481; the Zabaikalsk Region – 1,387; the Province of Irkutsk – 1,272; the Province of Sakhalin – 209 and other Provinces – 312. On the geographical position of the Ewenki dialects in Russia, see the appended map in Vasilevič's (1958) dictionary.

⁵Historically they are a satellite group of the Dagur. Just like the Dagurs, the Solon Ewenkis used to live in the Zeya basin north of the Middle Amur, from where the Qing government relocated them to other parts of Manchuria in 1654. Today they live in four different places. One place is the Zeya basin in Russia (Bulatova 1987), while the other three are in Manchuria, China: along the Nonni basin in Nehe country, in the Ewenki Autonomous Banner of Hulun Buir, and in Ili Region of Xinjiang (Janhunén 1997: 130–131).

- b) the Orochens – another major group of Ewenki speakers in China forming four geographical and dialectal subgroups, including approximately 7,000 people;⁶
- c) the Manchurian Reindeer Tungus or *Yakute*, officially classified together with the Solon as *Ewenke*, numbering about 200 individuals;⁷
- d) the Khamnigan Ewenkis – the last Ewenki group in China that numbers about 10,000 people (for more details, see below).

While they differentiate themselves from each other, most groups are erroneously called *Ewenke* by the administration and some Chinese linguists (Janhunnen 1997: 130–131).

3 Nercha Ewenki

The homeland of Nercha Ewenki people was the southeastern part of Transbaikalia. Today the territory is situated in the Aga Buryat National District of Chita Province. Politically and geographically it is not Buryatia, but it is the place where Buryat people have lived for a long time.

We do not have any current information about Nercha Ewenki speakers. The dialect is likely extinct, with only historical and ethnographic materials available. Uvarova (2006) focuses on historical facts, the social structure, and some cultural features of 18th to 20th century Nercha Ewenki peoples, with no examination of their language. The historical materials, including statistics, different government ordinances, and laws, were collected from various archives in Russia, originating mostly from the 19th century and author's fieldwork material collected in the 1970s (Uvarova 2006: 10–13). According to Uvarova, by the early 20th century the Nercha Ewenki people merged with the Buryat and Russian populations of Transbaikalia. In the 1970 census, only 32 persons indicated the Ewenki language as their mother tongue (Uvarova 2006: 9; 122). The total assimilation with the Buryats was completed by the 1980s.

Based on archive materials, Tugolukov (1975) characterizes the traditional culture and religion of Nercha *murčens*, i.e. 'horse breeders', provides statistical data on the Ewenki tribes in the 18th and 19th centuries, and describes various historical facts connected with the Gantimur dynasty. The ethnic history of the Nercha

⁶Their ancestors moved to China from the regions north of the Amur during the 18th century and nowadays settled the two Khingan Ranges (Janhunnen 1997: 131–132).

⁷They live in the region of the river Jiliuhe in the Hulun Buir Province, and are culturally close to the Orochen and different from the Solon (Janhunnen 1997: 132).

Ewenki people is closely linked with the name Gantimur, who was a leading representative of the Nercha *murčen* people. From the middle of 17th century he started to pay tribute to Russia. His oldest son Katana converted to Christianity and was presented to the court of Russian Tsar Petr Alekseevich. From the end of the 17th century Nercha *murčens* started to guard the Russian-Chinese border. The exact origin of Gantimur is unclear. According to various archive sources (for details, see Tugolukov 1975: 98–103), he was Tungus or Dagur. Tugolukov (1975: 101–102) concludes that Gantimur was of Tungusic origin but “Dagurified”, which may be confirmed with Gantimur being of Nercha Ewenki origin from the Dulikagir tribe, i.e. the original Ewenki tribe which is not Mongolic.

Here it also needs to be considered, as noted correctly by Janhunen (1991: 16), that the Transbaikalian aboriginal population represents a complex mixture of Mongolic and Tungusic elements. According to Janhunen (1991: 16), roughly one half of the Khamnigan Ewenki clans had Tungusic-speaking ancestors, while the ancestors of the other half were Mongolic-speaking. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that Gantimur was of either Tungusic or Mongolic origin. It is important to mention that the Nercha Ewenkis, like other Ewenki people, had no right to marry a person of the same tribe until the ninth generation, which may have led to their assimilation with Mongolic people. In Tugolukov’s opinion (1975: 109), before the 12th or 13th century, the Ewenki people were reindeer breeders and later assimilated to Mongolic people. Besides intermarriage, another reason for assimilation was the change of lifestyle from reindeer breeding to horse breeding.⁸

The full list of Nercha Ewenki tribes and their numbers in 1762 and 1823 are given by Tugolukov (1975: 93), whose data includes 14 tribes in the following order: *Balikagir* (87 persons), *Bajagir* (477 persons), *Wakasil* (42 persons), *Gunow* (258 persons), *Dolot* (126 persons), *Dulikagir* (436 persons), *Konur* (171 persons), *Lunikir* (304 persons), *Namyat* (512 persons), *Počegor* (248 persons), *Sortoc* (240 persons), *Uzon* (358 persons), *Ulyat* (140 persons), and *Čemčagir* (346 persons). The speakers of the Borzya dialect of Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki comprise the *Balkiegid*, *Bayagiid*, *Čimčagiid*, *Duligaad* and *Marugiid* clans, while the speakers of the Urulyngui dialect include the *Namied*, *Altanganuud*, *Čibčiniüüd*, *Jal-tood*, *Koonud*, *Dulaad*, *Galjood*, *Ulied* and *Ūjeed* (Janhunen 1991: 14). The forms with the final consonant *-d* (*-gid/-gad*, *-Ad*, *-nuud*) in the clan names are possibly connected with the Mongolic plural forms. Thus, if we compare all the above-mentioned clan names, the common clans of Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki people are *Bajagir*, *Dulikagir*, *Čemčagir*, *Konur*, *Ulyat* and *Namyat*.

⁸Ewenki legends tell us that when they came out with their reindeers to the steppe, they were forced to change their lifestyle because of the absence of reindeer moss (Tugolukov 1975: 106).

It seems that most of the Nercha Ewenkis were the ancestors of Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenkis, who crossed the border into Manchuria and China during the initial years of Soviet rule (ca. 1918–1932), moving with the ancestors of Khamnigan Mongols and Shinehen Buryats for “a better life” (Janhunen 1997: 130).

The first linguist who worked on the Nercha Ewenki dialect with native consultants was M. A. Castrén (1856). His work was translated into Russian by Ye. I. Titov and published as the appendix in his *Tungus–Russian dictionary* (Titov 1926). Titov was the second and possibly last researcher of Nercha Ewenki. Titov met with people from the Bultegir and Turuyagir clans (Titov 1926: ix) and claimed that the people spoke similar dialects. Today the people of the Turuyagir clan belong to the Baunt Ewenki people (Khabtagaeva 2017: 29), while the people of the Bultegir clan were mentioned among the Dagur people (Vasilevič 1969: 265). The lexical material in Vasilevič’s (1969) *Ewenki–Russian dictionary* was probably collected from Castrén’s and Titov’s works.⁹

Another important fact is that the histories of Nercha Ewenkis and Transbaikalian Khamnigan Mongols are closely related to each other. The two groups were likely often confused in Russian official documents and were considered to be *Tungus* and later *Ewenki*. For instance, the Russian anthropologist Tal’ko-Gryncevič (1904: 77) wrote that the number of *Ewenkis* who adopted Buddhism exceeded the number of Buryats. Or when we read that at the beginning of the 19th century there were six Buddhist monasteries in the Urulga territory built by *Ewenkis* (Galdanova et al. 1983: 41), we have to suppose that they mean the Nercha Ewenki and Transbaikalian (or Onon) Khamnigan Mongol people.

4 Khamnigan Ewenki

Speakers of Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki of China use two separate Ewenki dialects, both distinct from all other known Ewenki dialects and also relatively different from each other. The first one is the Borzya dialect, referring to the Upper Borzya river on the Russian side, while the second one is the Urulyungui dialect, referring to the river Urulyungui also on the Russian side (Janhunen 1991: 11–12; 1997: 132–133). Nowadays, geographically both rivers are situated in Transbaikalia, where the Nercha Ewenki people formerly lived.

⁹During my comparison of the materials of Castrén’s and Vasilevič’s dictionaries, I noticed that Castrén’s transcription does not always coincide with Vasilevič’s. For instance, the consonant *c* in Vasilevič’s dictionary is incorrectly indicated as *č* and I had to correct it in my own materials (Khabtagaeva 2017).

As Janhunen (1997: 132–133) states, this group is ethnolinguistically the most atypical one, in that it is more or less congruous with the population speaking the Khamnigan Mongol language. They are bilingual in Ewenki and Khamnigan Mongol. Mongol is the dominant community language, while Ewenki is mainly used as an additional means of communication within many families. The main languages of interethnic communication between Khamnigan Ewenkis and Khamnigan Mongols is Khamnigan Mongol,¹⁰ so the Khamnigan Mongols do not speak Ewenki. As Janhunen noted in the 1990s (1991: 11–15), Khamnigan Mongol is a stable and homogeneous variety, showing no essential variation within the community. Ewenki is destined eventually to lose its remaining role as a family language. By contrast, Khamnigan Mongol may well further strengthen its position as the principal community language in the Mergel region (for details, see Janhunen 1997: 130).

When interviewing the Khamnigan Ewenki people during our fieldwork, we observed a slight shift in self-identification compared to Janhunen’s description. Our Khamnigan informants mostly emphasized their Ewenki affiliation, stating that Ewenki is probably the original language of the community while Khamnigan Mongol (termed [*evenkilig mongol üge*] by them) was adopted later “somewhere in Russia”. At the same time, the speakers supposed that the *Boorji* variety existed earlier and was the original language of the Khamnigan Ewenki community while *Namieetii* was a Mongolized variety adopted by them in Manchuria. *Boorji* is a Borzya dialect, while *Namieetii* is connected to the clan *Namied*, which is listed among the Khamnigan Ewenki tribes of Mongolic origin and as speakers of the Urulyungui dialect (Janhunen 1991: 16, 14). As has been mentioned earlier, besides the *Namied*, the speakers of the Urulyungui dialect include the *Altan-ganuud*, *Čibčinüüd*, *Koonuud*, *Dulaad*, *Galjood*, *Ulied* and *Ūjeed* clans, while the speakers of Borzya dialect comprise the *Balkiegid*, *Bayagiid*, *Čimčagiid*, *Duligaad* and *Marugiid* clans (Janhunen 1991: 14).

The slight change of Khamnigan Ewenkis in “self-classification” as *Ewenki* people in recent years may be connected to the recent promotion of Ewenki culture in China and governmental support for the endangered Ewenki culture, which enables the Khamnigans to profit from their Ewenki identity. The idea of the unity of the three Ewenki branches of China has been promoted in various spheres. For instance, in Hailar we had an opportunity to meet with the Solon Ewenki scholar Do Dorji, who is the chief-editor of *Ewenki-Chinese* (1998) and *Ewenki-Mongol* (2013) dictionaries where he treats the “three Ewenki branches”

¹⁰As other Mongolian speakers (e.g. Buryat, Dagur, Ordos, Khorchin, Kharchin, etc.) in Inner Mongolia, Khamnigan Mongols and Khamnigan Ewenkis speak Standard Mongolian.

together, taking Solon as a base. Also, our 58-year-old informant told us that her mother tongue is very close to the Solon, Orochen and Yakut Ewenki varieties. When we asked about their connection with the Nercha Ewenki people, our informant replied that she did not hear about them recently but knows that they came from the Russian side and her parents were fluent in Russian.¹¹ It is an interesting fact that our Khamnigan Ewenki informants (a 59 year-old man and a 58 year-old woman) are fluent in both Ewenki (*Boorji* and *Namieetii*) varieties and Khamnigan Mongol. As they told us, both Ewenki varieties are very close to each other, but *Boorji* is the ‘original’ Ewenki, while *Namieetii* is “mixed and primitive”, i.e. *Namieetii* has more Mongolic and Russian elements.

It is important to mention the religion of the Khamnigan Ewenki people. As our informants told us, the ‘original’ religion was Christianity, after migration from Russia in the village where the Khamnigan Ewenki people lived there was one church with a priest, but during the Cultural Revolution in China in 1960-s and 70-s they were forced to ‘give up’ their religion and became atheists. Now the Khamnigan Ewenki people believe in shamanism, regularly visit shamans, and perform shamanistic rites.

A brief grammatical sketch of Khamnigan Ewenki was provided by Janhunen (1991).

5 Comparative analysis of Nercha Ewenki and Khamnigan Ewenki materials

Linguistically, the Nercha dialect belongs in the southern sibilant group, representing the hissing type (*s-*, *VsV*)¹² (Atnine 1997: 115; Bulatova 2002: 270–271; Khabtagaeva 2017: 19–20). The Khamnigan Ewenki variety also shares this phonetic feature.¹³

¹¹The personal names of our informant’s parents were unique: the mother’s name was Darima (a typical Buryat or Khamnigan Mongol name, it does not exist among other Mongolic people such as Khalkha, Oirat, Dariganga, etc.), the father’s name was Prank (cf. Russian *Frank*) and the uncle’s name was Mark.

¹²The main criterion used in the classification of the dialects is the fate of the Common Tungusic consonant *s in initial and intervocalic positions. In the three branches there appear the representations *h*, *s* and *š*. E.g. Common Tungusic ‘ear’ and ‘woman’ in northern group (spirant *h-*, *VhV*) are *hēn* and *ahī*, in southern (sibilant *s-*, *VsV* and *š-*, *VšV*) are *sēn* / *šēn* and *asī* / *ašī*, in eastern (sibilant and spirant *s-*, *VhV*) are *sēn* and *ahī*, respectively (Khabtagaeva 2017: 20).

¹³According to Castrén’s (1856) and Janhunen’s (1991) materials, Common Ewenki *sele* ‘iron’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *sele*; Common Ewenki *asī* ‘woman’: Nercha *āśī*, Khamnigan Ewenki *asī*, Common Ewenki *ēsa* ‘eye’: Nercha Ewenki *īsa* ~ *ēsa*, Khamnigan Ewenki (Urulga) *iesā*, (Borzya) *isa*, etc.

The following provides a list of common Tungusic words in the Nercha Ewenki and Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki dialects from Castrén's (1856) and Janhunen's (1991) works, and from our fieldwork material. The Nercha Ewenki dialect includes the Urulga and Mankovo subdialects, while Khamnigan Ewenki includes Borzya and Urulyngui. The extinct Mankovo subdialect of Nercha Ewenki corresponds to Borzya, while the extinct Urulga subdialect of Nercha Ewenki has a close relation with Urulyngui in Manchuria (Janhunen 1991: 12). Since the influence from Solon Ewenki language is assumed, the comparative data from the Hulunbuir Solon dialect is added (Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998; 2013; Chaoke 2014b). Additionally, the data of Orochen or Oroqen of Hulunbuir (Chaoke 2014a), Siberian Ewenki dialects (Vasilevič 1958) and other Tungusic languages are added (Cincius 1975/77; Hauer 1952-1955; Stary 1990; Zikmundová 2013).

5.1 Shared lexicon

In most cases, Nercha Ewenki and Khamnigan Ewenki have the common Tungusic vocabulary, which is also present in other Ewenki dialects.

- (1) A list of potential cognates shared by Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki:
 - a. Kinship terms:
 - i. 'elder brother': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **akin**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ahij*; Orochen *akin*; Siberian Common Ewenki *akīn*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *akan*; Negidal *ahin*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe *aga*; Oroch *aki*; Orok *aka*; Manchu *agu*; Sibe *avūⁿ*
(Castrén 1856: 71a; Janhunen 1991: 73; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 14; Chaoke 2014a: 160; Vasilevič 1958: 21a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 23; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 14; Zikmundová 2013: 204);
 - ii. 'younger brother': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **nekün**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *nəhuŋ*; Orochen *nekun*; Siberian Ewenki: Sakhalin *nekün*; Podkamennyj, May, Tokko, Tommot, Urmi, Uchur, Chulman *nekē*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *nu*; Negidal *nekun* ~ *nehun*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *neu*; Udihe *neŋu*; Oroch *neku*; Manchu *non*
(Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 24; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 480a; Chaoke 2014a: 161; Vasilevič 1958: 302a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 617b-618; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 720);

- iii. ‘daughter-in-law’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **kükin**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *hühiŋ*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj,
Yerbogochen, Barguzin, Zeya, Ilimpeya, May, Tokko, Tommot,
Uchur *kukin*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *köken*; Negidal *kukin* ~ *kuhin*;
Remaining lgs. *n.a.*¹⁴
(Castrén 1856: 81; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
303a; Vasilevič 1958: 217a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 425b);
- iv. ‘mother’: Nercha Ewenki (Urulga), Khamnigan Ewenki
(Urulyungui) **enin**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *əniŋ*; Orochen *enin*; Siberian Common Ewenki
eñin;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *eñin*; Negidal *enin*; *Southern
Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *eni*; Manchu *eniyeŋ*
‘female moose’; Sibe *əñi*
(Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
179a; Chaoke 2014a: 160; Vasilevič 1958: 562a; Cincius 1975/77 2:
456; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 253; Zikmundová 2013: 210);
- b. Names of body parts:
- i. ‘mouth’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **amŋa**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *amma*; Orochen *amŋa*; Siberian Common
Ewenki *amŋa*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *amŋa* ~ *amga*; Negidal *amŋa*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe *aŋma*; Oroch *amma*; Orok
amŋa ~ *aŋma*; Manchu *aŋga*; Sibe *an*
(Castrén 1856: 72; Janhunen 1991: 51; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
27b; Chaoke 2014a: 159; Vasilevič 1958: 28b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 38;
Hauer 1952-1955 1: 52; Zikmundová 2013: 205);
- ii. ‘beard’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **gurgakta**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *guggatt*; Siberian Common Ewenki *gurgakta*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *gurgat*; Negidal *goigakta*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai *gogakta*; Udihe *gugakta*; Oroch *gugahta*;
Orok *gudahta*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 82; Janhunen 1991: 40; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
230a; Vasilevič 1958: 97b; Cincius 1975/77: 173b);

¹⁴The abbreviation *n.a.* means that the form is not available, it may be present but not found in the considered dictionaries.

- iii. ‘skin’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **nanda**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *nanda*; Orochen *nana*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Barguzin, Yerbogochon, Zeya, Nepa, Sakhalin,
 Tokko, Urmi, Chumikan *nanna*; Ilimpeya, May, North-Baikal,
 Uchur *nanda*; Sym *nandra*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *nanra* ~ *nanda*; Negidal *nana*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai, Ulcha *nanta*; Udihe *néhe*; Oroch *naha* ~
nasa ~ *niha*; Orok *natta* ~ *nata*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 473b; Chaoke 2014a: 158; Vasilevič 1958: 276b; Cincius 1975/77 1:
 583b);
- iv. ‘neck’: Nercha Ewenki **nikimna** ~ **nikinma**; Khamnigan Ewenki
nikimne;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *niham*; Orochen *nikimna*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Nepa, Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Tungir, Zeya,
 Aldan, Urmi, Ayan, Sakhalin *nikinma*; Yerbogochon *nikinma* ~
nikimña; Nepa *nikinmña*; Barguzin *nikin*; Ilimpeya, North-Baikal,
 Uchur *nikimda*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *níken*; Negidal *nihma*; *Southern*
Tungusic: Ulcha *ńikin*; Orok *nikimña*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 487b; Chaoke 2014a: 159; Vasilevič 1958: 291b; Cincius 1975/77 1:
 591);
- c. Names of animals:
- i. ‘fish’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **oldo**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Orochen *olo*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochon, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Urmi,
 Chumikan, Sakhalin *ollo*; Ilimpeya, North-Baikal, Uchur, Upper
 Lena *oldo*; Sym *oldro*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *olra*; Negidal *olo*; *Southern*
Tungusic: Nanai *olo*; Ulcha, Orok *holto* ‘cooked fish’; Udihe *oloho*
 ‘cooked fish’; Oroch *okto* < **olto*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 75; Janhunen 1991: 23; Chaoke 2014a: 156; Vasilevič
 1958: 320a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 14);
- ii. ‘kind of duck’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **tarmi**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Common Ewenki *tarmi* ‘drake’

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut ; Negidal ; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *tarmi*; Udihe *tanmi*; Oroch *tajmi*; Orok *n.a.*; Manchu *tarmin*; Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 48; Vasilevič 1958: 388b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 169a; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 891);

- iii. ‘goose’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***nuŋnakī***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *nunnahi*; Orochen *niunnaki*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Ayan, Aldan, Barguzin, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, May, Sakhalin, Tommot, Tungir, Urmi, Uchur, Chumikan *ńuŋńakī*; Nepa, Tokmin *numńakī*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *n.a.*; Negidal *ńoŋńahi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ńoŋńa*; Ulcha *ńuŋńa*; Udihe *ńuŋńai*; Oroch *ńuŋńahi*; Orok *nuŋna ~ nuŋńa*; Manchu *nioŋniyaha*; Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 51; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 497b; Chaoke 2014a: 156; Vasilevič 1958: 307b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 646b; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 707);

- iv. ‘squirrel’: Nercha Ewenki (Mankovo), Khamnigan Ewenki (Borzya) ***ülükī***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *uluhi*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin *ulukī*; Ayan *olokī*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *uliki*; Negidal *oluki*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *hulu*; Orok, Ulcha *holo*; Udihe *olohi*; Oroch *oloki*; Manchu, Sibe *ulhu*

(Castrén 1856: 78; Janhunen 1991: 52; Chaoke 2014b: 42; Vasilevič 1958: 440a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 263b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 957; Stary 1990: 92);

d. Inanimate nature:

- i. ‘river’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***birā***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *bera*; Orochen *bira*; Siberian Common Ewenki *bira*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *bira*; Negidal *bija*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *bira*; Udihe *b^leæsa*; Oroch *biaka*; Orok *n.a.*; Manchu, Sibe *bira*

(Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 71b; Chaoke 2014a: 153; Vasilevič 1958: 56a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 84; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 96; Zikmundová 2013: 206);

e. Names of metals:

- i. 'iron': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *sele*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *səl*; Orochen *sele*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Nepa, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Uchur, Urmi, Aldan,
 Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *sele*; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya,
 VilyuiVilyuy *hele*; Sym, North-Baikal *šele*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hel*; Negidal *sele*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok, Manchu *sele*; Sibe
selei [ʃugūn] 'railroad'
 (Castrén 1856: 91; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 592b; Chaoke 2014a: 163; Vasilevič 1958: 376a; SSTMJ_a 2: 140;
 Hauer 3: 778; Stary 1990: 76);

f. Names of plants:

- i. 'tree': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *mō*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *mo*; Orochen *mō*; Siberian Common Ewenki *mō*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *mō*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok, Manchu *mō*; Sibe *mo*
 (Castrén 1856: 96; Janhunen 1991: 30; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 444b; Chaoke 2014a: 153; Vasilevič 1958: 254b; Cincius 1975/77 1:
 540; Zikmundová 2013: 218);
- ii. 'pine tree': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *ǰagda*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *ǰadda* ~ *ǰagda*; Siberian Common Ewenki *ǰagda*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *ǰagda*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai *ǰāgda*; Ulcha *ǰagda*; Udihe, Oroch, Orok *n.a.*; Manchu
ǰaqdan; Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 93; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 350a; Vasilevič 1958: 146b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 242);
- iii. 'steppe lily': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *ǰōgta*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *ǰōtt*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin *ǰokta*;
Southern Tungusic: Manchu *ǰoqtoda* ~ *ǰoqtonda*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 93; Janhunen 1991: 42; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 379b; Vasilevič 1958: 112b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 262);

g. Time measures:

- i. 'tomorrow': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *timī*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *timašij*; Orochen *timāna*; Siberian Common
 Ewenki *timānī*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *t'em'en*; Negidal *t'emana*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai *čimaj*, Ulcha, Udihe *tīmani*; Oroch
timaki; Orok *čimani*; Manchu *čimari*; Sibe *čimar*
(Castrén 1856: 87; Janhunen 1991: 29; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
689b; Chaoke 2014a: 155; Vasilevič 1958: 410b; Cincius 1975/77 2:
181; Zikmundová 2013: 207);

- ii. 'day': Nercha Ewenki: Urulga *inaŋ*, Man'kovo *ineŋi*; Khamnigan
Ewenki *ineŋi*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *inaŋ* 'afternoon'; Orochen *iniyi*; Siberian Ewenki:
Podkamennyj, Nepa, Ilimpeya *ineŋ* 'noon; south'; Sym, Barguzin,
Nercha, Tungir, Zeya, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *ineŋi*
'day';
'day, in the daytime': *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut *ineŋ*;
Negidal *ineŋi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *inie*; Udihe, Oroch *ineŋi*;
Orok *inuŋi*; Ulcha *ineŋni*; Manchu *ineŋgi*; Sibe *ənəŋ* 'today'
(Castrén 1856: 74; Janhunen 1991: 57; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
333b; Chaoke 2014a: 154; Vasilevič 1958: 175a; Cincius 1975/77 1:
318; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 499; Zikmundová 2013: 210);

h. Buildings and their parts:

- i. 'door': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *ürke*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ükkə*; Orochen *urke*; Siberian Common Ewenki
urke;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *urke*; Negidal *ujke*; *Southern*
Tungusic: Nanai *ujke*; Ulcha *uče*, Udihe *uke ~ uče*; Oroch *ukke*;
Orok *ute*; Manchu *uče*; Sibe *uči*
(Castrén 1856: 78; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
727a; Chaoke 2014a: 162; Vasilevič 1958: 453a; Cincius 1975/77 2:
286; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 942; Zikmundová 2013: 223);

i. Names of foods:

- i. 'meat': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *ülde*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *üldə*; Orochen *ule*; Siberian Ewenki:
Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochon, Tokmin, Upper Lena,
Barguzin, Vitim, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Urmi, Ayan, Sakhalin *ulle*;
Sym *uldre*; Ilimpeya, North-Baikal, Uchur *ulde*; Tokma *unle*; Ayan
ulre;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ulre*; Negidal *ule*; *Southern*
Tungusic: Nanai *ulikse*; Ulcha *ulse*; Udihe *ulehe*; Oroch *ulese*; Orok
ulise; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 78; Janhunen 1991: 41; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 728a; Chaoke 2014a: 160; Vasilevič 1958: 439b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 262);

j. Clothes, utensils:

- i. ‘footwear, shoes’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **unta**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *unta*; Siberian Common Ewenki *unta*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *unta*; Negidal *onta*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ota*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *unta*; Orok *utta*;
Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 77; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 530b; Vasilevič 1958: 448b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 275);

- ii. ‘knife’: Nercha Ewenki: Man’kovo **üfi** ~ **üči**; Khamnigan Ewenki **üči**;

cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Ewenki: Nepa, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin, Chumikan *ut-* ‘to wind, twist, twirl’;

‘to fix, to repair, to mend’: *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut *ut-* ~ *uč-*; Negidal *ute-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ute-* ‘to quilt clothes, blanket’; Ulcha *uteče* ‘seam’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 78; Janhunen 1991: 43; Vasilevič 1958: 456b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 293);

k. Abstract nouns connected with human life:

- i. ‘name’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **gerbī**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *gərbi* ~ *gəbbi*; Siberian Common Ewenki *gerbī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *gerbe*; Negidal *gelbi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *gebu* ← Manchu; Ulcha, Orok *gelbu*; Udihe *gegbi*;
Oroch *gebbi*; Manchu *gebu*; Sibe *gəf*

(Castrén 1856: 81; Janhunen 1991: 40; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 205; Vasilevič 1958: 100b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 180; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 339; Zikmundová 2013: 211);

l. Numbers:

- i. ‘one’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **umun**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *əmuŋ*; Orochen *emun*; Siberian Ewenki:
North-Baikal, Tokma, Tungir *emūn*; Remaining dialects *umūn*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *umen*; Negidal *omon*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *em*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *omo*; Orok *umūke*;
Manchu *emu*; Sibe *əm*

- (Castrén 1856: 77; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 174b; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 444b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 270; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 247; Zikmundová 2013: 209);
- ii. ‘two’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *jūr*;
cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *jūr*; Siberian Common Ewenki *jūr*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *jur*; Negidal *jul*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *juer*; Ulcha *juel*; Udihe, Oroch *ju*; Orok *dū*;
Manchu *juwe*; Sibe *ju*
(Castrén 1856: 94; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 391b; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 143a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 276; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 563; Zikmundová 2013: 216);
- iii. ‘three’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *ilan*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ilan*; Orochen *ilan*; Siberian Ewenki: Aldan, Zeya, Ilimpeya *yelan*; Remaining dial. *ilan*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *yelan*; Negidal *yelan* ~ *ilan*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai *yelan*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *ila*;
Manchu *ilan*; Sibe *yila*ⁿ
(Castrén 1856: 74; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 326a; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 162b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 305; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 490; Zikmundová 2013: 113);
- iv. ‘four’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *digin*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *diyij*; Orochen *diyjin*; Siberian Common Ewenki *digin*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *digin*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *duin*; Udihe *dī*; Oroch *dī*; Orok *jīn*; Manchu *duin*;
Sibe *duyi*ⁿ
(Castrén 1856: 90; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 130a; Chaoke 2014a: 170; Vasilevič 1958: 127b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 204; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 217; Zikmundová 2013: 113);
- v. ‘six’: Nercha Ewenki *nūñün* ~ *nūñün*; Khamnigan Ewenki *nūñün*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *niñuŋ*; Orochen *niñuñun*; Siberian Ewenki: North-Baikal *ñugun*; Remaining dial. *ñuñun*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ñuñi*; Negidal *ñuñi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *ñuñgu(n)*; Udihe, Oroch *ñuñu*; Orok *ñuñg’ē*; Manchu *niñgun*; Sibe *ñiñu*ⁿ
(Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 490b; Chaoke 2014a: 170; Vasilevič 1958: 308a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 647; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 703; Zikmundová 2013: 113);

- vi. ‘seven’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **nadan**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *nadan*; Orochen *nadan*; Siberian Common
 Ewenki *nadan*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *nadan*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *nada*; Manchu *nadan*;
 Sibe *nada*ⁿ
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 469b; Chaoke 2014a: 170; Vasilevič 1958: 273b; Cincius 1975/77 1:
 576; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 684; Zikmundová 2013: 113);

m. Qualitative adjectives:

- i. ‘good’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **aja**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *aja*; Orochen *aji*; Siberian Common Ewenki *aja*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *aj*; Negidal *aja*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *aja*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 71; Janhunen 1991: 95; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 49a; Chaoke 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 44a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 18);
- ii. ‘bad’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **erū**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *əru*; Orochen *eru*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Tokma, Tungir,
 Zeya, Aldan, Uchir *erū*; Podkamennyj, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya
urū;
other Northern Tungusic: *n.a.*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *eru*; Ulcha
orkin; Oroch, Orok *orke*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 52; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 185a; Chaoke 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 566a; Cincius 1975/77 2:
 465–466);
- iii. ‘warm’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **nama**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *namaddi* (< **namagdi* < *ńama*+*gdi* Solon
 denominal noun/adjective suffix); Orochen *niama*; Siberian
 Common Ewenki *ńama*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ńam*; Negidal *ńamagdi*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch *ńama*; Udihe *ńamahi*; Orok
ńamauli; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 57; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 471a; Chaoke 2014a: 166; Vasilevič 1958: 310b; Cincius 1975/77 1:
 630–631);

- iv. ‘other’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **hüntü**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *əntu*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *huŋtu*; Sym *uŋtu*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hunte*; Negidal *heŋte* ~ *huŋtu*;
Southern Tungusic: Udihe *hoŋto*; Oroch *hoŋto* ~ *honto*; Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *n.a.*; Manchu *enču*; Sibe *unc^u* ‘different’
(Castrén 1856: 83; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 180b; Vasilevič 1958: 496a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 349–350; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 249; Zikmundová 2013: 224);
- n. Demonstratives:
- i. ‘this’: Nercha Ewenki **er**, Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **eri** ~ **er**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *əri*; Orochen *eri*; Siberian Common Ewenki *er* ~ *eri*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *er*; Negidal *ej*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *ej*; Udihe, Oroch *ej*; Orok *er* ~ *eri*; Manchu *ere*; Sibe *er*
(Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 69; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 183b; Chaoke 2014a: 164; Vasilevič 1958: 564a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 460–461; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 255; Zikmundová 2013: 210);
- ii. ‘that’: Nercha Ewenki: Mankovo **tar**, Urulga **tari** ~ **tara**;
Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **tari** ~ **tar**;
cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *tari*; Siberian Common Ewenki *tar* ~ *tarā* ~ *tari*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *tar*; Negidal *taj*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *tej*; Ulcha *tī*; Udihe *tei*; Oroch *tī*; Orok *tari*; Manchu *tere*; Sibe *tər*
(Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 69; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 666a; Chaoke 2014a: 164; Vasilevič 1958: 387b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 164–165; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 903; Zikmundová 2013: 222);
- o. Interrogatives and quantifiers:
- i. ‘which’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **abgū**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *awu* ‘who’; Siberian Ewenki: Tokma, Zeya, Aldan *abgū*; Podkamennyj, Nepa, North-Baikal, Barguzin, Zeya, Uchir, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *awgū*; Nepa *awawū*; Urmi *awagū*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *awgida*; Negidal *awwu ~ awgu ~ au*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *hawuj*; Udihe, Oroch *n.a.*; Orok *hāwu*; Manchu, Sibe *ai*

(Castrén 1856: 72; Janhunen 1991: 71; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 48b; Vasilevič 1958: 13b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 4; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 15; Zikmundová 2013: 204; see also Hölzl 2018a: 315–330);

- ii. ‘how many’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **adi**, Man’kovo **adi**; Khamnigan Ewenki **adi**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *adi*; Siberian Ewenki: Nepa, Yerbogochen, Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin *adi*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *adi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *hadu*; Udihe, Oroch *adi*; Orok *n.a.*; Manchu *udu*; Sibe *ut*
 (Castrén 1856: 72; Janhunen 1991: 71; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 10a; Chaoke 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 18a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 14–15; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 944; Zikmundová 2013: 224);
- iii. ‘many’: Nercha Ewenki: Man’kovo, Khamnigan Ewenki **kete**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *hətə* ‘extremely’; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Tokma, Upper Lena, Tungir, Aldan, Uchur, Chumikan *kete*;
other Tungusic: Nanai *ketu*; Ulcha *kete ~ ketu ~ ket*; Udihe *ketu*; Oroch *ketu*; Orok *ketette* ‘a little bit’; other Tungusic *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 79; Janhunen 1991: 42; Chaoke 2014b: 510; Vasilevič 1958: 231b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 455–456);

p. Verbs:

- i. ‘to find’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **baka-**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *baha-*; Siberian Common Ewenki *baka-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *baq-*; Negidal *baha-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *bā-*; Ulcha *bā- ~ baqa-*; Udihe *b’a-*; Orok *bā- ~ baqqa-*; Oroch *bā-*; Manchu *baha-*; Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 94; Janhunen 1991: 82; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 53b; Vasilevič 1958: 48a; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 66; Cincius 1975/77 1: 66–67);
- ii. ‘to come’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **eme-**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *əmə-*; Siberian Common Ewenki *eme-*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *em-*; Negidal *eme-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *eme-*; Udihe *eme-*; Oroch *emegi-* ‘to return’; Ulcha, Orok, Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 66; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 173b; Vasilevič 1958: 558a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 452);

- iii. ‘to step’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *girkü-*; cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, North-Baikal, Barguzin *gerku-*; Remainig dial. *girku-*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut *gerka-*; Negidal *gīhu-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *giran-*; Udihe *geæna-*; Oroch *gia-*; Manchu *giru-*; Sibe *guri-* ‘to move’
(Castrén 1856: 82; Janhunen 1991: 25; Vasilevič 1958: 89b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 154–155; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 360; Zikmundová 2013: 212);
- iv. ‘to read’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *tañir-*; cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Common Ewenki *tañ-*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut, Negidal *tañ-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *taon-*; Ulcha, Orok *taun-*; Udihe, Oroch *taji-*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 25; Vasilevič 1958: 386a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 161);
- v. ‘to milk’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *širi-*; cf. Solon Ewenki *sirə-* ‘to wring out (a towel)’; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Tokma, Barguzin, Tungir, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *sir-* ‘to reap’; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya *hir-*; North-Baikal *širi-*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut *her-*; Negidal *sij-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *sere-*; Ulcha *siri-*; Udihe, Oroch *sī-*; Orok *sere-*; Manchu *siri-*; Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunen 1991: 80; Chaoke 2017: 126; Vasilevič 1958: 356b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 93; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 806);
- vi. ‘to know’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *sā-*; cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *sā-*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Tokma, Barguzin, Nercha, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *sā-*; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya *hā-*; Sym, North-Baikal *šā-*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Lamut *ha-*; Negidal *sa-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *sā-*; Manchu, Sibe *sa-*

(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunen 1991: 79; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 573b; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 340a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 49–51; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 764; Zikmundová 2013: 220);

- vii. ‘to return’: Nercha Ewenki; Khamnigan Ewenki **mučū-**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *musū-*; Siberian Common Ewenki *mučū-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *muču-*; Negidal *močo-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *močogo-*; Ulcha *mučuju-* ~ *mučuji-*; Orok *moto-*, *mutudu-*; Udihe, Oroch, Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 96; Janhunen 1991: 30; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 455a; Vasilevič 1958: 266b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 562);

- viii. ‘to wash’: Nercha Ewenki **silki-** ~ *šilki-*; Khamnigan Ewenki **silki-**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *silgi-*; Orochen *šilki-*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin *silki-*; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya *hilki-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *helka-*; Negidal *silki-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *silko-*; Ulcha *silču-*; Udihe *sik-*; Oroch *sikki-*; Orok *siltu-*; Manchu *silgi-*

(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunen 1991: 92; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 615; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 352b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 84b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 794);

- ix. ‘to forget’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga, Khamnigan Ewenki **omŋo-**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ommo-*; Orochen *omŋo-*; Siberian Ewenki: Nepa, Tokma *ommo-*; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya, Sym *omgo-*; Remaining dial. *omŋo-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *omŋa-*; Negidal *omŋo-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Orok *omgo-*; Ulcha *oŋbo-*; Udihe *oŋmo-*; Oroch *ommo-*; Manchu *oŋgo-*; Sibe *onŋ-*

(Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 51; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 507a; Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 322b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 17; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 738; Zikmundová 2013: 219).

- (2) The next group includes some Nercha Ewenki words without long vowels in the last syllable, which probably can be explained by the peculiarities of Castrén’s transcriptions from 1856. The Khamnigan Ewenki data are noted down with long vowels as other Ewenki dialects:

- a. ‘son’: Nercha Ewenki **omolgi**; Khamnigan Ewenki **omolgī**;

cf. Solon Ewenki *omol* ‘grandson’ (← Manchu *omolo*); Orochen *omolie*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya, North-Baikal, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *omolgī*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *omolgo*; Negidal *omolgi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Udihe *omolo*; Oroch *omolī*; Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *n.a.*;
Manchu *omolo*

(Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 40; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 507a; Chaoke 2014a: 161; Vasilevič 1958: 322b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 17b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 736);

- b. ‘worm’: Nercha Ewenki ***kulikan***; Khamnigan Ewenki ***kulikān***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *kuliharj*; Orochen *kulikan* ‘insect’; Siberian Common Ewenki *kulikān* < *kulin* ‘snake’ + *tkĀn* Ewenki diminutive suffix;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *qulin* ~ *quličān* ~ *qolisān* ~ *kuličān* ~ *quličān* ‘mosquito’; Negidal *kolixān* ~ *kulikān* ‘worm, bug’; *Southern Tungusic*: Oroch *kulæ* ‘worm (*common name for worms, snakes, caterpillars*)’; Udihe *kuliga* ‘id.’; Ulcha *qoli* ‘kind of aquatic insect’, *qula* ‘worm’; Orok *qola* ~ *qolia* ~ *qoliya* ‘insect, worm’; Nanai *qolā* ‘worm; caterpillar; insect’; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 81; Janhunen 1991: 42; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 402a; Chaoke 2014a: 157; Vasilevič 1958: 218a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 428b);
- c. ‘elk’: Nercha Ewenki ***tōki***; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya ***tōki*** ~ ***tōkī***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *tōhi*; Siberian Ewenki: Ilimpeya, Sym, Tokma, North-Baikal Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Chumikan, Sakhalin *tōkī*; Khingan *towekī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *tōki*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *tō*; Orok *tō* ~ *toyo*; Udihe *n.a.*; Oroch *tōki*; Manchu *toho*; Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 87; Janhunen 1991: 103; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 695b; Vasilevič 1958: 391a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 191–192; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 909);
- d. ‘year’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga ***aŋaŋi***, Man’kovo ***aŋani***; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya, Urulyungui ***aŋjanī***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *annani*; Orochen *aŋjani*; Siberian Common Ewenki *aŋjanī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *aŋjan*; Negidal *aŋgani*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ajjaŋa*; Ulcha *aŋan*; Udihe *aŋan(i)*; Oroch *aŋjani*; Orok *anani*; Manchu *aniya*; Sibe *aŋ*

- (Castrén 1856: 71; Janhunen 1991: 51; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 34b; Chaoke 2014a: 154; Vasilevič 1958: 32a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 43–44; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 53; Zikmundová 2013: 204);
- e. ‘autumn’: Nercha Ewenki ***bolóni***; Khamnigan Ewenki ***bolonī***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *bolonn*; Orochen *bolo*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Nepa *bolonī*; Sakhalin, Chumikan *borolī*; Yerbogochen,
 Tungir *bolo*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *bolani*; Negidal *bolonī*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *bolo*; Manchu, Sibe *boroli*
 (Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunen 1991: 40; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 78;
 Chaoke 2014a: 154; Vasilevič 1958: 60a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 92; Hauer
 1952-1955 1: 110; Zikmundová 2013: 207);
- f. ‘summer’: Nercha Ewenki ***jugani***; Khamnigan Ewenki ***juganī***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *juγann*; Orochen *jugā*; Siberian Ewenki *juyanī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *jugani*; Negidal *ḵowani*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai *joa*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *jua*; Orok *juwa*; Manchu
juwari
 (Castrén 1856: 93; Janhunen 1991: 40; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 380a;
 Chaoke 2014a: 154; Vasilevič 1958: 138b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 268; Hauer
 1952-1955 2: 563);
- g. ‘winter’: Nercha Ewenki ***tügeni***; Khamnigan Ewenki ***tügenī***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *tüγunn*; Orochen *tuwe*; Siberian Common Ewenki
tügenī;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *tuweni*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *tue*; Orok *tuwe*; Manchu, Sibe *tuweri*
 (Castrén 1856: 89; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 708b; Chaoke 2014a: 154;
 Vasilevič 1958: 397a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 204b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 939;
 Stary 1990: 91);
- h. ‘wine’: Nercha Ewenki ***araki***; Khamnigan Ewenki ***arakī***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *arki*; Orochen *araki*; Siberian Common Ewenki
arakī;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *arigi* ← Yakut; Negidal *ayahī*;
Southern Tungusic: Udihe *ayi*; Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch, Orok *araki*;
 Manchu *arki*; Sibe *erk*;
 Tungusic ← Mongolic ← Turkic ← Arabic
 (Castrén 1856: 71; Janhunen 1991: 31; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 43b;
 Chaoke 2014a: 163; Vasilevič 1958: 34a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 48; Hauer
 1952-1955 1: 58; Zikmundová 2013: 209);

- (3) The following Nercha Ewenki example can also be explained by Castrén's transcription, the Khamnigan Ewenki of Manchuria as other Ewenki dialects have a long vowel in the last syllable of word:
- a. 'woman': Nercha Ewenki **āsī**; Khamnigan Ewenki **asī**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ase*; Orochen *aši*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Vitim *asī*; Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *ahī*; Sym, North-Baikal, Baunt *aši*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *asi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *asi*; Udihe *a^hanta*; Oroch *asa*; Manchu *aša* 'elder brother's wife'
(Castrén 1856: 72; Janhunen 1991: 45; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 45a; Chaoke 2014a: 160; Vasilevič 1958: 38a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 55; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 61);
- (4) The change of Tungusic vowel **u* > *o* in Nercha Ewenki:
- a. 'five': Nercha Ewenki **toŋa**, Khamnigan Ewenki **tunŋa ~ tunna**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *tunŋa*; Orochen *tunŋa*; Siberian Ewenki: Ilimpeya, Tokma, Nercha, Zeya, Aldan *tonŋa*; Remaining dial. *tunŋa*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *tuńŋan*; Negidal *tońŋa*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *tojŋa*; Ulcha *tunŋa*; Udihe, Oroch *tunŋa*; Orok *tunda*; Manchu, Sibe *sunŋa*
(Castrén 1856: 88; Janhunen 1991: 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 703; Chaoke 2014a: 170; Vasilevič 1958: 401b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 214; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 830; Zikmundová 2013: 221);
- (5) The palatalization of vowels in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki:
- a. 'milk': Nercha Ewenki **ükümńi**; Khamnigan Ewenki **ükün**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *uhun* ~ *akun*; Orochen *ukun*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Ilimpeya, Tokma *ukunmī*; Nepa, Yerbogochon, Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Barguzin, Tungir, Aldan, Ayan *ukumnī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ukeń* ~ *ukuń*; Negidal *ukuńi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ukuń*; Ulcha *kuen*; Udihe *košo*; Oroch *okon*; Orok *kō(n) ~ kū(n)*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 77; Janhunen 1991: 24; Chaoke 2014b: 184; Chaoke 2014a: 163; Vasilevič 1958: 435a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 255);

- b. ‘to die’: Nercha Ewenki *bü-*; Khamnigan Ewenki *büde-*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen, Siberian Common Ewenki *bu-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut ; Negidal *bu-*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai *bu-* ~ *buj-*; Orok, Ulcha *bu-* ~ *bul-*; Udihe *bude-*; Oroch *bude-* ~
bukki-; Manchu *bude-* ~ *buče-*; Sibe *beš-* ~ *bəč(ə)-*
 (Castrén 1856: 96; Janhunen 1991: 79; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 95;
 Chaoke 2014a: 169; Vasilevič 1958: 62b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 98–99;
 Hauer 1952-1955 1: 117; Zikmundová 2013: 206);
- (6) The change of original Tungusic nasal consonant **ŋ*- > *n*- in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki as in Solon Ewenki:
- a. ‘hand’: Nercha Ewenki *nāla* ~ *nala*; Khamnigan Ewenki *nāla*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *nāl*; Orochen *ŋāla*; Siberian Ewenki: Yerbogochen,
 Ayan *nāle*; Remaining all dialects *ŋāle*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ŋāl*; Negidal *ŋāla* ~ *ŋala*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe *ŋala*; Orok *ŋāla*; Oroch *ŋāla* ~ *ŋala*;
 Manchu *gala*; Sibe *gal*
 (Castrén 1856: 85, 83; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 467b; Chaoke 2014a: 159; Vasilevič 1958: 278b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 656;
 Hauer 1952-1955 1: 331; Zikmundová 2013: 213);
- b. ‘who?’: Nercha Ewenki *nī* ~ *nīi*; Khamnigan Ewenki *nī*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *ni* ‘which one’; Orochen *ni*; Siberian Ewenki:
 Podkamennyj, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Sym, Tungir, Zeya, Uchur,
 Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *ŋī*; Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Barguzin,
 Chumikan *nī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *nī* ~ *ŋī*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai *uj* ~ *ui*; Ulcha *ŋui* ~ *uj*; Orok *ŋuji* ~ *ŋuj* ~ *ŋui*; Udihe *nī*; Oroch *nīi*;
 Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 29; Chaoke 2014b: 340; Chaoke
 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 280a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 660).

5.2 Phonetic differences between Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki

There are some phonetic differences between Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki dialects, which are possibly results of change in Khamnigan Ewenki in the 20th and 21st centuries.

- (7) The deletion of Tungusic initial consonant **h*- (< Proto Tungusic **p*-) in Khamnigan Ewenki. In some cases *h*- is sporadically preserved in the

Borzya subdialect of Khamnigan Ewenki (Janhunen 1991: 46). The consonant *h-* was already deleted in the extinct Mankovo subdialect, while we find it in the extinct Urulga and do not see it in Urulyungui, the related subdialect of Manchuria. The initial *h-* disappeared in Solon Ewenki and Orochen too:

- a. ‘daughter, young girl’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **hunāt**; Man’kovo **unāt**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **hunāji**,¹⁵ Urulyungui **unād**; cf. Solon Ewenki **unāji**; Orochen **unāji**; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Ilimpeya, Barguzin, Zeya, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin **hunāt**; Tokma **honāt**; Yerbogochen, Tungir, Aldan **sunāt**;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut **hunāj** ~ **hunāt**; Negidal **honāt**;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai **pondažo**; Ulcha **pundažu**; Udihe, Oroch **hunāji**; Orok **pundado** ~ **pundadu**; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 77, 83; Janhunen 1991: 43; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 529b; Chaoko 2014a: 161; Vasilevič 1958: 495b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 347);
- b. ‘blanket’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **hulda**, Man’kovo **ulda**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **(h)ulda**; Urulyungui **ulda**;
cf. Solon Ewenki **ulda**; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Tokma, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin **hulla**; Ilimpeya, Uchur, Chumikan **hulda**; Ilimpeya, North-Baikal, Ayan **ulda**;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut **hulra**; Negidal **hola**; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai **polta**; Orok, Ulcha **pulta**; Udihe **hulaha**; Oroch **hukta**; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 52; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 526a; Vasilevič 1958: 493b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 345);
- c. ‘road’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **hokto**, Man’kovo **okto**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **(h)ogto**;
cf. Solon Ewenki **otto**; Orochen **okto**; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Sym, Tokma, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Sakhalin **hokto**; Aldan **sokto**; Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Chumikan **okto**;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut **hōt**; Negidal **hokto**; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Orok **pokto**, Udihe, Oroch **hokto**; Manchu **oktoron** ‘hare tracks’

¹⁵The Borzya form *hunāji* ‘daughter, young girl’ is a hybrid word: the preservation of initial *h-* is a heritage, while the rest is close to Solon Ewenki *unāji*.

- (Castrén 1856: 83; Janhunen 1991: 47; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 515a; Chaoke 2014a: 163; Vasilevič 1958: 484a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 331; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 732);
- d. ‘red’: Nercha Ewenki **ularin**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **hularin**, Urulyungui **ularin**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *ularin*; Orochen *ularin*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Tokma, Tungir, Vitim, Zeya, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Ayan, Sakhalin *hularin*; Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Vitim *ularin*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hulaña*; Negidal *holajin*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *folgæ ~ forgæ*; Ulcha, Udihe *hulaligi*; Oroch, Orok *n.a.*; Manchu *fulgian*; Sibe *fulavũⁿ*
 (Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 46; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 525; Chaoke 2014a: 167; Vasilevič 1958: 493a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 343; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 314; Zikmundová 2013: 211);
- e. ‘big’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **hegdi**, Man’kovo **egdi**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **hegdi**, Urulyungui **egdi**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *əgdə ~ ədduy*; Orochen *egdeŋe*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *hegdi*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *egde*; Negidal *egdi*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Orok *egji*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *egdi*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 82, 72; Janhunen 1991: 47; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 150b; Chaoke 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 503b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 359);
- (8) The fluctuation of initial vowel *u- ~ i-* in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki dialects:
- a. ‘to drink’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **umi-**, Man’kovo **imi-**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **imi-**, Urulyungui **um-**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *omi- ~ imo-*; Orochen *imo-*; Siberian Common Ewenki *um-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *n.a.*; Negidal *om-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *omi-*; Orok, Ulcha, Udihe *umi-*; Oroch *imi-*; Manchu *omi-*; Sibe *emi-*
 (Castrén 1856: 77; Janhunen 1991: 98; Chaoke 2014b: 392; Chaoke 2014a: 167; Vasilevič 1958: 441b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 266; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 735; Zikmundová 2013: 209);

- (9) The diphthongization of long vowel $\bar{i} > ie$ in the Urulyungui subdialect of Khamnigan
- a. ‘eye’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga **yēsa**, Man’kovo **yīsa**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **yīsa**, Urulyungui **iesa**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *īsa*; Orochen *yiesa*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa *ēsa*; Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Upper Lena, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Chumikan, Sakhalin *ēha*; Sym, North-Baikal *ēša*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *yasal*; Negidal *ēsa*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *nasal*; Ulcha *isal*; Udihe *yeha*; Oroch *isa*; Orok *īsa*; Manchu *yasa*; Sibe *yas*
(Castrén 1856: 75; Janhunén 1991: 34; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 320a; Chaoke 2014a: 159; Vasilevič 1958: 567b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 291b-292b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 1015; Zikmundová 2013: 225);
- b. ‘ear’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga *šen*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *sīn*, Urulyungui **sien**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *səŋ*; Orochen *šien*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Ayan, Aldan, Barguzin, Upper Lena, Zeya, Nepa, Sakhalin, Tokma, Tungir, Urmi, Uchur, Chumikan *sēn*; Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya *hēn*; Sym, North-Baikal *šēn*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *sen*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *siā*; Ulcha, Orok *sēn*; Udihe *n.a.*; Oroch *sē*; Manchu *šan*; Sibe *saⁿ*
(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunén 1991: 34; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 588a; Chaoke 2014a: 159; Vasilevič 1958: 347b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 70b-71b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 843; Zikmundová 2013: 220);
- c. ‘moon’: Nercha Ewenki *bēga*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *bīga*, Urulyungui **biega**;
cf. Solon Ewenki *bēya*; Orochen *biēga*; Siberian Ewenki: Nepa, Tokma *bēwa*; Remaining dial. *bēga*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *beg*; Negidal *bega*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *bia*; Ulcha, Orok *bē*; Udihe *beæ*; Oroch *bæ*; Manchu *biya*
(Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunén 1991: 34; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 70a; Chaoke 2014a: 152; Vasilevič 1958: 52b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 78; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 100);
- d. ‘what’: Nercha Ewenki *ēkun*, Mankovo *īkun*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *ikun*, Urulyungui **iekun**;

cf. Solon Ewenki *aγu*; Orochen *ikun*; Siberian Ewenki: Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya *ikūn*; Upper Lena *yākūn*; Remaining dial. *ēkūn*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ǣk*; Negidal *ēhun*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Udihe *y'eu*; Oroch *yaw*; Orok, Nanai, Ulcha *n.a.*; Manchu *ya*
 (Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 34; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 154b;
 Chaoke 2014a: 165; Vasilevič 1958: 551b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 286–287;
 Hauer 1952-1955 3: 1002);

- (10) The development of a secondary long vowel from *VgV* in Urulyungui subdialect of Khamnigan Ewenki and in Orochen:
- a. ‘to sit’: Nercha Ewenki *tege*-, Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *tē*-, Borzja *tege*-;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *təγ*-; Orochen *tē*-; Siberian Ewenki: Tokma, North-Baikal *tē*-; Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Sym, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Sakhalin *teye*-;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *teg*-; Negidal *tege*-; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok, Manchu, Sibe *te*-
 (Castrén 1856: 87; Janhunen 1991: 99; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 674a;
 Chaoke 2014a: 168; Vasilevič 1958: 418a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 226–228;
 Hauer 1952-1955 3: 899; Zikmundová 2013: 222);
- (11) The voicing of consonant clusters **rk*, **ks*, **kt* in Khamnigan Ewenki:
- a. ‘fist’: Nercha Ewenki *nurka*; Khamnigan Ewenki *nurga*;
 cf. Solon Ewenki, Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*;
other Northern Tungusic: Negidal *nelga* ~ *nojga*; *Southern Tungusic*:
 Ulcha *ńugja*, Oroch *nugga*; Manchu *nujan*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 23; Cincius 1975/77 1: 590a; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 722);
 Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *nodurqa*; HY, Muq. *nudurqa*; Literary Mongolian *nidurya*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *nidurga*, cf. *nyudarga* (← Buryat); Dadal-sum Khamnigan *nidurya*;
 Dagur *nyɔdruγw*; Buryat *nyudarga*;
 Mongolic ← Turkic **ńidru-*: cf. Old Turkic *yīðruq* ‘fist’ (Khabtagaeva 2017: 120);
- b. ‘evening’: Nercha Ewenki *śikśe*; Khamnigan Ewenki *sigsenī*;
 Siberian Ewenki: Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Chumikan, Sakhalin *sikse* ‘in the evening’;

cf. Solon Ewenki *dolbon*; Orochen *dolbo*; Nercha Ewenki *dolboni* ‘night’;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *hisečin*; Negidal *sikse*; *Southern Tungusic*: Udihe *sikie*; Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch *sikse*; Orok *šekše*; Manchu *sikse* ‘yesterday’; Sibe *čaksə*

(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunen 1991: 45; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 133a; Chaoke 2014a: 155; Vasilevič 1958: 351a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 81; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 793; Zikmundová 2013: 207);

- c. ‘to meet’: Nercha Ewenki *uktu-*; Khamnigan Ewenki ***ugtu-***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *otto-*; Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*;

other Northern Tungusic: Negidal *oktul-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Ulcha *oktoli-* ~ *uktuli-*, Oroch *uktu-*; Orok *uktulli-*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 26; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 515b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 254b)

← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *uqtu-* ~ *uqdu-*; HY *uqtu-* ~ *uytu-*; Literary Mongolian *uytu-* ‘to greet, to meet, to welcome’; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *ugta-*

(← Buryat); Dagur *ort-*; Buryat *ugta-* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 139);

- (12) The additional sound at the end of Borzya subdialect of Khamnigan Ewenki as in Orochen or Solon, which proves their influence:

- a. ‘head’: Nercha Ewenki *dil*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *dil*, Borzya ***dili***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *del*; Orochen *dili*; Siberian Common Ewenki *dil*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut, Negidal *dil*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Orok *jili*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *dili*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 90; Janhunen 1991: 27; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 127b; Chaoke 2014a: 158; Vasilevič 1958: 128b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 205b-206a, see also Hölzl 2018b: 129 for some discussion);

- b. ‘house’: Nercha Ewenki *jū*, Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *jū*, Borzya ***jūg***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *ju*, cf. *jūγ* (Ivanovskij); Orochen *jū*; Siberian Common Ewenki *jū*;

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *jū*; Negidal *jō*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *jōg*; Ulcha *jūg*; Udihe *jugdi*; Oroch *jug*; Orok *duku*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 94; Janhunen 1991: 41; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 385a; Chaoke 2014a: 162; Vasilevič 1958: 138a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 266);

- (13) In some cases the initial **ŋ*- through *n*- is further deleted in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki as in Southern Tungusic languages:
- a. ‘dog’: Nercha Ewenki: Man’kovo ***inakin***; Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui ***inakin***; Borzya *ninakin* (← Solon);
 cf. Solon Ewenki *ninihiŋ*; Orochen *ŋanakin*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochon, Sym, Tungir, Urmi, Sakhalin *ŋinakin*; Upper Lena *ninakin*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ŋin* ~ *ŋen*; Negidal *ninahin* ~ *ŋinahin*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai *inda*; Ulcha *iŋda*; Udihe *inai*; Oroch *inaki*;
 Orok *nina* ~ *ŋina*; Manchu *indahûn*; Sibe *yindahûn*
 (Castrén 1856: 74; Janhunen 1991: 49; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 491a; Chaoke 2014a: 158; Vasilevič 1958: 280b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 661; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 498; Zikmundová 2013: 225);
- b. ‘to go’: Nercha Ewenki: Man’kovo *nene-* ~ *ŋene-*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya *nene-*, Urulyungui ***ene-***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *nənə-*; Siberian Ewenki: Tokma, Tungir *gene-*;
 Remaining dial. *ŋene-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ŋen-*; Negidal *ŋene-* ~ *gene-*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *ene-*; Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *ŋene-*; Manchu *gene-*;
 Sibe *gən(ə)-*
 (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 85; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 483b; Vasilevič 1958: 284a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 669–671; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 344; Zikmundová 2013: 212);
- (14) The change of the consonant *VŋV* > *VgV* in Khamnigan Ewenki:
- a. ‘he/she’: Nercha Ewenki *nuŋan*; Khamnigan Ewenki ***nugan***;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *nugaŋ*; Orochen *nugan*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochon, Ilimpeya, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin *nuŋan*; Tokma, Upper Lena *noan*; North-Baikal *noan* ~ *nuan*; Sym *nugan*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *noŋen*; Negidal *noŋan*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *noani*; Ulcha *nān*, *nāni* ~ *nōni*; Udihe *nuan*; Oroch *nuañ* ~ *nuañi* ~ *nuañi*; Orok *nōni*; Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 86; Janhunen 1991: 49; Chaoke 2014b: 338; Chaoke 2014a: 164; Vasilevič 1958: 299b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 611);

- (15) The change of $VwV > VbV$ in Khamnigan Ewenki:
- a. ‘to catch’: Nercha Ewenki *ḡawa-*; Khamnigan Ewenki **ḡaba-**;
cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *ḡawa-*; Siberian Ewenki: Ilimpeya, Uchur
ḡaba-; Remaining dial. *ḡawa-*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ḡaw-*; Negidal *ḡawa-*; *Southern
Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha *ḡapa-*; Udihe, Oroch *ḡawa-*; Orok *dapa-* ~
dappa-; Manchu *ḡafa-*; Sibe *ḡaf-* ~ *ḡavə-*
(Castrén 1856: 93; Janhunén 1991: 90; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 361b;
Chaoke 2014a: 168; Vasilevič 1958: 145b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 240–241;
Hauer 1952-1955 2: 510; Zikmundová 2013: 215);
- (16) The reduplication of the consonant $-ŋ-$ in Khamnigan Ewenki:
- a. ‘tongue’: Nercha Ewenki *iŋi*; Khamnigan Ewenki ***iŋŋi***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *iŋi*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Tokma,
North-Baikal, Barguzin, Tungir, Zeya, Sakhalin *inni*; Barguzin,
North-Baikal, Chumikan, Zeya, Aldan *iŋi*; Chumikan, Ayan *iŋi*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut ⁱ*enŋe*; Negidal *iŋni* ~ *iŋŋi*; *Southern
Tungusic*: Nanai *siŋmu* ~ *sirmu*; Ulcha *siŋu*; Orok *sinu*; Udihe *iŋi*;
Oroch *iŋi* ~ *iŋŋi*; Manchu *iləŋgu*
(Castrén 1856: 74; Janhunén 1991: 52; Janhunén 1991: ; Dorji &
Banzhibomi 1998: 334b; Vasilevič 1958: 174a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 316;
Hauer 1952-1955 2: 492).

5.3 Solon Ewenki influence on Khamnigan Ewenki

There are many words in Khamnigan Ewenki which were borrowed in Manchuria from Solon Ewenki. In most cases the Solon influence is observable in the Borzya subdialect.

- (17) The change of affricate $*č > t$ as in Solon Ewenki:
- a. ‘Russian’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki (Urulyungui) *lūča*; cf.
Khamnigan Ewenki (Borzya) ***lūta***
← Solon Ewenki *lūt*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Zeya *lōča*; Ayan, Aldan,
May, Tommot, Uchur *nūča*; Remaining dial. *lūča*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *nūči*; Negidal *lōča*; *Southern Tungusic*:
Nanai *loča*; Ulcha *luča* ~ *nuča*; Udihe *lusa*; Oroch *luča*; Orok *lūt’a* ~
luča; Manchu *loča* ‘demon, devil’; Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 84; Janhunén 1991: 98; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 417a;
Vasilevič 1958: 242a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 513b; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 626);

- (18) The appearance of words with a final unstable consonant $-n^{16}$ as in Solon Ewenki and Orochen:
- a. ‘father’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga *ama*, Man’kovo *amā*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki ***amin***
 ← Solon Ewenki *amiŋ*; Orochen *amin*; cf. Siberian Common Ewenki *amā*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *amā*; Negidal *amaj*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe *amin*; Oroch *ama*; Orok *ama ~ amma*; Manchu *ama*; Sibe *amə*
 (Castrén 1856: 72; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 27a; Chaoke 2014a: 160; Vasilevič 1958: 26a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 34b; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 39; Zikmundová 2013: 204);
- b. ‘carriage’: Nercha Ewenki *terge*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki ***tergēn***
 ← Solon Ewenki *təyunn*; Orochen *tergen*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin, Ayan *terge*; Manchu, Sibe *sejen*,¹⁷ *other Tungusic*: *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 87; Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 676b; Chaoke 2014a: 163; Vasilevič 1958: 424a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 238; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 776; Stary 1990: 76);
Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *terge(n)*; HY, ‘Phags-pa, Muq. *tergen*; Literary Mongolian *terge* ‘vehicle; cart, wagon, carriage; car; rook (*in chess*)’; Manchurian and Onon Khamnigan Mongol *terge*; Dagur *təɾəy*; Buryat *terge* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 134; see also Doerfer 1985: 104);
- (19) The change of vowel $*o > u$ as in Solon Ewenki:
- a. ‘fingernail’: Nercha Ewenki *osikta*; Khamnigan Ewenki (Urulyungui) *osigta*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki (Borzya) ***usigta***
 ← $*usikta$: Solon Ewenki *usitt*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa *osikta*; Yerbogochon, Tungir, Zeya, Aldan, Uchir, Urmi, Sakhalin *ohikta*; Sym, North-Baikal *ošikta*; Ayan *ōtta*;

¹⁶Vasilevič and Cincius indicate the final $-n$ as a possessive suffix (Vasilevič 1958: 26a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 34b).

¹⁷Hözl (p.c., 2020) drew my attention to the relationship of Manchu and Sibe forms with the Mongolic word. According to Norman (1977), a cognate $-rg-$ regularly yields to $-j-$ in Manchu, e.g. Proto-Tungusic $*bargilā$, cf. Ewenki *bargilā* ~ Manchu *bajila* ‘on the other side’, Proto-Tungusic *herga(кта)*, cf. Ewenki *irgakta* ~ Manchu *ija* ‘gadfly’; Proto-Tungusic $*tunja$. There are also some Mongolic loanwords as *songgo-* ‘to choose’ → Manchu *sonjo-* ‘id.’; Mongolic *tergen* ‘cart, vehicle’ → Manchu *sejen*; Mongolic *toryan* ‘silk’ → Manchu *suje* (the last two Mongolic loanwords are examined in this paper).

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *oste*; Negidal *ōtta*; *Southern Tungusic*: Ulcha *husta*; Udihe *waikta*; Oroch *hosi-* ‘to scratch’; Nanai, Orok *hosikta*; Manchu *usiha*; Sibe *ušiḡa ~ ušḡa*
(Castrén 1856: 76; Janhunen 1991: 98; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 535a; Vasilevič 1958: 328b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 26b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 973; Zikmundová 2013: 224);

- (20) The insertion of long vowels in the first syllable of words as in Solon Ewenki:

- a. ‘when’: Nercha Ewenki *ālī*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki *āli*
← Solon Ewenki *ālī*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Vitim, Aldan, Uchir *ālī*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *ālik* ‘once upon a time’; Negidal *ālī*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *hālī*; Udihe *ali*; Oroch *ālī*;
Manchu, Sibe *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 71; Janhunen 1991: 32; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 2b; Vasilevič 1958: 25a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 32);

The loanwords from Khamnigan Mongol also belong here, the long vowel is possibly inserted under Solon Ewenki influence (Janhunen 1991: 100):

- (21) ‘medicine, drug’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *n.a.*; Borzya *ēm*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *əŋ*; other Tungusic lgs. *n.a.* (Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 156a);
Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: HY, Muq. *em*; Literary Mongolian *em*; Manchurian and Onon Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat *em*; Dagur *əm*;
Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *ām* ‘remedy’;
- (22) ‘silk’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki *tōrga*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *tōyo*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimpeya, Tokma, Upper Lena, Zeya, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *tōrgā*; Manchu *suje*; other Tungusic lgs.: *n.a.*
(Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 695a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 199b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 824);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *torqan*; ZY *turya*; Muq. *torqa*;
Literary Mongolian *toryan*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *torgo*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *torgo(n)*; Dagur *tory^w*; Buryat *torgo(n)*
(Khabtagaeva 2017: 135; see also Doerfer 1985: 94);

- (23) ‘marten’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki *sōlugī*
 ← Solon Ewenki *sōlgə ~ sōlhə*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Baunt, Barguzin, North-Baikal, Sakhalin, Tokko, Tommot, Tungir, Urmi *solongō*; Sakhalin *solga*; Yerbogochen *honongo*;
other Tungusic: Nanai *sol’u*; Udihe *selue*; Manchu *solohi*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
 (Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 632a; Vasilevič 1958: 362b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 109a; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 813);
 ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *solangqa*; Literary Mongolian *solongya*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *solongo*; Dagur *n.a.*; Buryat *holongo* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 128; see also Doerfer 1985: 39–40; Rozycki 1994: 187);
- (24) Solon Ewenki lexical items:
- a. ‘sun’:
- i. Khamnigan Ewenki (Borzya) *sigün*
 ← Solon Ewenki *sigun*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Zeya, Aldan, Khingan, Uchur *sigun*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Negidal *siwun ~ sigun*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *siu*; Ulcha *siun ~ sun*; Udihe *sün*; Oroch *seun*; Orok *šun*; Manchu *šun*; Sibe *šuⁿ*;
 - ii. Nercha Ewenki *dilacā*; Khamnigan Ewenki (Urulyungui) *dilacā ~ gilacā*;
 cf. Orochen *diliča*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Nepa, Yerbogochen, Ilimepya, Upper Lena, North-Baikal, Tungir, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Chumikan, Sakhalin *dilačā*; *other Tungusic lgs*: Lamut *dilača*
 (Castrén 1856: 90; Janhunen 1991: 98; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 607b; Chaoke 2014a: 152; Vasilevič 1958: 350b, 128a; Cincius 1975/77 2: 78; 1: 206a; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 867; Zikmundová 2013: 222);
- b. ‘new’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki *irkekīn*
 ← Solon Ewenki *irkəhin ~ ikkiŋ*; Orochen *irkin*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Sakhalin *irkekīn* ‘new, fresh’;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut ; Negidal *ihihīn ~ ihin ~ ihēhin*;
Southern Tungusic: Nanai *sikū*; Ulcha *sičeun*; Udihe *sike*; Oroch *ikken*; Orok *sitew ~ siteu*; Manchu *iče*; Sibe *ičə*
 (Janhunen 1991: 52; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 339b; Chaoke 2014a: 166; Vasilevič 1958: 178a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 328a; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 483; Zikmundová 2013: 215)

- (25) There are some Russian loanwords in Khamnigan Ewenki which were investigated during our fieldwork. These were possibly borrowed before the migration from Russia,¹⁸ but are not found in Castrén's monograph:
- a. 'book': Khamnigan Ewenki *kinīska*
← Russian *knížka* 'small book' < *kniga* + *ka* Russian diminutive suffix;
 - b. 'pig': Khamnigan Ewenki *čūske*
← Russian *čúška* 'piglet';
 - c. 'bread': Khamnigan Ewenki *būlke*
← Russian *búlka* 'roll, white loaf';
 - d. 'candy, sweet': Khamnigan Ewenki *hampyētke*
← Russian *konfétka* < *konfeta* + *ka* Russian diminutive suffix ←
German ← Latin;
 - e. 'sugar': Khamnigan Ewenki *sākar*
← Russian *sáhar* ← Arabic; etc.

5.4 Mongolic loanwords

The Mongolic loanwords in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki can be divided into two groups. The first one includes the Mongolic loanwords peculiar to both dialects, while the second group contains loanwords borrowed at a different time.

5.4.1 Mongolic loanwords peculiar to both dialects

- (26) Most Mongolic loanwords were borrowed into other Tungusic languages too:
- a. 'person, man': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *beye*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *bəyə*; Orochen *beye*; Siberian Common Ewenki *beye*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *bey*; Negidal *beye*; *Southern Tungusic*:
Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch, Orok *beye*; Manchu *beye*; Sibe *bey*
(Castrén 1856: 94; Janhunen 1991: 59; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 67b;
Chaoke 2014a: 158; Vasilevič 1958: 73b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 122a; Hauer
1952-1955 1: 89; Zikmundová 2013: 206)
← Mongolic 'body, organism': Middle Mongol: MNT *beye* ~ *be'e*; HY,
'Phags-pa, Muq., Rasulid *beye*;

¹⁸Russian loanwords in Khamnigan Mongol were analyzed in detail by Gruntov & Mazo (2015). These loanwords are possibly also present in Khamnigan Ewenki due to the fact that Russians lived together with Khamnigan Mongol and Khamnigan Ewenki people until the 1960s as one of our Khamnigan Ewenki informants told us.

Literary Mongolian *beye*; Manchurian, Onon and Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol *beye*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan *biye*; Dagur *bəy*; Buryat *beye*

(Khabtagaeva 2017: 64; see also Doerfer 1985: 20; Rozycki 1994: 29);

- b. ‘maral deer’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***bugu***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *buyu*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin, Upper Lena, Vitim *buyu*; Zeya *buy*; Ayan *buye*; Sakhalin, Urmi, Uchur *buyu*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *n.a.*; Negidal *bočan*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *bočā*; Ulcha *buča* ~ *boča*, Oroch *buča*; Manchu *buhû*; Sibe *bukun ihan* ‘mountain antelope’
(Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunen 1991: 24; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 84a; Vasilevič 1958: 64a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 101b; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 119; Stary 1990: 9);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, HY *buqu*; ZY, Muq. *buyu*; Rasulid *buğa*; Literary Mongolian *buyu* ‘a male deer, stag’; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *bugu*; Dagur *bəy^w*; Buryat *buga*
(Khabtagaeva 2017: 67; see also Doerfer 1985: 78; Rozycki 1994: 37);
- c. ‘type of duck’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***angir***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *angir*; *other Northern Tungusic*: Negidal *ani*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *āngi*; Manchu *angir*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 71; Janhunen 1991: 51; Chaoke 2014b: 52; Vasilevič 1958: 32b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 43b);
Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, ZY, HY *anggir*; Literary Mongolian *anggir*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat *angir*; Dagur *n.a.*;
Mongolic ← Turkic:¹⁹ cf. Old Turkic *anjit* ‘a rather large bird predominantly red; the ruddy goose (*Anas casarca*)’
(Khabtagaeva 2017: 59; see also Doerfer 1985: 68; Rozycki 1994: 19);
- d. ‘to roar’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***barkirā-***;
cf. Solon Ewenki *baggera-*; Siberian Ewenki: *n.a.*; Remaining Tungusic lgs. *n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 94; Janhunen 1991: 31; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 53a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 75b);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *barkira-*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *barkir-*; Dagur *n.a.*; Buryat *barxir-* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 63; see also Doerfer 1985: 101);

¹⁹Turkic: Yakut *andī* ~ *anni* ‘scoter, pochard; black duck’ → Siberian Ewenki: Ayan, Uchur *anni* ~ *andi* ‘black duck’.

- e. ‘to think’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **bodo-**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki, Orochen *bodo-*; Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*;
other Tungusic: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe *bodo-*; Oroch *budu-*; Orok *boddo-*
 ~ *bodo-*; Manchu *bodo-*; Sibe *bot-* ~ *bod(ə)-*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*
 (Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunen 1991: 101; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 75b;
 Chaoke 2014a: 168; Cincius 1975/77 1: 88a; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 104;
 Zikmundová 2013: 207);
 ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *bodo-*;
 Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *bod-*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol
bodo-; Dagur *bod-*; Buryat *bodo-*
 (Khabtagaeva 2017: 65; see also Doerfer 1985: 78; Rozycki 1994: 33);
- (27) The Mongolic loanwords in Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki with
 Khamnigan Mongol features
- a. The disappearance of the Mongolic consonant *q-* through * χ -, which
 points to an early period of borrowing:
- i. ‘twenty’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **orin**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *urin*; Orochen *urin*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin
orin;
other Northern Tungusic: Negidal *ojin*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai
hori; Ulcha, Orok *hori(n)*; Udihe *waji* ~ *uai*; Oroch *oi*; Manchu
orin; Sibe *ori*ⁿ
 (Castrén 1856: 75; Janhunen 1991: 23; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
 534a; Chaoke 2014a: 170; Vasilevič 1958: 326b; Cincius 1975/77 2:
 24; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 740; Zikmundová 2013: 219);
 Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa,
 Leiden, Muq. *qorin*; Literary Mongolian *qorin*; Manchurian
 Khamnigan Mongol *kori(n)*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *xori(n)*;
 Dadal-sum Khamnigan χ *ori*; Mongolian Khamnigan *orin*; Buryat
xori(n)
 (Khabtagaeva 2017: 123; see also Doerfer 1985: 81; Rozycki 1994:
 169);
- ii. ‘thumb’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **ürügün**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *urugun*; Siberian Ewenki: Upper Lena,
 Chumikan *urugun*; Barguzin *huruwün*; Aldan, Sakhalin, Urmi,
 Uchur *hurugun*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *huregen*; Negidal *hojeŋen*;
Southern Tungusic: Udihe *hue*; Oroch *hōŋo(n)*; Manchu *urhun*

(Castrén 1856: 78; Janhunen 1991: 46; Chaoke 2014b: 153; Cincius 1975/77 2: 354b; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 969);

← Mongolic **χurugun*: Middle Mongol: MNT *quru'u(n)*; HY *quru'un*; Leiden *qurūn*; Muq. *qurūn* ~ *χurūn*; Rasulid *qurūn*; Literary Mongolian *quruyun* 'finger, toe; finger-like'; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *kurū(n)*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *xurū*; Mongolian Khamnigan *xurguon*; Buryat *xurgan*; Dagur *xoṛṣ* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 90);

b. The preservation of original Mongolic **ti* which later became *či*:

- i. 'thirty': Nercha Ewenki: Urulga *gučín*, Man'kovo ***gutin***; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya ***gutin***, Urulyungui *gučín*; cf. Solon Ewenki *gutín*; Siberian Ewenki: *n.a.* instead *ilan jār*; *other Tungusic*: Nanai *goči*; Ulcha, Oroch *guti(n)*; Manchu *gúsin*; Sibe *gožiⁿ*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 82; Janhunen 1991: 23, 76; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 235a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 175b; Hauer 1952-1955 2: 397; Zikmundová 2013: 213);

← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, 'Phags-pa *qučín*; Muq. *yučín*; Rasulid *qučín*; Literary Mongolian *yučín*; Manchurian and Onon Khamnigan Mongol *guči(n)*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol *yutš'i*; Dagur *gǝč* ~ *gǝčín*; Buryat *guša(n)*

(Khabtagaeva 2017: 87; see also Doerfer 1985: 79; Rozycki 1994: 95);

- ii. 'to write': Nercha Ewenki ***biti-*** ~ *biči-*; Khamnigan Ewenki *biči-*; cf. Solon Ewenki *biti-*; Siberian Ewenki: Upper Amur *biči-*;
- iii. 'letter, script': *other Northern Tungusic*: Negidal *bitehe*; *Southern Tungusic*: Nanai *bičhe*; Ulcha *bithe*; Udihe *n.a.*; Oroch *bitige* ~ *bithe*; Orok *bičihe*; Manchu *bithe*; Sibe *bitə*

(Castrén 1856: 95; Janhunen 1991: 101; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 74b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 86; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 98; Zikmundová 2013: 206);

Tungusic ← Mongolic **biti-*: Middle Mongol: MNT, ZY, HY, Muq., Rasulid *bičik* 'script'; Literary Mongolian *biči-* 'to write'; Manchurian and Onon Khamnigan Mongol *biči-*; Dagur *n.a.*; Buryat *beše-*;

Mongolic ← Turkic: Old Turkic *biti-* 'to write' (Khabtagaeva 2017: 65; see also Doerfer 1985: 76; Rozycki 1994: 31);

- c. The preservation of the vowels *-u-* and *-ü-* in the last syllable:
- i. ‘butter, oil’: Nercha Ewenki (Man’kovo) *tosun*, (Urulga) *tohun*; Khamnigan Ewenki *tosun*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Ewenki: North-Baikal *tosun*; Aldan, Barguzin *tohun*; *other Tungusic: n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 88; Janhunen 1991: 24; Vasilevič 1958: 395b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 201a);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, HY, ‘Phags-pa, Leiden, Muq. *tosun*; Rasulid *tosun*; Literary Mongolian *tosun*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *tohun*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *tosu(n) ~ toso(n)*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol *t’osu*; Dagur *tōs*; Buryat *toho(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 134);
 - ii. ‘age’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki *nasun*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin *nahun*; *other Tungusic: n.a.*
(Janhunen 1991: 24; Cincius 1975/77 1: 587a);
← Mongolic: MNT *nasu*; ‘Phags-pa *nasu ~ nasun*; Leiden, Muq. *nasun*; Literary Mongolian *nasun*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *nahun*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *nasu(n) ~ nasa(n)*; Mongolian Khamnigan *nasu*; Dagur *nas*; Buryat *naha(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 119; see also Doerfer 1985: 127);
 - iii. ‘bovine’: Nercha Ewenki *ükür*; Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *ükür*; Borzya *hükür*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Orochen *ukur*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin, Zeya, Aldan, Khingan, Uchur *hukur*; *other Tungusic: n.a.*
(Castrén 1856: 83; Janhunen 1991: 46; Chaoke 2014a: 157; Vasilevič 1958: 491b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 341);
Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *hüker*; ZY *üger*; HY *hüger*; ‘Phags-pa, Leiden, Muq. *hüker*; Rasulid *üker*; Literary Mongolian *ükür*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *üker*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *üker ~ ökör* (← Khalkha); Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol *ük’ür*; Dagur *xukur*; Buryat *üxer*;
Mongolic **ükür* ‘bovine animal, ox, cow’ < *hükür* ← Bulgar Turkic **hökür*: cf. Old Turkic *öküz* ‘ox’ ← Tokharian (Khabtagaeva 2017: 89; see also Doerfer 1985: 67);
- d. The preservation of Middle Mongol intervocalic *q* which later is voiced:

- i. ‘hedgehog’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **dorokon**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *n.a.*; Siberian Ewenki: Podkamennyj, Barguzin
dorokon; Zeya *dorogun*; Chumikan *toraku*; Urmi *torokōn*;
other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *n.a.*; Negidal *doho*; *Southern
 Tungusic*: Nanai *doro*; Ulcha *doro(n)*, Oroch *dogo*; Udihe, Orok *n.a.*;
 Manchu *dorgon*; Sibe *dorhon*
 (Castrén 1856: 90; Janhunen 1991: 40; Vasilevič 1958: 122a; Cincius
 1975/77 1: 217a; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 210; Stary 1990: 19);
 ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: Leiden *dorkon*; Literary Mongolian
doroyon, Mongolian Khamnigan Mongol *dorokon*; Onon
 Khamnigan Mongol *dorogon*; Dagur *n.a.*; Buryat *dorgon*
 (Khabtagaeva 2017: 80; see also Doerfer 1985: 39; Rozycki 1994:
 62);
- e. The preservation of Mongolic **ni*:
- i. ‘homeland’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki **nitug**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki, Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*; *other Tungusic*: *n.a.*
 (Janhunen 1991: 24);
 ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *nuntuq* ~ *nutuq*; HY *nuntuq*;
 Muq. *nutuq*; Literary Mongolian *nituy*; Manchurian Khamnigan
 Mongol *nitug* ~ *nutug*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *nitug*; Dagur
notog; Buryat *nyutag*;
- ii. ‘sin’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki **nigul**;
 cf. Solon Ewenki *niwul*; Siberian Ewenki: Upper Lena *niñul*; *other
 Tungusic*: *n.a.* (Castrén 1856: 85; Janhunen 1991: 24; Chaoke 2014b:
 316; Cincius 1975/77 1: 589a);
 ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: ‘Phags-pa *ni’ül*; Literary
 Mongolian *niyul*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *nigül*; Onon
 Khamnigan Mongol *nügel* (← Buryat); Dagur *nugul*; Buryat
nügel (Khabtagaeva 2017: 120);
- f. The development of the Mongolic sequence *egü* > *ē* as in Manchurian
 Khamnigan Mongol:²⁰
- i. ‘mare’: Nercha Ewenki **gēk**; Khamnigan Ewenki: Borzya **gēg**,
 Urulyungui **gē**;

²⁰E.g. Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *kēgen* ‘child’ ~ Mongolic ‘girl’: Literary Mongolian *keūken*; Buryat *xūxen*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *tēke* ‘history’ ~ Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *teūke*; Buryat *tūxe*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *dē* ‘younger brother’ ~ Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *degūū*; Buryat *dū*, etc. (Janhunen 1990: 28).

cf. Solon Ewenki *gə*; Siberian Ewenki: Vitim *gēγ*; Barguzin *gog*;
Upper Lena *gēn*;

other Tungusic: Manchu *geo*

(Castrén 1856: 81; Janhunen 1991: 41; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
207a; Vasilevič 1958: 84a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 145; Hauer 1952-1955 1:
345);

← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT, HY, Muq. *ge'ün*; Literary
Mongolian *gegüü*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *gē*;
Mongolian Khamnigan *gökü*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol, Buryat
gū; Dagur *gəu* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 52; see also Doerfer 1985: 102;
Rozycki 1994: 88);

g. The preservation of Mongolic *VgV*, which became a secondary long
vowel in Modern Mongol:

i. 'goat': Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki ***imagan***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *imayᠠᠭ*; Siberian Ewenki *imagan*: Barguzin
'goat'; Uchur, Urmi, Sakhalin 'bastard calf';

other Northern Tungusic: Lamut *n.a.*; Negidal *imaja*; *Southern
Tungusic*: Nanai, Ulcha, Udihe, Oroch *ima*; Orok *n.a.*; Manchu
imahū 'Capricorn'; Sibe *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 75; Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998:
330b; Vasilevič 1958: 167b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 312b; Hauer
1952-1955: 497);

← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *ima'a*; HY *ima'an*; Muq.
ima'an ~ *imān*; Rasulid *imān*; Literary Mongolian *imayᠠᠭ*;
Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *imā(n)*; Onon Khamnigan
Mongol *yamā(n)* (← Buryat); Mongolian Khamnigan *imagān*;
Dagur *imā*; Buryat *yamā(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 90; see also
Doerfer 1985: 37; Rozycki 1994: 116);

ii. 'antelope': Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki ***jeđerēn***;

cf. Solon Ewenki *dʒəgəᠷəᠨ* 'Mongolian gazelle'; Siberian Ewenki
n.a.;

other Tungusic 'roe deer, wild goat': Udihe *ḷeli*; Manchu *ḷeren*;
Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Janhunen 1991: 100; Chaoke 2014b: 40; Cincius 1975/77 1: 282b;
Hauer 1952-1955 2: 530);

Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: HY, Muq. *ḷeren*; Literary
Mongolian *jeđer-e(n)*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *ḷere(n)*;

Onon Khamnigan Mongol *dzēr* (← Khalkha); Dagur *ǰrən*; Buryat *zēren*;

Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yägrän* ‘gazelle’ (Doerfer 1985: 136; Rozycki 1994: 122);

- iii. ‘camel’: Nercha Ewenki *n.a.*; Khamnigan Ewenki ***temegēn***; Solon Ewenki *təmægəŋ*; Orochen *temegen*; Siberian Ewenki: Barguzin *temegēn*;
other Tungusic: Nanai, Oroch *teme*; Manchu *temen*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Janhunen 1991: 100; Chaoke 2014b: 56; Chaoke 2014a: 157; Cincius 1975/77 2: 235a; Hauer 1952-1955 3: 899);

Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *teme’en*; ZY *te[m]mē*; HY *teme’en*; Muq. *temēn*; Rasulid *temēn*; Literary Mongolian *temegen*; Manchurian and Onon Khamnigan Mongol *temē(n)*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol *t’emē*; Mongolian Khamnigan *temegēn*; Dagur *təmə*; Buryat *temē(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 133; see also Doerfer 1985: 77–78; Rozycki 1994: 206);
Mongolic ← Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *täβäy* ‘camel’;

5.4.2 Mongolic loanwords borrowed at a different time

Castrén’s Nercha Ewenki material includes the Mongolic “early stage” loanwords which are present in other Tungusic languages as well, while Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol has Mongolic loanwords borrowed more recently.

- (28) The final Mongolic consonant *-l is presented as -n in all Ewenki dialects:

- a. ‘saddle’: Nercha Ewenki: Urulga ***emegen***, Borzya *emēl*;
cf. Khamnigan Ewenki *emegēl* ← Solon Ewenki *əmægəl*;
cf. Siberian Ewenki *emegen*: Yerbogochon, Upper Lena, Barguzin, Tungir, Ayan ‘saddle’; Zeya, Aldan, Uchur, Urmi, Ayan, Sakhalin ‘pack saddle’; Podkamennyj, Ilimpeya ‘men’s hunting saddle’;
other Tungusic: Lamut *emgun*; Orok *emē(n) ~ emegē(n)*; Manchu *engemu*; Sibe *əməŋ*; Remaining lgs. *n.a.*

(Castrén 1856: 73; Janhunen 1991: 100; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 172; Vasilevič 1958: 558b; Cincius 1975/77 2: 452b; Hauer 1952-1955 1: 252; Zikmundová 2013: 210);

Tungusic ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *eme’el*; ZY, Muq., Rasulid *emēl*; Literary Mongolian *emegel*; Manchurian Khamnigan

Mongol *emēl*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *emēl* ~ *ömōl*; Dagur, Buryat *emēl* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 83; see also Doerfer 1985: 21; Rozycki 1994: 70);

- (29) The secondary long vowels have not developed yet in Nercha Ewenki and other Ewenki dialects from sequence VgV, while in Khamnigan Ewenki they have, as in Modern Mongol:
- a. ‘young’: Nercha Ewenki *ǰalaf*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki: Urulyungui *ǰalō*, Borzya *ǰalau*
← Solon Ewenki *ǰalu*; cf. Siberian Ewenki: Aldan, Barguzin, Upper Lena, Zeya, Tungir, Uchur *ǰalaw*; *other Tungusic*: *n.a.* (Castrén 1856: 93; Janhunen 1991: 30, 54; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 356b; Vasilevič 1958: 147a; Cincius 1975/77 1: 245a); ← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *ǰala’ui*; Muq. *ǰala’ū* ~ *ǰalū*; Ist. *ǰalau*; Rasulid *ǰalawu*; Literary Mongolian *ǰalayu*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *dzalū*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol *džalalǰan* ‘boy’; Dagur *ǰalō*; Buryat *zalū* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 93; see also Doerfer 1985: 127);
 - (30) The original Tungusic words with initial and intervocalic *s in Nercha Ewenki and Manchurian Khamnigan Ewenki were preserved, while in Mongolic loanwords this sound was pharyngealized in the Urulga sub-dialect and preserved in the Mankovo sub-dialect of Nercha Ewenki (Khabtagaeva 2017: 175). Thus, the pharyngealization must have happened in a later period. More likely these loanwords were borrowed from the ancestors of the Urulyungui subdialect of Khamnigan Mongol:
 - a. ‘rope, loop, lasso’: Nercha Ewenki (Mankovo) *desün*; (Urulga) *dehün*; cf. Khamnigan Ewenki, Solon Ewenki, Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*; *other Tungusic lgs.* *n.a.* (Castrén 1856: 89);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: ZY *dēsü*; HY *de’esün*; Muq. *dēsün*; Rasulid *dēsün*; Literary Mongolian *degesün*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *dēsün*; Dagur *dəs*; Buryat *dēhe(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 80);
 - b. ‘fly’: Nercha Ewenki (Mankovo) *ilāsun*; (Urulga) *ilāhun*; Khamnigan Ewenki *ilāsun*;
cf. Solon Ewenki *ilā*; Siberian Ewenki *n.a.*; *other Tungusic lgs.* *n.a.* (Castrén 1856: 74; Janhunen 1991: 105; Dorji & Banzhibomi 1998: 324b; Cincius 1975/77 1: 306b);
← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *ilayasun*; Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol *ilāhun*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *ilā*; Dadal-sum Khamnigan

Mongol *ilā*; Dagur *xilā* ‘horsefly’; Buryat *ilāha(n)* (Khabtagaeva 2017: 90);

cf. Orochen *dilkān*, other Ewenki dial. *dilkēn*;

- (31) There is one Mongolic loanword which is absent in other Tungusic languages, yet must have been borrowed at an early stage:
- a. ‘forty’: Nercha Ewenki, Khamnigan Ewenki *düčün*;
in other Ewenki dialects *digin jār*; Solon Ewenki *n.a.*²¹
(Castrén 1856: 90; Janhunen 1991: 76);
← Mongolic: Middle Mongol: MNT *döčün*; ZY *düčün*; HY, Muq., Ist.,
Rasulid *döčün*; Literary Mongolian *döči(n)*; Manchurian Khamnigan
Mongol *düči(n)*; Onon Khamnigan Mongol *düči(n)*; Dadal-sum
Khamnigan Mongol *döts’i*; Dagur *duč*; Buryat *düše(n)* (Khabtagaeva
2017: 81).

6 Conclusion

As expected, the material examined shows a close connection between Nercha and Khamnigan Ewenki. Most of the vocabulary coincides, yet in several cases the other Ewenki dialects have differing forms (e.g. *nekün* ‘younger brother’, *nuḡnakī* ‘goose’, *timī* ‘tomorrow’, *nama* ‘warm’, etc.) or even lack some words (e.g. *düčün* ‘forty’). These facts argue strongly for a common linguistic background between the two varieties. A separate group of vocabulary items includes the Nercha Ewenki words which have some phonetic differences from Khamnigan Ewenki, though these variants can possibly be explained by Castrén’s transcriptions from 1856. However, there are some Khamnigan Ewenki words that changed phonetically recently, under the influence of Solon Ewenki – another neighboring Tungusic language of Manchuria. These include words with the unstable consonant *-n* (e.g. *amin* ‘father’, *tergen* ‘carriage’) and secondary long vowels in the first syllable of words (e.g. *āli* ‘when’). These vowels also appear in the Mongolic loanwords (e.g. *ēm* ‘medicine, drug’, *tōrga* ‘silk’). In addition, some Solon Ewenki words were borrowed by Khamnigan Ewenki after the migration from Russia (e.g. *sigün* ‘sun’, *irkekīn* ‘new’). More likely, the Russian loanwords in Khamnigan Ewenki were borrowed at an early time but were not noted by Castrén in his Nercha Ewenki material. According to phonetic criteria (e.g. the preservations of the vowel **u* in the last syllable, Middle Mongol *VqV*, and sequences **ni* and **si*), most of the Mongolic loanwords in Nercha and Khamnigan

²¹Solon *dāhi* (Chaoke 2014b: 346) ← Manchu *dehi*.

Ewenki dialects match each other. These facts also support a common linguistic heritage of the two varieties. Due to our short and preliminary fieldwork among the Khamnigan Ewenki people in 2017, further fieldwork is necessary for a morphological and syntactic analysis, which I was not able to present here.

Citation of data

Dadal-sum Khamnigan Mongol	= Uray-Kõhalmi (1959)
HY	= Mostaert (1977)
Leiden	= Poppe (1927/1928)
Literary Mongolian	= Lessing (1960)
Manchurian Khamnigan Mongol	= Janhunnen (1990)
MNT	= Haenisch (1939)
Mongolian Khamnigan	= Rinčen (1968)
Muq.	= Poppe (1938)
Onon Khamnigan Mongol	= Damdinov & Sundueva (2015)
'Phags-pa	= Tumurtogoo (2010)
Rasulid	= Golden (2000)
ZY	= Kara (1990)

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