

**Mongolica Pragensia '19**  
**12/2**



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# On multiverbal monoclausal predicates with *\*bimbi* in General Funingga's letters

FLORIAN SIEGL, Independent researcher, Estonia/Germany

**Summary:** Literary Manchu forms a number of multiverbal monoclausal predicates with *\*bimbi* 'be, exist'. Among those, one finds a special predicate type which uses both the lexical verb and *\*bimbi* as perfective participles, e.g., *unggihe bihe* 'X has/had sent'. As predicate doubling is otherwise not attested in literary Manchu, this construction is structurally isolated. Although this predication pattern and its properties are certainly not unknown and were covered in prior grammaticographic accounts (e.g., Haenisch 1961, Avrorin 2000, Gorelova 2002), the use of this particular analytic verb construction goes beyond the encoding of anteriority in the corpus of this study for which General Funingga's letters (Kraft 1953) were employed. Even though the main task of this study is to shed light on the evidential characteristics of double predication of the type *unggihe bihe*, its unique structure and semantics become clearer when contrasting this type of predication with other instances of multiverbal monoclausal predicates with *\*bimbi*.

## 1. Introduction

Predication in literary Manchu is predominantly monoverbal. The predicating element, whether a participle, a converb or a finite verb, prototypically do not form multiverbal monoclausal predicates. The following randomly chosen example shows this standard predication pattern where a predicative imperfective participle in *-ra*, two subordinative converbs in *-fi*, and the perfect *-hebi* appear:<sup>1</sup>

- 
- 1) All original German translations provided by Haenisch (1961) and Kraft (1953) are subsumed in the appendix. The English translations follow Manchu as closely as possible; notoriously polysemic lexemes e.g., *cooha* 'soldier, troop, army' are glossed according to context. Proper names, toponyms, titles and tribal names in languages such as Mongolic, Tibetan or Chinese remain in the original

## 1) Manchu

*damu wesihun baru hafuna-ra emu narhôn jugôn*  
 but east toward penetrate-PTCP.IPF one fine road  
*bi-fi. hôlha-i yerutu de ba-be ejele-fi*  
 exist-CON.SUB bandit-GEN stone.house DAT place-ACC occupy-CON.SUB  
*heture-hebi.*  
 block-PERF

'But there is only one narrow road towards the east. The enemy has occupied the place with watchtowers and blocked it.' (Haenisch 1961, p. 96)

Additionally, Manchu has a few multiverbal monoclausal predicates which were discussed by Haenisch (1961, pp. 61–64) and Gorelova (2002, pp. 309–321) with varying degrees of explicitness.<sup>2</sup> Most of these multiverbal monoclausal predicates tend to have the head as a predicative participle or finite verb and the dependent verb as a converb. The following two examples with the modal verb *mutembi* 'be able' exemplify this group. Note that negation is hosted by the modal verb (2b):

## 2) Manchu

a.

*tenteke enduringge-i biwanggirit tuwa-bu-ha erin de*  
 like.that divine-GEN explanation look-CAUS-PTCP.PERF period DAT  
*isi-na-ha be we ili-bu-me mute-mbi.*  
 arrive-ILL-PTCP.PERF ACC who stand-CAUS-CON.CO be.able-AOR

German transliteration. I would like to thank Veronika Zikmundová for our discussions on Manchu and her insistence that I should turn one of them into a paper. Further thanks to José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente for generous help with literature and exchanges on Manchu and Tungusic on several occasions.

- 2) Relevant examples can be found in the posthumously published grammar by Avrorin (2000) as well, but the major problem with this resource is its poor internal organization. Analytic predication is not discussed in one section, but throughout the chapter on verbs. The grammar by Zakharov (1879) was not available to the author when compiling this study. Where relevant argumentation in Avrorin (2000) could be identified, his perspective is also incorporated, although more attention will be given to the grammatical overviews of Haenisch (1961) and Gorelova (2002).



'If the time of divine prophecy has come, who can stop (harm)?' (Haenisch 1961, p. 114)

b.

<i>Alandal</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>gisun</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>jabu-me</i>	<i>mute-h-ekô.</i>
PN	that	word	DAT	answer-CON.CO	be.able-PTCP.PERF-NEG

'Aladan was not able to (give an) answer to these words.' (Haenisch 1961, p. 113)

Further members of this group are monoclausal complex predicates with the auxiliary *bimbi* 'be, exist' (Haenisch 1961, p. 61; Gorelova 2002, p. 310ff).<sup>3</sup> A special analytic predicate in this group shows an otherwise unparalleled realization by having both the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb in a "finite" form.<sup>4</sup> This type of predication will be referred to as double predication in this study and will be given more attention below:

### 3) Manchu

<i>jalan</i>	<i>hala-me</i>	<i>golmin</i>	<i>śanggiyan</i>	<i>alin-i</i>	<i>ba-de</i>
generation	change-CON.CO	long	white	mountain-GEN	place-DAT
<i>te-he</i>	<i>bi-he.</i>				
reside-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF				

'For generations, he had resided in the area of the White Mountain.' (Haenisch 1961, p. 106)

Complex predicates with *bimbi* host negation on the lexical verb and not on the auxiliary. This, then, may result in constructions where the lexical verb and the auxiliary seem to be in different tenses. This type of construction, too, will be the subject of more analysis below:

- 3) Complex predicates with *bimbi* are at least discussed in one section by Avrorin (2000, pp. 192–194), though his inventory lacks a number of forms mentioned by Haenisch (1961, p. 61), a point to which I will return below.
- 4) Finiteness must be understood from the perspective of Manchu and comprises all predicating verbal forms, which means both predicative participles in as *-ra/-re* and *-ha/-he* and "regular" finite forms such as aorist *-mbi* and perfect *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*.

#### 4) Manchu

<i>Tan ze-i</i>	<i>jergi</i>	<i>urse-i</i>	<i>mergen.</i>	<i>Kungze</i>	<i>de</i>
PN-GEN	and.so.forth	people-GEN	outstanding	PN	DAT
<i>isi-r-akô</i> <i>bi-he.</i>					
reach-PTCP.IPF-NEG      exist-PTCP.PERF					

‘[The wisdom of] Tan ze and the other people could not reach [that of] Kungze.’  
(Haenisch 1961, p. 117)

In prior accounts, double predication with *bihe* has been analyzed to encode an anterior past tense ~ a perfect (Haenisch 1961, p. 61; Gorelova 2002, p. 292); examples (3) and (4) show this temporal function. However, complex predicates with *bihe* can also have an evidential shading as seen in the following example:<sup>5</sup>

#### 5) Manchu;

<i>K'an Ze</i>	<i>hendu-me.</i>	<i>niyalma-i</i>	<i>gisun</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>donji-ci.</i>
PN	answer-CON.CO	person-GEN	word	ACC	hear-CON.COND
<i>Z'oo cenghiyang saisa</i> <i>be bai-r-engge.</i>					
PN	chancellor	man.proficient.in.letters		ACC	seek-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ
<i>amba</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bai-re adali</i>
big	dry	DAT	rain	ACC	seek-PTCP.IPF similar
<i>se-he</i> <i>bi-he.</i>					
say-PTCP.PERF                      exist-PTCP.PERF					

‘K'an Ze answered: “I have heard the word of people that Chancellor Z'oo longs for intelligent men like one longs for rain in drought,” thus he spoke. (Haenisch 1961, p. 120)

This brings us to the overall aim of this study. Given that complex predicates with *bimbi* can have, and those with *bihe* most certainly do have an

5) Due to the fact that the concept of evidentiality was not on the agenda in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is understandable that Haenisch (1961) does not refer to this function, even though the conjunctive in the German translation suggests that he could have been aware of it. In Gorelova (2002), evidentiality was not covered either. In a recent specialized study on evidentiality in Manchu (Gorelova & Chen 2015), this strategy is not mentioned.

evidential shading, a more detailed investigation is required. For practical reasons, the examples above were randomly taken from the reading section of Haenisch (1961). In order to arrive at a systematic and “synchronic” account of the function of double predication, the following approach is “text linguistic”<sup>6</sup> in the sense that it presents the results of the analysis of one particular manuscript, namely General Funingga's letters as published by Kraft (1953). Even though a corpus of about 30000 Manchu words is, of course, not even representative for early 18<sup>th</sup> century literary Manchu, let alone literary Manchu as a whole, by restricting the analysis and focusing on the language of one manuscript only, a temporally bound perspective emerges. It needs to be emphasized that the grammatical overviews by Haenisch, Gorelova and Avrorin are “panchronic”, since they incorporate data from several centuries (which is, of course, understandable when approaching a language for which a vast amount of primary materials is available). By constraining the grammatical analysis to the language of one manuscript which represents written Manchu from the second and third decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some preliminary observations concerning frequency and choices become possible. This approach which deliberately mixes philological and functional (text)linguistic perspectives, is followed for several reasons; first, a number of morphosyntactic claims brought forward by Gorelova (2002) are not attested in the language of this manuscript. Second, several complex predicates with *bimbi* which were mentioned by Haenisch (1961) neither appear in this Manchu manuscript nor in Gorelova (2002). Therefore, even though the central topic of this study is double predication (e.g., *tehe bihe*, *sehe bihe*), other types of monoclausal complex predication with *bimbi* appearing in this manuscript need to be touched upon as well.

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6) This use of “text linguistics” approaches the structure of an individual language within a text (=above the level of clauses), which is not what text linguistics ordinarily would mean (e.g., Coseriu 1994, pp. 36–46; 205ff).

## 2. On General Funingga's letters (Kraft 1953)

As already mentioned above, this study uses General Funingga's letters and reports from the third Jungar war; these cover his professional and private correspondence with the Imperial Court between 1717 and 1723, eventually published by Kraft (1953). The Manchu examples below appear in Kraft's transliteration; occasional typos in the Manchu text (which seem to have been introduced by typesetting) were corrected; otherwise the text is unaltered. According to the editor, the language of the documents is idiomatic Manchu, which especially the less formal letters to the emperors Kangxi and Yongzheng (Kraft 1953, pp. 11–13) demonstrate. Although the manuscript comes from a period when Manchu was presumably already in decline, Chinese influence seems to be restricted to the lexical level; Kraft mentions that quite a number of titles, names of military formations and "other technical vocabulary" are Chinese written in Manchu script. Even though this observation is culturally and lexically significant, it may be overlooked, because, presumably, this interference does not affect morphosyntax. On the other side, there is another instance of interference which is relevant for the morphosyntactic perspective of this study. Although the whole manuscript is slightly over 30,000 words long, parts of the texts 9, 14 and 32 – altogether about 2100 words – must be excluded, because these are direct translations from a Mongolic language into Manchu and are of no use for working on Manchu.<sup>7</sup> This means that the final corpus of this study consists of about 27900 Manchu words. Upon private digitalization, the Manchu text was manually glossed for further linguistic exploitation; glossing and labeling follow Haenisch (1961).

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7) "Diese Übersetzungen muten an, als hätte man sie rein nach dem Wort übersetzt, ohne Rücksicht auf die Ausdrucksweise und Syntax der mandschurischen Sprache. Die sonst verhältnismäßig eindeutige mandschurische Sprache ist hier ihrer grammatischen Beziehungen und Bedingungen weitgehend entkleidet und gibt so, da auch die Wortbedeutung oft von der üblichen abweicht, außerdem eine Zahl mongolischer und tibetischer Namen eingestreut sind, ein merkwürdiges Ganzes, das auf den ersten Blick unentwirrbar erscheint. Ein chinesischer oder mongolischer Kontext liegt nicht immer vor und die sachlichen Grundlagen, die die Literatur für den Inhalt der Briefe bietet, sind bei weitem nicht ausreichend zur Lösung aller Fragen." (Kraft 1953, p. 12)

### 3. On Evidentiality

In the following, a short and necessarily incomplete overview on evidentiality is in order. In principle, evidentiality has been approached from two different perspectives. The first perspective treats evidentiality as a modal category located within the sphere of epistemic modality and truth-conditional semantics (e.g., Palmer 2001); the other perspective treats evidentiality as an independent concept which focuses on the encoding of the origin of information without any truth-conditional implications (e.g., Aikhenvald 2004); this perspective is the theoretical prerequisite which this study is relying on. Although both positions are not easily reconcilable, the uniting, yet overlooked link is the fact that both positions treat evidentiality as deictic; information is grounded referring to its origin such as inference, hearsay, first-hand, second-hand or general knowledge, smell, feeling and other related categories.<sup>8</sup> Whereas evidential systems can become very complex (see the discussion in Aikhenvald 2004), this is certainly not the case in Northern and Central Eurasia, the linguistic areal to which Manchu belongs. In this area, evidential systems tend to be rather simple as the overview in the next section sketches.

#### 3.1. Typological properties of evidentiality

When approaching evidentiality, it is useful to distinguish lexical means from grammatical means of encoding evidentiality as well as fully grammaticalized/lexicalized evidential means from other grammatical/lexical means which might have additional evidential connotations.<sup>9</sup> As for lexical means, this is exemplified with data from Modern Uyghur which uses a particle *ikän* to mark information as either second-hand knowledge, recently acquired direct knowledge or partial evidence (Hahn 2006, pp. 135–136):

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8) Person, place, social and time reference are usually considered as deictic, but since evidentiality encodes the grounding of information in discourse, it must be considered a deictic category as well.

9) Such forms are often referred to as evidential strategies.

## 6) Modern Uyghur

### a.

*Abdukerim*      *ürümçilik*  
 PN                  inhabitant.of.Urumchi

‘Abdukerim is from Urumchi (of which I am sure, since he and I grew up together in the same neighborhood).’ (Hahn 2006, p. 135)

### b.

*Abdukerim*      *ürümçilik*                      *ikän*  
 PN                  inhabitant.of.Urumchi      EVIP

‘(I have been told that) Abdukerim is from Urumchi.’ (Hahn 2006, p. 135)

### c.

*bu*                      *üzüm*                      *tatliq*                      *ikän*  
 DEM                  grape                      tasty/sweet              EVIP

‘(I just tasted one and drew the conclusion that) these grapes are sweet.’ (Hahn 2006, p. 136)

Several of Manchu’s sentence final particles such as *kai* or *dere* seem to be capable of encoding evidentiality, although presumably, their function is not evidential a such. Therefore, these should be best considered evidential strategies:

## 7) Manchu

### a.

*ere-be*              *tuwa-ci.*              *suwe*              *gele-hebi=kai.*  
 this-ACC      look-CON.COND      2PL              be.afraid-PERF=PTC[EMPH]

‘If one looked at this, you were afraid!’ (Kraft 1953: 128)

### b.

*te*    *suweni*    *cooha*    *hanci*    *isi-nji-ha*                      *be*    *donji-ha*              *de*  
 now 2PL.GEN    army    close    reach-ALL-PTCP.PERF    ACC    hear-PTCP.PERF    DAT  
*ainci*              *feniyeñ feniyeñ-i*              *daha-me*              *jide-r-engge*  
 perhaps    in.swarms              follow-CON.CO              come-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ  
*bi=dere.*

exist.AOR=PTC[INFER]

‘Now, when they hear that the army has come close, perhaps it means that they come in swarms (to surrender).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 159)

Ideally, a marker of evidentiality should be unambiguous, following the functionalistic credo of “one-form-one-meaning”. Extensive typological surveys, however, have demonstrated that evidentiality is not fully grammaticalized in many languages. When sticking to Northern Eurasia, a language which comes fairly close to this “ideal type” is Estonian (Uralic) which marks quotatives grammatically in both present and past tense context. However, upon closer inspection, the Estonian system is not symmetric, because in the past tense evidential forms have fewer tense distinctions available than regular indicative past tense forms. This distributional property of the Estonian evidential is surprising, because for a number of Northern Eurasian languages, evidentiality is predominantly operating in the sphere of past tense reference. This system is probably best known from Turkic (see the contributions in Johanson & Uras 2000), though this correlation is certainly not restricted to Turkic alone. A problem of the latter system is that even though one of the members – usually the one encoding a perfect-like meaning – can be used to encode an additional evidential shading, this category is still not a fully grammaticalized evidential from the “one-form-one-meaning” point of view. The evidential shading is a side effect of the anterior (perfect/resultative) event or condition which allows a glimpse at how the prior situation came about and implies a certain detachment of the speaker from temporal connotations. In this way, this seemingly perfective anteriority allows the interpretation of the evidence as inferred, or as hearsay or the like (e.g., Aikhenvald 2004, pp. 112–116).

### 3.2. Evidentiality in Northern and Central Eurasia

A variety of languages of Eurasia, mainly Turkic languages, to some degree also several adjacent Uralic languages of the Volga-Kama area (Udmurt, Komi, Mari) demonstrate a dichotomy between a simple verbal predicate without any obvious evidential function and a complex predicate, usually formed with the verb ‘be, exist’ which, in addition to anteriority, contains a further implicit evidential moment, all of them in the field of inference, hearsay and second hand knowledge. However, these forms are not fully grammaticalized evidentials, though an evidential shading

is certainly at hand. Janhunen (2012, pp. 244–246) made a similar claim for Khalkha Mongol. Fully grammaticalized evidentials can be found in several Samoyedic languages (mostly as auditives), two Finnic languages Estonian, Livonian (as auditives) (Siegl 2016, with references to Uralic); the Yukaghiric inferential is likewise an evidential strategy if not already an evidential category (Maslova 2003 a,b). As for Manchu, a recent study by Gorelova & Chen (2015) comes to the conclusion that Manchu lacks a fully grammaticalized evidential; instead, a number of evidential strategies were motivated. The evidential meaning potential of double predication, to be more concrete that of monoclausal complex predicates of the type LEXICAL.VERB-PTCP.PERF + *bi*-PTCP.PERF for which a number of examples appear in General Funingga's letters, was not mentioned by Gorelova & Chen (2015). At this point, a disclaimer is in order: the construction under analysis (double predication) is by no means a grammatical evidential and most likely never was so. Nevertheless, General Funingga's letters show a number of forms for which plain anterior interpretation is not sufficient. Whether this evidential strategy attested in one 18<sup>th</sup> century Manchu manuscript has developed into a more grammaticalized system in later phases of Manchu and in contemporary Sibe is a question I will leave for the specialists.<sup>10</sup> Second, the proposed analysis claiming an "evidential shading" applies only to the language of Kraft (1953). Whether this is an idiolectal feature of the Manchu composer(s)/translator(s) engaged by General Funingga or a characteristic of Manchu as a whole is a question which I will equally leave for the Manchu specialists.<sup>11</sup>

10) I could not identify examples for "double predicates" as described in Zikmundová's account of Sibe (Zikmundová 2013). As for evidentiality, her description mentions a different perfect form (a perfective verbal noun II, Zikmundová 2013, p.160) which, however, is unrelated to the form discussed here.

11) The reading section in Haenisch (1961) contains several examples for which such an interpretation is certainly appealing as well.



#### 4. The verb *bimbi* in General Funingga's letters

The verb *bimbi* 'be, exist' which occasionally can also be translated as 'remain' belongs to a number of verbs for which irregular stem distribution is attested. Among them, one finds the other copula *ombi* 'be, become'.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the aorist form *bimbi* is used as the citation form in the standard European dictionaries (Zakharov 1875; Hauer 2007; Norman 2013), the existence of *bimbi* outside the sphere of lexicography as a lemma is unknown to the author; therefore I will refer to the verb as *\*bimbi* further on. As for the stem distribution of *\*bimbi*, its expected aorist form *\*bimbi* is not attested and instead, *bi* appears. If *\*bimbi* were a regular verb, *bi* would be the imperative form, but this is *bisu*:

##### 8) Manchu

###### a. *bi* = aorist

<i>lazang ni</i>	<i>hehe</i>	<i>ju-se.</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>gemu</i>	<i>bi.</i>
PN GEN	wife	child-PL	now	all	exist.AOR

'Now Lazang's wife and the children are here.' (Kraft 1953, p. 171)

###### b. *bisu* = imperative

<i>jerde</i>	<i>suwe</i>	<i>aktas-i</i>	<i>hanci-kan</i>	<i>isi-na-ha</i>	<i>manggi</i>
PN	2PL	Aktas-GEN	close-DIM	reach-ILL-PTCP.PERF	after

<i>buksi-fi</i>	<i>bisu.</i>	<i>gere-me</i>	<i>ka.</i>
ambush-CON.SUB	exist.IMP	become.dawn-CON.CO	lay.siege.IMP

'Jerde, after you have come close to Aktas, take cover! Lay siege while it dawns!' (Kraft 1953, p. 139)

12) Even though the existence of irregular verbs is of course known and such "irregular forms" are lexicographically retrievable in standard dictionaries, it is surprising that instead of a paradigmatic approach which would cover a number of high frequency verbs such as *bimbi* 'be, exist', *ombi* 'be, become', *jimbi* 'come', *jembi* 'eat', *bahambi* 'get', *baimbi* 'seek', *gaimbi* 'take', *gajimbi* 'bring' in one group, their "irregular forms" or to be more correct, their divergent forms within certain cells within the paradigm are merely subsumed. In this regard, the short list in Haenisch (1961, p. 60) is certainly much more informative than the rather scattered account given by Gorelova (2002, pp. 255, 276, 299).

The longer stem *bisV-* is used for the formation of the imperfective participle *bisire*. In contrast to lexical verbs whose imperfective participle can take over predicate function, this is not attested for *bisire* which appears either as a modifier (9a) or a dependent verb (9b,c). In the aorist, only *bi* can be used (9d):

## 9) Manchu

### a.

<i>ceni</i>	<i>hoton</i>	<i>tule</i>	<i>bisi-re</i>	<i>ilan</i>	<i>hoise</i>	<i>be</i>
3PL.GEN	fortress	outside	exist-PTCP.IPF	three	muslim	ACC

*jafa-ha.*

take.in.the.hand-PTCP.PERF

‘They captured three Muslims who were outside their fortress.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 142)

### b.

<i>ini</i>	<i>hehe</i>	<i>ju-se</i>	<i>aibi-de</i>	<i>bisi-re</i>	<i>be</i>
3SG.GEN	wife	child-PL	where-DAT	exist-PTCP.IPF	ACC

*sa-r-akô.*

know-PTCP.IPF-NEG

‘I don’t know where his wife and children are.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 159)

### c.

<i>dine</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>meni</i>	<i>afabu-ha</i>	<i>songkoi</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>be</i>
PN	PL	1PL.EXCL.GEN	hand.over-PTCP.PERF	according.to	army	ACC

<i>gorokon</i>	<i>ili-bu-fi.</i>	<i>membe</i>
rather.far	stop-CAUS-CON.SUB	1PL.EXCL.ACC

<i>aliya-me</i>	<i>bisi-re</i>	<i>de.</i>
wait-CON.CO	exist-PTCP.PERF	DAT

<i>pican-i</i>	<i>hoise</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>hoton</i>	<i>ninggu-ci</i>	<i>miyoocala-ra</i>	<i>de</i>
Pijan-GEN	Muslim	PL	fortress	top-ELA	shoot-PTCP.IPF	DAT

<i>hami-i</i>	<i>ilan</i>	<i>hoise</i>	<i>miyoocan-i</i>	<i>feye</i>	<i>ba-ha.</i>
Hami-GEN	three	Muslim	fire.arm-GEN	wound	obtain-PTCP.PERF

‘Dine and the others stopped the army at some distance, while they waited for me; when the Pijan Muslims shot from the top of the fortress, they wounded three Hami Muslims.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 142)

## d.

*lazang ni hehe ju-se ne gemu aibi-de bi.*  
 PN GEN wife child-PL now all where-DAT exist.AOR  
 'Where are Lazang's wife and his children now?' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

All other forms use the expected short stem *bi-*:

## 10) Manchu

a. dependent predicate with past tense participle *bihe*

*suweni cooha hara hojo de bi-he be*  
 2PL.GEN army Hara hojo DAT exist-PTCP.PERF ACC  
*sa-h-akô ji-he se-mbi.*  
 know-PTCP.PERF-NEG come-PTCP.PERF say-AOR  
 'We had come, not knowing that your troops were in Hara hojo, he said.'  
 (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

b. verbal predicate

*juwe hacin-i temen-i dorgi-de. buce-he emu minggan*  
 two kind-GEN camel-GEN inside-DAT die-PTCP.PERF one thousand  
*emu tanggô tofohon temen ci tulgiyen.*  
 one hundred fifteen camel ELA besides  
*funce-he temen duin minggan jakônju uyun bi-he.*  
 exceed-PTCP.PERF camel four thousand eighty nine exist-PTCP.PERF  
 'In the two groups of camels, 1,115 have died and 4,089 survived.' (Kraft 1953, p. 176)

c. coordinative converb *-me*

*uttu o-ci. bele honin gasihiya-bu-re de*  
 thus become-CON.COND hulled.rice sheep damage-CAUS-PTCP.IPF DAT  
*isi-na-r-akô bi-me. cooha-i baita de inu*  
 reach-ILL-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-CON.CO army-GEN matter DAT even  
*ambula tusa.*  
 exceedingly profit  
 'Thus, while hulled rice and sheep would not be damaged, this would be of  
 immense benefit for the military operation.' (Kraft 1953, p. 123)

d. descriptive converb *-hei*

<i>ini</i>	<i>amba sargan</i>	<i>gungge rabtan</i>	<i>akô</i>	<i>o-ho</i>	<i>be</i>
3SG.GEN	first.wife	PN	not.exist	become-PTCP.PERF	ACC
<i>geli</i>	<i>jura-ra</i>		<i>jalin</i>	<i>ala-ha-de.</i>	
again	set.out.on.journey-PTCP.IPF		because	report-PTCP.PERF-DAT	
<i>zewang rabtan</i>	<i>mende.</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>sargan-i</i>	<i>baita waji-ha</i>	
PN	1PL.EXCL.DAT	3SG.GEN	chief.wife	matter finish-PTCP.PERF	
<i>erin-de.</i>	<i>suwembe</i>		<i>juram-bu-ki</i>		
period-DAT	2PL.ACC		send.on.mission-CAUS-OPT		
<i>se-me</i>	<i>bi-hei ...</i>				
say-CON.CO	exist-CON.DESCR				

‘His first wife, Gungge rabtan, died. When we reported our departure, Zewang rabtan told us that he would let us leave on mission when he had settled the matter of his main wife.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 171)

As for negation, the standard verbal negation with PTCP.IPF/PERF + *akô* ‘not.exist’ (11a,b) does not apply to *bi(mbi)* whose negative counterpart is the negative nominal *akô* (11c,d):

## 11) Manchu

## a.

<i>zewang rabtan</i>	<i>se-r-engge.</i>	<i>banitai</i>	<i>umesi</i>	<i>jalingga</i>
PN	say-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ	by.nature	very	traitorous
<i>koimali hôlha</i>	<i>ne wargi joo-i</i>	<i>ba-de</i>	<i>geli</i>	<i>cooha ungg-i-hebi.</i>
cunning bandit	now West-Tibet-GEN	place-DAT	again	army send-PERF

‘By nature, Zwang rabtan is a very traitorous, cunning bandit. Now, he has sent an army to Western Tibet again.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 131)

## b.

<i>turfan</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>nonggi-me</i>	<i>unggi-h-ekô.</i>
Turfan	DAT	army	increase-CON.CO	send-PTCP.PERF-NEG

‘I have not sent troops for reinforcement to Turfan.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 156)

## c.

<i>tere</i>	<i>niyalma-i</i>	<i>gisun. turfán-i</i>	<i>hoton de</i>	<i>duin tanggô</i>	<i>cooha</i>
that	person-GEN	word Turfan-GEN	town DAT	four hundred	soldier

*bi.*            *hara hojo*    *de*            *juwe*        *minggan*    *cooha*        *bi*  
 exist.AOR   Hara hojo    DAT        two        thousand    soldier       exist.AOR  
*se-me*            *ala-ha*  
 say-CON.CO    report-PTCP.PERF

‘In the words of that man, 400 soldiers are in the town of Turfan; in Hara hojo there are 2000, so he reported.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

d.

*ejen-i*            *beye*    *umesi*    *elhe.*    *cira*        *sain.*    *etuhun*    *mangga.*  
 emperor-GEN   body    very        peace    face        good       strong       strong  
*heni*            *hacin*                    *akô*                    *se-hebe*  
 not.at.all       condition                not.exist                say-PERF

‘The emperor’s body is in peace, his face is good and strong. His condition is good, so they say.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 160)

Due to its morphological and lexical peculiarities as well as prior attempts to motivate two different, yet similar verbs, *bi* ‘exists/is existing’ versus *bi-* ‘be’, a closer look at *\*bimbi* is reserved for section 4. 3. The predication patterns of forms which tentatively were summarized above under the lemma *\*bimbi* will be discussed in sections 4.1 (simple verbal predicates) and 4.2 (monoclausal complex predicates).

#### 4.1. *\*bimbi* in simple verbal predicates

In the following section, simple predicates with *\*bimbi* in finite and dependent predication are discussed. Instances where *\*bimbi* co-appears with a converb or another participle are discussed in section 4. 2.

##### 4.1.1. *\*bimbi* in the aorist

The aorist form *bi* predicates location and existence. Although Gorelova (2002, p. 419ff) mentions that *bi* can additionally be used as linker (=non-verbal predication of attribution or proper inclusion), this analysis is a bit problematic as the data below will show. The overview begins with the predication of location. The examples subsumed below show that *bi* has

the properties of a locational copula which explains why further locational elements (spatial case, adverbials or postpositions) are often absent:

## 12) Manchu

a.

*turfan-i amba ajige sultan. gemu meni taiji-i jakade*  
 Turfan-GEN great little sultan all 1PL.EXCL.GEN prince-GEN close.to  
*bi.*  
 exist.AOR

‘Turfan’s great and little sultan, all are at our prince’s place.’ (Kraft 1953: 140)

b.

*tai wan se-r-engge. mederi cala bi.*  
 Taiwan say-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ sea on.the.other.side exist.AOR

‘Taiwan is on the other side of the sea.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 153)

c.

*ne nikan cooha bi=kai.*  
 now Chinese army exist.AOR=EMPH

‘... now the Chinese troops are here.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

d.

*lazang ni hehe ju-se. ne gemu bi.*  
 PN GEN wife child-PL now all exist.AOR

‘Now Lazang’s wife and children are all here.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 171)

Furthermore, locational predication can be used to encode possession as well. General Funingga’s letters do not contain an affirmative example in the aorist, but the example below with a concessive converb shows this possibility:

## 13) Manchu

*emu udu niyalma de. morin temen bi-cibe.*  
 one how.many person DAT horse camel exist-CON.CONCESS  
*hanci-kan sinda-ra ongko akô o-fi.*  
 close-DIM put-PTCP.IPF pasture not.exist become-CON.COND

<i>gemu</i>	<i>alhoi-i</i>	<i>alin</i>	<i>dolo</i>	<i>sinda-habi.</i>
all	Alhoi-GEN	mountain	inside	put-PERF

'Even though several people have horses and camels, there are no pastures nearby to which they can be brought; all were taken to the Alhoi mountains.' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

In contrast, nominal predicates encoding attribution (=predicative adjectives) and proper inclusion (=predicative nouns) and most likely equatives seem to appear entirely without copula support. This demonstrates that in this manuscript, locational copula clauses with *bi* can be distinguished from other instances of non-verbal predication on formal grounds:<sup>13</sup>

#### 14) Manchu

a.

<i>jete-re</i>	<i>omi-r-engge</i>	<i>sain</i>	<i>bi-me.</i>
eat-PTCP.IPF	drink-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ	good	exist-CON.CO
<i>singge-r-engge</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>sain.</i>	
digest-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ	too	good	

'Eating and drinking well makes digestion good as well.' (Kraft 1953, p. 162)

b.

<i>ejen</i>	<i>banitai</i>	<i>amba</i>	<i>hiyoošungga.</i>
emperor	by.nature	great	filial.person

'By nature, the emperor is a great filial person.' (Kraft 1953, p. 170)

c.

<i>mini</i>	<i>gebu</i>	<i>bar.</i>	<i>tabun emegen</i>	<i>otok-i</i>	<i>ba-i</i>	<i>emu</i>	<i>niyalma.</i>
1SG.GEN	name	PN	tabun emegen	tribe-GEN	place-GEN	one	person

13) This means that the language of General Funingga's letters does not support Gorelova's analysis. According to her the absence of copula support would be understood as mere copula deletion (Gorelova 2002, p. 419ff). In the language of General Funingga's letters, the difference between *bi* as a locative copula and zero-copula with nominal predicates is apparently without counterexamples and therefore two different types of non-verbal predication should be postulated. This interpretation is, of course, only valid for the language of this particular manuscript.

'My name is Bar. I am a man from the place of the tabun-emegen tribe.'  
(Kraft 1953, p. 146)

d.

<i>be</i>	<i>monggo</i>	<i>niyalma.</i>	<i>temen-i</i>	<i>tarhôn.</i>	<i>turha.</i>
1PL.EXCL	mongol	person	camel-GEN	fat	thin
<i>baitala-ci</i>	<i>ojo-ro.</i>	<i>ojo-r-akô</i>			
use-CON.COND	become-PTCP.IPF	become-PTCP.IPF-NEG			
<i>jergi</i>	<i>ba-be</i>	<i>sa-mbi.</i>			
and.so.forth	place-ACC	know-AOR			

'We are Mongols, we know when a camel is fat or thin, useful or useless.'  
(Kraft 1953, p. 177)

In negation, both sentence types fall together as their negation pattern is the same and the negative existential predicator *akô* 'not.exist' is required:

### 15) Manchu

a.

<i>ere</i>	<i>cooha-i</i>	<i>hôsun</i>	<i>labdu</i>	<i>akô</i>	<i>bi-me.</i>
this	army-GEN	strength	many	not.exist	exist-CON.CO
<i>manju</i>	<i>monggo</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>komso.</i>		
Manchu	Mongol	army	few		

'This army's strength is small; [the] Manchu and Mongol troops are few.'  
(Kraft 1953, p. 135)

b.

<i>damu</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>usin</i>	<i>tari-re</i>	<i>urse.</i>	<i>morin.</i>	<i>ulha</i>
but	1PL.EXCL	people	cultivate-PTCP.IPF	people	horse	livestock
<i>labdu</i>	<i>akô.</i>					
many	not.exist					

'But we, the toiling people, have not many horses and livestock.' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

c.

<i>fulgiyan</i>	<i>fi-i</i>	<i>pile-he</i>	<i>hese</i>	<i>akô.</i>
red	brush-GEN	write.act.on.document-PTCP.PERF	edict	not.exist

'...[he] does not possess an edict written with red brush.' (Kraft 1953: 165)



## d.

<i>baica-ci</i>	<i>bar kul.</i>	<i>kuwešetu.</i>	<i>oronggi-i</i>	<i>ba-de</i>
inspect-CON.COND	bar kul	kuwešetu	oronggi-GEN	place-DAT
<i>gu yuwan-i</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>akô.</i>		
gu yuwan-GEN	soldier	not.exist		

'I have inspected [this], there are no Ioi-lin troops in Bar kul, Kuwešetu and Oronggi.' (Kraft 1953, p. 175)

## e.

<i>umai</i>	<i>nimeku</i>	<i>gasgan</i>	<i>akô.</i>
not.at.all	sickness	calamity	not.exist

'There is no sickness, no calamity.' (Kraft 1953, p. 179)

In instances where *bisire* appears with *akô*, a caritive/privative dependent predicate emerges:

## 16) Manchu

<i>bisi-re</i>	<i>akô</i>	<i>emu</i>	<i>tanggô</i>	<i>gôsin</i>	<i>funce-re</i>	<i>miyoocan</i>
exist-PTCP.IPF	not.exist	one	hundred	thirty	exceed-PTCP.IPF	firearm
<i>susai</i>	<i>funce-re</i>	<i>morin</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>gaji-ha.</i>		
fifty	exceed-PTCP.IPF	horse	ACC	bring-PTCP.PERF		

'Not leaving anything behind, they brought more than 130 rifles and more than 50 horses.' (Kraft 1953, p. 142)

4.1.2. *\*bimbi* in the past tense

Turning to the past tense forms of *\*bimbi*, only the participle form *bihe* is attested in Kraft (1953). The regular perfect form *bihebi*, which can be easily found in the reading section of Haenisch (1961), is not attested anywhere in this manuscript.<sup>14</sup>

14) This statement is valid for the entire manuscript, including the otherwise excluded section of 2,100 words.

## 17) Manchu

a.

*julge-i taci-re urse de urunakô sefu bi-hebi:*  
 antiquity-GEN learn-PTCP.IPF people DAT certainly teacher exist-PERF  
 ‘The learned people of the old days certainly had a teacher.’ (Haenisch 1961, p. 116)

b.

*K'an Ze-i tukiye-he gebu De-zun. Hôi-ji šan yin-i ba-i*  
 PN-GEN honor-PTCP.PERF name PN Hôi-ji šan yin-GEN place-GEN  
*niyalma. dade usin weile-me bi-hebi:*  
 person at.first field work-CON.CO exist-PERF  
 ‘K'an Ze's honorific name is De-zun, a man from San-yin in Hôi-ji, originally  
 a peasant.’ (Haenisch 1961, p. 119)

c.

*tere dobori Z'oo Z'oo olhon-i ing de bi-hebi:*  
 that night PN dry.land-GEN camp DAT exist-PERF  
 ‘That night Z'oo Z'oo was in the camp on the land.’ (Haenisch 1961, p. 120)

As the three examples from Haenisch (1961) already suggest, in past tense context *bihe* encodes states, properties, equation and location; further subtler graduations do not require postulation:

## 18) Manchu

a.

*neneme gu yuwan. ning hiya. gan su-i jergi ba-de*  
 beforehand Gu yuwan Ning hiya Gan-su-GEN and.so.forth place-DAT  
*belhe-bu-he moringga cooha juwe minggan.*  
 prepare-CAUS-PTCP.PERF mounted soldier two thousand  
*yafagan cooha emu minggan bi-he.*  
 infantry one thousand exist-PTCP.PERF  
 ‘Earlier, 2,000 mounted soldiers and 1,000 foot soldiers were gathered in  
 Gu-yuwan, Ning-hiya, and other places.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 121)

b.

*amba gurun-i cooha se-r-engge. yargiyan-i uttu*  
 great state-GEN army say-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ true-GEN thus  
*bi-he=o.*

exist-PTCP.PERF=IROG

'The army of a great state, has this ever been true?' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

c.

*geli bar de. suweni ôrumci de te-he dasi.*  
 again PN DAT 2PL.GEN Ürümci DAT sit-PTCP.PERF dasi  
*meni cooha ôrumci de dosi-ka de.*  
 1PL.EXCL.GEN army Ürümci DAT advance-PTCP.PERF DAT  
*dasi suweni taiji-i jakade bi-he. te*  
 dasi 2PL.GEN prince-GEN in.the.vicinity exist-PTCP.PERF now  
*ji-heo.*

come-PTCP.PERF=IROG

'When we (spoke) to Bar: "Your dasi was living in Ürümci; when our army approached Ürümci, he was at your prince's place. Now, has he returned?" (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

d.

*juwe hacin-i temen-i dorgi-de. buce-he emu minggan*  
 two kind-GEN camel-GEN inside-DAT die-PTCP.PERF one thousand  
*emu tanggô tofohon temen ci tulgiyen.*  
 one hundred fifteen camel ELA besides  
*funce-he temen duin minggan jakônju uyun bi-he.*

exceed-PTCP.PERF camel four thousand eighty nine exist-PTCP.PERF

'In the two groups of camels, 1,115 have died and 4,089 survived.' (Kraft 1953, p. 176)

#### 4.1.3. Predominantly non-finite forms of *\*bimbi*

This section discusses all other instances of *\*bimbi* which are predominantly attested in dependent predicates. Examples for the concessive converbial *bicibe* are few in Kraft (1953) and only one example for the descriptive converb *bihei* is attested. All other examples appear frequently:

### 19) Manchu

#### a. concessive converb *bicibe*

*tuweri bi-cibe tarhô-ha mori-sa umai*  
 winter exist-CON.CONCESS fat-PTCP.PERF horse-PL not.at.all  
*wasi-ka-kôbi.*

become.skinny-PTCP.PERF-NEG.PERF

'Even though it became winter, fat horses did not become skinny.' (Kraft 1953, p. 132)

#### b. descriptive converb *bihei*

*ini amba sargan gungge rabtan akô o-ho be*  
 3SG.GEN first.wife PN not.exist become-PTCP.PERF ACC  
*geli jura-ra jalin ala-ha-de.*  
 again set.out.on.journey-PTCP.IPF because report-PTCP.PERF-DAT  
*zewang rabtan mende. ini sargan-i baita waji-ha*  
 PN 1PL.EXCL.DAT 3SG.GEN chief.wife matter finish-PTCP.PERF  
*erin-de. suwembe juram-bu-ki*  
 period-DAT 2PL.ACC send.on.mission-CAUS-OPT  
*se-me bi-hei ...*  
 say-CON.CO exist-CON.DESCR

'His first wife, Gungge rabtan, died. When we reported our departure, Zewang rabtan told us that he would let us leave on mission when he had settled the matter of his main wife.' (Kraft 1953, p. 171)

#### c. conditional converb *bici*

*aika nikan cooha bi-ci. uthai amasi*  
 if Chinese troop exist-CON.COND immediately backwards  
*bedere.*  
 withdraw.IMP

'If Chinese troops would be there, withdraw immediately!' (Kraft 1953, p.157)

#### d. coordinative converb *bime*

*jete-re omi-r-engge sain bi-me.*  
 eat-PTCP.IPF drink-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ good exist-CON.CO  
*singge-r-engge inu sain.*  
 digest-PTCP.IPF-NMLZ too good

'Eating and drinking well makes digestion good as well.' (Kraft 1953, p. 162)

e. subordinative converb *bifi*

*amala ehe ju-se omo-si bi-fi. weile endebuku de*  
 later bad child-PL grandson-PL exist-CON.SUB crime error DAT  
*isi-na-ci. inu ere-i mafa. ama dain de*  
 reach-ILL-CON.SUB even this-GEN ancestor father war DAT  
*gai-bu-ha. gung bi se-me. ujen weile ci*  
 take.off-CAUS-PTCP.PERF merit exist say-CON.CO serious crime ELA  
*gemu guwebu-hebi.*  
 all pardon-PERF

'If they had bad children and grandchildren who happened to commit crimes, the latter were pardoned on the grounds of the merits of their ancestors who died in war.' (Kraft 1953, p. 128)

f. relative participle *bisirele*

*ne hanci-kan surdeme bisire-le morin. temen. miyoocan be*  
 now close-DIM around exist-PTCP.REL horse camel firearm ACC  
*baica-fi. baha-ra be tuwa-me jafa-ki*  
 examine-CON.SUB obtain-PTCP.IPF ACC look-CON.CO take.in.the.hand-OPT  
*se-me*  
 say-CON.CO

'Now, let us inspect horses, camels and firearms around here, depending on what we find and get, let us use it.' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

## 4.1.4. Negation of predicative non-present tense

Concerning negation of predicative non-present tense forms, Kraft (1953) has only one example. In order to encode non-existence in the past, *akô* is followed by *bihe*:

## 2o) Manchu

*faśśa-ra karula-ra ildun akô bi-he.*  
 exert.effort-PTCP.IPF repay-PTCP.IPF opportunity not.exist exist-PTCP.PERF  
 'There was no opportunity yet for exerting effort and repaying.' (Kraft 1953, p. 152)

## 4.2. \**bimbi* in monoclausal complex predicates

Due to the fact that \**bimbi* can appear in two different predication patterns, a separate analysis is required. The first pattern where two finite verbs co-appear will be called predicate doubling. The second pattern is simply referred to as complex predicate, because here the finite form of \**bimbi* governs a converbial predicate.

### 4.2.1. \**bimbi* in aorist context

#### 4.2.1.1. \**bimbi* as full aorist verb → finite verb doubling

According to Haenisch (1961, p. 61) finite verb doubling of the type LEXICAL.VERB-PTCP.PERF + *bi* often appears at the end of longer passages:

#### 21) Manchu

<i>waji-ha</i>	<i>bi</i>
finish-PTCP.PERF	exist.AOR

‘This has ended.’ (Haenisch 1961, p. 61)

As for General Funingga’s letters, this type of finite verb doubling is attested only once and, interestingly, in the context of negation. Otherwise, this example occurs – confirming Haenisch’s observation – at the end of a longer passage after which the report continues with a different episode. Based on these observations, it is understandable that the primary function of this predication pattern is indeed the encoding of resultativity:

#### 22) Manchu

<i>ceni</i>	<i>hehe</i>	<i>ju-se</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>unggi-h-ekô</i>	<i>bi.</i>
3PL.GEN	woman	child-PL	ACC	send-PTCP.PERF-NEG	exist.AOR

‘They had not sent their wives and children.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 127)

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that Kraft (1953) contains a functionally and semantically similar example. Intriguingly, this example also appears in the context of negation: *akô* appears in sentence final position and the lexical verb is unaltered:

## 23) Manchu

*ere aniya tari-ha usin gemu ufara-bu-fi asuru*  
 this year cultivate-PTCP.PERF field all err-CAUS-CON.SUB exceedingly  
*baha akô.*  
 obtain.PTCP.PERF not.exist  
 'This year, cultivated fields were neglected and we did not harvest much.'  
 (Kraft 1953, p. 159)

Returning to example (22) which is a hapax legomenon in the manuscript and therefore not the best candidate for definitive characterization, the use of *bi* in *unggihekô bi* hardly qualifies as temporal. Also, an evidential analysis is unlikely and *bi* resembles a discourse particle.<sup>15</sup> The other example (23) with *akô* does allow a temporal, i.e., anteriority interpretation.

4.2.1.2. *\*bimbi* as a full aorist verb in complex predicates

General Funingga's letters contain only one example where *bi* appears in a complex predicate with the lexical verb appearing as coordinative converb *-me*. The function of this complex predicate is to express an ongoing state designated by the lexical verb:

## 24) Manchu

*suweni cooha ji-he amala an-i jair emil-i*  
 2PL.GEN army come-PTCP.PERF after usually Jair Emil-GEN  
*śurdeme ba-de nukte-me bi.*  
 around place-DAT wander-CON.CO exist.AOR  
 '...after your army's arrival, they usually pasture around Jair and Emin.'  
 (Kraft 1953, p. 152)

15) In passing this is mentioned by Gorelova (2002, p. 445) who speaks of *bi* as a sentence particle similar to *kai*. A similar interpretation was already suggested by Zakharov to whom she explicitly refers.

#### 4.2.1.3. \**bimbi* as imperfective participle → complex predicate

The imperfective participle form *bisire* cannot function as an independent predicate, only as a dependent predicate in nominalizations. When marked with the dative case, *bisire* triggers the coordinative converb *-me* on the lexical verb and encodes, that the action specified by the lexical main verb is ongoing at the moment of time marked on the main predicate. General Funingga's letters contains six examples for this construction, one of which is reproduced below:

##### 25) Manchu

<i>be</i>	<i>tuci-ci.</i>	<i>hōsun</i>	<i>komso</i>	<i>o-fi.</i>	
1PL.EXCL	come.out-CON.COND	strength	few	become-CON.SUB	
<i>hoton</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>akdula-fi</i>	<i>afa-me</i>	<i>bisi-re</i>	<i>de.</i>
fortress	ACC	defend-CON.SUB	attack-CON.CO	exist-PTCP.IPF	DAT
<i>amba</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>isi-nji-ha.</i>			
great	army	reach-ALL-PTCP.PERF			

'Our strength to sally forth was little and while we fought defending the fortress, the great army arrived.' (Kraft 1953: 155)

#### 4. 2. 2. \**bimbi* as perfective participle

##### 4.2.2.1. Double predication

When \**bimbi* co-appears with a participle, two constellations need to be differentiated. Instances of double predication where both verbs are marked for past tense are subsumed in the first group. It is in this group where both temporal (26a) and temporal-evidential (26b) forms appear:

##### 26) Manchu

a.

<i>uthai</i>	<i>hafan.</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>tuci-bu-fi.</i>	<i>elci-sa</i>	<i>be</i>
then	official	army	come.out-CAUS-CON.SUB	messenger-PL	ACC
<i>okdo-me</i>		<i>unggi-he</i>		<i>bi-he.</i>	
go.and.meet-CON.CO		send-PTCP.PERF		exist-PTCP.PERF	



'Then I made the troop to sally forth and sent them to meet the messengers.'  
(Kraft 1953, p. 170)

b.

<i>bokda amba ejen umesi ferguwecuke gosingga be aifini</i>
divine great lord very wonderful loving ACC a.long.time.ago
<i>donji-ha bi-he.</i>
hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF

'We had heard about the wonderful loving of the divine great lord a long time ago.' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

The second group consists of three examples only. Both of them have different tense marking; the lexical verb appears as aorist participle followed by *bihe*. Because this group is small, nothing significant can be said about it, except that one example appears temporal (27a) and the other two as (irrealis) conditional with a negated lexical verb (27b):

## 27) Manchu

a.

<i>oros kemuni. elcin yabu-mbi. meni</i>
Russian still messenger go-AOR 1PL.GEN
<i>jura-fi ebsi ji-he-de oros-i elcin</i>
begin.journey-CON.SUB hither come-PTCP.PERF-DAT Russian-GEN messenger
<i>gôsin funce-re niyalma ji-fi.</i>
thirty exceed-PTCP.IPF person come-CON.SUB
<i>kemuni amasi gene-re unde bi-he.</i>
still backwards go-PTCP.IPF not.yet exist-PTCP.PERF

'The Russians sent messengers. When we set out hither, more than 30 Russian messengers had come and had not yet returned.' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

b.

<i>be. unenggi suwembe gai-ki se-ci.</i>
1PL.EXCL truly 2PL.ACC take-OPT say-CON.COND
<i>aifini gai-r-akô bi-he=o.</i>
a.long.time.before take-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-PTCP.PERF=IROG

'If we we truly wanted to seize you, would we not have already?' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

c.

*suwe aikabade gala aśśa-r-akô bi-he*  
 2PL in.the.case.DAT hand/arm move-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-PTCP.PERF  
*bi-ci. suwembe wa-r-akô se-re anggala suweni*  
 exist-CON.SUB 2PL.ACC kill-PTCP.IPF-NEG say-PTCP.IPF instead.of 2PL.GEN  
*funiyehe gese jaka be inu neci-r-akô bi-he.*  
 hair like thing ACC even attack-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-PTCP.PERF  
 'In case you have not moved a hand, not only would we not have killed  
 you, but we would not have touched the smallest part of your property.'  
 (Kraft 1953, p. 142)

One example in General Funingga's letters defies immediate interpretation and is reproduced below, before an analysis will be attempted:

## 28) Manchu

*neneme dorgi-ci benji-bu-he mori-sa. uba-de*  
 beforehand inside-ELA send.hither-CAUS-PTCP.PERF horse-PL here-DAT  
*isi-nji-ha manggi. yooni turha jadaha untuhun*  
 reach-ALL-PTCP.PERF after complete thin disabled empty  
*gebu bisi-re gojime. yargiyan-i baitala-ci ojo-r-akô*  
 name exist-PTCP.IPF but.not true-GEN use-CON.COND become-PTCP.IPF-NEG  
*bi-he.*  
 exist-PTCP.PERF

'The horses which were sent hither from the inland beforehand were completely scrawny and feeble upon arrival, a scam, truly unusable.' (Kraft 1953, p. 174)

The complex predicate in (28) consists of three verbs *baitalaci ojarahô bihe*. For practical reasons, decomposition starts with *baitalaci ojarahô* because its function is clear; the complex predicate with the lexical verb as conditional converb and the negated copula *ombi* expresses impossibility (see e.g. Haenisch 1961, p. 62). This leaves us with the question which function should be assigned to *bihe*. Due to the fact the complex predicate *baitalaci ojarahô* already has a conditional meaning, an analysis similar to *-rVkhô bihe* as in the preceding examples above appears unlikely. Furthermore, bearing in mind that the whole predicate is in the same time frame, an anteriority interpretation is equally unlikely. If any temporal interpretation should

be attempted, resultativity appears to be most likely. Equally possible, though less likely would be the interpretation of *bihe* as a discourse marker, similar to *bi*. However, as this example is another hapax legomemon, a definite answer based on General Funingga's letters remains impossible.

#### 4.2.2.2. Negation of double predicates

Negation of double predicates in General Funingga's reports is very infrequent, though attested. For this, the lexical verb remains in the expected participle form and *bihe* is replaced by *akô*:

##### 29) Manchu

<i>joo</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>gene-he</i>	<i>ceringdondob</i>	<i>se-i</i>	<i>mejige</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>donji-ha</i>
Tibet	DAT	GO-PTCP.PERF	PN	PL-GEN	news	ACC	hear-PTCP.PERF
<i>akô</i>		<i>se-mbi.</i>					
not.exist		say-AOR					

"They said: "We have not heard news about Cering-dondob and the others who went to Tibet." (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

#### 4.2.3. *\*bimbi* in dependent complex predicate

In dependent predication, *\*bimbi* is attested in two predication frames. In the first frame, the head is the conditional converb *bici* preceded by the lexical verb (a negated imperfective participle). Here, *bihe* encodes an irrealis condition in the past (see e.g., Haenisch 1961, p. 62). This verb chain is attested twice in the manuscript:

##### 30) Manchu

a.

<i>cenî</i>	<i>baru.</i>	<i>suwe</i>	<i>tuci-r-akô</i>	<i>bi-he</i>
3PL.GEN	toward	2PL	come.out-PTCP.IPF-NEG	exist-PTCP.PERF
<i>bi-ci.</i>	<i>suwembe</i>	<i>gemu</i>	<i>wa-mbihe.</i>	
exist-CON.COND	2PL.ACC	all	kill-PTCP.DUR	

"We (said) to them: "If you had not come out, we would have killed all of you." (Kraft 1953, p. 142)

b.

*suwe aikabade gala aśśa-r-akô bi-he bi-ci.*  
 2PL in.the.case.dat hand move-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-PTCP.PERF exist-CON.COND  
*suwembe wa-r-akô se-re anggala suweni*  
 2PL.ACC kill-PTCP.IPF-NEG say-PTCP.IPF instead.of 2PL.GEN  
*funiyehe gese jaka be inu neci-r-akô bi-he.*  
 hair like thing ACC even attack-PTCP.IPF-NEG exist-PTCP.PERF  
 'In case you have not moved a hand, not only would we not have killed you,  
 but we would not have touched the smallest part of your property.' (Kraft 1953,  
 p. 142)

The second example, which is attested once in the manuscript, has the lexical verb as coordinative converb in *-me*, followed by *bihe*. Its function according to Haenisch (1961, p. 62) is to encode an ongoing state:

### 31) Manchu

*ginggule-me gôni-ci. enduringge beye. udu šumin*  
 respect-CON.CO think-CON.COND divine body how.much deep  
*gung ni dolo te-cibe. amba-sa. hafa-sa. cooha-i*  
 palace GEN inside sit-CON.CONCESS official-PL official-PL army-GEN  
*urse be. jecen-i ba-de goida-me bi-he*  
 people ACC border-GEN place-DAT last.for.a.long.time-CON.CO exist-PTCP.PERF  
*se-me. enduringge ejen-i gônin be*  
 say-CON.CO divine emperor-GEN thought ACC  
*suila-bu-me. dahôn dahôn-i gosi-re jila-ra*  
 suffer.hardship-CAUS-CON.CO repeatedly love-PTCP.IPF pity-PTCP.IPF  
*hese wasim-bu-ha ududu mudan ambarame kesi*  
 edict descend-CAUS-PTCP.PERF several time greatly kindness  
*isi-bu-ha. jai nurhôme isi-bu-ha*  
 reach-CAUS-PTCP.PERF next repeatedly reach-CAUS-PTCP.PERF  
*hacin hacin-i ferguwecuke kesi be eje-me. tolo-me*  
 kind kind-GEN wonderful kindness ACC remember-CON.CO count-CON.CO  
*mute-r-akô.*  
 be.able-PTCP.IPF-NEG

'I respectfully consider: Even though the emperor is in the depths of the palace, he has allowed men of honor, officials and army soldiers to spend a long time at the border, [has] repeatedly promoted kind, merciful edicts, repeatedly shown great and wonderful kindness, more so than we can even count.' (Kraft 1953, p. 184)

#### 4.3. Forms with \**bimbi* not attested in Kraft (1953)

As already mentioned above, General Funingga's letters only contain the perfective participle *bihe*, but not the finite form *bihebi*. Furthermore, General Funingga's letters lack two additional complex predicates which were mentioned by Haenisch (1961). The first one would have the lexical verb as perfective participle in *-he* followed by *bihebi*. This form is used to express a continuing action in pluperfect context ("Plusquamperf. der dauernden Handlung"; Haenisch 1961, p. 61):

##### 32) Manchu

<i>ala-ha</i>	<i>bi-hebi</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>ucuri...</i>	<i>Sung</i>	<i>Ci Ioi</i>
report-PTCP.PERF	be-PERF	that	opportunity	title(?)	PN

<i>Aisin</i>	<i>gurun-i</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>ji-he</i>	<i>bi-he</i>
Aisin	state-GEN	camp	ELA	come-PTCP.PERF	come-PTCP.PERF

'And they reported: "On that occasion, Ci Ioi, Sung from the camp of the Kin state had come."' (Haenisch 1961, p. 61)

Neither are similar examples mentioned in Gorelova (2002).

The second complex, yet dependent, predicate has the lexical verb as coordinative converb in *-me* followed by the existential verb as subordinative converb *bifi* (Haenisch 1961, p. 62):

##### 33) Manchu

<i>ala-me</i>	<i>bi-fi</i>
report-CON.CO	exist-CON.SUB

'Upon having reported:' (Haenisch 1961, p. 62)

Likewise, this predicate type could not be encountered in Gorelova (2002).

#### 4.4. The relation of *bi* to \**bimbi* – a re-appraisal

As already briefly mentioned in the introduction of section 4, at first glance, the aorist form *bi* resembles the regular imperative form, although the correct imperative form is *bisu*. When looking at the standard European dictionaries, the twofold behavior of \**bimbi* is reflected in its lexicographic coverage and indeed, *bi* and *bimbi* appear in two different lemmata, once as defective existential verb *bi* (Zakharov 1875, p. 495; Hauer 2007, p. 48; Norman 2013, p. 35) and once as regular verb *bimbi* (Zakharov 1875, p. 503; Hauer 2007, p. 51; Norman 2013, p. 36). Although this suggests that we are dealing with two different lexical items, this is nowhere verbalized as explicitly as in Gorelova (2002, p. 232): “In Manchu, we should distinguish between the predicative copula *bi* which is likely of non-verbal nature and the existential verb *bi*- ‘exist’, ‘be.’” However, from a more general perspective, this classification has some problems. First, given that the aorist form \**bimbi* which serves as the expected citation form in European dictionaries may not really exist, and relying on cross-linguistic evidence that copulas and existential verbs tend to show irregular morphology, it would be possible to subsume all forms of *bimbi* in one paradigm. In disguise, this decision can be found underlying the presentation in the introduction of section 4 which operates on a simplistic words-and-paradigms approach: *bimbi* ‘be, exist’ → *bisu* (imperative) → *bi* (aorist) → *bihebi* (perfect) with *bisire* (PTCP.IPF) and *bihe* (PTCP.PERF) as the participle forms. It appears that a similar interpretation underlies Zikmundová’s analysis of this verb in Sibe (Zikmundová 2013, p. 131). The overall question resulting from this is, whether any benefit and if so, what kind of benefit would be gained from such an analysis? As for existential predication, this analysis would make Manchu similar to its major early contact language Mongolian. Effectively, Classical Mongolian and Manchu have a verbal copula in affirmative context and a negative existential predicator in negative context:

#### 34) Manchu

## a.

<i>ne</i>	<i>nikan</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>bi=kai.</i>
now	Chinese	army	exist.AOR=EMPH

'...now Chinese troops are here.' (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

## b.

<i>umai</i>	<i>nimeku</i>	<i>gasgan</i>	<i>akô.</i>
not.at.all	sickness	calamity	not.exist

'There is no sickness, no calamity.' (Kraft 1953, p. 179)

## 35) Classical Mongolian

## a.

<i>ai</i>	<i>yambar</i>	<i>süreki</i>	<i>noqai</i>	<i>bui</i>
VOC	which	terrifying	dog	exist

'Oh what kind of terrifying dog there is' (Grønbech & Krueger 1993, p. 52)

## b.

<i>ta</i>	<i>ayu-qu</i>	<i>kereg</i>	<i>ü-gei'</i>	...
2SG	fear-PTCP.FUT	necessary	not.exist-PRET	

'You don't have to be afraid...' (Grønbech & Krueger 1993, p. 26)

Concerning Modern Khalkha, the situation is different from Classical Mongolian (and Manchu) because in the modern language, *bai-* is used, which is considered to be a late grammaticalization of a verb of posture.<sup>16</sup> If Manchu *bi* would indeed be of nominal origin and as *akô* is likewise of nominal nature, the resulting system is, of course, identical with the Turkic system, which is also attested in (Modern) Uyghur:

## 36) Modern Uyghur

## a.

<i>kütüpxana</i>	<i>bar</i>
library	exist

'There is a library.' (Hahn 2011, p. 167)

16) See also Grønbech & Krueger (1993, p. 43): "The stem *bai-* has developed from its original meaning of 'stand, wait, remain, dwell' into a synonym of 'be'. It

b.

<i>kütüpxana</i>	<i>yoq</i>
library	not.exist

‘There is no library.’ (Hahn 2011, p. 167)

At least on language-internal grounds, it would appear likely that the nominal predicator *bi* could have been re-interpreted as the aorist form of \**bimbi* and thereby have joined the paradigm of *bimbi*.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, this interpretation where *bi* is considered to derive from the nominal sphere is problematic regarding grammaticalization. Gorelova (2002, p. 310) and Avrorin (2000, pp. 192–194) discuss the etymology of several tense forms in more detail<sup>18</sup> which seems to hold the key for an answer, even though neither of them verbalized the following observations. For both authors, the aorist form *-mbi* is considered to result from the fusion of the coordinative converb *-me* and *bi* and the perfect *-habi* of the perfect participle *-ha* and *bi*. Nevertheless, *bi* has not contributed any additional semantics, because the aorist function (ongoing event/action at the moment of speech) is clearly a contribution of the coordinative converb *-me*. The only contribution of *bi* is its finite predicating property. The same is valid for *-habi* where the feature past tense was a contribution of the participle *-hV*; *bi* contributed only the feature finite predication. Whether *bi* was then a nominal stem or a defective verb remains out of reach, though the verbal interpretation is to be preferred as *bi* predicates existence and location. At this point, synthetic negation offers additional proof that *bi* shows verbal, not nominal properties. As Avrorin (2000, p. 212) and Gorelova (2002, p. 291) mention, besides the standard negation of verbal

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first becomes common after 1700. In the durative tense, it has the form *bainam* (modern *baina*), he is.”

17) Although strictly outside the scope of this study, Evenki as a representative of the Northern Tungusic branch uses its copula *bi-* verbally, but not in third person context where it is usually dropped (Nedjalkov 1997, pp. 59–62). Gorelova (2002) draws on comparative Evenki data in her Manchu grammar herself, but surprisingly not in this context (Gorelova 2002, p. 419ff).

18) Haenisch (1961, pp. 56–57) simply mentions the combinations but does not go into details.



predication with the fused negative existential<sup>19</sup> (37a,b) a second infrequent negation pattern is known in the context of past tense with *-kôbi* where *-kô* is the negative marker to which *bi* was added (37c). This fused suffix attaches to the perfective participle, and again, *bi* must have been responsible for the finiteness of the resulting predicate.<sup>20</sup>

### 37) Manchu

#### a.

<i>torgôt</i>	<i>ba-ci</i>	<i>amasi</i>	<i>julesi</i>	<i>niyalma</i>	<i>yabu-r-akô</i>
Turgôt	place-ELA	backwards	forward	person	go-PTCP.IPF-NEG
<i>o-fi</i>		<i>umesi</i>	<i>aniya</i>	<i>goida-ha.</i>	
become-CON.SUB		very	year	last.for.a.long.time-PTCP.PERF	
<i>te</i>		<i>kemuni</i>	<i>niyalma</i>	<i>yabu-r-akô.</i>	
now		still	person	go-PTCP.IPF-NEG	

'For almost a year, people don't go back and forth from the Turgôt, even now people don't go.' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

#### b.

<i>turfan</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>nonggi-me</i>	<i>unggi-h-ekô.</i>
Turfan	DAT	army	increase-CON.CO	send-PTCP.PERF-NEG

'I have not sent troops for reinforcement to Turfan.' (Kraft 1953: 156)

#### c.

<i>tuweri</i>	<i>bi-cibe</i>	<i>tarhô-ha</i>	<i>mori-sa</i>	<i>umai</i>
winter	exist-CON.CONCESS	fat-PTCP.PERF	horse-PL	not.at.all
<i>wasi-ka-kôbi.</i>				
become.skinny-PTCP.PERF-NEG.PERF				

'Even though it became winter, fat horses did not become skinny.' (Kraft 1953, p. 132)

In contrast to *-mbi* and *-habi*, there exist two additional forms where forms of *\*bimbi* became grammaticalized, namely the so called durative

19) Because the fused negative existential undergoes the expected alternations triggered by vowel harmony, it should be analyzed as negative suffix and not as lexical.

20) Negation with *-kôbi* appears only once in General Funingga's letters which confirms Avrorin's and Gorelova's statement of "rarity". In Haenisch (1961), this form is not mentioned at all.

converb *-mbime*, a fusion of *-me* and the existential verb in the same converbial form *bime* and the durative participle *-mbihe*, a fusion of the coordinative converb *-me* and the perfective participle *bihe*.<sup>21</sup> These two forms differ semantically from the aforementioned grammaticalized forms with *bi* because both, *-mbime*, and *-mbihe* encode durativity, a property not attested for those which derive from the grammaticalization of *bi*. *-mbihe* expresses that an action was ongoing in the past and can appear as independent predicate:

### 38) Manchu (*-mbihe*)

a.

<i>meni</i>	<i>taiji</i>	<i>duleke</i>	<i>aniya</i>	<i>ninggun</i>	<i>biya-de</i>	<i>nime-mbihe.</i>
1PL.EXCL.GEN	prince	last	year	six	month-DAT	be.sick-PTCP.DUR
<i>te</i>	<i>umesi</i>	<i>yebe.</i>				
now	very	improved				

‘Our prince was sick for the last six months, now his health has improved (Lit. he is improved).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

b.

<i>jafa-ha</i>		<i>durbet-i</i>	<i>taiji</i>	<i>coimpel</i>	<i>be</i>
take.in.the.hand-PTCP.PERF		durbet-GEN	prince	PN	ACC
<i>giyan-i</i>	<i>ging</i>	<i>hecen</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>unggi-ci</i>	<i>aca-mbihe.</i>
necessarily	capital	city	DAT	send-CON.COND	meet-PTCP.DUR

‘I would have to send the captured Durbet prince Coimpel necessarily to the capital.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 141)

Forms in *-mbime* show similar semantics, but retain the function of the underlying converbs and encode that an action continues in the dependent clause:

21) The etymology of the two forms is not mentioned everywhere. Haenisch (1961, pp. 54, 55) does not etymologize these forms either. As for *-mbihe*, both Avrorin (2000, p. 192) and Gorelova (2002, p. 292) etymologize them, but concerning *-mbime* only Avrorin does so (Avrorin 2000, p. 202); Gorelova’s position remains unclear (Gorelova 2002, pp. 272–273).

39) Manchu (-*mbime*)

a.

<i>uttu</i>	<i>o-ho-de.</i>	<i>aniyadari</i>	<i>irgen</i>		
thus	become-PTCP.PERF-DAT	every.year	common.people		
<i>nonggi-bu-fi.</i>	<i>jeku</i>	<i>elgiyen</i>	<i>o-mbime.</i>		
add-CAUS-CON.SUB	provision	abundant	become-CON.DUR		
<i>cooha-i</i>	<i>urse</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>tusa</i>	<i>o-mbi.</i>
soldier-GEN	common.people	DAT	even	benefit	become-AOR

‘Thus, every year the (number of) common people will increase, provisions will become abundant and this will be of benefit for the soldiers (recruited from the common people).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 126)

b.

<i>amban</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>utala</i>	<i>amba</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>gai-fi.</i>
servant	1PL.EXCL	as.many.as	great	army	ACC	take-CON.SUB
<i>uthai</i>	<i>zewang rabtan</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>wa-me</i>	<i>mukiye-bu-r-akô</i>		
immediately	PN	ACC	kill-CON.CO	perish-CAUS-PTCP.IPF-NEG		
<i>elemangga</i>	<i>dahôn dahôn-i</i>	<i>abkai</i>	<i>donjin</i>	<i>be</i>		
the.more.so	repeatedly	imperial	hearsay/hearing	ACC		
<i>dalhida-bu-me</i>	<i>enduringge-i</i>	<i>gônin</i>	<i>be</i>			
be.repetitious-CAUS-CON.CO	divine-GEN	intention	ACC			
<i>ališa-bu-re</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>isi-bu-re</i>	<i>jakade</i>	<i>amban</i>	<i>be</i>	
worry-CAUS-PTCP.PERF	DAT	reach-CAUS-PTCP.IPF	because	servant	1PL.EXCL	
<i>inu</i>	<i>alimbaharakô</i>	<i>gele-mbime</i>	<i>giru-mbi.</i>			
even	intolerable	be.afraid-CON.DUR	be.ashamed-AOR			

‘I, a humble servant, took the great army, but I could not kill Zewang rabtan. On the other hand, I have repeatedly caused worry to imperial hearsay and divine intentions, because I, a humble servant, was not accustomed. I am afraid and ashamed.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 131)

Summing up the evidence from the corpus of General Funingga's letters, there are hardly any clear arguments which would support that *bi* would show any obvious nominal characteristics or reflexes thereof. Although the grammaticalization of *bi* versus *bihe* has shown, that fused predicates encode different aspectual-temporal nuances (which is to be expected), both types of grammaticalization show that the fused element *bi* does not

show any nominal characteristics.<sup>22</sup> This means that as for the analysis of *bi*, existential *bi* must be considered the aorist form of *\*bimbi*, even though it has a specialized existential function. The analysis of Gorelova (2002, pp. 368–369) which claims that “(t)he copula *bi* should not be identified with the existential verb *bi*- ‘be’ ‘exist’ (...)” is problematic and from a cross-linguistic perspective even more so; *bi* has its place within the paradigm of *\*bimbi*, for which, by chance, an “infinitive” is not attested.

## 5. Double predication with *bihe*

As for double predication with *bihe*, General Funingga’s letters has 30 attested forms where both the lexical verb and *\*bimbi* appear as perfective participles, and this predication type will occupy us in the remainder of this study. At this point I wish to stress once more that this predication pattern is not an instance of grammaticalized evidentiality, but an evidential strategy. Therefore, each example needs to be approached in its own context by analyzing the preceding co-text. If double predication on its own were to encode evidentiality (one-form-one-meaning), this would not be required. To set the stage, two examples from the set of 30 examples are discussed. In the first example (40), the analytic predicate *unggihe bihe* triggers a temporal interpretation within the sphere of anteriority, as an instance of distant relative past:

### 40) Manchu

<i>uthai</i>	<i>hafan.</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>tuci-bu-fi.</i>	<i>elci-sa</i>	<i>be</i>
then	official	army	come.out-CAUS-CON.SUB	messenger-PL	ACC
<i>okdo-me</i>		<i>unggi-he</i>		<i>bi-he.</i>	
go.and.meet-CON.CO		send-PTCP.PERF		exist-PTCP.PERF	

‘Then I made the troop to sally forth and sent them to meet the messengers.’  
(Kraft 1953, p. 170)

22) To be more concrete, whereas *bi* as in *wajiha bi* (example 21) is ambiguous and allows both an interpretation as particle and/or auxiliary, *bihe* is most certainly not ambiguous.

In the second example (41), *donjiha bihe* frames a quotation, or to be more correct, reported speech. In this example, the results of an interrogation of a Mongolian messenger (the dialogue between the messenger and the interpreter) are reported to the emperor which qualifies as hearsay information. Direct speech ends with a quotative *seme* 'saying so', after which *donjiha bihe* appears. Although anterior semantics is implicit, *donjiha bihe* marks indirect evidence (hearsay) and even though *donjimbi* 'hear, listen' as a verb or perception-cognition-utterance (further PCU-verbs) enforces quotative semantics, *donjiha bihe* is clearly more than plain tense; the anterior allows focusing on the result and how the evidence has been arrived at (auditive). The indirect source of knowledge is further enforced by the tag *ere yargiyôn* 'Is this true?':

#### 41) Manchu

*jai ajige ceringdondob juwe minggan cooha gai-fi. joo de*  
 next small PN two thousand soldier take-CON.SUB Tibet DAT  
*unggi-he. jura-fi ajige ceringdondob be*  
 send-PTCP.PERF begin.journey-CON.SUB small PN ACC  
*amasi hôla-fi gaji-ha. juwe minggan cooha umai*  
 backward call-CON.SUB bring-PTCP.PERF two thousand soldier (not).at.all  
*joo de gene-h-ekô se-me donji-ha bi-he.*  
 Tibet DAT go-PTCP.PERF-NEG say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF  
*ere yargiyôn.*  
 this is.it.true

'Next, the younger Ceringdondob was sent with 2,000 men to Tibet, but when he had left, they called younger Ceringdondob back, 2,000 men did not go to Tibet at all, they say. I have heard (this), is this true?' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

### 5.1. Examples

The thirty examples for double predication in Kraft (1953) are the following: *wesimbuhe bihe* 'I have reported' (121); *gajiha bihe* 'They have brought' (123); *wesimbuhe bihe* 'I have reported' (130); *fafulaha bihe* 'we have prohibited' (130); *unggihe bihe* 'I have sent them out' (141); *akdulaha*

*bihe* 'we have defended' (142); *donjiha bihe* 'we have heard' (143); *boljoho bihe* 'They have agreed' (144); *unggihe bihe* 'I have sent them out' (144); *afabuha bihe* 'I handed (him) over' (150); *donjiha bihe* 'we have heard' (151); *donjiha bihe* 'we have heard' (151); *tucike bihe* 'They have left' (151); *okdome genehe bihe* 'He had gone to meet them' (151); *genehe bihe* 'he had gone' (151); *nukteme genehe bihe* 'he had wandered away' (152); *genehe bihe* 'I had gone (followed)' (155); *baime wesimbuhe bihe* 'I have requested an edict' (157); *gisurehe bihe* 'he had said' (160); *gisurehe bihe* 'he had said' (160); *gaiha bihe* 'I have confiscated/taken' (160); *wesimbuhe bihe* 'he has reported' (161); *baime wesimbuhe bihe* 'they have requested' (163); *baime wesimbuhe bihe* 'they have requested' (164); *okdome unggihe bihe* 'I have sent out to meet' (170); *gajiha bihe* 'I had brought' (171); *sehe bihe* 'we have said' (171); *sehe bihe* 'one has said (?)' (171); *bithe yabubuha bihe* 'I had sent out a letter' (176). Due to restrictions of space, it is impossible to discuss every example in as much detail as the two above. The 22 examples for which a clear temporal interpretation appears to be most likely can be overlooked. This means that for 8 examples, a temporal-evidential interpretation is attractive.

## 5.2. Interpretation as anterior tense

For the 22 temporal examples, the most appropriate analysis is as a relative past tense which encodes that an action/event has taken place before another event. The temporal dimension is best understood by contrasting the simple past and analytic past tense forms of *unggimbi* 'send':

### 42) Manchu

#### a.

<i>suweni</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>ji-he</i>	<i>amala</i>	<i>turfan</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>sijir ôgei</i>	<i>gebungge</i>
2PL.GEN	army	come-PTCP.PERF	after	Turfan	DAT	PN	name
<i>ôlet</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>dala-bu-fi</i>		<i>unggi-he.</i>			
Ôlet	ACC	be.leader-CAUS-CON.SUB		send-PTCP.PERF			

'After the arrival of your army, they made an Ôlet called Sijir ôgei leader and sent him to Turfan.' (Kraft 1953, p. 152)

b.

*uthai hafan. cooha tuci-bu-fi. elci-sa be*  
 then official army come.out-CAUS-CON.SUB messenger-PL ACC  
*okdo-me ungg-i-he bi-he.*  
 go.and.meet-CON.CO send-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF

'Then I made the troop to sally forth and sent them to meet the messengers.'

(Kraft 1953, p. 170)

### 5.3. Interpretation as temporal-evidential

When looking at the eight examples for which a temporal-evidential interpretation appears to be most likely, two properties keep appearing repeatedly. First, 7 out of 8 verbs are PCU verbs (four times *donjimbi* 'hear', twice *gisurembi* 'speak', once *sembi* 'say'), the remaining verb is *genembi* 'go' which appears after a subordinative converbial form of *donjimbi* 'hear'. Second, all instances appear in quotative context in dialogues where reported speech and the origin of knowledge occupy a central role. As much as anteriority plays a decisive role, so does the grounding of evidence, which is, after all, the central role of evidentiality. Two examples have already been discussed above and are subsumed here for reasons of completeness:

#### 43) Manchu

a.

*bokda amba ejen umesi ferguwecuke gosingga be aifini*  
 divine great lord very wonderful loving ACC a.long.time.ago  
*donji-ha bi-he.*  
 hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF

'We had heard about the wonderful loving of the divine great lord a long time ago.' (Kraft 1953, p. 143)

b.

*jai ajige ceringdondob juwe minggan cooha gai-fi. joo de*  
 next small PN two thousand soldier take-CON.SUB Tibet DAT

*unggi-he. jura-fi ajige ceringdondob be*  
 send-PTCP.PERF begin.journey-CON.SUB small PN ACC  
*amasi hôla-fi gaji-ha. juwe minggan cooha umai*  
 backward call-CON.SUB bring-PTCP.PERF two thousand soldier (not).at.all  
*joo de gene-h-ekô se-me donji-ha bi-he.*  
 Tibet DAT go-PTCP.PERF-NEG say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF  
*ere yargiyôn.*  
 this is.it.true

‘Next, the younger Ceringdondob was sent with 2,000 men to Tibet, but when he had left, they called younger Ceringdondob back, 2,000 men did not go to Tibet at all, they say. I have heard (this), is this true?’ (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

The next two examples derive from the same dialogue from which example (43b) was extracted; again, the origin of evidence is referred to twice with *donjimbi* ‘hear’:

#### 44) Manchu

a.

*damu ere-i ahôn cering dorji cooha gai-fi.*  
 only this-GEN elder.brother PN army take-CON.SUB  
*han hojom-i jui hojo asan hojom be daila-me*  
 khan PN-GEN son PN ACC make.war.against-CON.CO  
*yerkim de gene-fi. yerkim be daila-fi*  
 Yerkim DAT go-CON.SUB Yerkim ACC make.war.against-CON.SUB  
*tokto-bu-ha se-me donji-ha bi-he.*  
 pacify-CAUS-PTCP.PERF say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF  
 ‘One says, only this one’s older brother Cering dorji took troops, (he) went to Yerkim to make war against Khan Hojom’s son Hojo asan hojom, (he) attacked Yerkim and took it. We have heard (this). (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

b.

*suweni taiji duleke aniya ninggun biya-de nime-mbihe*  
 2PL.GEN prince last year six month-DAT be.sick-PTCP.DUR  
*se-me donji-ha bi-he. te antaka*  
 say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF now how.is.it



*yebe=o.*

improved=IROG

'One says, your prince was sick for the last six months. We have heard (this).  
Now, how is it, has he improved?' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

The next example comes from the same dialogue; the reason why I opt for a temporal-evidential interpretation is based on the subordinative converb *donjifi* 'has heard' which clearly points toward indirect evidence:

#### 45) Manchu

*duleke aniya amba cooha jair emil de ji-he se-me*  
last year great army Jair Emin DAT come-PTCP.PERF say-CON.CO  
*donji-fi. meni taiji-i jui g'aldan cering cooha*  
hear-CON.SUB 1PL.EXCL.GEN prince-GEN son PN army  
*gai-fi okdo-me gene-he bi-he.*  
take-CON.SUB go.to.meet-CON.CO go-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF

'One says, last year the great army came to Jair and Emin. Having heard (this), our prince's son Galdan cering took troops and went to meet them.' (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

The next two examples, again from a reported interrogation, show the verb *gisurembi* 'speak' in double predication. Again, the complex predicate with a PCU verb and *bihe* form a temporal-evidential reference to the source of the information:

#### 46) Manchu

a.

*jai meni taiji lazang ni sargan jui be ini*  
next 1PL.EXCL.GEN prince PN GEN daughter ACC 3SG.GEN  
*jacin jui lobzang sono de bu-mbi se-me gisure-he*  
second/other son PN DAT give-AOR say-CON.CO speak-PTCP.PERF  
*bi-he.*  
exist-PTCP.PERF

'Next, our prince had spoken about giving Lazang's daughter to his younger son Lobzang sono.' (Kraft 1953, p. 160)

b.

*meni taiji donji-fi umesi ibiya-fi jafa-ki*  
 1PL.EXCL.GEN prince hear-CON.SUB very detest-CON.SUB take.in.the.hand-OPT  
*se-me gisure-he bi-he.*  
 say-CON.CO speak-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF  
 ‘Our prince heard (that) he uneasily said to capture them, so he spoke.’ (Kraft  
 1953, p. 160)

The last example, from another reported interrogation, is, perhaps, the most unusual of all. Already the original German impersonal translation “es hat geheißen” suggest, that there is no obvious referent retrievable as for who would have uttered *sehe bihe*. Therefore, an obvious referent for the emphatic particle *kai* is missing as well. Among all examples, this is the clearest instance of evidentiality, because here, only the source of origin is encoded, namely hearsay:

#### 47) Manchu

*be geli elcin de akda-ha sain niyalma*  
 1PL.EXCL again messenger DAT trust-PTCP.PERF good person  
*unggi se-he bi-he kai.*  
 send.IMP say-PTCP.PERF exist-PTCP.PERF PTC  
*te we-be unggi-mbi se-me fonji-ha-de.*  
 now who-ACC send-AOR say-CON.CO ask-PTCP.PERF-DAT  
 ‘We (asked) again “They said: send a reliable good man as messenger! Now, whom do you send?” (Kraft 1953, p. 171)

### 5.4. PCU verbs in simple and complex past tenses – conclusions

The prior section has shown that predicate doubling interacts with temporal-evidential interpretation; nevertheless, some additional notes are still in order. A crucial detail favoring a temporal-evidential interpretation is that the accompanying lexical verb has to belong to the sphere of PCU verbs such as the previous example (47). This triggers the question of why an evidential shading is to be attributed to a complex verb whose

lexical verb is a PCU verb anyway? As I will show, this is not due to the semantics of the verb alone, but to the analytic predicate it appears in. In example (48) two resultative examples with *sembi* 'speak' are subsumed, which both are, in contrast to (47), morphologically simple; nevertheless, both are clearly resultative. The difference here is that both examples in (48) report first-hand evidence and so an obvious reason to encode the message evidentially is not present:

#### 48) Manchu

a.

<i>jíyanggiyôn</i>	<i>ula-me</i>	<i>wesim-bu-re=o</i>	<i>se-hebi.</i>
general	pass.on-CON.CO	advance-CAUS-PTCP.IPF=IROG	say-PERF

'May the General pass this upwards.' (Kraft 1953, p. 152)

b.

<i>jakan</i>	<i>sula amban</i>	<i>arana.</i>	<i>aha</i>	<i>minde</i>	<i>unggi-he</i>
just.now	Junior.assistant	PN	slave	1SG.DAT	send-PTCP.PERF

<i>bithe-de.</i>	<i>juwan</i>	<i>biya-i</i>	<i>orin</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>jura-fi</i>
letter-DAT	eight	month-GEN	twenty	from	begin.journey-CON.SUB

<i>dasihi-me</i>	<i>dosi-mbi</i>	<i>se-hebi.</i>
go.on.punitive.expedition-CON.CO	join-AOR	say-PERF

'Just now, Junior Assistant Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard Arana told my humble self in a letter he had sent that he will set out after the 20<sup>th</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> month for a punitive expedition.' (Kraft 1953, p. 157)

The same appears to be valid for *donjimbi*. In the same interrogation report from where the two evidential forms with *gisurehe bihe* derive (Kraft 1963, Text 19), a number of examples with *donjiha* appear, but all of them as simple predicates. Whereas examples (49a) and (49b) report first-hand knowledge where an evidential would be hard to motivate anyway, the same forms in (49c,d) appear in a context where an auditive interpretation would be possible. At this point, the optionality of evidentiality<sup>23</sup>

23) The author's work on Forest Enets, a language with a dedicated auditive evidential, and his everyday use of Estonian (another language with an auditive evidential) easily confirms that even though both languages have fully grammaticalized

and the fact that Manchu double predication is an evidential strategy, but not a grammaticalized means of encoding evidentiality seems to be responsible for the absence of evidential encoding, even though the context would appear suitable:

#### 49) Manchu

a.

*meni hon taiji-i jui lobzang sono. hasak burut be belhe-me*  
 1PL.EXCL hontaiji-GEN son PN Hasak burut ACC prepare-CON.CO  
*sunja biya-de cooha gai-fi gene-he se-me donji-ha.*  
 five month-DAT army take-CON.SUB go-PTCP.PERF say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF  
 ‘Our Hontaiji’s son Lobzang sono prepared for Hasak burut, took an army in the fifth month and went. I heard (that).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

b.

*ajige ceringdondob be hara šar de te-hebi se-me*  
 little PN ACC Hara šar DAT sit-PERF say-CON.CO  
*donji-ha. yargiyan tašan be sa-r-akô se-mbi.*  
 hear-PTCP.PERF true false ACC know-PTCP.IPF-NEG say-AOR  
 ‘About little Ceringdondob I have heard that he was in Hara šar. Whether this is true or false, I don’t know, (so) I say.’ (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

c.

*abahas otok-i niyalma. kacik ulan usu. manas-i jergi*  
 PN tribe-GEN person Kacik ulan usu Manas-GEN side  
*ba-de tuweri hetu-mbi se-me donji-ha.*  
 place-DAT winter spend.a.period.of.time-AOR say-CON.CO hear-PTCP.PERF  
 ‘The people of the Abbas ~ Abagas tribe spend the winter in the area of Kacik ulan usu and Manas. I have heard (so).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 158)

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evidentials, these are not regularly used even if a favorable discourse-context would make their use in a given situation possible; as a matter of fact, it is cross-linguistically known that many languages use their grammaticalized evidentials optionally. The use of evidentiality is often more a pragmatic than a morpho-syntactic choice (see also Aikhenvald 2004, chapter 10, pp. 305–331).

## d.

<i>meni</i>	<i>hon taiji-i</i>	<i>nimeku</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>aniya.</i>	<i>labdukan</i>
1PL.EXCL.GEN	hontaiji-GEN	disease	this	year	rather
<i>fukdere-ke</i>			<i>se-me</i>	<i>donji-ha.</i>	
have.a.relapse-PTCP.PERF			say-CON.CO	hear-PTCP.PERF	

‘Our Hontaiji’s disease had a severe relapse this year, I have heard (so).’ (Kraft 1953, p. 159)

Given that PCU verbs communicate evidentiality relevant information without formal evidential marking, the morphological encoding of the Manchu verb as simple (= not periphrastically realized) is default. In instances where an analytic construction LEXICAL.VERB-PTCP.PERF + exist-PTCP.PERF uses a PCU verb, the possibility for an evidential interpretation increases; in this context, “double predication” is indeed symptomatic, because the analytic predicate is clearly not default, and may result in more than just a plain temporal interpretation, namely a temporal-evidential interpretation. Concerning 8 out of 30 examples which allow a temporal-evidential interpretation, the analytic predicate of the type LEXICAL.VERB-PTCP.PERF + exist-PTCP.PERF is indeed not always an instance of plain tense.

## 6. Final remarks

The unusual predication pattern LEXICAL.VERB-PTCP.PERF + exist-PTCP.PERF which results in a monoclausal multiverbal predicate with two morphologically equal forms is both structurally and semantically unparalleled in Manchu.<sup>24</sup> Structurally, this form is unparalleled, because neither the imperfective participle form nor the aorist form of *bi* can form similar predicates in the aorist:

24) This was verbalized by Gorelova as well: “Ascribed to the indicative, the analytical forms Tv- (=verbal stem, FS) *ha/-he/-ho bihe* and Tv- *ngka/-ngke/-ngko bihe* have no corresponding synthetic forms.” (Gorelova 2002, p. 310)

## 50) Manchu

a.

<i>uthai</i>	<i>hafan.</i>	<i>cooha</i>	<i>tuci-bu-fi.</i>	<i>elci-sa</i>	<i>be</i>
then	official	army	come.out-CAUS-CON.SUB	messenger-PL	ACC

<i>okdo-me</i>	<i>unggi-he</i>	<i>bi-he.</i>
go.and.meet-CON.CO	send-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF

‘Then I made the troop to sally forth and sent them to meet the messengers.’  
(Kraft 1953, p. 170)

b.

*\*unggi-re*      *bisi-re / bi*  
‘...is sending.’

Summarizing this study, which was based on the language of General Funingga’s letters (Kraft 1953), three results can be reported. First, neither in simple predication nor in the context of double predication does the expected perfect form *bihebi* appear in this manuscript. Forms such as *alaha bihebi* ‘has/had reported’ are entirely absent and only examples of the type *jihe bihe* ‘has/had come’ are attested:

## 51) Manchu

<i>ala-ha</i>	<i>bi-hebi</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>ucuri...</i>	<i>Sung</i>	<i>Ci Ioi</i>
report-PTCP.PERF	be-PERF	that	opportunity	title(?)	PN

<i>Aisin</i>	<i>gurun-i</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>ji-he</i>	<i>bi-he</i>
Aisin	state-GEN	camp	ELA	come-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF

‘And they reported: “On that occasion, Ci Ioi, Sung from the camp of the Kin state had come.”’ (Haenisch 1961, p. 61)

Second, double predication is infrequent with 30 examples in a corpus of 27900 Manchu words. Although predominantly a means of encoding anteriority (22 examples), 8 examples, most of them with a verb of perception-cognition-utterance show an additional evidential function, especially when appearing after reported direct speech where they mark the origin of information:

## 52) Manchu

a.

<i>suweni</i>	<i>taiji</i>	<i>duleke</i>	<i>aniya</i>	<i>ninggun</i>	<i>biya-de</i>	<i>nime-mbihe</i>
2PL.GEN	prince	last	year	six	month-DAT	be.sick-PTCP.DUR

<i>se-me</i>	<i>donji-ha</i>	<i>bi-he.</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>antaka</i>
say-CON.CO	hear-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF	now	how.is.it

*yebe=o.*

improved=IROG

<i>suweni</i>	<i>taiji</i>	<i>duleke</i>	<i>aniya</i>	<i>ninggun</i>	<i>biya-de</i>	<i>nime-mbihe</i>
2PL.GEN	prince	last	year	six	month-DAT	be.sick-PTCP.DUR

<i>se-me</i>	<i>donji-ha</i>	<i>bi-he.</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>antaka</i>
say-CON.CO	hear-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF	now	how.is.it

*yebe=o.*

improved=IROG

‘One says, your prince was sick for the last six months. We have heard (this).  
Now, how is it, has he improved?’ (Kraft 1953, p. 151)

b.

<i>meni</i>	<i>taiji</i>	<i>donji-fi</i>	<i>umesi</i>	<i>ibiya-fi</i>	<i>jafa-ki</i>
1PL.EXCL.GEN	prince	hear-CON.SUB	very	detest-CON.SUB	take.in.the.hand-OPT

<i>se-me</i>	<i>gisure-he</i>	<i>bi-he.</i>
say-CON.CO	speak-PTCP.PERF	exist-PTCP.PERF

‘Our prince heard (that), he uneasily said to capture them, so he spoke.’  
(Kraft 1953, p. 160)

Third, due to its low frequency – the manuscript contains only 8 temporal-evidential forms – a definite characterization of the type of evidentiality remains impossible. For the time being, it appears that the evidential extension of the analytic verb construction encodes indirect evidence.

Concluding this study, I would like to stress, once more, that this interpretation is proposed for the language of General Funingga's letters (Kraft 1953) only. Whether this analysis would be appropriate for Manchu as a whole is beyond the scope of this study. In any case, monoclausal complex predication of the double predicate type is certainly not a proper “one-form-one-meaning” evidential, but another example of an evidential strategy. Its development follows a cross-linguistically well-attested path

where evidential extensions result from perfects and resultatives (Aikhenvald 2004, pp. 112–116). This means that regarding the structure and the function of the Manchu evidential strategy, the language of General Fungga's letters follows the same pattern which has been attested in Northern Eurasia numerous times – in Turkic, and certainly beyond Turkic as well.

## Glossing

e.g. 2PL	freestanding pronoun (nominative)
e.g. 2PL.DAT	freestanding pronoun (inflected)
ACC	accusative
ALL	allative
AOR	aorist
CAUS	causative
CON.CO	coordinative converb
CON.CONCESS	concessive converb
CON.COND	conditional converb
CON.DESCR	descriptive converb
CON.DUR	durative converb
CON.SUB	subordinative converb
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
ELA	elative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
IROG	interrogative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalization
OPT	optative
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PTCP.DUR	durative participle
PTCP.FUT	futuritive participle
PTCP.IPF	imperfective participle
PTCP.PERF	perfective participle
PTCP.REL	relative participle



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## Appendix – Original German translations (H=Haenisch 1961, K=Kraft 1953)

- 1) Nur nach Osten hin gibt es einen schmalen Weg, wo die Feinde mit Kampftürmen die Plätze besetzt und (die Verbindung) unterbrochen haben. (H 96)
- 2a) Wenn es zu der Zeit der Prophezeiung solcher Heiligen gekommen ist, wer wird dann es (das Unheil) aufhalten können? (H 114)
- 2b) Alandal konnte auf diese Worte nicht antworten. (H 113)
- 3) Er (seine Familie) hatte seit Generationen im Gebiet des langen weißen Gebirges gegessen. (H 106)
- 4) Tan ze und die anderen kamen an Weisheit dem Meister Kung nicht gleich. (H 117)
- 5) K'an Ze sprach: "Ich habe eine Rede der Leute gehört, der Kanzler Z'oo sehnte sich nach tüchtigen Männern, wie man sich bei großer Dürre nach Regen sehnt. (H 120)
- 7a) Betrachtet man das, so hattet ihr Angst! (K 128)
- 7b) Wenn sie es aber jetzt hören, wird es gewiß so sein, daß sie in Scharen zur Unterwerfung kommen. (K 159)
- 8a) Lazangs Frau und Kinder sind jetzt alle hier. (K 171)
- 8b) Jerde, sobald ihr in die Nähe von Aktas gekommen seid, bleibt im Versteck! Während es dämmt, schließt es ein! (K 139)
- 9a) Drei Mohammedaner, die sich außerhalb der Festung befanden, haben sie gefangen genommen. (K 142)
- 9b) Wo ihre Frauen und Kinder sind, weiß ich nicht. (K 159)
- 9c) Als Dine u. d. S, meinem Auftrag gemäß das Heer in einiger Entfernung zum Stehen brachten und auf mich warteten, haben die Pijan-Mohammedaner von der Höhe der Mauer herabgeschossen, und dabei erhielten drei Hami-Mohammedaner Schußwunden. (K 142)
- 9d) Wo befinden sich Lazangs Frau und Kinder jetzt alle? (K 151)
- 10a) Wir waren gekommen, ohne zu wissen, daß euere Truppen sich in Hara hojo befanden. (K 158)
- 10b) Abgesehen von den 1115 eingegangenen sind das 4089 Kamele. (K 176)
- 10c) Während es auf diese Weise zu keinen Verlusten an Reis und Schafen kommen würde, wäre es auch für die militärischen Operationen von großem Nutzen. (K 123)
- 10d) Nachdem mit diesen Worten über ein Monat verstrichen war, starb seine Hauptfrau Gungge rabtan. Als wir uns wieder des Aufbruches wegen meldeten, sagte Zewang rabtan uns, er werde uns aufbrechen lassen, sobald die Angelegenheit seiner Hauptfrau beendet sein würde. (K 171)
- 11a) Zewang rabtan ist von Natur ein überaus verschlagener, hinterlistiger Rebell. Jetzt hatte er nach Tibet wiederum Truppen geschickt. (K 131)
- 11b) So habe ich nach Turfan keine Truppen zur Verstärkung geschickt. (K 156)

- 11c) Jener Mann meldete, daß in der Festung von Turfan 400 Soldaten seien und in Hara hojo 2000. (K 158)
- 11d) Die Person des Herrschers ist überaus wohl; sein Aussehen ist gut. Er ist gesund und kräftig, und es fehlt ihm nicht das Geringste. (K 160)
- 12a) Der große und der kleine Sultan von Turfan sind beide bei unserem Fürsten. (K 140)
- 12b) Tai-wan liegt jenseits des Meeres. (K 153)
- 12c) ...jetzt sind chinesische Truppen hier. (K 158)
- 12d) Lazangs Frau und Kinder sind jetzt alle hier. (K 171)
- 13) Obwohl einige wenige Leute Pferde und Kamele besitzen, haben sie sie, da es in der Nähe keine Weiden gibt, auf die man sie bringen könnte, insgesamt in das Alhôi-Gebirge gebracht. (K 143)
- 14a) Obwohl Essen und Trinken gut sind, ist auch die Verdauung gut. (K 162)
- 14b) Der Herrscher ist von Natur in hohem Maße pietätvoll. (K 170)
- 14c) Mein Name ist Bar. Ich bin ein Mann aus dem Gebiet des tabun-emegen-Stammes. (Kraft 146)
- 14d) Wir sind Mongolen und wissen, ob ein Kamel fett oder mager, brauchbar oder unbrauchbar ist. (K 177)
- 15a) Die Stärke der Truppe ist nicht groß und die Zahl der Mandschu- und Mongolentruppen gering. (K 135)
- 15b) Indessen besitzen wir ackerbauende Leute nicht viel Pferde. (K 143)
- 15c) ...und besitze so kein mit dem roten Pinsel geschriebenes Edikt. (K 165)
- 15d) Wie ich festgestellt habe, gibt es in Bar kul, Kuwešetu und Oronggi keine Ioi-lin-Truppen. (K 175)
- 15f) Es gibt gar keine Krankheiten. (K 179)
- 16) Ohne etwas zurückzulassen, haben sie etwas über 130 Gewehre und über 50 Pferde gebracht. (K 142)
- 17a) Die Gebildeten der alten Zeit hatten immer einen Lehrer. (H 116)
- 17b) K'an Ze, mit Ehrenahmen De-žun, war ein Mann von dem Orte San-yin in Hôi-ji und von Hause aus ein Ackers-mann. (H 119)
- 17c) In jener Nacht war Z'oo Z'oo in dem Lager am Lande. (H 120)
- 18a) Früher waren in Gu-yuwan, Ning-hiya, und anderen Orten an berittenen Truppen 2000 und an Fußtruppen 1000 Mann bereitgestellt worden. (K 121)
- 18b) Das Heer eines großen Staates, ist das in Wahrheit (jemals) so gewesen? (K 143)
- 18c) Als wir weiter Bar und die anderen fragten: "Euer in Örumci lebender Dasi und andere waren, als unser Heer dort einzog, bei euerem Taiji: sind sie jetzt (zurück-)gekommen? (K 151)
- 18d) Abgesehen von den 1115 eingegangenen sind das 4089 Kamele. (K 176)
- 19a) Obwohl es Winter ist, haben die fettgewordenen Pferde durchaus nicht abgenommen. (K 132)

- 19b) Nachdem mit diesen Worten über ein Monat verstrichen war, starb seine Hauptfrau Gungge rabtan. Als wir uns wieder des Aufbruches wegen meldeten, sagte Zewang rabtan uns, er werde uns aufbrechen lassen, sobald die Angelegenheit seiner Hauptfrau beendet sein würde. (K 171)
- 19c) Wenn dort chinesische Truppen sind, kommt ihr sofort zurück! (K 157)
- 19d) Obwohl Essen und Trinken gut sind, ist auch die Verdauung gut. (K 162)
- 19e) Sollte es später schlechte Söhne oder Enkel geben und zu Vergehen oder Schuld kommen, so würde man sie von der schwersten Strafe freisprechen, indem man sagte, ihr Großvater oder Vater sei im Kriege gefallen, und das sei ein Verdienst. (K 128)
- 19f) Was es jetzt in der näheren Umgebung nur an Pferden, Kamelen und Gewehren gibt, wollen wir untersuchen und nehmen, was wir nur bekommen können. (K 143)
- 20) Noch hatten wir keine Gelegenheit, uns einzusetzen und dankbar zu erweisen. (K 152)
- 21) Ist zu Ende. (H 61)
- 22) Ihre Frauen und Kinder hatte man nicht geschickt. (K 127)
- 23) Da die bestellten Äcker in diesem Jahr insgesamt vernachlässigt wurden, haben wir nicht viel geerntet. (K 159)
- 24) ...nach dem Abmarsch eures Heeres weiden Sie wie gewöhnlich in der Umgebung von Jair und Emin. (K 152)
- 25) Als wir, zum Herauskommen zahlenmäßig zu schwach, die Festung haltend kämpften, kam das Großheer heran. (K 155)
- 26a) Darauf hatte ich sofort Truppen abkommandiert und zur Einholung der Boten ausgeschiedt. (K 170)
- 26b) Wir hatten schon früher von der außerordentlichen Güte des Bogda-Großherrschers vernommen. (K 143)
- 27a) Die Russen schicken noch Boten. Als wir aufbrachen und herwärts kamen, waren über dreißig russische Gesandte gekommen und noch nicht wieder zurückgegangen. (K 151)
- 27b) Wenn wir in Wahrheit euch nehmen wollten, hätten wir euch dann nicht längst schon genommen? (K 143)
- 27c) Hättet ihr keine Hand gerührt, so hätten wir euch nicht nur nicht getötet, sondern euch auch kein Haar gekrümmt. (K 142)
- 28) Die Pferde, die früher aus dem Inlande nach hier gebracht wurden, waren nach ihrer Ankunft insgesamt mager, lahm und nur ein leerer Begriff, in Wirklichkeit aber unbrauchbar. (K 174)
- 29) Nachrichten über Cering-dondob und die anderen, die nach Joo gegangen sind, haben wir nicht gehört. (K 151)
- 30a) Nachdem ich zu ihnen gesagt hatte: Wenn ihr nicht herausgekommen wäret, hätten wir euch alle getötet... (K 142)

- 30b) Hättet ihr keine Hand gerührt, so hätten wir euch nicht nur nicht getötet, sondern euch auch kein Haar gekrümmt. (K 142)
- 31) Ich meine ehrerbietig: Obwohl der Kaiser sich im tiefen Palast befindet, hat der Kaiser doch sein Herz damit gequält, daß die Würdenträger, Beamten und Mannschaften lange Zeit an der Grenze sind, hat immer wieder gütige, liebevolle Edikte erlassen, und wiederholt die höchste Gnade erwiesen und soviel Begünstigungen aller Art aufgehäuft, daß wir sie nicht zählen können. (K 184)
- 32) Bei der Gelegenheit (gerade damals) war Ci Ioi der Sung aus dem Lager des Kin-Staates gekommen. (H 61)
- 33) Nachdem er gesagt hatte... (H 62)
- 34a) ...jetzt sind chinesische Truppen hier. (K 158)
- 34b) Es gibt gar keine Krankheiten. (K 179)
- 37a) Zu den Turgöt gehen seit gut einem Jahr keine Leute mehr hin und her; jetzt noch geht niemand. (K 151)
- 37b) So habe ich nach Turfan keine Truppen zur Verstärkung geschickt. (K 156)
- 37c) Obwohl es Winter ist, haben die fettgewordenen Pferde durchaus nicht abgenommen. (K 132)
- 38a) Unser Taiji ist im sechsten Monat des vergangenen Jahres krank gewesen, jetzt (aber) geht es ihm sehr viel besser. (K 151)
- 38b) Darüber hinaus müßte ich von Rechts wegen den gefangenen Taiji der Durbet, Coimpel zur Hauptstadt schicken. (K 141)
- 39a) Indem auf diese Weise Jahr für Jahr die Bevölkerung vermehrt und das Getreide reichlicher wird, wird das für die Soldaten auch von Nutzen sein. (126)
- 39b) Auch ich schäme mich und bin unaussprechlich in Furcht, weil ich mit einem so großen Heer Zewang rabtan nicht nur nicht vernichte, sondern es sogar dahin gebracht habe, mit meinem Einschwätzen auf das himmlische Gehör E. M. Sinn zu ermüden. (K 131)
- 40) Darauf hatte ich sofort Truppen abkommandiert und zur Einholung der Boten ausgeschiedt. (K 170)
- 41) Wir haben gehört, daß man den jüngeren Ceringdon-dob mit 2000 Mann nach Joo geschickt habe, ihn jedoch nach dem Aufbruch zurückholte, so daß die 2000 Mann nie nach Joo gegangen seien; ist das wahr? (K 151)
- 42a) Nach dem Kommen eures Heeres hat man einen Ölet namens Sijir ôgei als Vorgesetzten nach Turfan geschickt. (K 152)
- 42b) Darauf hatte ich sofort Truppen abkommandiert und zur Einholung der Boten ausgeschiedt. (K 170)
- 43a) Wir hatten schon früher von der außerordentlichen Güte des Bogda-Großherrschers vernommen. (K 143)

- 43b) Wir haben gehört, daß man den jüngeren Ceringdon-dob mit 2000 Mann nach Joo geschickt habe, ihn jedoch nach dem Aufbruch zurückholte, so daß die 2000 Mann nie nach Joo gegangen seien; ist das wahr? (K 151)
- 44a) Wir haben lediglich gehört, daß sein älterer Bruder Cering dorji mit Truppen zur Bekriegung des Sohnes von Han Hojom, Hojo asan hojom, nach Yerkim gezogen sei, es angegriffen und erobert habe. (K 151)
- 44b) Wir hatten gehört, daß euer Taiji im sechsten Monat des vergangenen Jahres krank gewesen sei; wie geht es ihm jetzt? (K 151)
- 45) Als man im vergangenen Jahr hörte, daß das Großsheer nach Jair und Emin gekommen sei, ist der Sohn unseres Taiji Galdan cering ihm mit Truppen entgegengezogen. (K 151)
- 46a) Ich habe gehört, daß unser Taiji davon gesprochen habe, Lazangs Tochter an seinen jüngeren Sohn Lobzang sono zu geben. (K 160)
- 46b) Als unser Taiji das hörte, soll er in großem Unwillen davon gesprochen haben, daß er sie gefangennehmen wolle. (K 160)
- 47) Als wir wiederum fragten: Es hatte geheißen, du solltest einen als Boten guten, zuverlässigen Mann schicken; wen willst du jetzt schicken? (K 171)
- 48a) Möge der Feldherr das nach Oben weiterberichten! (152)
- 48b) Gerade jetzt hat der Hilfskämmerer Arana in einem mit gesandten Schreiben gesagt, er werde nach dem 20. VIII. aufbrechen und zum Überfall vorgehen. (K 157)
- 49a) Ich habe gehört, daß der Sohn unseres Hontaiji, Lobzang sono, im 5. Monat zur Vorbereitung gegen die Hasak und Burut fortgezogen sei; (K 158)
- 49b) Von dem kleinen Ceringdondob habe ich gehört, er sei in Hara sar stationiert. Ob das stimmt, weiß ich nicht. (K 158)
- 49c) Die Leute des Abbas (Abagas?) verbringen in dem Gebiet von Kacik ulan usu und Mamas den Winter, so habe ich gehört. (K 158)
- 49d) Ich habe gehört, daß unser Taiji in diesem Jahr mit seiner Krankheit einen stärkeren Rückfall gehabt hat. (K 159)
- 50a) Darauf hatte ich sofort Truppen abkommandiert und zur Einholung der Boten ausgeschickt. (K 170)
- 51) Bei der Gelegenheit (gerade damals) war Ci Ioi der Sung aus dem Lager des Kin-Staates gekommen. (H 61)
- 52a) Wir hatten gehört, daß euer Taiji im sechsten Monat des vergangenen Jahres krank gewesen sei; wie geht es ihm jetzt? (K 151)
- 52b) Als unser Taiji das hörte, soll er in großem Unwillen davon gesprochen haben, daß er sie gefangennehmen wolle. (K 160)

# On the history of Buryat word formation: Plant names

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**Summary:** The most productive way of word formation in Buryat, as in other Mongolic languages, is a derivation via suffixation. The present paper has a two-fold goal. The first aim is to find out which methods of word-formation are involved in forming the plant names in Buryat. And second, the paper analyzes the special semantic group of the plant names which went through metaphorical or metonymical changes.

## 1. Introduction

Originally, the aim of this paper was to find out if there are special suffixes which show special affinity to a specific lexical group, namely, to plant names.<sup>2</sup> The collected material shows that plant names in Buryat are formed in two ways: via derivation with suffixes or via compounding, producing simple names and compound names, respectively.

### 1.1. The Buryat language

Buryat is a non-archaic northern Mongolic language presently spoken in the territories of Russia, China, and Mongolia. Most speakers of the Buryat language live in the Republic of Buryatia, Russia, which is situated to the

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- 1) I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.
  - 2) My research on the topic of *Mongolic colour names and their derivation* (Khabtagaeva 2001) found that there is an affinity between certain lexical groups and specific word-forming suffixes in Mongolic languages. All in all, 108 suffixes were examined, of which 49 are used with colour names and other lexical groups, and 59 are restricted to colour names, which showed special affinity of a specific lexical group to colour names.

east and south of Lake Baikal, with a population of 286,839 people (which is 30% of the Republic's population).<sup>3</sup> Additionally, approximately 45,150 Buryat speakers live in the Zabaikalskiy Territory (from 1937 to 2008 the Aga National District of Chita Province) situated in the east of Buryatia and approximately 53,650 Buryat speakers live in the Irkutsk Province (from 1937 to 2008 an independent Ust'-Orda National District) to the west of Lake Baikal. According to the 2010 census, the total number of Buryats in Russia is 461,389. Besides of it, at least 45,080 ethnic Buryats live in the northern and northeastern provinces of Mongolia. The Buryat language is also spoken by about 10,000 people in a small community in China, in the northeastern part of Inner Mongolia, in Hulun Buir Province, in Manchuria, China.

The standard variety of Buryat is based on a Khori dialect with its own writing system in Cyrillic, which is used in printed publications, in education, and in radio and television broadcasting.

Buryat is one of the best documented and researched Mongolic languages. This is partly due to the fact that Buryat is the literary language of a relatively large ethnic population with a high general level of education.

## 1.2. Typological characteristics

Buryat is a typical Mongolic language which displays typological features characteristic of the Mongolic language family as a whole. Like all Mongolic languages, it is agglutinative, i.e. the monofunctional suffixes are added to the stems. From a phonological point of view, the suffixes are subject to the rules of vowel harmony. Syntactically, the unmarked word order is subject – object – verb (SOV), while in the attributive phrase the genitive and nominal modifier precede the head noun (GAN). The subject position can be filled by a noun, a nominal phrase, a headless relative clause, or a clause with nominalizers. The subject of a finite clause is in the nominative and determines the personal agreement of the predicate

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3) According to the 2010 census, representatives of more than 100 nationalities lived in Buryatia, Russians numbering 630,783 (66.1%), Ukrainians 5,654 (0.6%), Tatars 6,813 (0.7%), Soyots 3,579 (0.4%), and Ewenkis 2,974 (0.3%).



and the use of the reflexive marker within the clause. Sentences consist of hierarchically ordered chains of converbially linked clauses, and syntactic relationships are indicated by the case endings (for more details, see Skribnik 2003; Skribnik & Daržaeva 2016; Khabtagaeva 2013).

### 1.3. Ways of Buryat word formation

There are several ways of forming words in Buryat, just like in other Mongolic languages (Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 85–86):

**1.3.1. Suffixation** is the most productive, with the word formative added to primary stems, e.g.:

*xurgabša* ‘thimble’ < *xurga(n)* ‘finger’ + *bša* {denominal noun suffix which forms nouns that designate instruments, cf. Literary Mongolian +*bči* (Poppe GWM §108);

*zoxyögšo* ‘author’ < *zoxyō-* ‘to compose, to write’ -*gša* {deverbal noun suffix which forms nouns designating names of occupation, cf. Literary Mongolian -*Gči*, (Poppe GWM §269);

*zuramal* ‘painted’ < *zura-* ‘to paint’ -*maI* {deverbal adjective suffix which forms adjectives designating qualities, cf. Literary Mongolian -*maI*, /Poppe GWM §168);

*ulābtar* ‘reddish’ < *ulān* ‘red’ + *btAr* {denominal adjective suffix which forms adjectives denoting shades of colors, cf. Literary Mongolian +*btUr*, (Poppe GWM §111, Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 146–147);

*xaralsa-* ‘to see each other’ < *xara-* ‘to see’ -*lsA-* {deverbal verbum suffix/cooperative, cf. Literary Mongolian -*lčA-*, (Poppe GWM § 233); etc.

### 1.3.2. Reduplication

**1.3.2.1.** when the first syllable is reduplicated with a final consonant -*b*, e.g.:

*xab xara* ‘dark black’;

*nab narixan* ‘extremely narrow’;

*ab adli* ‘very alike’;

**1.3.2.2.** when a first syllable is reduplicated with syllable *-rA*, e.g.:

*ara arbagar* 'very shaggy';

*boro borxigor* 'very nondescript';

*tere tesexeger* 'very fat';

**1.3.2.3.** when a first syllable with *-d(V)* is added, e.g.:

*bod boro* 'totally gray';

*mad malān* 'completely bald';

*šodo šodogor* 'very thin';

**1.3.2.4.** with change in vocalism, e.g.:

*meliger-müliger* 'very smooth';

*pilxagar-pülxeger* 'plump';

**1.3.2.5.** with change of the initial consonant, e.g.:

*piro-miro* 'feather';

*borxi-torxi* 'nondescript';

**1.3.3. Compounds** where the two stems are complementary or denote extremes, e.g.:

*exe esege* 'parents (*lit.* mother father)';

*axa dū* 'brothers (*lit.* elder brother [and] younger brother)';

*xolo oiro* 'environs (*lit.* far near)';

*ama xamar* 'face (*lit.* mouth nose)', etc.

## 1.4. Studies on plant names in Mongolic languages

Plant names in Buryat were examined by Rupysheva (2016). The monograph presents a lexical classification of plant names and fungi, author describes the influence of basic human activities on the formation of botanical terms, mentions some types of direct nomination and cognitive models. In 2007, Mandžikova wrote a valuable terminological dictionary of the plant names in Kalmuck.

The lists of various species of flowering plants in Mongolia and their short description are given by Grubov (1982; 2007). An overview of the

plants used in Tibetan medicine, the value of plants and replacement them in the traditional Buddhist medicine in Buryatia, is shortly described by Aseeva, Blinova and Yakovlev (1985).

### 1.5. The current research

In all, one hundred and twenty-six various compound names of plants have been collected from Čeremisov's (1973) and Cydendambaev's (1954) dictionaries, Budaev's small dictionary of the plant names (2002) and electronic sources (such as the Buryat corpus).

The aim is to describe how plants are named, attempting to create a classification within semantic groups. I focus on Buryat data, while comparative data from other Modern Mongolic languages are not collected. During my research I found that in many cases the plant names in Buryat do not match other members of non-archaic (or central) group of Modern Mongol languages – Khalkha (Kara 1998) or Kalmuck (Mandžikova 2007) (for instance, see ten examples below in *Table 1*). It would be interesting to compare data with other Mongolic languages in a future study.

**Table 1. Some mismatched plant names in Buryat, Khalkha and Kalmuck**

Plant name	Buryat	Kalmuck	Khalkha	Literary Mongolian
viburnum ( <i>Lat.</i> <i>Ribes altissimum</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> калина)	<i>xargāhan</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>morin ulāgana</i>	<i>morin ulayana</i> ( <i>lit.</i> horse redcurrant)
rowan ( <i>Lat.</i> <i>Sorbus</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> рябина)	<i>müše modon</i> ( <i>lit.</i> star tree)	<i>xön böłžrh</i> ( <i>lit.</i> sheep raspberry)	<i>tes</i>	<i>tes</i>
quitch ( <i>Lat.</i> <i>Agropyron</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> пырей ползучий)	<i>xara tolgoi</i> ( <i>lit.</i> black head)	<i>n.a.</i>	<i>yerxög</i>	<i>yörkög</i>
clover ( <i>Lat.</i> <i>Trifolium</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> клевер)	<i>yagān seseg</i> ( <i>lit.</i> pink flower)	<i>kilävr</i> (← Russian)	<i>xošōngor</i>	<i>qosiyangyur</i>
goose-foot ( <i>Lat.</i> <i>Atriplex</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> лебеда)	<i>uhan ürmedehen</i> ( <i>lit.</i> water sagebrush)	<i>zahlm</i>	<i>gagadai</i>	<i>yayudai</i>

Plant name	Buryat	Kalmuck	Khalkha	Literary Mongolian
pepper ( <i>Rus.</i> перец)	<i>xalūn übhen</i> ( <i>lit.</i> hot herb)	<i>burš</i>	<i>pērc</i> ← Russian;	
<i>xuaǰū</i> ← Chinese	<i>n.a.</i>			
black henbane ( <i>Lat.</i> Hyoscyamus; <i>Rus.</i> белена)	<i>er'yū übhen</i> ( <i>lit.</i> crazy herb)	<i>šar cecgüdtä</i> <i>xorta övsn</i> ( <i>lit.</i> poisonous grass with yellow flowers)	<i>lantandz</i> ← Chinese	<i>lantanja</i>
burdock ( <i>Lat.</i> Arc- tium; <i>Rus.</i> лопух большой)	<i>xašag übhen</i> ( <i>lit.</i> mite grass)	<i>lošx</i>	<i>daliws</i>	<i>dalibas</i>
peony ( <i>Lat.</i> Paeo- nia; <i>Rus.</i> пион)	<i>yexe edyēn</i> ( <i>lit.</i> big food)	<i>pion</i> ← Russian	<i>cēne</i>	<i>čegene</i>
'lemon daylily ( <i>Lat.</i> Hemerocallis <i>lilioasphodelus</i> ; <i>Rus.</i> лилия жёлтая)'	<i>zula seseg</i> ( <i>lit.</i> candle flower)	<i>lili</i> ← Russian	<i>altan</i> <i>xundaga</i> ( <i>lit.</i> golden goblet);	
<i>altan dzul</i> ( <i>lit.</i> golden candle)	<i>altan jula</i>			

The comprehensive list of plant names in Buryat includes Russian loan-words, these words were not analyzed in the paper. Concerning loan-word adaptation, the most Russian loanwords were borrowed relatively recently, they comprise mostly fruit and vegetable names (for instance, see nine examples below in Table 2). This is in contrast with Khalkha, where almost all fruit and vegetable names are of Chinese origin.

**Table 2. Some fruit and vegetable names in Buryat and Khalkha**

Plant name	Buryat	Khalkha
swede turnip	<i>brjukve</i> ← Russian <i>брюква</i>	<i>manjij</i> ← Chinese
peas	<i>gorox</i> ← Russian <i>горох</i>	<i>wandui</i> ← Chinese
carrot	<i>morxōb</i> ← Russian <i>морковь</i>	<i>lūwanj</i> ← Chinese
cabbage	<i>xapūsta</i> ← Russian <i>капуста</i>	<i>baicā</i> ← Chinese
orange	<i>apel'sin</i> ← Russian <i>апельсин</i>	<i>jurj</i> ~ <i>jurč</i> ← Tibetan ← Chinese
watermelon	<i>arbuz</i> ← Russian <i>арбуз</i>	<i>šigua</i> ← Chinese

Plant name	Buryat	Khalkha
grape	<i>vinograd</i> ← Russian <i>виноград</i>	<i>usan üdzem</i> ‘lit. water grape’, cf. <i>üdzem</i> ← Turkic
pear	<i>gruša</i> ← Russian <i>груша</i>	<i>lir</i> ← Chinese
cherry	<i>višni</i> ← Russian <i>вишня</i>	<i>intôr</i> ← Chinese

## 2. Plant names in Buryat

### 2.1. Plant names in Buryat derived through suffixation

The simple names or lexemes are nouns derived with special class markers – the productive denominal noun suffixes +*gAnA*, +*lžAn* or +*lžAn* and +*lžAi*. There is one compound suffix +*lžAgAnA*, which was derived from suffixes +*lžA* and +*gAnA*. All of these suffixes are also present in almost all Modern Mongolic languages and have productive functions:

#### 2.1.1. +*gAnA*

*abdargana* ‘Siberian lily (*Lat.* *Lilium pensylvanicum*; *Rus.* *лилия даурская*’; cf. Khalkha *agdargana*; Kalmuck *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *aydaryana*;

*dolōgono* ‘hawthorn, hawberry (*Lat.* *Crataegus*; *Rus.* *боярышник*’; cf. Khalkha *dolōgono*; Kalmuck *dolaŋk*; Literary Mongolian *doloyana* < \**dolo*: *doloyan* ‘seven’;

*ulāgana* ‘cowberry (*Lat.* *Ribes*; *Rus.* *брусника*’; cf. Khalkha *ulāgana*; Kalmuck *ulahn* ‘redcurrant’; Literary Mongolian *ulayana* < \**ula*: *ulayan* ‘red’;

*xargana* ‘caragana (*Lat.* *Caragana*; *Rus.* *карагана*’ < *xara* ‘black’; cf. Khalkha *xargana*; Kalmuck *n.a.*; Literary Mongolian *qarayana* < *qara* ‘black’;

*zedegene* ‘strawberry (*Rus.* *земляника*’ < \**zede*; cf. Khalkha *dzetgene*; Kalmuck *zedhn*; Literary Mongolian *n.a.*;

*xilgana* ‘feather grass (*Lat.* *Stipa*; *Rus.* *мятлик, ковыль сибирский*’; cf. Khalkha *xyalgana*; Kalmuck *kilh öws*; Literary Mongolian *kilayana* ← Turkic \**qilā* + *gAn*: Old Turkic *qil* ‘a hair’.

This suffix forms names of plants, animals and some diseases from primary stems which denote qualities characteristic of the object denoted by the secondary noun, e.g. Literary Mongolian *kedegene* 'horsefly, gadfly; wasp, bumblebee' < \**kede*, *batajana* 'gnat, small fly, mosquito' < \**bata* (Ramstedt 1957, p. 195; Poppe GWM §119; 1981, pp. 384–385). A considerable list of animals and plants with this suffix is connected to colors and present in Buryat, Khalkha, Kalmuck, Ordos, Monguor and East Yugur languages (Khabtagaeva 2001. pp. 104–107).

Another phonetic variant of the suffix is +*gAnĀn* in Buryat, cf.

*xulgana* ~ *xulganān* 'mouse'; cf. Literary Mongolian *quluyana* < *qula* 'roan (horse)'; Khalkha *xulgana*; Kalmuck *xulhn*;

*xedegene* ~ *xedegenēn* 'wasp'; cf. Literary Mongolian *kedegene*; Khalkha *xedgene*; Kalmuck *kedhn*;

*šasargana* ~ *šasarganān* 'sea buckthorn'; cf. Literary Mongolian *čičaryana*; Khalkha *čacargana*; Kalmuck *čičrhn*; etc.

There is a variant +*rgAnA* which is possibly a compound suffix originating from the denominal verbal suffix +*r-* and +*gAnA*:

*altargana* 'Golden Rod, Solidago; Caragana leucophloea (*Lat.* *Solidago*; *Rus.* золотарник)' < *altar-* 'to look golden' < *altan* 'gold'; cf. Literary Mongolian *altaryan-a*; Khalkha *altargana*; Kalmuck *altarhn*;

*budargana* 'Kalidium (*Lat.* *Kalidium*; *Rus.* поташник)' < *budar-* 'to rain, to snow'; cf. Literary Mongolian *budaryan-a*; Khalkha *budargana*; Kalmuck *budarhn*.

## 2.1.2. +*lžA* / +*lžA*

*borolžo* 'bush, scrub (*Rus.* кустарник, кусты)' < *boro* 'gray'; cf. Literary Mongolian *borolji* < *boro* 'gray'; Khalkha *borolj*; Kalmuck *n.a.*;

*šaralza* 'weeds, wild grass (*Rus.* бурьян)' < *šara* 'yellow'; cf. Literary Mongolian *siralji* 'Artemisia' < *sira* 'yellow'; Khalkha *šarilj*; Kalmuck *šarlžn*.

This suffix forms names of plants, birds, insects and geometric figures (Dondukov 1964, pp. 22–23).<sup>4</sup> The suffix connects to Common Mongolic

4) E.g. Buryat *arbälžan* 'dragon-fly' < *arban* 'ten'; *sūsälžan* 'sandpiper' < \**sūsā* < \**čuučaya*, cf. Literary Mongolian *čuučali* 'snipe' < *čuu* 'sound, noise; echo'; *sūsagälžan* 'snipe' < \**sūsaga* < \**čuučaya*; Buryat *harälžan* 'woodcock' < \**saraya*,

+*lji* and is present also in Khalkha, Ordos, Kalmuck, and Monguor (Poppe GWM §128; 1981, p. 386; Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 111–113).

### 2.1.3. +*lza*

*ulälzai* ‘*Lilium pumilum* Delile (*Lat.* *Lilium tenuifolium*; *Rus.* сарана)’;  
cf. Literary Mongolian *ulayaljai* < *ulayan* ‘red’; Khalkha *uläldzai*;  
Kalmuck *n.a.*;

*malälzai* ‘flower of *sarana* (*Lat.* *Lilium pumilum*; *Rus.* цветок сараны)’  
< *malän* ‘bald’; cf. Khalkha, Kalmuck, Literary Mongolian *n.a.*

This suffix connects to Common Mongolic +*lji* (Poppe 1981, p. 387) which forms names of plants from nouns denoting colors and other characteristics of objects (Dondukov 1964, p. 23). Several names of plants<sup>5</sup> and birds<sup>6</sup> are derived from color terms in Khalkha and Literary Mongolian (Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 141).

### 2.1.4. +*lza*gAnA

*ulälzagana* ‘red currant (*Rus.* красная смородина)’; cf. Literary Mongolian *ulayaljayana* < *ulän* ‘red’; Khalkha *uläldzgana*; Kalmuck *n.a.*

The Buryat compound suffix is from the denominal noun +*lza* (~ Literary Mongolian +*lji*) and denominal noun suffix +gAnA (~ Literary Mongolian +GAnA), forms names and animals which are small size (Poppe 1981, p. 386). It also occurs in Khalkha and Kalmuck (Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 113–114).

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cf. Literary Mongolian *sar* ‘onomat. description of rustling, patterning of falling drops, crunching of snow, sand, pebbles under foot or crisp things being chewed’; Buryat *büböölžen* ‘hoopoe’ ~ Literary Mongolian *böbegeljin* ~ *bübügeljin* ~ *öbeljin* ‘id.’; cf. *bübei* ‘lullaby, rockaby’; Buryat *gurbalžan* ‘triangle’ < *gurba(n)* ‘three’; Buryat *dürbelžen* ‘square’ < *dürbe(n)* ‘four’; *ololžon* ‘polygon’ < *olon* ‘many’; etc.

- 5) E.g. Khalkha *cagäldzai* ‘chrysanthemum (*Lat.* *Chrysanthemum*)’ ~ Literary Mongolian *čayaljai* < *čayan* ‘white’; *yagäldzai* ‘*Lat.* *Braya Sternb. et Hoppe*’ < *yagän* ‘pink’; cf. Literary Mongolian *n.a.*; Khalkha *uläldzai* ‘*Lat.* *Lilium tenuifolium*’ ~ Literary Mongolian *ulayaljai* < *ulayan* ‘red’.

- 6) E.g. Khalkha *boröldzoi* ‘lark’ < *boro* ‘grey’; cf. Literary Mongolian *n.a.*; Khalkha *nogöldzoi* ‘siskin’ < *nogön* ‘green’; cf. Literary Mongolian *n.a.*

### Etymological remarks

From an etymological point of view, all the above mentioned suffixes, except for +*gAnA*, are of Mongolic origin. The Mongolic suffix +*GAN* is related to the Turkic suffix +*GAN*, which forms names of plants and animals and is productive in Turkic languages (for more details on function, see Erdal 1991, pp.85–89). Different Mongolic plant and animal names with this suffix, including in Buryat, have a stable Turkic etymology and were clearly borrowed from Turkic, e.g.:

Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *balčiryana* ~ *baldaryana* ‘heracleum dissectum’ (*Lat.* Heracleum; *Rus.* борщевик сибирский, чемерица) (~ Buryat *balšargana*; *Khalkha* *balčirgana* ~ *baldargana*) ← Turkic: cf. Chagatai *baldirğan* ‘hogweed’ < \**baldir* ‘young, green, fresh’ (Sevortjan 1978, pp. 55–56; SIGTJa 2001, pp. 122–123);

Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *kilayana* ‘feather grass’ (~ Buryat *xil-gana*) ← Turkic \**qılğan*: cf. Karachai-Balkar, Tatar, Bashkir, Nogai *qılğan*, Kazak *qılqın*, Kirgiz *qılqan*, Chuvash *kălkan* ‘feather grass’ < *qıl* ‘a hair’ (SIGTJa 2001, p. 127);

Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qarayana* ‘Caragana arborescens’ (Buryat *xargana* ~ *xarganān*) ← Turkic: Old Turkic *qaraqan* ‘kind of tree or bush’ < *qara* ‘black’;

Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *čügürgene* ‘a kind of grasshopper’ (cf. Buryat *n.a.*) ← Turkic: Old Turkic *čäkürgä* ‘locust, grasshopper’ (Clauson ED 416b; Erdal 1991, p. 87);

Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *kegürjigene* ‘pigeon, dove’ (cf. Buryat *n.a.*) ← Turkic: Old Turkic *kögürčgün* ‘pigeon, dove’, cf. *kök* ‘a grey bird’ (Clauson ED 713b; Erdal 1991, p. 87); etc.

## 2.2. Plant names in Buryat: compounds

### 2.2.1. Compound patterns

Most plant names in my corpus were created by the process of compounding. They are mostly noun + noun or adjective + noun compounds with the modifier being the semantically shifted part of the name and the head being a more general plant name.

Below I deal with some plant names from a semantic point of view,



including plants that are named after another thing. Generally, the metaphorical and metonymical names of plants are named after things close to human beings – their own body, animals and objects of daily use, some plant names are based either on the plant's appearance or its use of the plant, if it has any.

As far as their patterns, the compounds can be categorized into the following constructions:

Noun + noun compounds:

*zürxen seseg* 'polygala sibirica' < *zürxen* 'heart' and *seseg* 'flower';  
*xonin šaralža* 'virgate wormwood' < *xonin* 'sheep' and *šaralža* 'sagebrush';  
*üxer nyüden* 'black currant' < *üxer* 'bull, ox' and *nyüden* 'eye';

Genitive linked compounds:

*šonin übhen* 'valerian' < *šono* 'wolf' + *in* {GEN} and *übhen* 'hay, grass';  
*modonoi ulāgana* 'redcurrant' < *modon* 'tree' + *ai* {GEN} *ulāgana* 'oxalis';  
*temēnei hūl* 'marjoram' < *temēn* 'camel' + *ai* {GEN} and *hūl* 'tail';

Adjective + noun compounds:

*er'yū übhen* 'black henbane or stinking nightshade' < *er'yū* 'crazy' and *übhen* 'hay';  
*gašūn ürmedehen* 'Artemisia sieversiana (*Lat.* *Artemisia sieversiana*; *Rus.* *полынь Сиверца*)' < *gašūn* 'bitter' and *ürmedehen* 'sagebrush';  
*alag nyüden* 'wild pansy' < *alag* 'motley' and *nyüden* 'eye';

Number + noun compound:

*taban halā* 'plantago (*Lat.* *Plantago*; *Rus.* *подорожник*)' < *taban* 'five' and *halā* 'branch';

Interjection + noun compound:

*nyamnyā seseg* 'dandelion (*Lat.* *Taraxacum officinale*; *Rus.* *одуванчик лекарственный*)', cf. *nyam-nyam* 'Yum-yum! Yummy!'; etc.

### 2.2.2. Types of compounds

According to types, the compounds are divided into three groups: (2.2.2.1.) compounds with a semantically shifted determiner and a 'head' being

a more general name for plant, (2.2.2.2.) compounds with a semantically shifted determiner and a 'head' indicating definite plant species, and (2.2.2.3.) compounds where both forms are semantically shifted.

#### 2.2.2.1. Compounds with semantic **determiner** and '**head**' indicating a general name of plant

The first group of plants includes compound words where the stem lexeme designates the general name of the plant and its parts. The second part of compound word is a 'head' and has a general plant name, while the first part is a determiner and in most cases it indicates a similarity or association with (2.2.2.1.a) different object, (2.2.2.1.b) color, (2.2.2.1.c) animal, (2.2.2.1.d) human characteristic, (2.2.2.1.e) medicinal use of the plant, (2.2.2.1.f) the scent or taste of the plant, or (2.2.2.1.g) type of environment or time of flowering, etc. These names of plants went through metonymical semantic change.

The compounds designating the general names of plants include lexemes such as *plant*, *flower*, *tree*, *grass*, *weed*, *mushroom* and *grain*. The compounds including the names of plants' parts such as *root* and *stem* also belong to this group.

##### (2.2.2.1.a) Plants named after a visual characteristic:

*seseg* 'flower':

*bamba seseg* 'rose (Lat. Rosa; Rus. роза)' < *bamba* 'fluffy, soft' and *seseg* 'flower';

*naran seseg* 'sunflower (Lat. Helianthus; Rus. подсолнечник)' < *naran* 'sun' and *seseg* 'flower';

*nyamnyā seseg* 'dandelion (Lat. Taráxacum officinále; Rus. одуванчик лекарственный)' < *nyam-nyam* 'Yum-yum! Yummy!' and *seseg* 'flower';

*xoltohon seseg* 'buttercup (Lat. Ranúnculus; Rus. лютик)' < *xoltohon* 'bark' and *seseg* 'flower';

*zula seseg* 'lemon daylily (Lat. Hemerocállis lílioasphodélus; Rus. лилия жёлтая, красоднев)' < *zula* 'candle, lamp' and *seseg* 'flower';

*altan zula seseg* 'tulip (Lat. Túlipa; Rus. тюльпан)' < *altan* 'golden', *zula* 'lamp, candle' and *seseg* 'flower';

- modon* ‘tree’:  
*müše modon* ‘rowan (Lat. *Sorbus*; Rus. рябина)’ < *müše* ‘star’ and *modon* ‘tree’;  
*übhen* ‘hay, grass’:  
*arbagar übhen* ‘tumbleweed (Rus. перекаати-поле)’ < *arbagar* ‘shaggy’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*tangalai übhen* ‘fern (Lat. Polypodiopsida; Rus. папоротник)’ < *tangalai* ‘roof of the mouth’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*xarbül übhen* ‘couch grass (Lat. *Elymus dahuricus*; Rus. волоснец даурский)’ < *xarbül* ‘arrow’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*xašag übhen* ‘greater burdock (Lat. *Arctium lappa*; Rus. лопух большой)’ < *xašag* ‘mite’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*xazār übhen* ‘*Cleistogenes* (Lat. *Cleistogenes squarrosa*; Rus. змеёвка растопыренная)’ < *xazār* ‘bridle’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*nogōn* ‘grass’:  
*arbagai nogōn* ‘tumbleweed (Rus. перекаати-поле)’ < *arbagai* ‘shaggy’ and *nogōn* ‘grass’;  
*tōno* ‘weed’:  
*arātai tōno* ‘ergot (Lat. *Claviceps*; Rus. спорынья)’ < *arātai* ‘fanged’ and *tōno* ‘weed’;  
*urgamal* ‘plant’:  
*šüder urgamal* ‘liana (Rus. лиана)’ < *šüder* ‘hobble’ and *urgamal* ‘plant’;  
*harxyāg* ‘mushroom’:  
*mūxai harxyāg* ‘death cap (Lat. *Amanita phalloides*; Rus. поганка)’ < *mūxai* ‘bad, ugly’ and *harxyāg* ‘mushroom’;  
*ulān tolgoito harxyāg* ‘boletus (Lat. *Leccinum aurantiacum*; Rus. подосиновик)’ < *ulān* ‘red’, *tolgoito* ‘with head’ and *harxyāg* ‘mushroom’;  
*budā* ‘grain’:  
*šara budā* ‘millet (Lat. *Panicum*; Rus. пшено); cf. *Tunka dialect* berry leaves’ < *šara* ‘yellow’ and *budā* ‘grain’;  
*ulān budā* ‘panicgrass (Lat. *Panicum*; Rus. просо)’ < *ulān* ‘red’ and *budā* ‘grain’;  
*ündeheh* ‘root’:  
*altan ündeheh* ‘*Rhodiola rosea* (Lat. *Rhodiola rósea*; Rus. родиола розовая)’ < *altan* ‘golden’ and *ündeheh* ‘root’;  
*šelbe* ‘stem’:

*emgen šelbe* 'spirea (*Lat.* *Spiraea hypericifolia*; *Rus.* таволга водосборная) < *emgen* 'old woman' and *šelbe* 'stem';

*zēren šelbe* 'Astragalus (*Lat.* *Astrāgalus*; *Rus.* астрагал донниковый) < *zēren* 'antelope' and *šelbe* 'stem';

(2.2.2.1.b) A separate group of plant names points out a similarity with yellow, white, red, light blue, blue, black and pink colors:

*šara modon* 'Berberis sibirica (*Lat.* *Bérberis sibírica*; *Rus.* барбарис сибирский) < *šara* 'yellow' and *modon* 'tree';

*šara nogōn* 'winter cress or yellow rocket (*Lat.* *Barbarea lutea*; *Rus.* сурепица жёлтая) < *šara* 'yellow' and *nogōn* 'grass';

*šara harxyāg* 'saffron milk cap (*Lat.* *Lactarius*; *Rus.* рыжик) < *šara* 'yellow' and *harxyāg* 'mushroom';

*šara mōge* 'Suillus (*Lat.* *Suillus*; *Rus.* маслёнок) < *šara* 'yellow' and *mōge* 'mushroom';

*šara budā* 'millet (*Lat.* *Panicum*; *Rus.* пшено) < *šara* 'yellow' and *budā* 'grain';

*sagān harxyāg* 'milk mushroom (*Lat.* *Lactārius résimus*; *Rus.* груздь) < *sagān* 'white' and *harxyāg* 'mushroom';

*ulān harxyāg* 'bloody brittlegill (*Lat.* *Rússula sanguínea*; *Rus.* сыроежка красная) < *ulān* 'red' and *harxyāg* 'mushroom';

*ulān budā* 'panicgrass (*Lat.* *Panicum*; *Rus.* проко) < *ulān* 'red' and *budā* 'grain';

*senxir seseg* 'centaury, knapweed (*Lat.* *Centaurea*; *Rus.* василёк) < *senxir* 'light blue' and *seseg* 'flower';

*xüxe seseg* 'forget-me-not, scorpion grass (*Lat.* *Myosotis*; *Rus.* незабудка) < *xüxe* 'blue' and *seseg* 'flower';

*xara mōge* 'true morels (*Lat.* *Morchella*; *Rus.* сморчок) < *xara* 'black' and *mōge* 'mushroom';

*xara taryān* 'rye (*Lat.* *Secále*; *Rus.* рожь) < *xara* 'black' and *taryān* 'grain';

*yagān seseg* 'red clover (*Lat.* *Trifolium pratense*; *Rus.* клевер лютиковый) < *yagān* 'pink' and *seseg* 'flower';

(2.2.2.1.c) Several terms refer to various animals which like to eat the given plant:

- baxin seseg* ‘meadow buttercup (*Lat.* *Ranunculus ácris*; *Rus.* лютик едкий)’ < *baxa* ‘frog’ + *in* {GEN} and *seseg* ‘flower’;  
*buxa seseg* ‘gentian (*Lat.* *Gentiána*; *Rus.* горечавка)’ < *buxa* ‘bull’ and *seseg* ‘flower’;  
*gaxai übhen* ‘*Stellaria* (*Lat.* *Stellária*; *Rus.* звездчатка)’ < *gaxai* ‘pig’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*gaxai nogōn* ‘*Phlomoïdes tuberosa* (*Lat.* *Phlomoïdes tuberosa*; *Rus.* зопник клубненоносый)’ < *gaxai* ‘pig’ and *nogōn* ‘grass’;  
*gürōhen übhen* ‘*Chamaenerion* (*Lat.* *Chamaenerion*; *Rus.* иван-чай)’ < *gürōhen* ‘wild goat, roe deer’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*orin xag übhen* ‘reindeer lichen (*Lat.* *Cladonia rangiferina*; *Rus.* олений мох, ягель)’ < *oro* ‘deer’ + *in* {GEN} and *xag übhen* ‘lichen, moss’;  
*šonin übhen* ‘*Valerian* (*Lat.* *Valeriána officinális*; *Rus.* валерьяна лекарственная)’ < *šono* ‘wolf’ + *in* {GEN} and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*xonin übhen* ‘*Potentilla* (*Lat.* *Potentilla*; *Rus.* лапчатка)’ < *xonin* ‘sheep’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*yamān übhen* ‘speedwell, bird’s eye (*Lat.* *Verónica*; *Rus.* вероника седая)’ < *yamān* ‘goat’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*zēren šelbe* ‘*Astragalus* (*Lat.* *Astrāgalus*; *Rus.* астрагал донниковый)’ < *zēren* ‘antelope’ and *šelbe* ‘stem’;

(2.2.2.1.d) An interesting category of plant names refer to human characteristics. These plants contain substances that affect human behavior:

- xarālša seseg* ‘Siberian larkspur or Chinese Delphinium (*Lat.* *Delphinium grandiflorum*; *Rus.* живокость крупноцветная)’ < *xarālša* ‘grumpy’ and *seseg* ‘flower’;  
*er’yū übhen* ‘black henbane or stinking nightshade (*Lat.* *Hyoscyamus niger*; *Rus.* белена чёрная, дурман)’ < *er’yū* ‘crazy’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*inagta seseg* ‘fireweed (*Lat.* *Chamaenerion angustifolium*; *Rus.* кипрей, иван-чай)’ < *inagta* ‘enamored’ and *seseg* ‘flower’;

Several terms may be named after human physical characteristics. The case with *ginseng* possibly is a metaphrase from the original Chinese name: *berin seseg* ‘Delphinium (*Lat.* *Delphinium*; *Rus.* рыцарские шпоры)’ < *beri* ‘daughter-in-law’ + *in* {GEN} and *seseg* ‘flower’;

*emgen šelbe* ‘spirea (*Lat.* *Spiraea hypericifolia*; *Rus.* таволга водосборная)’ < *emgen* ‘old woman, grand mother’ and *šelbe* ‘stem’;  
*xün übhen* ‘ginseng (*Lat.* *Panax*; *Rus.* женьшень)’ < *xün* ‘human, person’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;

(2.2.2.1.e) Some plant names clearly indicate the medicinal use of plant, which kinds of diseases can help to cure:

*eldin übhen* ‘lichen (*Lat.* *Lichenes*; *Rus.* лишайник)’ < *eldin* ‘herpes’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*zürxen seseg* ‘*Polygala sibirica* (*Lat.* *Polýgala sibírica*; *Rus.* истод сибирский)’ < *zürxen* ‘heart’ and *seseg* ‘flower’;  
*güzēn übhen* ‘plantain (*Lat.* *Plantágo*; *Rus.* подорожник)’ < *güzēn* ‘belly, paunch’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*xabdar nogōn* ‘Western Buryat plantain or plantago (*Lat.* *Plantágo*; *Rus.* подорожник)’ < *xabdar* ‘swelling’ and *nogōn* ‘grass’;

(2.2.2.1.f) Some plant names indicate the scent or taste of the plant:

*šexer übhen* ‘Chinese liquorice (*Lat.* *Glycyrrhiza uralensis*; *Rus.* солодка уральская)’ < *šexer* ‘sweet’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*xalūn übhen* ‘pepper (*Lat.* *Capsicum frutescens*; *Rus.* перец)’ < *xalūn* ‘hot’ and *übhen* ‘hay’

(2.2.2.1.g) Some terms refer to a geographical place, type of environment or the time of flowering:

*ūla übhen* ‘coltsfoot (*Lat.* *Tussilágo*; *Rus.* мать-и-мачеха)’ < *ūla* ‘mountain’ and *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*main seseg* ‘lily-of-the-valley, *Convallaria majalis* (*Lat.* *Convallária majális*; *Rus.* ландыш)’ < *mai* ‘May’ + *n* {GEN} and *seseg* ‘flower’;

(2.2.2.1.h) In some cases the same lexemes designating items occur with different ‘general’ stems:

*šüder* ‘hobble’;  
*šüder übhen* ‘field bindweed (*Lat.* *Convōlvulus arvēnsis*; *Rus.* вьюнок полевой), cf. *übhen* ‘hay’;  
*šüder seseg* ‘greater celandine (*Lat.* *Chelidónium május*; *Rus.* чистотел большой), cf. *seseg* ‘flower’;

*šüder urgamal* ‘liana (*Rus.* лиана), cf. *urgamal* ‘plant’;  
*zula* ‘lamp, candle’;  
*zula seseg* ‘lemon daylily (*Lat.* *Hemerocallis lilioasphodelus*; *Rus.* лилия жёлтая, красоднев), cf. *seseg* ‘flower’;  
*altan zula seseg* ‘tulip (*Lat.* *Túlipa*; *Rus.* тюльпан), cf. *altan* ‘golden’ and *seseg* ‘flower’;

(2.2.2.1.i) Some plant names include the names of species:

*ülen übhen* ‘sedge (*Lat.* *Cárex*; *Rus.* осока) < *ülen* ‘alkali grass (*Lat.* *Puccinellia tenuiflora*)’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*narhan übhen* ‘field horsetail (*Lat.* *Equisétum arvénsé*; *Rus.* хвощ полевой) < *narhan* ‘pine-tree’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;  
*xüsi übhen* ‘medick (*Lat.* *Medicágo*; *Rus.* люцерна) < *xüsi* ‘Cinquefoils (*Lat.* *Potentilla*)’ and *übhen* ‘hay, grass’;

2.2.2.2. Compounds with semantic **determiner** and a ‘**head**’ designating different plant species

The second group of compounds contains the names of certain plant species, it serves as a head of compounds, while a determiner includes different lexemes referring to (2.2.2.2.a) animals, (2.2.2.2.b) colors, (2.2.2.2.c) taste or size, (2.2.2.2.d) place of environment, or (2.2.2.2.e) associated names of instruments. The names of definite plant species are **shrub plants** such as *arsa* ‘juniper’ and *burgāhan* ‘willow’, **grassy plants** *ürmedehen* ‘sagebrush’, *xalāxai* ‘nettle’, *zamarhan* ‘seaweed’ and *xulhan* ‘reed’, **trees** such as *zērgene* ‘joint pine’, **flowering plant** such as *xüsi* ‘cinquefoil’, and various **berries** such as *ulāgana* ‘oxalis’, *xülzergene* ‘blackcurrant’ and *nerhen* ‘blueberry’.

(2.2.2.2.a) The plants named after animals include lexemes *sheep*, *lamb*, *goat*, *camel*, *horse* and *bull*:

*xonin arsa* ‘savin juniper (*Lat.* *Juníperus sabína*; *Rus.* можжевельник казачий) < *xonin* ‘sheep’ and *arsa* ‘juniper’;  
*xonin burgāhan* ‘gray willow (*Lat.* *Salix glauca*; *Rus.* ива сизая) < *xonin* ‘sheep’ and *burgāhan* ‘willow’;  
*xonin šaralža* ‘virgate wormwood (*Lat.* *Artemisia scopária*; *Rus.* полынь веничная) < *xonin* ‘sheep’ and *šaralža* ‘sagebrush’;

- xonin xüsi* 'bird vetch (*Lat.* *Vicia cracca*; *Rus.* мышинный горошек)' < *xonin* 'sheep' and *xüsi* 'Cinquefoils (*Lat.* *Potentilla*)';
- xonin zērgene* 'Ephedra przewalskii (*Lat.* *Ephedra przewalskii*; *Rus.* хвойник Пржевальского)' < *xonin* 'sheep' and *zērgene* 'joint pine, Ephedra';
- xur'gan arsa* 'kind of juniper (*Lat.* *Juníperus*; *Rus.* можжевельник)' < *xur'gan* 'lamb' and *arsa* 'juniper';
- yamān arsa* 'Rhododendron (*Lat.* *Rhododéndron*; *Rus.* рододендрон)' < *yamān* 'goat' and *arsa* 'juniper';
- yamān burgāhan* 'Siberian violet-willow (*Lat.* *Sáliz acutifólia*; *Rus.* ива-шелюга)' < *yamān* 'goat' and *burgāhan* 'willow';
- yamān zērgene* 'Ephedra minima (*Lat.* *Ephedra monosperma*; *Rus.* хвойник односемянный)' < *yamān* 'goat' and *zērgene* 'Joint Pine, Ephedra';
- temēn arsa* 'kind of juniper (*Lat.* *Juníperus*; *Rus.* можжевельник)' < *temēn* 'camel' and *arsa* 'juniper';
- temēn xalāxai* 'tumbleweed (*Rus.* перекасти-поле)' < *temēn* 'camel' and *xalāxai* 'nettle';
- morin ürmedehen* 'mugwort (*Lat.* *Artemisia vulgáris*; *Rus.* полынь обыкновенная, чернобыльник)' < *morin* 'horse' and *ürmedehen* 'sagebrush';
- üxer arsa* 'marsh labrador tea (*Lat.* *Rhododendron tomentosum*; *Rus.* багульник болотный)' < *üxer* 'bull, ox' and *arsa* 'juniper';

**(2.2.2.2.b)** The colors which are used with the certain plant names are *white* and *black*:

- sagān ürmedül* 'wormwood (*Lat.* *Artemisia absinthium*; *Rus.* полынь белая)' < *sagān* 'white' and *ürmedül* 'wild grass';
- sagān xalāxai* 'Bittercresses (*Lat.* *Cardámine*; *Rus.* сердечник, осот)' < *sagān* 'white' and *xalāxai* 'nettle';
- sagān xulhan* 'sugarcane (*Rus.* сахарный тростник)' < *sagān* 'white' and *xulhan* 'reed';
- xara nerhen* 'bilberry (*Lat.* *Vaccínium myrtillus*; *Rus.* черника)' < *xara* 'black' and *nerhen* 'blueberry';



(2.2.2.2.c) Names in this category highlight the taste or size of the plant:  
*gašūn ürmedehen* ‘*Artemisia sieversiana* (*Lat.* *Artemisia sieversiana*;  
*Rus.* полынь Сиверца)’ < *gašūn* ‘bitter’ and *ürmedehen* ‘sagebrush’;  
*tobšo ürmedehen* ‘absinthe wormwood (*Lat.* *Artemisia absinthium*; *Rus.*  
 полынь горькая)’ < *tobšo* ‘button; short’ and *ürmedehen* ‘sagebrush’;

(2.2.2.2.d) Plant names in this category refer to a geographical place or type of environment:

*dalain xulhan* ‘bamboo (*Lat.* *Bambúsa*; *Rus.* бамбук)’ < *dalai* ‘sea’ + *n* {GEN} *xulhan* ‘reed’;

*gazarai ulāgana* ‘stone bramble (*Lat.* *Rúbus saxátilis*; *Rus.* косяника)’ < *gazar* ‘land, ground’ + *Ai* {GEN} *ulāgana* ‘oxalis’;

*gazarai xülzergene* ‘*Ribes procumbens* (*Lat.* *Ribes procūmbens*; *Rus.* моховка)’ < *gazar* ‘land, ground’ + *Ai* {GEN} *xülzergene* ‘black currant’;

*uhan ürmedehen* ‘saltbush, orach (*Lat.* *Átriplex*; *Rus.* лебеда)’ < *uhan* ‘water’ and *ürmedehen* ‘sagebrush’;

*uhanai zamarhan* ‘water lily (*Lat.* *Nymphaea*; *Rus.* кувшинка, водяная лилия)’ < *uhan* ‘water’ + *Ai* {GEN} and *zamarhan* ‘seaweed, alga’;

*taryānai xalāxai* ‘shepherd’s purse (*Lat.* *Capsélla búrsa-pastóris*; *Rus.* пастушья сумка)’ < *taryān* ‘grain’ + *Ai* {GEN} and *xalāxai* ‘nettle’;

(2.2.2.2.e) The plant names are named after various instruments:

*asa xyāg* ‘*Elytrigia* (*Lat.* *Elytrigia*; *Rus.* пырей развилыстый)’ < *asa* ‘pitchfork’ and *xyāg* ‘wheat grass’;

*šüder übhen xüsī* ‘vetch, *Vicia amoena* (*Lat.* *Vicia amoena*; *Rus.* вика приятная, вязень)’ < *šüder* ‘hobble’, *übhen* ‘hay, grass’ and *xüsī* ‘cinquefoils (*Lat.* *Potentilla*)’;

### 2.2.2.3. Compounds where both parts are semantically shifted

Source domains of metaphors of this group can be uncovered in the various semantic categories such as (2.2.2.3.a) the zoological and (2.2.2.3.b) anthropomorphic metaphors, the metaphorical references to (2.2.2.3.c) objects and (2.2.2.3.d) natural objects:

(2.2.2.3.a) Twenty-one plant names of this category belong to zoological metaphors, the terms being named after either an animal or insect species and their body parts:

*üxer nyüden* 'black currant (*Lat. Ríbes nígrum*; *Rus. чёрная смородина*)' < *üxer* 'bull, ox' and *nyüden* 'eye';

*xirē nyüden* 'Paris (*Lat. Páris*; *Rus. вороний глаз*)' < *xirē* 'crow' and *nyüden* 'eye' and *nyüden* 'eye';

*xonin nyüden* 'daisy (*Lat. Béllis*; *Rus. маргаритка*)' < *xonin* 'sheep' and *nyüden* 'eye';

*dāgan šexen* 'garden sorrel (*Lat. Rúmex acetósa*; *Rus. конский щавель, щавель кислый*)' < *dāgan* 'colt, horse in the second year' and *šexen* 'ear';

*xulganin šexen* 'wood sorrel (*Lat. Óxalis*; *Rus. кислица; щавель*)' < *xul-gana* 'mouse' + *in* {GEN} and *šexen* 'ear';

*xur'gan šexen* 'docks (*Lat. Rumex*; *Rus. щавель*)' < *xur'gan* 'lamb' and *šexen* 'ear';

*mogoin xelen* 'sea-lavender (*Lat. Limonium*; *Rus. кермек*)' < *mogoi* 'snake' + *n* {GEN} and *xelen* 'tongue';

*nohoiñ xelen* 'Pulmonaria (*Lat. Pulmonária*; *Rus. медуница*)' < *nohoi* 'dog' + *n* {GEN} and *xelen* 'tongue';

*üxer xelen* 'sedge (*Lat. Cárex*; *Rus. осока*)' < *üxer* 'bull, ox' and *xelen* 'tongue';

*ünegenei hūl* 'green foxtail (*Lat. Setária víridis*; *Rus. щетинник зелёный, ячмень короткохвостый*)' < *ünegeñ* 'fox' + *Ai* {GEN} and *hūl* 'tail';

*xermen hūl* 'green foxtail (*Lat. Setária víridis*; *Rus. щетинник зелёный, ячмень короткоостый*)' < *xermen* 'squirrel' and *hūl* 'tail';

*temēnei hūl* 'marjoram (*Lat. Origanum majorana*; *Rus. душица*)' < *temēñ* 'camel' + *Ai* {GEN} and *hūl* 'tail';

*mogoin aman* 'common sage (*Lat. Sálvia officinális*; *Rus. шалфей лекарственный*)' < *mogoi* 'snake' + *n* {GEN} and *aman* 'mouth';

*bataganāñ xušūñ* 'widdy, tundra rose (*Lat. Dasiphora fruticosa*; *Rus. лапчатка кустарная*)' < *bataganāñ* 'fly' and *xušūñ* 'muzzle';

*nohoiñ xonšōr* 'dog-rose (*Lat. Rōsa*; *Rus. шиповник*)' < *nohoi* 'dog' + *n* {GEN} and *xonšōr* 'muzzle';

*temēnei tabgai* 'water lily (*Lat. Nymphaéa*; *Rus. кувшинка*)' < *temēñ* 'camel' + *Ai* {GEN} and *taggai* 'paw';

*texin šēg* ‘currant (*Lat.* *Ribes*; *Rus.* смородина иглистая, морошка)’  
 < *texe* ‘male of the mountain goat’ + *in* {GEN} and *šēg* ‘male animals  
 genital organ’;  
*xur’gan zahā* ‘Asian globeflower (*Lat.* *Trollius asiaticus*; *Rus.* жарки,  
 купальница азиатская)’ < *xur’gan* ‘lamb’ and *zahā* ‘male testicles’;  
*šonin hixe* ‘*Alari Buryat* bellflower (*Lat.* *Campánula*; *Rus.* колоколь-  
 чики)’ < *sono* ‘wolf’ + *in* {GEN} and *hixe* ‘earrings’;  
*üxer budag* ‘dragonhead (*Lat.* *Dracocéphalum*; *Rus.* змееголовник)’  
 < *üxer* ‘bull, ox’ and *budag* ‘paint, dye’;

(2.2.2.3.b) Names in the anthropomorphic category refer to the human body and its parts:

*hembegerxen ühen* ‘martagon lily or Turk’s cap lily (*Lat.* *Lilium már-  
 tagon*; *Rus.* цветок сараны)’ < *hembeger* ‘fluffy’ + *xAn* {DIM} and  
*ühen* ‘hair’;  
*xara tolgoi* ‘crested wheatgrass (*Lat.* *Agropyron cristatum*; *Rus.* житняк  
 гребенчатый)’ < *xara* ‘black’ and *tolgoi* ‘head’;  
*ulān tolgoi* ‘bentgrass (*Lat.* *Agrostis*; *Rus.* полевица Триинуса)’ < *ulān*  
 ‘red’ and *tolgoi* ‘head’;  
*alag nyüden* ‘wild pansy (*Lat.* *Viola tricolor*; *Rus.* анютины глазки,  
 фиалка трёхцветная)’ < *alag* ‘motley’ and *nyüden* ‘eye’;  
*lama tarxi* ‘cotton thistle (*Lat.* *Onopordum acanthium*; *Rus.* татарник  
 колючий)’ < *lama* ‘buddhist monk’ and *tarxi* ‘brain’;

(2.2.2.3.c) Metaphorical references to objects, geometric shapes:

*šara dere* ‘sage (*Lat.* *Sālvia*; *Rus.* шалфей)’ < *šara* ‘yellow’ and *dere*  
 ‘pillow’;  
*senxir xonxonūd* ‘bellflower (*Lat.* *Campánula*; *Rus.* колокольчик)’  
 < *senxir* ‘light blue’ and *xonxonūd* ‘bells (pl.)’;  
*xongor zula* ‘globe thistle (*Lat.* *Echinops dahuricus*; *Rus.* мордовник  
 даурский)’ < *xongor* ‘cute, attractive’ and *zula* ‘candle, lamp’;  
*sagān dali* ‘*Rhododendron adamsii* (*Lat.* *Rhododēndron adāmsii*; *Rus.*  
 рододендрон Адамса)’ < *sagān* ‘white’ and *dali* ‘wing’;  
*taban halā* ‘plantago (*Lat.* *Plantāgo*; *Rus.* подорожник)’ < *taban* ‘five’  
 and *halā* ‘branch’;

## (2.2.2.3.d) Metaphorical reference to a natural object:

*tengerin düli* 'lycoperdon (*Lat.* Lycoperdon; *Rus.* гриб дождевик)' < *tengeri* 'sky' + *in* {GEN} *düli* 'deaf';

*gazarai bed'xe* 'Bokhan dial. potato (*Lat.* Solánium tuberósum; *Rus.* картофель)' < *gazar* 'land, ground' + *Ai* {GEN} *bed'xe* 'bump, swelling';

## (2.2.2.3.e) The terms including abstract names:

*altan aya* 'British yellowhead or meadow fleabane (*Lat.* Pentanéma británnicum, *Ínula británnica*; *Rus.* девясил британский)' < *altan* 'golden' and *aya* 'tone, melody';

(2.2.2.3.f) The next three names of plants include the lexeme *food*, which can be explained in two cases literally and in one case figuratively:

*üxer edyēn* 'prune, damson (*Rus.* чернослив)' < *üxer* 'bull, ox' and *edyēn* 'food';

*yexe edyēn* 'peony (*Lat.* Paeónia; *Rus.* пион)' < *yexe* 'big' and *edyēn* 'food';

*bōxoldoin edyēn* 'belladonna or deadly nightshade (*Lat.* *Atrópa bel-ladónna*; *Rus.* волчья ягода)' < *lit.* 'devil's food': *bōxoldoi* 'devil' + *n* {GEN} and *edyēn* 'food'.

## Conclusion

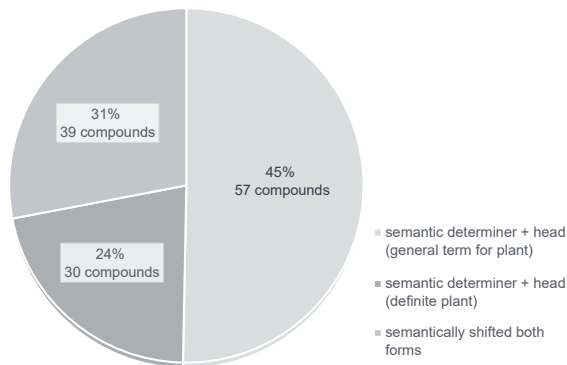
The most productive way of word formation in Buryat, as in other Mongolic languages, is a derivation via suffixation. The aim of the paper has been to find out which methods of word-formation are involved in forming the plant names in Buryat. It has revealed that the largest part of plant names belongs to compounds.

In all, one hundred and twenty-six compound plant names were collected from the Literary Buryat language. The material shows that the most of the compounds belong to the *noun* + *noun* structure, where a small part is linked with the ending of the genitive case. Another large group of compounds uses the *adjective* + *noun* structure, and only one compound each consists of *numeral* and *interjection* + *noun*, respectively (Table 3).

**Table 3. Statistical occurrence of analyzed compound patterns**

Pattern	Number	Percent
Noun + noun	57	45%
Noun with genitive ending + noun	25	20%
Adjective + noun	42	34%
Numeral + noun	1	1%
Interjection + noun	1	
Total:	126	

According to the type, the most of data – 57 compounds – are formed as *semantic determiner + head*, where *head* includes general terms such as *flower, tree, hay, grass, plant, mushroom, grain* and their parts such as *root* and *stem* (Table 4).

**Table 4. Statistical occurrence of compound types**

The semantic source domains of most compounds are animal names, body parts names and colors. One compound each refers to natural object and abstract name, respectively (Table 5). It is important to note that the compounds where both forms are semantically shifted can be included in two different semantic groups, e.g. animal and name of body part: *üxer nyüden* ‘black currant, *lit.* bull eye’; human and name of body part’: *lama tarxi* ‘cotton thistle, *lit.* buddhist monk’s brain’; color and name of body part: *sagān dali* ‘Rhododendron adamsii, *lit.* white wing’; color and object: *šara dere* ‘sage, *lit.* yellow pillow’ etc., which were counted twice.

**Table 5. Statistical occurrence of semantic groups of compounds**

Semantic source domains	Number
Names of animals, birds and insects	42
Body part names of people and animals	32
Color terms	26
Names of objects or instruments	18
Type of environment and flowering period	9
Human characteristics	8
Taste of plant	6
Size or shape	5
Name of food	3
Material	2
Name of disease	2
Natural object	1
Abstract name	1

Due to an essential mismatch of the Buryat names of plants with Khalkha and Kalmuck – other members of the non-archaic (or central) group of Modern Mongol languages – the comparative data from other Mongolic languages were not collected. It would be important to compare data with other Mongolic languages too in a future study.

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# Mongolic Loanwords in Manchu: Equestrian Terminology

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**Summary:** The aim of this paper is to analyze the Mongolic loanwords in Manchu equestrian terminology from an etymological and morphological perspective. The many loanwords in Manchu confirm details regarding Mongolic–Tungusic cultural and linguistic contacts. At the same time, the study also shows how horse-related terminology is significant in the Altaic world.

## Introduction

In the Altaic world,<sup>1</sup> horses were essential, not only for the Turkic and Mongol ethnicities but also for certain Tungusic peoples<sup>2</sup> who adopted nomadic elements from the Mongols, among them the Manchus. In the Manchu language, the terminology for animal husbandry, including horse-related matters, contains a large number of Mongolic loanwords. This work follows the anti-Altaic school, which holds that the similarities in vocabulary, morphological and syntactic structure between these languages (Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic) are merely a result of long-lasting cultural and linguistical contacts.<sup>3</sup> Words related to horses are special cultural terms. Most of them became cultural wanderwords and

- 1) I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to Veronika Zikmundová and her colleagues who made the Language Contacts in the Altaic Word International Workshop happen in Prague. Secondly, I would also like to thanks Fanni Baranyi, who continouosly supported and helped me.
- 2) The Tungusic people were primarily gatherers and reindeer herders, but some of them adopted a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle.
- 3) For more detailed discussion of the different opinions and the main stages in the history of Altaic Studies, see Georg (2003, pp. 429–434); Starostin et al. (2003, pp. 7–11) and Robbeets (2005, pp. 18–24).

spread across the Eurasian Steppe.<sup>4</sup> As a result, it can be shown that Turkic terms were borrowed into Mongolic and Tungusic<sup>5</sup> (via Mongolic), and Mongolic words borrowed into Turkic and Tungusic.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, both Turkic and Mongolic loanwords appear in other languages as well, e.g. Persian, Russian, Hungarian, etc.

This topic is related to my forthcoming thesis, the topic of which is the etymological and morphological examination of the Mongolic equestrian terminology. The main purpose is to determine and separate the Turkic loanwords in Mongolic.<sup>7</sup> Based on the results, it is possible to determine the early cultural and linguistic contacts between the Turks and Mongols in the field of horse-keeping. An important detail is that the terms related to the age and sex of the horse, or the names of harness components, differ completely between the Turks and Mongols, cf. East Old Turkic *at* 'saddle horse' vs. Mongolic *mori(n)*; East Old Turkic *bē, qīsrāq* 'mare' vs. Mongolic *gegüü*; East Old Turkic *qulun, sīp* 'foal' vs. Mongolic *unaya(n)*, East Old Turkic *āḍār* 'saddle' vs. Mongolic *emegel*, East Old Turkic *yügün* 'bridle' vs. Mongolic *qajayar*, etc. This finding can provide linguistic

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- 4) When the etymology of the word is unclear and lacks an explanation from Turkic or Mongolic origins, it could conceivably have been borrowed from a third language. This area is open for future study.
  - 5) North Tungus: Evenki, Even, Negidal; South Tungus: Manchu group: Jurchen (Old Manchu), Manchu, Sibe; Amur group: Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch, Udehe (Janhunen 2012, p. 16).
  - 6) Tungusic loanwords were also borrowed into Turkic and Mongolic, but the relevance of these is lesser; moreover, they do not appear in the equestrian terminology in Mongolic or Turkic. From Manchu administration, there exist courtly and (fewer) colloquial terms borrowed into Mongolic from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Mongols lived under the Qing dynasty, which had Manchu origins (Rozycki 1994, p. 230).
  - 7) These loanwords in Mongolic can be Common Turkic or West Old Turkic, which is also called Bulghar Turkic. The latter is the oldest Turkic layer in Mongolic and frequent in the terminology of animal husbandry. The West Old Turkic words were borrowed before the eighth century. Several semantical, phonetic, and morphological criteria determine which words belong to this layer, cf. the Common Turkic *y-* vs. Mongolic *d-, n-, j-* correspondence, rhotacism, lambda-cism, etc (for more detailed discussion, see Schönig 200, pp. 407–410).

proof that the Turks and Mongols domesticated the horse separately.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the main terms for horse harness in Manchu are of Mongolic origin, as are the terms connected to age and sex (e.g. horse, stallion, mare, gelding, foal, colt).<sup>9</sup>

This work involves the common equestrian terms from Manchu<sup>10</sup> and it attempts to establish regular phenomena in the equestrian terminology within the Altaic world. Specifically, the following question will be addressed in detail: what can be stated about Manchu equestrian culture from the Mongolic loanwords and how does it relate to the Turkic and Mongol peoples?

### Studies on Mongolic–Tungusic contacts

Undoubtedly, the Mongolic impact has played a significant role in the Tungusic languages. Yet despite the evident importance of the Mongolic–Tungusic contacts for Altaic Studies, they have been the subject of less research than the Turkic–Mongolic relationships. The best works on the linguistic relations between the two groups are the comparative monography of Sanžeev (1930), the article of Poppe (1966), the paper of Ligeti (1979) where he deals with the old Mongolic elements in Manchu, Doerfer's MT (1985) *Mongolo–Tungusica* and the monograph of Rozycki (1994), which was one of the main sources used for this examination. In recent years, Khabtagaeva presented several different works (e.g. 2017) in the field of Mongolic–Tungusic and Turkic–Tungusic language contacts.

8) For more detailed discussion, see Clauson 1964, pp. 161–166.

9) While the names of the one- (*unaḡan*) and two-year-old (*daḡan*) foal are borrowed from Mongolic, some names of the colt in different ages are of Manchu origin, cf. *sučutu* '2-year-old foal', *artu* '3-year-old foal'.

10) Among the Tungusic languages, the strongest Mongolic influence in the equestrian terminology appears to be in Manchu and Evenki. While most of the Evenkis are gatherers and reindeer herders (*oročen* < *oron* 'reindeer') some of them became equestrian nomads, called *murčen* (< *murin* 'horse' ← Mongolic *morin* 'id.').

## The examination

The main source of this examination is Rozycki's *Mongol Elements in Manchu* (1994) and the Manchu dictionary by Hauer (1952). As the Manchu equestrian terminology has not yet been fully collected, only the available Mongolic loanwords from these works are used in the examined corpus. This research aims to collect and analyze the Manchu equestrian terms borrowed from Mongolic in a morphological and etymological perspective. The etymology and morphology of the collected Mongolic words were mentioned in various works such as Khabtagaeva (2001, 2009), Nugteren (2011), and Tumurtogoo (2018).

Similarly, any Mongolic loanwords which have a Turkic origin are themselves noted. The etymology of the Turkic words has been mentioned in various etymological dictionaries of Turkic languages by Räsänen VEWT (1969), Clauson ED (1972), Sevortjan (1974, 1980), and ESTJa (1989, 1997, 2000, 2003). Certain Turkic–Mongolic comparative works were essential for this examination, such as Doerfer TMEN (1963–1975), Khabtagaeva (2009, 2017), Kincses-Nagy (2018). The monograph of Róna-Tas and Berta (WOT 2011) also contains important information related to this topic.

The collected words were grouped in the following topics: 1. Terms connected to age, sex, special features, and behavior of the horse (13 words), 2. Terms of horse harness and equipment (15 words), 3. Terms of horse color names (21 words), 4. Terms of horse anatomy (6 words). All relevant items of information (chronological and geographical spread, literature, etc.) about the analyzed words is registered in the footnotes.

## 1. Terms connected to age, sex, special features and behavior of the horse

Manchu *adun*<sup>11</sup> ‘herd, swarm’ (Hauer 1952, p. 11) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *aduyun*<sup>12</sup> ‘herd of horses, horse’ (Lessing 1996, pp. 9b, 11b) < \**adu* + *GUn*<sup>13</sup> {Mongolic denominal noun: Szabó 1943, §167};

Manchu *ajirgan* ~ *ajirḡan*<sup>14</sup> ‘a male horse, donkey, camel or dog’ (Hauer 1952, p. 27) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *ajiry-a(n)*<sup>15</sup> ‘stallion’ (Lessing 1996, p. 62b);

Manchu *aqta*<sup>16</sup> ‘gelding’ (Hauer 1952, p. 29) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *ayta*<sup>17</sup> ‘gelding’ (Lessing 1996, p. 15b);

- 11) Cf. Sibe *adun*; Nanai, Evenki, Even, Orok *abdu*; Solon *adū*; Negidal *abdun* (for more Tungusic data and details, see MT, §282; Rozycki 1994, p. 11).
- 12) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *aduyūn*; Secret History *adu’u(n)*; ‘Phags-pa *adu’ūn*; Ibn-Muh. *adūn*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *adū(n)*; Buryat *adū(n)*; Oirat dialects *adūn* ~ *adū*; Kalmuck *adūn*; Ordos *adū*; Onon Khamnigan *adū(n)*; Dagur *adō* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 265; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 57, 153). The Mongolic word is also borrowed into Turkic (for more Turkic data and details, see Doerfer TMEN 1, §10; Starostin et. al 2003, p. 317; Kincses Nagy 2018, p. 40).
- 13) The Mongolic denominal noun suffix +*GUn* creates name of the animals and body parts.
- 14) Cf. Jurchen *ajir morin* ‘stallion’; Evenki *ažirga*; Solon *addiga* ~ *adirga*; Nanai *ažirga* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 17a; MT, §184; Rozycki 1994, p. 14).
- 15) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *ajiry-a*; Secret History *ajirqa*; Yiyu *ajarya*; Hua-yi yi-yu *ajirqa*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *ajirqa*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *ajirya*; Ibn-Muhanna *ajirya*; Leiden *ajirya*; Istanbul *ajirya*; Rasulid Hexaglott *ajirḡa*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *adzarg(an)*; Buryat *azarga*; Kalmuck *adžirḡ*; Oirat dialects *adži’argă* ~ *ažărgă* ~ *adžirḡă* ~ *adžirḡă* ~ *adžărgă* ~ *adžărgă*; Ordos *adžarga*; Onon Khamnigan *adzarga*; Dagur *ad’reg* ~ *ažreg* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 266; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 57, 146; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 14).
- 16) Cf. Jurchen *akta morin*; Evenki *aktakī*; Even *ata*; Solon, Nanai, *akta*; Orok *xakta* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 26a; MT, §2; Rozycki 1994, p. 15).
- 17) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *ayta*; Secret History *aqta*; Yiyu *aqta*; Hua-yi yi-yu *aqta* ~ *ayta*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *aqda*; Rasulid Hexaglott *aḡta*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *agt(an)*; Buryat *agta*; Oirat dialects *aktă* ~ *agt*; Kalmuck *akt’*; Ordos

Manchu *čira*<sup>18</sup> ‘powerfull (of horses)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 150) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čiyiray* ~ *čigereg*<sup>19</sup> ‘strong, robust, powerfull’ (Lessing 1996, p. 179b);

Manchu *daḡan*<sup>20</sup> ‘a horse from two to five years old’ (Hauer 1952, p. 170) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *dayay-a(n)* ~ *daya(n)*<sup>21</sup> ‘colt between one and two years’ (Lessing 1996, p. 216a) < *daya-* ‘to follow’ (Lessing, p. 216a) -GA(n) {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §149};

Manchu *elmin*<sup>22</sup> ‘an unbroken horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 245) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *elemeg* ~ *emleg* ~ *emneg* ~ *emnig*<sup>23</sup> ‘wild, untrained, unbroken horse’ (Lessing, pp. 308b, 310a, 314a);

Manchu *geo*<sup>24</sup> ‘mare’ (Hauer 1952, p. 345) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *gegiü(n)* ~ *geü*<sup>25</sup> ‘mare’ (Lessing 1996, p. 374b);

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*ag'ta*; Onon Khamnigan *agta*; Dagur *art* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 266, Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 57; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 11).

18) For more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 399a; MT, §394; Rozycki 1994, p. 48.

19) Cf. Middle Mongol: Hua-yi yi-yu *či'iraq*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *čireg*; Buryat *širag*; Kalmuck *čirag*; Ordos *tš'iraq* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 301; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 344).

20) For more Tungusic data and details, see MT, §286; Rozycki 1994, p. 53.

21) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *da'āqan*; Yiyu *dāya*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *dāqan*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *dāyan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dāga(n)*; Buryat *dāga(n)*; Kalmuck *dāy'n*; Ordos *dāga*; Onon Khamnigan *dāga(n)*; Dagur *dāg* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 309; Róna-Tas & Berta 2011, pp. 366–368; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 76.).

22) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 450b; Rozycki 1994, pp. 68–69.

23) Cf. Middle Mongol: Muqaddimat Al-Adab *emlik*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *elemeg* ~ *emneg*; Buryat *emnig*; Kalmuck *elməg* ~ *emnak* ~ *ermek*; Oirat dialects *emneg*; Ordos *elmek* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 329).

24) Cf. Jurchen *ge morin*; Evenki, Solon *gēg* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 45 a–b; MT, §326; Rozycki 1994, p. 88).

25) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *gegün*; Secret History *ge'u(n)*; Yiyu *gewü*; Hua-yi yi-yu *ge'un*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *ge'ün*; Leiden *geün*; Rasulid Hexaglott *geü*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *gū(n)*; Buryat *gū(n)*; Oirat dialects *gün* ~ *gū*; Kalmuck *gū(n)*; Ordos *gū*; Onon Khamnigan *gū*; Dagur *geu* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 342).

Manchu *joran*<sup>26</sup> ‘ambler (of a horse)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 547) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jiroy-a* ~ *joriy-a*<sup>27</sup> ‘ambling, fast amble, ambler’ (Lessing 1996, p. 1061a);

Manchu *qaidu* ~ *qaideo*<sup>28</sup> ‘lone (horse), single (horse)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 568) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qayiday* [*morin*] ‘single horse’ (Lessing 1996, p. 912a);

Manchu *kuluk*<sup>29</sup> ‘enduring horse’ (Rozycki 1994, p. 145) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *kölüg* ~ *külüg*<sup>30</sup> ‘a strong and swift horse’ (Lessing 1996, p. 501a);

Manchu *morin*<sup>31</sup> ‘horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 666) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *mori(n)*<sup>32</sup> ‘horse, equine’ (Lessing 1996, p. 543b);

Manchu *taxi*<sup>33</sup> ‘wild horse, (*Equus przewalskii*)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 879) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *taki*<sup>34</sup> ‘wild horse’ (Lessing 1996, p. 770a);

26) Cf. Evenki *žirē* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 260a; MT, §73; Rozycki 1994, p. 125).

27) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *jiroy-a*; Yiyu *joriya*; Leiden *joriya*; Istanbul *jorya*; Rasulid Hexaglott *joriya*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dzorō*; Buryat *žorō*; Oirat dialects *džorā* ~ *žorō* ~ *džorō*; Kalmuck *džorā*; Ordos *džirō*; Onon Khamnigan *džirō*; Dagur *žirō* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 161; Nugteren 2011, p. 388; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 118.).

28) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 362a; Rozycki 1994, p. 129.

29) For more details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 145.

30) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xölög* ~ *xüleg*; Buryat *xüleg*; Kalmuck *külüg*; Oirat dialects *külüg* ~ *kölöög*; Ordos *k’uluk*; Onon Khamnigan *külüg* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 193; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 319).

31) Cf. Jurchen *morin*; Evenki, Even *murin*; Solon *morī*; Udehe *mui* ~ *muji*; Ulcha, Orok *muri(n)*; Nanai *morī* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 558b–559a; MT, §51; Rozycki 1994, p. 159).

32) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *morin*; Secret History *mori(n)*; Yiyu *morin*; Hua-yi *yi-yu morin*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *muri*; ‘Phags-pa *morin*; Leiden *mori*; Ibn-Muhanna *mori*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *morin*; Istanbul *mori* ~ *morin*; Rasulid Hexaglott *mori*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *mor’(morin)*; Buryat *mori(n)*; Kalmuck *mörn*, ~ *mörn*, ~ *morn*,; Oirat dialects *mör<sup>n</sup>* ~ *mör* ~ *morin*; Ordos *mori*; Onon Khamnigan *mori(n)*; Dagur *mor’* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 446; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 118–119).

33) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 153b; Rozycki 1994, p. 197.

34) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *tax*; Kalmuck *takv*; Oirat dialects *takā* ~ *tākāā*.

Manchu *unaḡan*<sup>35</sup> 'foal up to one year old, yearling colt' (Hauer 1952, p. 962) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *unaya(n)*<sup>36</sup> 'one-year-old foal' colt' (Lessing 1996, p. 875b);

## 2. Terms of horse harness and equipment

Manchu *burgiyen*<sup>37</sup> 'pommel' (Hauer 1952, p. 127) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *bügürge(n)*<sup>38</sup> 'the pommel of a saddle' (Lessing 1996, p. 145a) < \**bügü-* -*r* {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §178} + *GA(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280};

Manchu *čilburi*<sup>39</sup> 'a guide rope...a tether' (Hauer 1952, p. 147) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čilbuyur* ~ *čulbuyur*<sup>40</sup> 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle, tether' (Lessing 1996, p. 182b);

35) Cf. Evenki *unukān* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 275b; MT, §364; Rozycki 1994, p. 218).

36) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *unayan*; Secret History *unoqan*; Yiyu *unaya*; Hua-yi yi-yu *unuqan* ~ *unuyan*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *unuqon*; Leiden *unayan*; Ibn-Muhanna *unaya*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *unayan*; Rasulid Hexaglott *unuqan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *unaga(n)*; Buryat *unaga(n)*; Kalmuck *unyy*; Oirat dialects *unāgān* ~ *unūgūn*; Ordos *unaga*; Onon Khamnigan *unaga(n)* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 532; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 140, 159, 163, 185; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 270).

37) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 107a; Rozycki 1994, p. 40.

38) Cf. Middle Mongol: Zhiyuan Yiyu *būrge*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *būreg* ~ *būrgen*; Buryat *būrge*; Kalmuck *būr<sup>a</sup>g* ~ *būrgä*; Oirat dialects *būrūg*; Ordos *būrge*; Dagur *būrgu*.

39) For more details, see MT, §583; Rozycki 1994, p. 48.

40) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *čilbur*; Yiyu *čulbūr*; Hua-yi yi-yu *čilbur*; Istanbul *čulbur*; Rasulid Hexaglott *čilbur*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *culbūr*; Kalmuck *culwūr*; Oirat dialects *tsulwūr* ~ *tsulūr* ~ *tsulwūr* ~ *tsulbūr* ~ *tsolwūr*; Ordos *tš'ulbūr*; Dagur *šolbōr* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 302). After the Mongol invasion borrowed into Turkic and other different languages (for more data and details, see Doerfer TMEN 1, §181).



Manchu *enggemu*<sup>41</sup> ‘saddle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 252) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *emegel*<sup>42</sup> ‘saddle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 312a);

Manchu *ganjuḥan*<sup>43</sup> ‘thongs attached to a saddle for carrying gear’ (Hauer 1952, p. 334) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *yanju-y-a(n)*<sup>44</sup> ‘thongs attached to a saddle for tying an object’ (Lessing 1996, p. 350a);

Manchu *gorgi*<sup>45</sup> ‘clasp on the girth of a horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 375) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *yorki*<sup>46</sup> ‘buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp’;

Manchu *julḥū*<sup>47</sup> ‘reins’ (Hauer 1952, p. 554) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jiloy-a(n)*<sup>48</sup> ‘reins’ (Lessing 1996, p. 1055b);

41) Cf. Jurchen *engemer*; Evenki *emegen*, Solon *emegel*, Even *emgun*; Orok *emē(n)* ~ *emegen* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 452b; MT, §23; Rozycki 1994, p. 70).

42) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *emegēl*; Secret History *eme’el*; Yiyu *eme’el*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *emēl*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *emēl*; Ibn Muhanna *emēl*; Leiden *emēl*; Rasulid Hexaglott *emēl*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *emēl*; Buryat *emēl*; Kalmuck *emēl*; Oirat dialects *emāl* ~ *emāl*; Ordos *emēl* ~ *semēl*; Onon Khamnigan *emēl* ~ *emōl* ~ *ömōl*; Dagur *āmāl* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 329; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 82–83).

43) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 139b; MT, §324; Rozycki 1994, p. 86.

44) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qanjuqa*; Yiyu *ganjuya*; Rasulid Hexaglott *qanjuqa*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *gandzaga(n)*; Buryat *ganzaga*; Kalmuck *ganz’yy*; Ordos *gandžugu*; Onon Khamnigan *gandzagu(n)* ~ *gandzaga(n)*; Dagur *ganjuḡu*.

45) Cf. Evenki *gorgi*; Solon *gurgi*; Udehe *guagi* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 161ba; MT, §216; Rozycki 1994, p. 91).

46) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qorgit* (plural); Modern Mongol: Khalkha *gorxi*; Buryat *gor’yo*; Kalmuck *gorgi*; Ordos *gorgi*; Dagur *goryy* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 342).

47) Cf. Solon *žiluga* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 276b; MT, §333; Rozycki 1994, p. 126).

48) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *jiluy-a*; Secret History *jilo’a* ~ *jilu’a*; Ibn Muhanna *jolā*; Leiden *jilawu*; Rasulid Hexaglott *jilau*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dzolō(n)*; Buryat *žolō*; Kalmuck *džolā*; Oirat dialects *džolā* ~ *džolō*; Ordos *džilō*; Onon Khamnigan *jilō* ~ *jolō*; Dagur *dilō* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 387; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 94). After the Mongol invasion borrowed into Turkic and other different languages (for more data and details, see Doerfer TMEN 1, §164).

Manchu *ḡabta*<sup>49</sup> ‘wing of the saddle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 402) ← Mongolic \**qabta*: cf. Literary Mongolian *qabtasu(n)*<sup>50</sup> ‘board in general, pommel of the saddle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 899b) < Mongolic root \**qabta* + *sU(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe 1964, §137};

Manchu *ḡadala*<sup>51</sup> ‘horse’s bridle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 404) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qajayar*<sup>52</sup> ‘bridle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 947b);

Manchu *ḡanggai*<sup>53</sup> ‘packsaddle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 418) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qangqai* [*emegel*]<sup>54</sup> ‘a kind of packsaddle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 930a) < *qangqai* ‘large, empty, unfurnished’ (Lessing 1996, p. 930a) + *emegel* ‘saddle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 312a);

Manchu *qangtara*<sup>55</sup> ‘to tie the reins to the pommel of a saddle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 573) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qantara*- ~ *qantar*<sup>56</sup> ‘to tie the bridle of a horse to the saddle’ (Lessing 1996, 930b);

49) For more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 377a–b; MT, §57; Rozycki p. 96.

50) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *qabtasun*; Secret History *qabdasun* ~ *qabtasun*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *qabtasu* ~ *qabdasu*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qabtasun*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xawtas(an)*; Buryat *xabtaha(n)*; Kalmuck *xaptʰsn*; Oirat dialects *xabtsāsān*; Ordos *yabtasu*; Onon Khamnigan *xabtasun* ~ *xabtasun*; Dagur *kartās* ~ *kabtāl* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 264; Nugteren 2011, p. 397).

51) Cf. Solon *xadal* (for more Tungusic data and details, see Ligeti 1979, p. 44; MT, §135; Rozycki 1994, p. 97).

52) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qadaʼar* ~ *qadār*; Yiyu *qadār*; Hua-yi yi-yu *qadaʼar*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *qadār*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qadār* ~ *qadāl*; Leiden *qadār*; Istanbul *qadār*; Rasulid Hexaglott *qadār*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xazār*; Buryat *xazār*; Kalmuck *xazār*; Ordos *xadzār*; Oirat dialects *xazār*; Onon Khamnigan *xazār*; Dagur *xadāl* (for more Mongolic data and details, see Nugteren 2011, p. 401).

53) Cf. Evenki, Even *kan̄ka*; Nanai *xan̄ga* (for more Tungusic data and details, see MT, §672; Rozycki 1994, p. 101).

54) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xan̄xai emēl*; Ordos *xan̄gā emēl*.

55) Cf. Evenki *kantaraw*- (for more Tungusic data and details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 132).

56) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xantar*-; Buryat *xantar*-; Kalmuck *ḡantar*-; Ordos *ḡantar*-.

Manchu *qūdargan*<sup>57</sup> ‘crupper (of a horse)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 606) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qudury-a(n)*<sup>58</sup> ‘crupper’ (Lessing 1996, p. 980b);

Manchu *olon*<sup>59</sup> ‘girth of a horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 734) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *olong* ~ *olang*<sup>60</sup> ‘the right-hand saddle girth, which has the buckle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 610a);

Manchu *taxan*<sup>61</sup> ‘horseshoe’ (Hauer 1952, p. 879) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *taq-a*<sup>62</sup> ‘horseshoe’ (Lessing 1996, p. 788b);

Manchu *toxoma*<sup>63</sup> ‘a leather covering that hangs down on both sides of the saddle’ (Hauer 1952, p. 909) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *toqom*<sup>64</sup> ‘saddle fender made of felt or leather, which is attached to the

57) Cf. Jurchen *hudila*; Evenki *kudurga* (for more Tungusic data and details, see MT, §297; Rozycki 1994, p. 148).

58) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qudurqa*; Yiyu *qudurya*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *qudurqa*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qudurya*; Ibn Muhanna *qudurya*; Leiden *qudurya*; Rasulid Hexaglott *qudurğa*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xudraga*; Buryat *xudarga*; Kalmuck *xudryv*; Oirat dialects *xudürgä* ~ *xudrāgā* ~ *xuddürüg*; Ordos *xudurga*; Onon Khamnigan *xudurgu* ~ *xuyurga*; Dagur *xodrugū* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 431; Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 192–193; 2016, p. 110).

59) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 16a; MT, §348; Rozycki 1994, p. 168.

60) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *olang*; Yiyu *olam* ~ *olang*; Muq. *olang*; Ibn Muhanna *olan*; Leiden *olan*; Rasulid Hexaglott *qolan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *olom*; Buryat *ulam*; Kalmuck *olᠡ*,; Ordos *olon*; Onon Khamnigan *olom*; Dagur *olōn* ~ *olum* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 467).

61) Cf. Evenki *taka* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 253a; MT, §360; Rozycki 1994, p. 197).

62) Cf. Middle Mongol: Muqaddimat Al-Adab *taya*; Rasulid Hexaglott *taqa*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *tax*; Buryat *taxa*; Kalmuck *taxa*; Ordos *daxa*; Onon Khamnigan *taxa*; Dagur *tak* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 510).

63) Cf. Evenki *tokun* (for more Tungusic data and details, see MT, §362; Rozycki 1994, p. 209).

64) Cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *toko-m*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *tuqom*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *toqum*; Leiden *toyum*; Rasulid Hexaglott *toqum*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *toxom*; Buryat *toxom*; Kalmuck *tox<sup>o</sup>m*; Ordos *doxom*; Onon Khamnigan *toxom*; Dagur *toku* (for more Mongolic data, see Doerfer TMEN 1, §142; Nugteren 2011, p. 361; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 134).

saddle' (Lessing 1996, p. 830a) < *toqo-* 'to put on or over' (Lessing 1996, p. 829a) -*m* {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §164};

Manchu **urgan**<sup>65</sup> 'lasso' (Hauer 1952, p. 967) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *uyury-a* ~ *ury-a*<sup>66</sup> 'a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses' (Lessing 1996, pp. 865a, 881a);

### 3. Terms of horse color names

Manchu **burulu**<sup>67</sup> 'a horse having mixed red and white hair' (Hauer 1952, p. 128) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *buyural* ~ *buyurul*<sup>68</sup> 'grey, grey-haired, greyish' (Lessing 1996, p. 131b);

Manchu **burulu qara**<sup>69</sup> 'a fine black horse' (Rozycki 1994, p. 41) < *burulu* 'a horse having mixed red and white hair' (Hauer 1952, p. 128) + *kara* 'black (of animals)' (Hauer 1952, pp. 419, 574) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *buyural* ~ *buyurul* 'grey, grey-haired, greyish' (Lessing 1996, p. 131b) + *qar-a* 'black, dark' (Lessing 1996, pp. 931a–b);

Manchu **čabdara** ~ **čabdari**<sup>70</sup> 'a brown horse with white mane and tail' (Hauer 1952, p. 132) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čabidar*<sup>71</sup> 'reddish-yellow with white mane and tail' (Lessing 1996, p. 155b) < Mongolic root

65) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 283a; MT, §274; Rozycki 1994, p. 219.

66) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *ūrga*; Buryat *urga*; Kalmuck *ūry*<sup>72</sup>; Ordos *ūrga*; Onon Khamnigan *urga*; Dagur *wark* ~ *huark* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 536; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 52; Tumurtogoo 201, p. 273).

67) Cf. Evenki *burul*; Solon *bōral*; Even *burna* ~ *burno*; Orok *bol'o* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 114b; MT, §284; Rozycki 1994, p. 41).

68) Cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *bowurul* ~ *būrul*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *būrul*; Rasulid Hexaglott *burūl*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *būral*; Buryat *būral*; Kalmuck *būrl*; Ordos *būral* ~ *būrul*; Onon Khamnigan *būral*; Dagur *bōrul* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 96, 98; Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 50, 236; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 70; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 61).

69) For more details, see the Manchu *burulu* and *qara* ~ *kara* head separately.

70) Cf. Evenki *čabidar* 'fox with white mane and tail'; Solon *sūdar* 'skewbald' (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 375a; MT, §316; Rozycki 1994, p. 41).

71) Cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *čabidar*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *čabdar*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *caw'dar*; Buryat *sabidar*; Kalmuck *tsäbd̡r*; Oirat dialects *tsäwd̡r*;

\**ča* + *btUr* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe GWM, §111}, cf. *čayan* ‘white, light’ (Lessing 1996, p. 158a) < \**ča* + *GAn* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280}; *časun* ‘snow’ < \**ča* + *sUn* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe GWM, §137}; *čayarsun* ‘paper’ < \**ča* + *GA(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280} + *r-* {Mongolic denominal verb: Poppe GWM §246} - *sUn* {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §180};

Manchu *čakilgatu kuluk*<sup>72</sup> ‘a fine horse with whorls of hair on both hind legs’ (Hauer 1952, p. 134; Rozycki 1994, p. 430) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čakilya(n)* ‘lightning’ (Lessing 1996, p. 161) + *tU* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 283–284} + *kölüg* ~ *küüg*<sup>73</sup> ‘a strong and swift horse’ (Lessing 1996, p. 501a);

Manchu *eguletu alxa*<sup>74</sup> ‘a horse with cloudlike marking’ (Hauer 1952, p. 233) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *egületü* ‘cloud-patterned, cloudly, having clouds’ (Lessing 1996, p. 301a) < *egüle(n)* ‘cloud, cloudlike pattern’ (Lessing 1996, pp. 300–301) + *tU* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 283–284} + *alay* ‘multicolored, partly-colored, spotted, variegated, motley’ (Lessing 1996, p. 26b) < \**ala* + *G* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280};

Manchu *jaxala*<sup>75</sup> ‘a horse with red or brown stripes around the neck’ (Hauer 1952, p. 512) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jaɣal*<sup>76</sup> ‘having dark spots on the neck and shoulders (of a stallion or gelding)’ (Lessing 1996, p. 1022b);

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Ordos *tšawidar*; Dagur *saudār* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96; Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 64, 116, 237; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 71, 170).

72) According to Rozycki, this term does not appear in Mongolic languages however it is certainly borrowed from Mongolic as a compound (Rozycki 1994, p. 430).

73) For more details, see the Manchu *kuluk* head.

74) For more Tungusic details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 67.

75) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 244a; Rozycki 1994, p. 118.

76) Cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *čayal* ~ *jaɣal*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *jiqal*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dzaɣal*; Buryat *zaɣal*; Kalmuck *zayɣl*; Ordos *džagal* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96).

Manchu *jerde*<sup>77</sup> 'sorrel horse' (Hauer 1952, p. 530) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jeġerde*<sup>78</sup> 'red chestnut [horse]' (Lessing 1996, p. 1043b) < \**jeġer* (?) + *tU* {Mongolic denominal nomen};

Manchu *χara* ~ *qara*<sup>79</sup> 'black (of horses)' (Hauer 1952, pp. 419, 574) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qar-a*<sup>80</sup> 'black, dark' (Lessing 1996, pp. 931a–b);

Manchu *qailun*<sup>81</sup> 'a brown horse with black mane and tail' (Hauer 1952, p. 568) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaliyun*<sup>82</sup> 'brown, Isabella: color of horses which may vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, with black mane and tail and a black band on the spine' (Lessing 1996, p. 920a);

Manchu *qalja* ~ *qalča*<sup>83</sup> 'white spot on the horse's nose' (Hauer 1952, pp. 569–570) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaljan*<sup>84</sup> 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead (of a horse, ox)' (Lessing 1996, p. 922b);

77) Cf. Evenki, Solon *žerde* (for more Tungusic data, see SSTM 1, p. 285b; MT, §563; Rozycki 1994, p. 122).

78) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *je'erde*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *jerde*; Rasulid Hexaglott *jerde*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dzērd*; Buryat *zērd*; Kalmuck *zērd*; Ordos *džērd*; Onon Khamnigan *dzērd* ~ *dzōrd*; Dagur *dzērd* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96; 2017, p. 95).

79) Cf. Solon *xarā* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 379a–380a; MT, §294; Rozycki 1994, pp. 102, 133).

80) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qara*; Yiyu *qara*; Hua-yi yi-yu *qara*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *qara*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qara*; Leiden *qara*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xar*; Buryat *xara*; Kalmuck *χar*<sup>80</sup>; Ordos *χara*; Onon Khamnigan *qara*; Dagur *karā* ~ *xar* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 90–96, 99, 100, 121, 156; Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 99, 236; Nugteren 2011, p. 404; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 290).

81) For more details, see MT §542; Rozycki 1994, p. 130.

82) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *qaliyūn*; Secret History *qali'un*; Yiyu *qaliwun*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qalūn*; Rasulid Hexaglott *qaliun*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xaliun*; Buryat *xalyūn*; Kalmuck *xālūn*; Ordos *χal'ūn*; Dagur *kalōr* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 96, 134).

83) For more details, see SSTM 1, pp. 366a–b; MT, §567; Rozycki 1994, pp. 130–131.

84) Cf. Middle Mongol: Yiyu *qalja(n)*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *qaljan*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xalzan*; Buryat *xalzan*; Kalmuck *galzy*; Oirat dialects *galdžän* ~

Manchu *qaltara*<sup>85</sup> ‘a brown horse with white around the mouth and eyes’ (Hauer 1952, p. 570) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaltar*<sup>86</sup> ‘bay horse with white breast and whitish muzzle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 921a) < \**qa(r-a)* ‘black’ (Lessing 1996, pp. 931a–b) + *ltUr* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe GWM, §111};

Manchu *keire*<sup>87</sup> ‘a dark brown horse with a black tail and mane’ (Hauer 1952, p. 579) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *keger*<sup>88</sup> ‘bay or chestnut (color of horses)’ (Lessing 1996, p. 443a);

Manchu *qonggoro*<sup>89</sup> ‘Isabella colored, an Isabella horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 595) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qongyor*<sup>90</sup> ‘fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut (of a horse)’ (Lessing 1996, p. 962a);

Manchu *qūlan*<sup>91</sup> ‘a yellow horse with black tale and mane’ (Hauer 1952, p. 606) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qula*<sup>92</sup> ‘fawn-colored, tawny,

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*galzān*; Ordos *χaldžan*; Onon Khamnigan *xaldzan* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 102, 245; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 100).

85) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 368b; MT §604; Rozycki 1994, p. 131.

86) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xaltar*; Buryat *xaltar*; Kalmuck *xaltır*; Ordos *galtār*; Dagur *kaltār* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96).

87) Cf. Evenki *kojor* ‘bay, roan’ (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 404a; MT, §335; Rozycki 1994, p. 136).

88) Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *kegēr*; Yiyu *keir*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *keher* ~ *kēr*; Rasulid Hexaglott *kehir* ~ *keher*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xēr*; Buryat *xeyer* ~ *xēr*; Kalmuck *kēr*; Oirat dialects *kēr*; Ordos *k’ère*; Onon Khamnigan *kêre*; Dagur *keir*.

89) Cf. Evenki *kongōr* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 411b; MT, §74; Rozycki 1994, p. 143).

90) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qonqor*; Yiyu *qongqur*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *qongyur*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xongor*; Buryat *xongor*; Kalmuck *χongγvr*; Oirat dialects *xongār*; Ordos *χongor*; Onon Khamnigan *xongor*; Dahur *kongōr* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96; Nugteren 2011, p. 419; Khabtagaeva 2017, pp. 107, 158).

91) For more details, see SSTM 1, pp. 427b–428a; MT, §298; Rozycki 1994, p. 148.

92) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qula*; Yiyu *qula*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xul*; Buryat *xula*; Kalmuck *χul*<sup>u</sup>; Ordos *χula*; Onon Khamnigan *xula*; Dagur *kual* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 106).



bay, having a black stripe along the spine with black tail and mane (horse)' (Lessing 1996, p. 983b);

Manchu *qūwa*<sup>93</sup> 'light-yellow (horse)' (Hauer 1952, p. 607) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *quwa* ~ *quu-a*<sup>94</sup> 'light yellow, chestnut, bay, sal-low, pale' (Lessing 1996, p. 993a);

Manchu *mangqara*<sup>95</sup> 'horse or dog with white hair on the head' (Hauer 1952, p. 641) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *mangqar*<sup>96</sup> 'horse or cattle with a white head or face' (Lessing 1996, p. 527b) < \**mang* \*+*KUr* {Mongolic denominal nomen/diminutive}, cf. *manglai* 'forehead' (Lessing 1996, p. 527a) < \**mang* +*lAi* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 282}, *mangqan* 'horse with a star on its forehead' (Lessing 1996, p. 527b) < \**mang* +*Kan* {Mongolic denominal nomen/diminutive: Poppe 1964, §124};

Manchu *omoqtu qonggoro*<sup>97</sup> 'a yellow horse' (Rozycki 1994, p. 168) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *omoytu* 'haughty, arrogant, hot-tempered' (Lessing 1996, p. 611a) + *qongyor*<sup>98</sup> 'fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut (of a horse)' (Lessing 1996, p. 962a);

Manchu *sarla*<sup>99</sup> 'gray-colored horse' (Hauer 1952, p. 770) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayral*<sup>100</sup> 'ashen, dun-colored' (Lessing 1996, p. 657b);

93) Cf. Evenki *kuwas* ~ *kugas* (for more Tungusic data and details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 149).

94) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *qubi*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xua* ~ *uxā*; Buryat *uxā* ~ *xuā*; Kalmuck *χō* ~ *χū*; Oirat dialects *xō*; Ordos *χō* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96).

95) Cf. Evenki *manḵār* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 530b–531a; MT, §541; Rozycki 1994, p. 154).

96) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *manḵar*; Kalmuck *manḵr* ~ *mānḵr*; Oirat dialects *manḵār* ~ *mānḵār*.

97) Semantically debatable, cf. Solon *omokči* (for more details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 168).

98) For more details, see the Manchu *konggoro* head.

99) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 66b; Rozycki 1994, p. 175.

100) Cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid Hexaglott *saral*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *sāral*; Buryat *hāral*; Kalmuck *sār*.; Ordos *sāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, p. 96; Nugteren 2011, p. 479; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 217; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 126).



Manchu *sarlatai keire* ‘a sorrel with a white crescent-shaped spot on the forehead’ (Rozycki 1994, p. 174) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *saratai* ‘having a moon-shaped spot on the forehead’ (Lessing 1996, p. 675a) < *sara(n)* (Lessing 1996, p. 674a) + *tAi* (Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe GWM §138) + *keger*<sup>101</sup> ‘bay or chestnut (color of horses)’ (Lessing 1996, 443a);

Manchu *sirga*<sup>102</sup> ‘a light bay horse’ (Hauer 1952, p. 805) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *siry-a*<sup>103</sup> ‘light bay’ (Lessing 1996, p. 716b) < *sir(-a)* ‘yellow’ (Lessing 1996, p. 714b);

Manchu *tolbotu*<sup>104</sup> ‘a gray horse with circular markings on its side’ (Hauer 1952, p. 912) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *tolbotu* ‘dappled, spotted, spot, big birthmark’ (Lessing 1996, p. 821b) ‘spotted, speckled, dappled’ < *tolbo*<sup>105</sup> ‘spotted, mottled, dappled’ (Lessing 1996, p. 821b) + *tU* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 283–284};

101) For more details, see the Manchu *keire* head.

102) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 95a; MT, §302; Rozycki 1994, p. 184.

103) Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History *širqa*; Yiyu *širqa* ~ *širya*; Muqaddimat Al-Adab *širya*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *šarga*; Buryat *šarga*; Kalmuck *šaryv* ~ *šarxv*; Oirat dialects *šargă* ~ *šarăx* ~ *šarăg*; Ordos *šarga*; Onon Khamnigan *širga* ~ *šarga*; Dagur *sāreg* (for more Mongolic data, see Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 96, 148; Nugteren 2011, p. 492; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 127).

104) For more details, see SSTM 2, p. 194b; Rozycki 1994, p. 210.

105) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalha *tolbo*; Buryat *tolbo*; Kalmuck *tolw*<sup>o</sup>; Ordos *t’olbo* ~ *t’olmo*.

#### 4. Terms of horse anatomy

Manchu *čabi*<sup>106</sup> ‘the hair on the breast and stomach (of a horse)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 132) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čabi*<sup>107</sup> ‘groin’ (Lessing 1996, p. 155b);

Manchu *dalan*<sup>108</sup> ‘withers; dam, dike’ (Hauer 1952, p. 174) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *dalang*<sup>109</sup> ‘withers (of a horse)’ (Lessing 1996, p. 224b) < \**dala* + *ng* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, pp. 282};

Manchu *darin*<sup>110</sup> ‘shoulder wound’, cf. *dari*- ‘to scrape against, to rub a sore (of horse)’ (Hauer 1952, p. 181) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *dayari*<sup>111</sup> ‘abrasion, saddle sore’ (Lessing 1996, p. 218a);

Manchu *delun*<sup>112</sup> ‘mane’ (Hauer 1952, p. 192) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *del*<sup>113</sup> ‘mane of a horse’ (Lessing 1996, p. 247a);

Manchu *qargama*<sup>114</sup> ‘croup of a horse or mule’ (Hauer 1952, p. 575) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaryam*<sup>115</sup> ‘croup, rump (of a horse)’ (Lessing 1996, p. 936b);

106) For more details, see Rozycki 1994, p. 41.

107) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *caw*; Buryat *sami*; Kalmuck *cäw*<sup>i</sup>.

108) Cf. Evenki *dalan* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, pp. 193a–b; MT, §275; Rozycki 1994, p. 54).

109) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dalan*; Buryat *dalan*; Kalmuck *daly*; Ordos *dalan*; Onon Khamnigan *dalan* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 312; Khabtagaeva 2017, p. 77).

110) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 200a; MT, §190; Rozycki, 56.

111) Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dair*; Buryat *dair* ~ *dāri*; Kalmuck *dār*; Oirat dialects *dār*; Ordos *dāri* ~ *dūri*; Onon Khamnigan *dāri*; Dagur *dār* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 309).

112) Cf. Evenki *delin*; *delsun*; Solon *dēl*; Nanai *derbini* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 1, p. 232b; MT §192; Rozycki 1994, p. 58).

113) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *del*; Buryat *delhe(n)*; Kalmuck *del*; Ordos *del*; Onon Khamnigan *del* ~ *döl*; Dagur *dēlbur* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, pp. 314–315).

114) For more details, see SSTM 1, p. 381a; Rozycki 1994, p. 134.

115) Cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xargam*.

Manchu *sarin*<sup>116</sup> ‘skin from the hind section of a horse, mule or donkey’ (Hauer 1952, p. 770) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayari(n)*<sup>117</sup> ‘horsehide, skin’ (Lessing 1996, p. 657b);

### Mongolic loanwords with Turkic origins

Several Mongolic terms have Turkic origins. In most cases, the etymologies of these words are clear. Based on their phonetics and semantics, these loanwords were borrowed into Manchu via Mongolic.

#### *Terms connected to age, sex, special features or behavior of the horse:*

Manchu *ajirgan* ~ *ajirḡan* ‘a male horse, donkey camel or dog’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *ajiry-a(n)* ‘stallion’ < \**adirḡa* ← West Old Turkic \**aḡḡirā*: cf. East Old Turkic *aḡḡir*<sup>118</sup> ‘id.’ (ED, p. 47b);

Manchu *čira* ‘powerfull (of horses)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *čiyiray* ~ *čigereg* ‘strong, robust, powerfull’ < \**tiyiray* ← Turkic \**tiḡḡirāq*: cf. East Old Turkic *tiḡrāq*<sup>119</sup> ‘firm, tough’ (ED, p. 471b) < *tiḡrā-* ‘to be tough, sturdy’ (ED, p. 472b) -K {Turkic deverbil nomen: Erdal 1991, pp. 224–261};

Manchu *joran* ‘ambler (of a horse)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jiroy-a* ~ *joriy-a* ‘id.’ ← West Old Turkic \**joriḡa*: cf. East Old Turkic *yoriḡa*<sup>120</sup> ‘(a horse) that ambles or goes at a jog trot’ (ED, p. 964a) < *yori-* ‘to walk, march, to go’ (ED, p. 957b) -GA {Turkic deverbil nomen: Erdal 1991, pp. 376–382};

Manchu *kuluk* ‘enduring horse’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *kölüg* ~ *külüg* ‘id.’ ← Turkic \**kölük*: cf. East Old Turkic *kölük*<sup>121</sup> ‘something

116) Cf. Evenki *sāri*; Solon *sār*; Even *čāri* (for more Tungusic data and details, see SSTM 2, p. 66a; MT §570; Rozicky, 175).

117) Modern Mongol: Khalkha *sār*; Buryat *hāri*; Kalmuck *sār*. Dagur *sār* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011, p. 479; Tumurtogoo 2018, p. 217).

118) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWt, p. 6a; Doerfer TMEN 2, §648; Sevortjan 1974, pp. 107–108; SIGITJa 2001, p. 442; Kincses Nagy 2018, p. 42.

119) For more Turkic data, see Räsänen VEWt, p. 477b.

120) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWt, p. 207a; Doerfer TMEN 4, §1846; ESTJa 1989, p. 225.

121) For more Turkic data, see ESTJa 1980, pp. 69–70.

harnessed, baggage animal' < *köl-* 'to harness' (ED, p. 715b) -(X)K {Turkic deverbal nomen: Erdal 1991, pp. 224–261};

Manchu *taxi* 'wild horse, (*Equus przewalskii*)' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *taki* 'id.' ← Turkic: cf. East Old Turkic *tagi* 'the female of the *qulān*, wild horse' (ED 466a);

### **Terms of horse harness:**

Manchu *qūdargan* 'crupper (of a horse)' (Hauer 1952, p. 606) ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qudury-a(n)* 'id.' ← Turkic: cf. East Old Turkic *quḍurgāk*, *quḍurgūn*<sup>122</sup> 'id.' (ED, pp. 604a–b) < \**quḍur-*, cf. *quḍruq* 'tail' (ED, pp. 604a–b);

Manchu *urgan* 'lasso' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *ury-a* ~ *uyury-a* 'id.' ← Turkic: cf. East Old Turkic *uqrūq*<sup>123</sup> 'id.' (ED, p. 90b);

Manchu *burgiyen* 'pommel of the saddle' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *bügürge(n)* 'id.' < \**bügü-*<sup>124</sup> -*r* {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §178} + *GA(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280} ← Turkic \**bükü-*: cf. East Old Turkic *bük-* 'to bend, bow' (ED, pp. 324a–b);

### **Terms of horse color names:**<sup>125</sup>

Manchu *jerde* 'chestnut horse' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jegerde* 'id.' < \**jeger* (?) + *tU* {Mongolic denominal nomen} ← West Old Turkic \**jegen*: cf. East Old Turkic *yägrän*<sup>126</sup> 'id.' (ED, p. 914a);

122) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWT, pp. 296b, 297b; Doerfer TMEN 3, §1494; ESTJa 1980, pp. 114–116; SIGITJa, pp. 553–555.

123) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWT, p. 360a; Sevortjan 1974, pp. 585–586.

124) This term belongs to the word family derived from the reconstructed verb \**bökö-* ~ \**bögö-* ~ \**bükü-* ~ \**büg-* 'to bend' (Róna-Tas 1971, pp. 84–85), cf. *bököyi-* 'to bend down, bow' (Lessing 1996, p. 127a); *bököger* 'bent' (Lessing 1996, p. 127a); *bögtüre-* 'to bent down' (Lessing 1996, p. 126a); *bögeldürge* ~ *bögöldürge* 'loop on a whip handle' (Lessing 1996, p. 124a).

125) For more details on relationships between Turkic and Mongolic equestrian terminology, see Doerfer 1995, pp. 208–227. For more Turkic data, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961.

126) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961, p. 109; Räsänen VEWT, p. 194b; Doerfer TMEN 1, §158; ESTJa 1989, pp. 22–24.

Manchu *χara* ~ *qara* ‘black (of horses)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qar-a* ‘black, dark’ ← Turkic \**qarā*: cf. East Old Turkic *qarā*<sup>127</sup> ‘id.’ (ED, pp. 643b–644b);

Manchu *qalja* ~ *qalča* ‘white spot on the horse’s nose’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaljan* ‘id.’ ← West Old Turkic \**qaljā*: cf. East Old Turkic *qašgā*<sup>128</sup> ‘id.’ (ED 671b–672a) < \**qaš* + GA {Turkic denominal nomen: Erdal 1991, pp. 84, 99};<sup>129</sup>

Manchu *qonggoro* ‘Isabella colored (of horse)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qongyor* ‘id.’ ← Turkic \**qoŋor*: cf. East Old Turkic *qoŋur* ~ *qoŋor*<sup>130</sup> ‘dark chestnut horse’ (ED, p. 639b);

Manchu *qūlan* ‘a yellow horse with black tale and mane’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qula* ‘tawny, bay, having a black stripe along the spine with black tail and mane (horse)’ ← Turkic \**qulā*: cf. East Old Turkic *qulā* ‘colour of a horse’s coat: dun with a black main and tail’ (ED, p. 617a);

Manchu *sirga* ‘a light bay horse’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *siry-a* ‘id.’ < *sir(-a)* ‘yellow’ ← West Old Turkic \**sārī*: cf. East Old Turkic *sārīg*<sup>131</sup> ‘yellow’ (ED, p. 848);

Manchu *qūwa* ‘light-yellow (horse)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *quwa* ~ *quu-a* ‘id.’ ← Turkic \**qubā*: cf. East Old Turkic *qubā*<sup>132</sup> ‘pale, pale yellow, pale grey’ (ED, p. 581a);

Manchu *qaltara* ‘a brown horse with white around the mouth and eyes’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaltar* ‘bay horse with white

127) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas 1961, pp. 1–16; Räsänen VEWT, pp. 235a–b; Doerfer TMEN 3, §1440; ESTJa 1997, pp. 286–288; SIGTJa 2001, p. 601.

128) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Doerfer TMEN 3, §1495; ESTJa 1997, pp. 350–351.

129) According to Erdal, the etymology and morphology of the word are not clear (For more details, see Erdal 1991, pp. 84, 99).

130) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas 1961, pp. 100–102; Räsänen VEWT, pp. 280b–81a; Doerfer TMEN 3, §1536; ESTJa 2000, pp. 62–65.

131) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas 1961, pp. 64–68; Räsänen VEWT, p. 489b; Doerfer TMEN 3, §1207; SIGTJa 2001, p. 601; ESTJa 2003, pp. 206–208.

132) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas 1961, §91; Räsänen VEWT, pp. 295a–b; ESTJa 2000, pp. 93–94.

breast and whitish muzzle' < \**qa(r-a)* 'black' + *ltUr* {Mongolic denominational nomen: Poppe GWM, §111} < Turkic \**qarā*: cf. East Old Turkic *qarā* 'black' (ED, pp. 643b–644b);

### ***Terms of horse anatomy:***

Manchu ***darin*** 'shoulder wound' < Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *dayari* 'abrasion, saddle sore' < West Old Turkic: cf. East Old Turkic *yağır*<sup>133</sup> 'id.' (ED, p. 905a);

Manchu ***delun*** 'mane' < Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *del* 'id.' < West Old Turkic \**dēl(ē)*:<sup>134</sup> cf. East Old Turkic *yāl* 'a horse's mane; the place where the mane grows' (ED, pp. 916a–b);

Manchu ***sarin*** 'skin from the hind section of a horse, mule or donkey' < Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayari(n)* 'horsehide, skin' < Turkic \**sağarı*: cf. East Old Turkic *sağrı* 'raw hide; leather from the hindquarters of a horse' (ED, p. 815a);

Manchu ***dalan*** 'withers; dam, dike' < Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *dalang* 'id.' < \**dala* + *ng* {Mongolic denominational nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 282} < West Old Turkic \**dālā*: cf. East Old Turkic *yāl*<sup>135</sup> 'a horse's mane; the place where the mane grows' (ED, pp. 916a–b);

### **Words of possible Turkic origin:**

In some cases, the etymologies of the words are unclear and do not allow explanation of any derivation from Turkic or Mongolic, yet judging from other aspects (chronology, semantics or the territorial spread) are probably Turkic loanwords in Mongolic. These are cultural wanderwords, which are usually hard to trace to their origins.

133) For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWT, pp. 178a–b;

134) There are traces of an alternative form in Turkic with a front vowel (ED, p. 916a).

135) The East Old Turkic *yāl* 'a horse's mane' also related with the Mongolic *del* 'mane of a horse' (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen VEWT, p. 181a; SIGITja, pp. 146–147; ESTja 1989, pp. 85–87).

Manchu **qangtara-** ‘to tie the reins to the pommel of a saddle’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qantara-* ~ *qantar*<sup>136</sup> ‘id.’, cf. Common Turkic \**qantar-* ‘id.’;

Manchu **olon** ‘saddle girth’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *olong* ~ *olang* ‘id.’ (Lessing 1996, p. 610a), cf. East Old Turkic *qolan*<sup>137</sup> ‘id.’ (ED 622b);

Manchu **taxan** ‘horseshoe’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *taq-a* ‘id.’, cf. Common Turkic \**taqan*<sup>138</sup> ‘id.’;

### Chronological remarks

Considering the above information, it would appear that these loanwords in Manchu were not borrowed at the same time, nor were they derived from the same donor language. One of the main questions is the possibility of performing a chronological separation and assignment of these words. It is, at least, possible to speak of two layers, one early and one later, of Mongolic loanwords. For the chronological identification of the

136) From the point of view of Altaic Studies, this verb is interesting. The word is a cultural wanderword: it occurs in Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic. Probably it is Turkic, but it does not have a clear etymology. In Turkic, it is a nomenverbum, borrowed into Hungarian as *kantár* ‘bridle’ (for more detailed discussion, see WOT, pp. 487–488). In Mongolic, it is not a nomenverbum as it is in Turkic, but there exists a derivation from this verb: Literary Mongolian *qantary-a* ‘band or strap used for holding something to prevent it from bending or falling’ (Lessing 1996, p. 930b) < *qantar-* ‘to tie the bridle of a horse to the saddle’ (Lessing 1996, p. 930b) -GA(n) {Mongolic deverbal nomen: Poppe GWM, §149}, cf. Modern Mongol: Khalkha *xantraga*; Buryat *xantarga*; Ordos *xanfarga*; Khamnigan *xantarga*; Dagur *xandrøy*.

137) The Turkic and Mongolic words have already been compared in previous analyses. Possibly, the Turkic and Mongolic words are related (for more detailed discussion, see Pelliot 1944, pp. 73–101). For more Turkic data, see Räsänen VEW, p. 277b; ESTJa 1980, pp. 46–48; SIGITJa, pp. 549–550.

138) It does not appear in the Old Turkic period but only from the Middle Turkic onward, which could confirm it a loanword from Middle Mongol. Probably connected to the East Old Turkic verb *taq-* ‘to fix, attach’ (ED, pp. 464b–465a). On the other hand, since the nomadic peoples usually did not use the horseshoe, it is possible that the word is borrowed from a non-Altaic language (For more Turkic data see Räsänen VEW, p. 456b).

words, it is necessary to consider the phonetics, territorial spread, and historical occurrence simultaneously. The animal terms are part of the oldest Mongolic loanwords in Manchu, cf. the term for horse in all Tungusic languages, the Mongolic word *morin* 'horse', is used.

The main bulk of the collected terms occurs, among the Tungusic languages, only in Manchu, which can indicate these words' origins as later borrowings. In fact, these ones bear a closer phonetic resemblance to the Modern Mongolic forms. When the loanword occurs in other members of Tungusic, especially in Jurchen (Old Manchu) it can be considered an early borrowing, cf. Jurchen *engemer* 'saddle', Manchu *enggemu* vs. Literary Mongolian *emegel* 'id.'. Although a significant part of the Manchu words is also found in Jurchen, they are not always related to each other, cf. the Jurchen *χudira* 'crupper' and the Manchu *kūdargan* 'id.' are borrowed from a different Mongolic language, cf. Literary Mongolian *qudury-a(n)* 'id.' (Ligeti 1979, p. 34).

From a phonetic point of view, certain common features can be established. The Mongolic *q-* can appear in Manchu in different forms, occurring in the corpus in the following ways:

#### *q- > χ-*

Manchu *χabta* 'the wing of the saddle' ← Mongolic \**qabta* 'flat, board'. This is a 'dead base' in Mongolic, which can be deduced only from its derivations, cf. Mongolic *qabtasu(n)* 'board in general, pommel of the saddle' < Mongolic root \**qabta* + *sU(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Poppe 1964, §137}, *qabtayai* 'flat, wooden board' < \**qabta* + *GAi* {Mongolic denominal nomen/diminutive: Poppe GWM, §123}, *qabtay-a* 'flat, wooden board' < \**qabta* + *GA(n)* {Mongolic denominal nomen: Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 280};

Manchu *χadala* 'horse's bridle' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qajayar*, Khalkha *xazār*, Buryat *xazār*, Kalmuck *xazār* 'id.';

Manchu *χanggai* 'packsaddle' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qangqai* [*emegel*], Khalkha *xanxai emēl*, Ordos *xanḡā emēl* 'id.';

Manchu *χara* 'black (of horses)' ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qar-a*, Khalkha *xar*, Buryat *xara*, Kalmuck *χar* 'id.'. It has an alternative form in *qara* 'id.';



**q-**

In this corpus, the words that show this correspondence happen to be far more common, cf.

Manchu **qangtara-** ‘to tie the reins to the pommel of a saddle’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qantara-* ~ *qantar-*, Khalkha *xantar-*, Buryat *xantar-*, Kalmuck *χantɣ-* ‘id.’;

Manchu **qalja** ~ **qalča** ‘white spot on the horse’s nose’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qaljan*, Khalkha *xalzan*, Buryat *xalzan*, Kalmuck *galzn*, ‘id.’;

Manchu **qonggoro** ‘Isabella colored (of a horse)’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *qongyor*, Khalkha *xongor*, Buryat *xongor*, Kalmuck *χoŋɣɔr* ‘id.’;

### The shortening of the Mongolic long vowel

The Mongolic loanwords with secondary long vowels ( $\tilde{V}$ ), which developed from the pattern *Vowel – Consonant G – Vowel* (VGV), are shortened in Manchu. This phonetic phenomenon indicates the relatively later period of borrowing, cf.

Manchu **burulu** ‘a horse having mixed red and white hair’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *buyural* ~ *buyurul*, Khalkha *būral*, Buryat *būral*, Kalmuck *būrl*, ‘id.’;

Manchu **jerde** ‘sorrel horse’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *jegeerde*, Khalkha *dzērd*, Buryat *zērd*, Kalmuck *zērd* ‘id.’;

Manchu **sarin** ‘skin from the hind section of a horse, mule or donkey’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayari(n)*, Khalkha *sār*, Buryat *hāri*, Kalmuck *sār* ‘id.’.

### The development of diphthongs

There are two cases where in the pattern *Vowel – Consonant G – Vowel* (VGV), diphthongs become developed, cf.

Manchu **geo** ‘mare’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *gegüü(n)*, Khalkha *gū(n)*, Buryat *gū(n)*, Kalmuck *gū(n)* ‘id.’;

Manchu **keire** ‘a dark brown horse with a black tail and mane’ ← Mongolic: cf. Literary Mongolian *keger*, Khalkha *xēr*, Buryat *xēr*, Kalmuck *kēr* ‘id.’.

## Conclusion

One of the main goals of this paper was to etymologize and morphologize Mongolic loanwords in Manchu equestrian terminology and confirm their origin. The research shows the existence and pattern of the spread of equestrian terms in the Altaic world. According to the analysis, these borrowings in most cases have a clear Turkic or Mongolic etymology. Statistically, fifty Mongolic terms are collected from Manchu (without the five compound color names), of which twenty-seven have a clear Mongolic origin and twenty have a clear Turkic origin. The etymology of three terms is unclear, but can be argued as probably Turkic.

Through the etymological, morphological, phonetic and semantic analysis, it is clearly visible that the Turkic terms were borrowed into Manchu via Mongolic. While the Turkic loanwords related to equestrian matters are relatively old in Mongolic (most of them undoubtedly borrowed from West Old Turkic), conversely the Mongolic loanwords in Manchu were borrowed later. For the main terms, the Turkic and Mongolic languages have their own unique words. In Manchu, these are clearly borrowed from Mongolic and entered the language at different times, cf. Manchu *morin* 'saddle horse', *adun* 'herd', *aqta* 'gelding', *julχū* 'reins', *enggemu* 'saddle' *χabta* 'the wing of the saddle', *χadala* 'bridle' etc. It seems that the Mongolic cultural-linguistic impact on the Manchu equestrian culture was more significant than the Turkic impact on Mongolic, at least in the case of the names of the main equestrian terms. The presence of such a large number of loanwords proves the enormous Mongolic influence on the Manchu equestrian terminology and the important role of the culture of horse-keeping in the Altaic world.

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# Semantics and grammaticalization of the Sakha verb *syldžar*

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**Summary:** The focus of the article is a semantic analysis of the verb *syldžar* ‘to visit’ in Sakha, a Siberian Turkic language. Usually translated as ‘to visit’ or ‘to move’, *syldžar* is used not only as a main verb with full lexical meaning but also as an auxiliary verb with various grammaticalized functions. We analyze two main semantic domains of *syldžar* as a lexical verb: 1) the motion use; 2) the existential/locative use. Consequently, the analysis involved the evidentiality and aspectual functions of the auxiliary verb in multiverb constructions. The final chapter is concerned with the asymmetric negative structure of *syldžar* constructions. Our analysis is based on spontaneous written sources and elicited data consulted with a native speaker.

## 1. Introduction

The following paper is a preliminary study addressing the semantics of the Sakha verb *syldžar*.<sup>1</sup> The dictionary meaning of this verb is ‘to visit’ (Pekarski 1917, p. 789; see also chapters 1. 2. 1 and 2.1). This study argues that the semantics of the verb are more complex, ranging from lexical meaning with unrestricted syntactic distribution to grammaticalized forms that constitute a part of auxiliary constructions. In its lexical meaning, the verb *syldžar* in our data may be translated into English variously as ‘to visit’, ‘to move’, ‘to engage in some activities’, and ‘to follow/act accordingly with something’. Consequently, *syldžar* is used as a directed-motion

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1) There is no established transcription for Sakha, although there have been many attempts to romanize it. The transcription system in this paper is therefore loosely based on romanization of Russian Cyrillic, with exceptions for specifically Sakha letters: *һ* “h”, *дь* “dž”, *һ* “ng”, *б* “gh”, *ө* “ö”, *ү* “ü” and *һ* “h”.

verb and as a verb referring to motion in general, without specification of direction or manner. When *syldžar* is used in multiverb constructions as an auxiliary verb, it mostly has aspectual meanings (progressive or iterative), but in some cases also adds evidential meaning.

The structure of the analysis starts with lexical meaning and ends with the most grammaticalized uses. During the analysis of *syldžar*, two broad fields of lexical meaning emerged. The semantics can be grouped into what we call **motion use** ('to visit, to go, to move') and **existential/locative use** ('to be, to be somewhere').<sup>2</sup> These two uses are restricted to the verb when positioned as the head of a phrase (both verbal and nominal). In its more grammaticalized uses, the verb expresses aspect (iterative or continuous) and mood (evidentiality). In this function, the verb loses part of its semantic content. However, it is not completely grammaticalized and still contributes to the predication, even as a part of multiple chained verbs. We will be using the term *auxiliary verb* for such verbs in the present study, following Anderson (2004). The understandings of *auxiliary verbs* often overlap with *light verbs* (and even *serial verbs*, see Seiss (2009, p. 501–515), though the discussion on various complex predicate constructions and their terminology is not in the scope of this article.

The examples and linguistic data come from two sources: printed / online publications and elicitation. We covered a wide range of genres, from classical Sakha literature (e.g. Alaampa Sofronov's *Xohoonnor Kepseenner*), through newspapers and translated literature, to internet blogs. The elicited examples, if not stated otherwise, are provided by several consultants. All examples were verified and interpreted by our key consultant (see Consultants).

### 1.1 *Syldžar* – the forms, variation and basic meaning

Etymologically *syldžar* is related to Old Turkic *jorī*- 'to go' (but also 'to visit', see for example Tekin 1993, p. 15) that developed into a kind of auxiliary

2) Such a usage of verbs with lexical meanings close to *syldžar* is known from other languages in the area of Northern Asia, namely Sibe and Mongolian (Zikmundová 2010, 2011 and 2017).



in many daughter languages (eg. Tuvin, Turkish). The verb *syldžar* blends the two classical distinct categories of motion verbs and static verbs. According to Pekarski (1959, p. 2489), we may distinguish between two main sets of meaning of *syldžar*: 1) ‘to move, to go somewhere, to visit’; 2) ‘to be somewhere, to spend time, to be in the process of doing something’. We named these two groups of meanings as: 1) the motion use as in ex. 1, and 2) the existential/locative use as in ex. 2.

- ex. 1 *Айанна сырыыга сылдыбытын*  
 ajang-nga                      сырыы-га                      syldžy-byt-yn  
 travel-DAT.LOC              march-DAT.LOC              syldžar-PF.PTCP-ACC  
 ‘(She) took a road...’  
 (Burnašev 1993, p. 152)

- ex. 2 *ким ходуһаҥа сылдыбыт, ол сонун ыла төннүбэтин*  
 kim                      xoduha-gha                      syldžy-byt  
 who                      hayfield-dat.loc                      syldžar-pf.ptcp  
  
 ol                      son-un                      yl-a                      tönnü-bet-in  
 that                      coat-ACC                      take-CONV                      return-NEG-ACC  
 ‘Let no one in the field go back to get their cloak’ (lit. ‘Who is (*syldžar*) in the hayfield, should not return to take his/her cloak’)  
 (<https://www.bible.com/bible/1888/MAT.24.RSO>)

However, in addition to those instances that rather clearly fall into one of the above-mentioned categories, our data yielded several ambiguous examples where both types of interpretation motional and locative (ie. static) were possible, such as ex. 3. Additionally, instances also occurred where *syldžar*, while retaining its full lexical meaning, was not the head of the phrase but a converb (ex. 4).

- ex. 3 *Тыаҥа тахса сылдыбыттаахпын.*  
 ty-a-gha                      taxs-a                      syldžy-byt-taax-pyn.  
 forest-DAT.LOC              go.out-CONV                      syldžar-PF.PTCP-SOC-1SG  
 ‘Once, I was in a forest./ I was walking in a forest.’  
 (own elicited data)

ex. 4 ...оџо саадыгар сьлдџан барар.

ogho	saad-ygar	syldža-n	bara-r
child	kindergarten-3PX.DAT.LOC	syldžar-CONV	go-AOR
'...the child goes to kindergarten.'			

(own elicited data)

### 1.1.1 *Syldžar* and *srytar* forms

In Sakha, there are several verbs that have not one but two basic forms. *Syldžar* being one of them, it has an alternative form *srytar*. The two forms are mostly synonymous (ex. 5 & 6) and, according to Pekarski (1959, pp. 2489–2491), are even interchangeable. However, our data show that in some cases, one form is preferred in different (syntactical, phonological) contexts. For example, with the past tense suffixes, the form *srytar* is given preference consistently throughout our dataset (as in ex. 6). Our data even seem to suggest that the two forms *syldžar/srytar* are not interchangeable in most of the cases. This hypothesis, however, can only be verified by a large corpus which still needs to be collected.

In general, the distribution seems to be rather complex and cannot be explained by a trivial set of rules; further, dialectology also seems to play a role.

Since *srytar* is considered the more archaic form, the form *syldžar* is often listed under *srytar* in dictionaries.<sup>3</sup>

ex. 5 Кэлэ сьлдџар буолаар.

kel-e	syldža-r	buol-aar
come-CONV	syldžar-AOR	become-IMP
'Come to visit!'		

(own elicited data)

3) cf. Pekarski 1959, p. 2489; the highly similar form *hyryt-* can be found in Dolgan, see Stachowski (1993).

ex. 6 *Кэргэнэ Балбаара муннаах кыыһын батыһыннаран көрсө кэлэ сырытта.*

kergen-e	Balbaara	mun-naax	kyyh-yn	batyh-ynnar-an
spouse-3PX	PN	suffer-SOC	girl-ACC	go.after-CAUS-CONV

körs-ö	kel-e	syryt-ta
see-CONV	come-CONV	syldžar-PST

‘His wife Balbaara, followed by the poor girl, came to visit him.’

(Alampa-Sofronov 1987)

### 1.1.2 Phonological variation

Apart from having two interchangeable morphological forms, the verb *syldžar* has a wide variety of phonological forms (*hyllar* – *һыллар*, *syldžar* – *сылдьар*, *hyldžar* – *һылдьар*, *hyddžar* – *һыддьар*). Specific forms are preferred by particular dialect groups, but the difference in usage is also idiolectal.

## 1.2 Previous literature on *syldžar* and its parallels in close languages

To our knowledge, motion verbs in Sakha have not been analyzed in detail so far. There are however research traditions in genealogically/typologically close languages. Zikmundová (2010, 2011, 2017) examines motion verbs in Sibe and Khalkha Mongolian, both of which bear many similarities to the functioning of Sakha motion verbs. A notable parallel is the existential use of the Mongolian verb *yav-* ‘to go, to leave’ (Zikmundová 2017, pp. 58–59) and the Sibe verb *yaf-* (Zikmundová 2013, pp. 125–127) with a similar meaning. Shibatani (2003) examines the development of Japanese directional verbs from concrete (lexical meaning) to abstract (grammaticalized meaning). Anderson, in his book on Altai-Sayan Turkic auxiliary verb constructions, includes a chapter on motion verbs (Anderson 2004, pp. 209–227). To our knowledge, the only analysis of *syldžar* itself has been done in Sakha dictionaries.

Regarding Sakha, the verb *syldžar* has so far mostly been analyzed in dictionaries: Pekarski (1959, pp. 2489–2491), in the most comprehensive dictionary of Sakha at present, includes the form *syldžar* under the entry

*syrytar*, and, as mentioned above, treats both forms as interchangeable. In his dictionary he identifies three basic meanings:

1) **‘to move, to go, to visit’** (usually bound to dative case), 2) **‘to spend time, to be somewhere’** (usually with accusative case), 3) **‘to behave accordingly, to follow something’** (with instrumental case).

The online dictionary Sakhatyla<sup>4</sup> provides a valuable source of contemporary language usage. The meaning of *syldžar* is divided into two meanings: 1) **‘to visit’**; 2) **prolonged, repetitive or habitual** action expressed in an *-a* converb construction. This is not the only source, where the aspectual semantics of *syldžar* have been mentioned, Straughn (2006, p. 40) mentions the *-a* converb construction as following: *=a (=bibi) cypbim=* ‘conv. to do something habitually, continually’. According to his dictionary the main meaning of the verb is ‘to go’.

Additional useful information comes from Stachowski (1993)’s study of Dolgan. Even though Dolgan is usually considered a separate language, the two language varieties are close to such a degree that some consider the two varieties to be mere dialects, allowing for parallels to be drawn between the grammatical structures of the two languages. The corresponding Dolgan forms *hyryt-*, *hyrýt-* or *hyld-* are primarily translated as **‘to go, to travel’** (Stachowski 1993, p. 120). The example 7 below is an idiomatic expression ‘to go for a walk’:

- ex. 7    Dolgan  
           *hyld'-yag-yn*                      *bar-byta*  
           *syldžar-fut.PTCP-ACC*        *go-PST.PTCP*  
           ‘go for a walk’

(Stachowski 1993, p. 120; our glosses)

Stachowski also mentions the *-a* converb form in a construction where the verb *hyryt-* expresses the continuity or duration of an action:

4) The dictionary uses data from works by Danilov (1988), Slepcev (1972) and Afanasyev (1968), see [www.sakhatyla.ru](http://www.sakhatyla.ru).

- ex. 8 Dolgan  
*týt-a* *hyryt-*  
 touch-CONV *syldžar-*  
 ‘touch again and again’

(Stachowski 1993, p. 120; our glosses)

### 1.3 Analytical instruments for motion verbs

We base our analysis on the works on the topic of motion verbs by Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000), Slobin (2004) and Blomberg & Zlatev (2015). According to Talmy (2000, p. 117), languages of the world can be classified into two broad categories, depending on whether they express the Path frame directly in the verb semantics (verb-framed) or in a so-called satellite (satellite-framed). For example, the Czech verb *při-plavat* ‘to swim (towards the reference point)’ (ex. 9) combines the direction and the manner of the motion in one word, but there is a division of labor between the manner of motion (*-plavat* ‘to swim’) and direction (expressed in the satellite aspectual marker *při-*). Talmy’s approach is also specific in not including auxiliaries among satellite types and foregoing the setting up of a distinction between semantically central verbs and auxiliary verbs. The verb-framed languages tend to express the path by the inflected verb, and the manner component is expressed by a subordinated verb, cf. Spanish (ex. 10) and Turkish (ex. 11).

- ex. 9 Czech  
*při-plavat*  
 ASP-swim  
 ‘swim (towards a reference point)’

(personal knowledge of the language)

- ex. 10 Spanish  
*vin-o* *bail-and-o*  
 come-3SG.PST dance-PST.PTCP-M  
 ‘He came dancing’

(personal knowledge of the language)

ex. 11 Turkish

*dans**ed-erek**gel-di*

dance

do-CVB

come-3.PST

'He came dancing'

(personal knowledge of the language)

As opposed to categorization of languages in general, we use this approach in situations where it is possible to discuss verb-framed / satellite-framed constructions in a specific language. For example, English is predominantly satellite-framed, but it features both types of framing. The satellite-framed constructions are e.g. *come out*, *break in*. But the language also has a few verb-framed constructions, e.g. *enter*, *arrive* (that are mostly borrowed from French or Latin), where the conflation of particular semantic components are expressed in the semantics of the lexical root.

This classification is enriched in Slobin (2004) and Zlatev – Yangklang (2004) by proposing a third class of languages, the equipollent-framed languages, which are classified as neither verb-framed nor satellite-framed. In this class, there would be, for example, languages making use of serial verb constructions in order to combine semantic components.

Sakha, similarly to any other Turkic language, is predominantly a verb-framed language. As in the case of the aforementioned example in Turkish, the lexical verbs (mostly in the form of a converb) are followed by the verb marking a direction. In the case of Sakha, for instance, the majority of the motion verbs with the direction “towards a referential point” are expressed by the verb *keler*, ‘to come’, cf. ex. 12 and 13.

ex. 12 Сүүрэн кэлэр.

*süüre-n**kele-r*

run-CONV

come-AOR

'to come running'

(own elicited data)

ex. 13 Көтөн кэлэр

*kötö-n**kele-r*

fly-CONV

come-AOR

'to come flying'

(own elicited data)

## 2. Semantic analysis of the verb *syldžar*

This chapter comprises the actual analysis of various constructions that have the verb *syldžar* as a constituent. We identified eight distinct uses (2.1–2.7) that are ranked on a scale from lexical to grammatical. We begin with the more lexical meanings and follow up with the grammaticalization process by which *syldžar* acquires various aspectual and modal uses. As the lexical meaning slowly dissipates the syntactic options for *syldžar* change as well. There is a noticeable rift between 2.1–2.4 and 2.5–2.7. While the first four meanings very frequently occur when *syldžar* functions as the head of the whole verb phrase (as a finite verb), the constructions 2.5–2.7 occur more frequently as a converb.

### 2.1 ‘To visit’

The meaning ‘to visit’ is the original lexical meaning of the verb (see above). The following three examples show three instances of the lexical meaning of the verb *syldžar* (ie. ‘to visit’) in: the converbial position (ex. 14), head of the verbal phrase (ex. 15) and standing on its own (ex. 16).

ex. 14 ...олус элбэх ыалдьыт, хонохо сылдьан ааһара.

olus	elbex	yaldžyt	xonoho	syldža-n	aaha-r-a
very	many	guest	lodger	syldžar-CONV	pass-PTCP-PST

‘...a lot of overnight guests used to visit (us).’

(<https://edersaas.ru/xonoho/>)

The sentence in example 12 presents a common construction with *barar*, ‘to go’, which means ‘to stop somewhere on the way’, i.e. ‘to visit some place for a moment’.

ex. 15 Дьиэбэр бара сырыттым.

džie-ber	bar-a	syryt-tym.
home-1PX.DAT.LOC	go-CONV	syldžar-1PX.PST

‘I went home (I have stopped at home).’

(own elicited data)

We can find the related lexical meaning in the verb's nominal derivations, e.g. *syldžaačcy* 'visitor' (ex. 16).

ex. 16 *Быыстапкаға сьлдѣааччы.*

byystapka-gha                      syldž-aačcy

exhibition-DAT.LOC              syldžar-NMZ

'A common visitor to exhibitions.'

(own elicited data)

## 2.2 "Following a custom"

The last point that Pekarski (1959, p. 2489) mentions in the entry on *syldžar* is the meaning 'to behave according to sth, to follow sth,' a figurative meaning strikingly distinct from the previous ones. This construction requires an object in the instrumental case (ex. 17).

ex. 17 *Сиэринэн-туомунан сьлдѣар.*

sier-inen                      tuom-unan

syldža-r

rule-INST

ritual-INST

syldža-AOR

'To behave according to customs/tradition.'

Pekarski (1959, p. 2489)

Such use has analogies in other languages such as Mongolian, e.g. Khalkha Mongolian *хүний номоор явах* (*hün-ii nom-oor yav-ax*) [person-GEN law-INS go-PTCP] 'to behave according to human laws' (BAMRS, p. 294).

## 2.3 Motion uses

The movement expressed by *syldžar* differs from that expressed by other motion verbs like *barar* 'to go', *keler* 'to come' or *iher* 'to move towards sth (especially towards speaker)'. Instead of expressing a direction, it possesses the locative (or existential) meaning. The verbs *iher* and *syldžar* function as opposites. Although both verbs express similar meaning and can be found in the same context (ex. 18 & 19), the dative-locative object of *iher*



would be always interpreted as a direction (as in the sentence in ‘walk to a forest’), and of *syldžar* as a location (as in ‘walk in a forest’). When the verb *syldžar* has an object marked by dative-locative case, the interpretation according to our main informant is always locative.

ex. 18 *Самолет көтөн иһэр.*

samolet	kötö-n	ihe-r.
airplane	fly-CONV	ihér-AOR.

‘A plane is flying (towards something).’

(own elicited data)

ex. 19 *Сэбирдэх көт сылдьар.*

sebirdex	köt-ö	syldža-r
leaf	fly-CONV	syldžar-AOR

‘A leaf is flying (anywhere, e.g. in the air).’

(own elicited data)

Example 20 clearly shows the nondirectional, motional usage of *syldžar*, that is interpreted in this case as ‘to walk’, in construction with postposition *kytta*, ‘with someone’.

ex. 20 *Уолбун кытта сылдьабын.*

uol-bun	kytta	syldža-byñ
son-1PX.ACC	with	syldžar-1SG

‘I am walking with my son.’

(own elicited data)

A rare use of instrumental case with *syldžar* designates a movement ‘by something’ (ex. 21), or ‘being concerned with something for a longer period of time’<sup>5</sup> (ex. 22., see also ex. 17).

ex. 21 *Атынан сылдьар киһи...*

at-ynan	syldža-r	kihi.
horse-3PX.INSTR	syldžar-AOR	person.

‘A horse-riding man...’

(own elicited data)

5) cf. An analogous example is Latin *interesse*, lit. ‘to be in something’ i.e. ‘to be interested’.

ex. 22 *Наадаларбынан сылдабын.*

naada-lar-byнан syldža-byн

necessity-PL-1PX.INST syldžar-1SG

‘I am running errands’ (lit. ‘I am moving around while/by (taking care of) my necessities’)

(own elicited data)

## 2.4 Existential and locative uses

As we argued earlier, whenever a dative-locative nominal phrase is present, the only interpretation available is the locative one. We would translate this meaning of *syldžar* with the verb ‘to be’. But it is necessary to specify the difference in usage between the verbs *syldžar* and *baar* ‘to be, to exist’. The question *xanna syldžaghynyj* (ex. 23) would be used in the case when the speaker is inquiring about what the addressee is doing (and where), while *baar* asks strictly just about the whereabouts of the addressee (ex. 24).

ex. 23 *Ханна сылдабыный?*

xanna syldža-ghyn-yj

where syldža-2SG-Q

‘Where are you?’ (...right now, what are you doing?)

(own elicited data)

ex. 24 *Ханна бааргыный?*

xanna baar-gyn-yj

where exist-2SG-Q

‘Where are you?’ (only whereabouts)

(own elicited data)

The motion aspect is always present. In ex. 3, the speaker is not only expressing that he was in the forest, but also that he was walking (or more generally, moving) there. The same case of duality is present in ex. 25.

ex. 25 *Таһырдыа сылдыар.*

tahyrdža syldža-r.

outside syldža-AOR.

‘She is outside. / She walks outside.’

(own elicited data)

## 2.5 Evidentiality

*Syldžar* may function as an inferential evidentiality auxiliary (as opposed to the general or “first-hand value” of the statement, see Aikhenvald 2004, p. 25). In the following statement (ex. 26), the speaker has some circumstantial evidence of the action (the speaker knows that the referent is doing something, but can’t see what, because the speaker is on the phone). A similar situation is presented in example 27, where the speaker and addressee were seeing each other the day before, and the speaker now asks what exactly the addressee was doing there. In contrast, the sentence in example 28 only asks about the action, without any evidentiality included. Hence, the verb *syldžar* in ex. 27 refers to an action witnessed by the speaker. In contrast, the question with the verb *gynar* ‘to do’ (ex. 28) is general, without any evidential meaning involved.

ex. 26 *Тугу гына сылдыабыный?*

tugu	gyn-a	syldža-ghyn-yj?
what	do-CONV	syldža-2SG-Q

‘What are you doing?’

(own elicited data)

ex. 27 *Бэбэһээ тугу гына сылдыбыккыный?*

beghehee	tugu	gyn-a	syldžy-byt-kyn-yj
yesterday	what.ACC	do-CONV	syldžy-PST.PTCP-2SG-Q

‘What were you doing (there) yesterday?’

(Bound to the moment, when we were seeing each other.)

(own elicited data)

ex. 28 *Бэбэһээ тугу гыммыккыный?*

beghehee	tugu	gyn-byt-kyn-yj
yesterday	what.ACC	do-PST.PTCP-2SG-Q

‘What did you do yesterday?’

(own elicited data)

## 2.6 Iterative

The iterative is an aspect used to express repetitions of an event. Compared to the habitual aspect, which expresses an event occurring ordinarily, regularly, usually, e.g. *John usually knocks on my door, (when passing by)*, the iterative aspect is used when only several repetitions are being expressed on one single occasion, e.g. *John knocked on the door three times*. In the following examples 29–32, *syldžar* is used to express the iterative aspect.

ex. 29 *Арылла сьлдъар.*

ary.ll-a                      syldža-r.  
open.pass-CONV          syldža-AOR

‘It is opening (again and again, nonstop – about windows)’

(own elicited data)

ex. 30 *Бу аак эийэхэ хаста кэлэ сырымта?*

bu    aak            ej-iexe            xasta                      kel-e            syryt-ta  
dem   SOC.PART   you-DAT.LOC   how.many.times   come-CONV   syryta-PST

‘How many times did they come to visit?’

(Alampa-Sofronov 1987)

ex. 31 *Утуйа сьлдъар.*

utuj-a                      syldža-r.  
sleep-CONV              syldža-AOR

‘He falls asleep. (often/always sleeps)’

(own elicited data)

ex. 32 *Кыра оѳо хаама сатаан оѳоро сьлдъар.*

kyra    ogho    хаам-a    sataa-n                      olor-o            syldža-r.  
small   child   walk-CONV   be.able-CONV   sit-CONV   syldžar-AOR

‘The little baby tries to walk and keeps falling down (to sitting).’

(own elicited data)

## 2.7 Progressive

According to Timberlake (2007, p. 287) ‘Progressive ... presents the world as an activity. It establishes that a process exists – is going on – at the contextual occasion. Often the progressive implies that the activity is going on “still” (longer than expected) or “already” (sooner than expected) or that the activity is tenuous and about to cease...’. The progressive in Sakha is formed by adding an auxiliary verb to a converb construction (similarly to other close languages). Usually, such an auxiliary is typologically a verb of motion or existence, cf. Mongolian construction of progressive action *-z’ baina* (Tserenpil – Kullmann 2005, p. 136).

The example 33 illustrates the use of the progressive aspect in the past tense.

ex. 33 *Хос иһигэр чыычаах көтө сылдьар этэ.*

xos	ih-iger	čyčaax	köt-ö	syldža-r	e-te.
room	in-3PX.DAT.LOC	bird	fly-CONV	syldžar-AOR	be-PST

‘A bird was flying inside the room.’

(own elicited data)

### 2.7.1 Semantics of negative form

Our elicited data suggests that there is a difference when we shift from positive to negative constructions. While in positive constructions the meaning is locative (ex. 34), when negated the conveyed meaning is negative habitual (ex. 35 and 36). The marked locative interpretation of ex. 35 would need to be strongly context-driven (e.g. as an answer to “Where are you?” question).

It seems that the grammaticalized functions appear very infrequently in negative forms, yet they are nonetheless grammatical and can be elicited.

ex. 34 *Маҕааһынна сылдьабын.*

maghaahyn-nga	syldža-byñ
shop-DAT.LOC	syldžar-1SG

‘I am in the shop. (currently, lit. ‘moving there’)’

(own elicited data)

- ex. 35 *Магааһынна сүлдѳабаптын*  
 maghaahyn-nga            syldža-bat-byn  
 shop-DAT.LOC            syldža-NEG-1SG  
 'I do not go to the shop (ever).' / 'I am not in the shop.' [context-driven]  
 (own elicited data)

- ex. 36 *билигин ол сиргэ ким да сүлдѳабат сирэ*  
 biligin    ol        sir-ge        kim    da        sylda-bat    sir-e  
 now        that    land-DAT.LOC    who    PART    syldža-NEG    land-PRT  
 '...nowadays, nobody ever goes to that place'  
 (<http://uhhan.ru/news/2022-01-17-17854>)

The existential/locative negation is usually expressed by the existential-negative particle *suox* (ex. 37).

- ex. 37 *Дѳиэбэр суохпун.*  
 džie-ber                    suox-byn  
 house-DAT.LOC.1PX        EXIST.NEG-1SG  
 'I am not home.'  
 (own elicited data)

### 3. Conclusions

The scope of meaning and usage of *syldžar* is notably wide. Apart from its original lexical meaning 'to visit', it is used to express non-directional movement and existence/location, as well as evidentiality and different aspects – iterative and progressive.

We separated the various meanings and uses of *syldžar* into two groups, depending on the verb's syntactic function: non-directional movement and existential/locative meaning. These various meanings are bound to the situation when *syldžar* stands on its own, or as a head of the verb phrase (finite verb). The expression of evidentiality and various aspects is triggered predominantly when the verb is in a position of auxiliary. While the original lexical meaning 'to visit' is expressed both in the position of a finite verb, or as a converb.

The grammaticalization of non-directive motion and existential/locative use of *syldžar* from the original meaning ‘to visit’ seems to constrict the interpretation of dative-locative object to locative only (e.g. the expression ‘to walk in/to forest’ would be bound to ‘walk in forest’), while for dative (directional) interpretation (‘walk to a forest’) different motion verb (*iher*) would have to be used.

We also noticed that when the verb *syldžar* stands as the head of the verb phrase and there is a shift from positive to negative constructions, the meaning also shifts to habitual aspect (‘generally do not do something’), while other meanings (non-directional movement and existential/locative meanings) are marked and must be strongly context-driven. Asymmetric negation is not an uncommon phenomenon in the languages of the world (Miestamo 2008, pp. 170–175).

The progressive function of *syldžar* is comparable to some constructions among other contact languages like Mongolian (Zikmundová 2011, p. 68) and Altai-Sayan (Anderson 2004, p. 30), where verbs of motion or of existence are used as well.

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## Consultants

Our key consultant was Aldana Vlasáková, a native Sakha and Russian speaker from Uus-Aldan, with fluent knowledge of Czech, Mongolian and English. Aldana Vlasáková is currently a PhD candidate in Asian Studies in the Czech Republic. All data used in this article were verified, interpreted and commented on by her.

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Substantial data and examples were provided mostly by native speakers during field trips to Central Yakutia and Yakutsk. Because the first data were usually taken from spontaneous speech during conversations not connected to our research, we lacked the capacity for obtaining personal details on most of them. All of the examples were later consulted with our key consultant.

## List of glosses

We used the Leipzig glossing system. The following list contains only less known or potentially ambiguous glosses used in the text.

DAT.LOC.	dative locative
SOC	sociative
AOR	aorist
PART	particle
PST	past tense
PX	possessive
CONV	converb
PF	perfect tense
PTCP	participle
FUT	futurum

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