

## Werk

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# Folklore borrowings in north-eastern Siberia

Peter Sauli Piispanen

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Folktale characters and places in northeastern Siberia have been traced throughout Yakut, Ewenki and Yukaghir (TU=Tundra Yukaghir; KY=Kolyma Yukaghir). The following is etymologized as a (Pre-)Yakut borrowing: KY *an-daidu-iččite* ‘a goddess in a tale, lit. appointed goddess of the land’, and as Ewenki borrowings: TY *d’el’diŋee* ‘a man in a tale, lit. bender~returner’; KY *dourə, dowurə* ‘a man in a tale, lit. comrade’, KY *gerkeŋi* ‘a man in a tale, lit. walker’, TY *agaŋe* ‘woman, lit. one who berths, one who moors’ and TY *juundaaq(-nerile)* ‘a place in folklore, lit. earthen hill with rocks in the eastern direction’. A folklore *Wanderwort* is found in Yukaghir SD *galyjan* ‘a woman in a tale, lit. goose’, and a few other uncertain cultural borrowings are discussed.

Further, the following hitherto undescribed affective suffixes are used commonly with Yukaghir folktale characters: TY *-aa*, TY *-iŋ*, TY *-j*, TY *-kie(n)*, TY *-ŋe*, PY *\*-ka(:)(n)* and PY *\*-de*. Furthermore, the suffix TY *-tke* is used exclusively with place names in Yukaghir folklore.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Yukaghir and Siberian tales

Yukaghir folklore is colorful and full of talking animals, two-dimensional men, monsters and roaming creatures, wood spirits, bears, gods and goddesses, favors and counter-favors, smallpox personified, curses, hunger, hunting and prosperity, wanderers and country life, grave-boxes, tribal justice, warfare, trickery, magic, gifts and relationships, world-eaters, children of nature, greedy businessmen, marriage, ravens, etc. (Bogoras 2009, *passim*). These features—a very rich and living setting capable of competing with the best of the collected fairy tales of the Brother Grimm—are relatively common in northeastern Siberian tales. In general, genealogically unaffiliated tribes naturally borrow stories (with an invaluable wealth of information about the peoples living in northeast Siberia) from each other and in more modern times also from Russian sources. Such borrowings can be traced and etymologized in a cultural context using any number of techniques, and a few of them are employed in this paper; borrowings from Tungusic (a comprehensive overview of the Tungusic languages is given, for example, in Janhunen 2005) and Turkic

sources into Yukaghir folklore are described, dated and explained in phonological and semantical terms. Folktale borrowings are perhaps more common and widespread than one might think; on occasion obvious *Wanderwörter* are found for a story's protagonist. The borrowings also show which populations originally told these tales, even though the tales may now have been forgotten and never been written down among the people.

Recently, a few folklore borrowings in Yukaghir were reported: Yakut *argus* (аргыс) 'companion' (JRS 46), borrowed as: TY *arkyagin* 'a dog in folklore, lit. travel companion'; Ewen *bajgVIV-gan* 'Baikalian', borrowed as: TK *bajyaraqan* 'a man in folklore, lit. Baikalian'; Yakut *baikal*, *baikhal*, *bajayal* (JRS 553), *bayaǵal*, *bayǵal*, *bāyǵal*, *bayxal* (Pekarskij 1959: 340), borrowed as: TY *bejkee* 'a man in folklore, lit. Baikalian' (Piispanen 2013; this contains some useful background regarding the phonology of this paper). The existence of numerous borrowings in all semantic fields in this geographical area is certain: to my count, there are no less than 121 prospective, unspecified Tungusic borrowings in Yukaghir (as summarized in *A Historical Dictionary of Yukaghir*, i.e. Nikolaeva 2006), and perhaps an additional eight direct Ewenki borrowings and up to 85 possible Ewen borrowings, many of which also have counterparts in Yakut (or, natively, *Sakha tyla*), suggesting very extensive borrowing in the area. Recently, an additional five Ewenki borrowings in Yukaghir were presented (Piispanen 2015), and this paper includes five more such borrowings into Yukaghir.

In this paper, some Yukaghir roots pertaining to folklore characters, natural phenomena and places are etymologized as being borrowings from surrounding populations, mainly from the Yakut (a Turkic language) and the Ewenki (a Tungusic language) speaking populations. In this study, all Yukaghir vocabulary is taken from Nikolaeva 2006, Ewenki vocabulary is from Vasilevič (1958) and Yakut vocabulary is from the JRS. Mongolic glosses are also used to prove the borrowings. Any Turkic forms from the 8th to the 13th century, when applicable, have been taken from etymological dictionaries by Clauson (1972) and Nadeljaev et al. (1969) unless stated otherwise.

## 1.2. Yukaghir prosody

In Yukaghir, all stems must accommodate valid prosodic structures. In the cases of folklore characters and locations above, the items were regularly suffixed roots of Yukaghir origin (or ancient borrowings already having taken on valid prosody). While any borrowed root will also change over time to obtain a prosodically valid structure, an irregular root (i.e. of invalid prosody) is a strong indication of a recent borrowing. Irregularities such as a lack of synharmonism or existing morphologic complexities will remain for some time, meaning that the presence of any non-Yukaghiric consonant clusters or identified suffixes from other languages will quickly prove a borrowing.

Valid prosodic structures in Yukaghiric include (V=any vowel except ə; C=consonant):

Nouns root structures: (monosyl.) (C)V:-, (C)V:C-, (bisyl.)(C)V:Cə-, (C)VVCV/ə, (C)VCCə-

Verbal root structures: (monosyl.) (C)V:-, (C)VC-, (bisyl.) (C)V:Cə-, (C)VVCV-, (C)VCCə-

Trisyllabic roots are usually formed by adding a syllable -Cə, -CV:-, -Ci or -uC to a bisyllabic root (Nikolaeva 2006: 77–78).

Invalid prosodic structures in Yukaghiric include:

Noun root structures: ≠ (monosyl.) CV-, Cə-, CVC-

Verbal root structures: ≠ (monosyl.) CV-, Cə-, CV:C-

Prosodic control well explains many cases of vowel lengthening or apocope in the borrowed lexicon in Yukaghir, as is also found with the suggested borrowed items in this paper.

## 2.0. Yukaghir folktales

### 2.1. Unetymologized folktales in Yukaghir

In Yukaghir, there are a lot of non-etymologized folktale roots (collected while perusing Nikolaeva 2006). Almost all of these are listed below:

PY *\*aγa:ńə/\*ańqa:ńə* > TY *agańe* ‘woman’; PY *\*aγčə-* > SD *agzakelge* ‘a river in folklore’; PY *\*ańńərqa:* > TY *ańńarqaa* ‘a mythical river flowing very far away’; PY *\*an-dajdu* > KD *an-daidu-iččite* ‘a goddess’; PY *\*ararə~\*aḍada~\*araḍə~\*aḍarə*<sup>1</sup> > TJ *arara-* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*debegəj* > KY *debegej, tebegej, tabegej* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*d’eld’i* > TY *d’eld’ińee* ‘man’; PY *\*čaya:~\*čańqa:* > TY *čayaa* ‘a dog in folklore’; PY *\*čape:n* > TY *čapien* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*čempər* > TY *čieber* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*če:ri:~\*če:ḍi:* > TY *čierii* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*českə-* > KJ *českene* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY *\*čerpəj~\*čerwəj-* > KJ *čerbeigo* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*českə-* > KJ *českene* ‘a woman in folklore’, TJ *česhkene* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*čij-* > KJ *čijend’ie* ‘a mountain in folklore’; PY *\*čo:qiń* > TY *čuoqiń* ‘a dog in folklore’, *čuoqind’aa* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*čotińi* > KD *čotińi* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*čökörən* > KJ *čokoron* ‘a woman in folktale’, *čokoron-ečie* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*ču:-* > TY *čuučuu* ‘a woman in folklore’, *čuučičeen* ‘a man in folklore’, *čuučikaa* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*dowurə* > KY *dourə, dowurə* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*dubegles* > KY *dubegləš* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*d’oroqə* > TY *d’oroqo* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY *\*eweńe:* > TY *eweńe:*, TK *eweńee* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*galijən* > SD *galyjan* ‘a woman’; PY *\*gerke* > KK *gerkeńi* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*inč’ilwəj* > TY *id’ilwej*, KJ *id’ilbei* ‘a man in folklore’; PY *\*jewnte:* > TY

<sup>1</sup> The ~ sign means ‘or’, i.e. that several alternative lexical or reconstructional alternatives can be given.

*jeudee* ‘a woman in folktale’; PY **\*ju:nta:q** > TY *juundaaq(-nerile)* ‘a place in folklore’; PY **\*kakaw** > TY *kaakku, kakau* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*ke:ka:** > TY *kiekaa* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*ku:l’armə** > TY *kuul’aarma* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*köyel-~\*kōḡkəl-~\*keyel-** > KJ *kogelgie, kogelgi* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*kōri:** > TY *kōrii* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*kyntəna:** > TY *kidanaa* ‘a place in folklore’; PY **\*kyrčə:nə** > KY *kyrčə:nə* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*l’al’u:** > TY *l’al’uu* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **\*layajək~\*laṅqəjək** > KJ *layajek, layajeq* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*la:tnəj** > KY *la:tnəj* ‘a mountain in folklore’; a woman in folklore’; PY **\*l’edeməčil~\*l’entəməčil** > KJ *ledemečil* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*l’ol’oqə** > TY *l’ol’oqodie* ‘a woman in folklore’, *lollogodie* ‘a stream in folklore’; PY **\*lopčə** > KY *lopčə* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*losijə** > KY *lošijə, lošija:* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*marmjan** > TK *marmjan* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*meñi:ke:n** > TY *meñiikeen* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*moqi:** > TY *moqii* ‘a dog in folklore’, *moqiičaa* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **močəoqət-** > KY *močəoqətčən* ‘a man’s double’; PY **\*momilən** > KJ *momilan* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*narančə** > KJ *narad’a* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*nelpəs** > KJ *nelboš* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*oṅoje~\*oṅqəje** > KJ *oṅoje* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*ojnčə** > KJ *ojd’e* ‘a mountain in folklore’; PY **\*ōko:** > TY *okuodie* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*palijka:** > TY *palijkaa* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **\*pastu:** > TY *pastuu* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*pinčə:néu:** > TY *pid’aad’uu* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*pi:rəsmo:l** > TY *piiresmuol* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*pəyotə-** > KJ *pogotoguome, pogotoguomei* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*pottu:** > KY *pottu:, potto:, putto:* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*qalantin~\*qalančín** > KY *qalantin, alandin* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*qa:ləm-** > TY *qaal’amkaan* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*qa:nte** > TY *qaante* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*qa:ḡuńa** > TY *qaḡuńaa* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*sapija:** > TY *sapijaa* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*sal’ika:n** > TY *sal’ikaan* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **\*səmpərəj** > TY *sabaraj* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*sari-** > KJ *šarišara* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*sarta-** > KJ *šarta:die* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*semtenəj** > TK *semtenej* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*silka:** > KJ *šilga(:)* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*sitənə** > KJ *šitane* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*solqərqa:** > TY *soljar-qaa* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*so:tkə** > TY *suotke* ‘a man in folklore’, *suotke-lawjemdie* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*taqsi:** > TY *taqsii* ‘a place in folklore’; PY **\*tato:r** > TY *tatuorkaan* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*tawuska:n~\*tampuska:n** > KJ *tabuškan* ‘a man in folklore; the ancestor of the Uškan clan’; PY **\*tiḡe:p** > TY *tiḡiep* ‘a lake in folklore’; PY **\*toṅti:** > TY *toṅtii, toṅtikaaki* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*to:pu:** > TY *tuopuu(-eñie)* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **\*uml’ə** > KJ *umle* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*uteḡnə** > TY *uteḡne* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*ypollo** > KJ *ipollo* ‘a man in folklore’; PY **\*warwa:** > TY *warwaa* ‘a woman in folklore’; PY **\*te:rəs-** > SD *tiorašnga-numa-pie* ‘a mountain in folklore’;<sup>2</sup> TY *tudeya-juoñel* ‘a place in folklore’

2 Only the first word is non-etymologized, with the others obviously meaning ‘house’ and ‘mountain’, respectively.

A number of these—as will be demonstrated—are from Yakut or Tungusic sources while others will likely pertain to original Yukaghir tales, using native vocabulary that is otherwise not attested. Lake names in folklore are, with a few exceptions, usually composed of compounds; Yukaghir compounds are often, but not always, created using the genitive (*-n-* before consonant; *-nt-* before vowel), such as in TY *čiemed-uusii* (< \*če:mə-nt-u:si:) ‘a man in folklore, lit. blood’s movement’.

## 2.2. Folklore suffixes in Yukaghir

Clearly, Yukaghir exhibits a few suffixes used commonly but not quite exclusively to create folklore characters and places out of native, or even borrowed, vocabulary. This is particularly true of the tales told among the Tundra Yukaghirs. Such suffixes—which can be termed affective—are also found among some of the non-etymologized items above. The suffix-carrying folklore items can be divided into the approximate groups below. Here I also interpret and translate the literal meanings of these items as to the best of my own knowledge of Yukaghir.

Suffix: TY *-aa* (TY *waŋaa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. con-man’; ?KY *eñ̄aa* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. tender woman’; TY *laŋ̄aa* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. scattered woman’; TY *moqiičaa* ‘a woman in folklore’; TY *nastaa* ‘a woman in folklore derived from Russian lore’; TY *qarqind’aa* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. woman of the steep bank’; TY *torojaa* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. dark woman’; TY *warwaa* ‘a woman in folklore’; TY *čon̄d’ijaa(-öön̄jie)* ‘a lake in folklore’; TY *čuoqijaa* ‘a lake in folklore, lit. goose lake’; TY *liŋ̄taa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. smart man’; TY *sapijaa* ‘a lake in folklore’; TY *čayaa* ‘a dog in folklore’; TY *čuoqind’aa* ‘a man in folklore’; TY *čaal’uŋaa* ‘a reindeer in folklore, lit. dark brown reindeer’; TY *čan̄mend’aa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. elder brother’; TY *kidanaa* ‘a place in folklore’; TY *saqlaŋaa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. polar owl man’; TY *saaqi’aa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. fox-man, sly man’; TK *tol’iid’aa* ‘a man in folklore, lit. crooked man’).

Suffix: PY *\*-de*: (TY *köndie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. bridegroom’; KJ *muned’idie* ‘a man in folklore’; TY *ñaáčedie* ‘a man in folklore’; TY *uodie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. child-man’; TY *öjegendie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. hare-man’; TY *okuodie* ‘a lake in folklore’; TY *apuodie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. ornamented man’; TY *ooqadie, uoqaa-die* ‘long-tailed duck; a man in folklore’; KK *paweldie* ‘a man in folklore derived from Russian lore’; TY *pomdii* ‘a man in folklore, lit. man with a dirty spot’; KJ *šarta:die* ‘a man in folklore’; TY *toroqodie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. dark man’; KK *afanašijdie* ‘a man in folklore derived from Russian lore’; TY *akaadie* ‘a man in folklore derived from Ewen lore’; TY *čind’ii* ‘a woman in folklore derived from Ewen lore, lit. little bird’; KK *fedoradie* ‘a woman in folklore derived from Russian lore’; TY *jeudee* ‘a woman in folklore’; TY *köčid’ie* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. stirred up woman’; TY *l’ol’oqodie* ‘a woman in folklore’; SD *lologodie* ‘a stream in folklore’; TY *limqadie* ‘a woman in folklore, lit. Coregonus peled woman, i.e. northern whitefish woman’; TY *öjegendie* ‘a man in folklore, lit. hare-man’; TY *emund’ie* ‘a lake in folklore, lit. black woman’; TY *kösl’edie* ‘a lake in folklore, lit.

burbot lake'; TY *muodie* 'a lake in folklore, lit. lake of surprise'; TY *okuodie* 'a lake in folklore'; KJ *čijend'ie* 'a mountain in folklore'; KJ *old'e* 'a mountain in folklore'; SD *pulundie* 'a mountain in folklore, lit. bear mountain'). Because materials from both TY and KY (and other dialects) display this suffix it can be reconstructed on a Late Proto-Yukaghir level.

Suffix: TY *-ii* (TY *poqtii* 'a woman in folklore, lit. woman with high cheekbones'; TY *tojtii* 'a man in folklore'; TY *löötii* 'a woman in folklore, lit. dirty woman'; TY *palagije* 'a woman in folklore derived from Russian lore'; TY *moqii* 'a dog in folklore'; TY *qollerii* 'a dog in folklore, lit. envious dog'; TY *taqsii* 'a place in folklore'; TY *puojee* 'a man in folklore, lit. tanned man').

Suffix: TY *-in* (TY *jaraqiñ* 'a man in folklore, lit. white man'; TY *saaqiñ* 'a man in folklore, lit. fox-man, sly man'; TY *čuoqiñ* 'a dog in folklore').

Suffix: TY *-j* (TY *pečenej* 'a man in folklore, lit. lame man'; TY *samqaj* 'a man in folklore, lit. tea-pot'; TY *wedekej* 'a man in folklore, lit. stretched man'; TY *ėnekej* 'a woman in folklore, lit. tender woman'; TY *aalwej* 'a mountain in folklore, lit. low mountain'; ?KY *la:tnəj* 'a mountain in folklore; a woman in folklore').

Suffix: TY *-kie(n)* (TY *anatie* 'a man in folklore, lit. mountain dweller'; TY *ne-reguukien* 'a man in folklore'; TY *őjegie* 'a woman in folklore, lit. hare-woman'; TY *čindilikeen* 'a man in folklore, lit. snipe-man').

Suffix: TY *-ñe* (TY *petruuñe~peteriñe* 'a man in folklore derived from Russian lore'; TK *semtenej* 'a man in folklore'; TY *agañe* 'a woman in folklore'; TY *siwuonñe* 'a woman in folklore derived from Russian lore').

Suffix: PY *\*-ka(:)(n)* (; TY *aññarqaa* 'a mythical river flowing very far away'; TY *čamuoa* 'a man in folklore, lit. large man'; TY *čuučikaa* 'a man in folklore'; TY *luoqaa* 'a man in folklore'; KY *atil'qa:n* 'a man in folklore, lit. tall man'; KY *čarčəqa:n* 'a man in folklore'; TY *qul'arqaa* 'a woman in folklore derived from Ewen lore, lit. gull-woman'; TY *kiekaa* 'a man in folklore'; TY *maačekaan* 'a man in folklore'; TY *ñaawijikaan* 'a man in folklore'; TY *ñiraqa* 'a man in folklore'; TY *palijkaa* 'a woman in folklore'; TY *poqtikaan* 'a man in folklore, lit. man with high cheekbones'; TY *soljarqaa* 'a man in folklore'; TY *tatuorkaan* 'a man in folklore'; TY *toraqa* 'a man in folklore, lit. dark man'; TY *sal'ikaan* 'a woman in folklore'; SD *kogalga* 'a mountain in folklore, lit. forested hill mountain'. To these can also be added Yukaghir *palačelka* 'a daughter in folklore, and the sister of small-stuffed-one' (Bogoras 2009: 258–262) and *kosetska(~kosečka)* 'a monstrous male evil spirit in folklore' (Bogoras 2009: 276–277, 308–310). Because materials from both TY and KY (and other dialects) display this suffix, it can be reconstructed on a Late Proto-Yukaghir level.

Suffix: TY *-tke* (TY *monqetke* 'a man in folklore, lit. hill-dweller, or lit. hill place'; TY *neriletke* 'a place in folklore, lit. place of earthen hill with rocks'; TY *suotke* 'a man in folklore'; TY *ñuojetke* 'a lake in folklore, lit. horse-tail lake'; TY *önid'etke* 'a lake in folklore, lit. clay lake'; SD *terielketke* 'a mountain in folklore on the Popovka'; TY *muoqatke* 'a place in folklore, lit. broad whitefish place'; TY *ñanmetke* 'a place in folklore, lit. willow bush place'; TY *qodobetke* 'a place in

folklore, lit. dry place'). Interestingly, this suffix is used exclusively for place names.<sup>3</sup>

Suffix: TY *-u(u)* (TY *lasuu* 'a man in folklore, lit. bush-man'; TY *narčuu* 'bad; a man in folklore, lit. bad man'; TY *čajleruu* 'a man in folklore, lit. light-bringer'; TY *qarpil'uu* 'a man in folklore, lit. cry-baby'; TY *čuučuu* 'a woman in folklore'; TY *l'al'uu* 'a woman in folklore'; TY *muomuo*, *muumuu* 'a man in folklore, lit. surprised man~surprising man'; TY *lerpuu* 'a woman in folklore, lit. shaggy woman'; TY *motuu* 'a woman in folklore, lit. cunning woman'; TY *tuopuu* 'a woman in folklore'; TY *oqol'uu* 'a lake in folklore, lit. squint lake').

Several interesting conclusions can be drawn from the dataset above. For some reason, Tundra Yukaghir (TY), in contrast to Kolyma Yukaghir (KY), commonly exhibits suffixes in folktales.<sup>4</sup> A few suffixes, however, can be found in both KY and TY (and elsewhere), which must originate in Late Proto-Yukaghir (PY). The following are clearly nominal, affective derivational suffixes in Yukaghir used commonly with folktale characters: TY *-aa*, PY *\*-de:*, TY *-ii*, TY *-iñ*, TY *-j*, TY *-kie(n)*, TY *-ñe*, PY *\*-ka(:)(n)*,<sup>5</sup> TY *-tke* and TY *-u(u)*.<sup>6</sup> Of these, only two, namely PY *\*-i:* > TY *-ii* and PY *\*-u:* > TY *-uu*, are previously known as general nominal derivational suffixes (Nikolaeva 2006: 80, 83, respectively).

### 3. The chronology of borrowings into Yukaghir

Before proceeding with the presentations of new cultural borrowings, the methods determining the chronology of any prospective borrowing must be considered. In

- 3 Two possible counter-examples can be presented. These are TY *monqetke* 'a man in folklore' and TY *suotke* 'a man in folklore'. First, however, the root TY *monqe* means 'hill', which is a place, and so TY *monqetke* literally means 'place of the hill', which is also the name of the character in that story, who thus likely dwells or lives in the area. It is not uncommon in fiction for characters to be named after their places of origin. Second, TY *suotke* seemingly originates from PY *\*so:tkə*, which is a probable borrowing due to its irregular long vowel in a closed syllable, and hence it does not really fit within the Yukaghir paradigmatic suffix system for place names in folklore. Thus, both suggestions must be discarded as counter-examples, *-tke* being exclusively reserved for place names.
- 4 The reason for this could theoretically be that Tundra Yukaghir folktales had been more extensively documented than those of the Kolyma Yukaghirs. Speaking against this, however, the tales collected by Bogoras (2009) were divided into Tundra Yukaghir (8 tales), Lamut (10 tales, i.e. Ewen), Kolyma Yukaghir (a full 31 tales), Children's stories (11 tales), Markovo tales (8 tales, i.e. Chuvanzi & Ewen) and Anadyr tales (9 tales, i.e. Chuvanzi).
- 5 One should keep in mind that phonological changes between *\*k~\*q~\*g~\*γ* are possible in Yukaghir due to rules of synharmonism, sometimes making these sounds equal when listing suffixes. Normally, though, suffixes are unaffected by synharmonism.
- 6 It would make sense if some of these affective suffixes were also used with Yukaghir nicknames, i.e. in Yukaghir hypocoristics, but to the best of my knowledge no such field data has ever been collected.

particular, the forms of certain vowels in borrowings as found in Yukaghir are very revealing as to when the borrowing has taken place. It has been suggested that the same vowel correspondence principle of borrowings follows identical systems for both Turkic and Tungusic borrowings into Yukaghir. It is previously known that both the back high vowels of *u* and *o* of Tungusic (and very likely also Turkic) borrowings both converged into Late Proto-Yukaghir (PY) \**o* in so-called *early borrowings*, while the same instead converged into PY \**u* in so-called *late borrowings*. In a few very rare cases, Tungusic \**(-)o-* is instead found as *(-)a-* in Tundra Yukaghir (Nikolaeva 2006: 58). Other vowels such as Tungusic \**-a-* and \**-i-* are usually left unaltered with the borrowings into PY. *Early borrowings* and *late borrowings* are estimated to correspond to the time periods of approximately 1500 BP and 1000 BP, respectively (Piispanen 2015). Population genetic studies may further suggest that these periods could be specified into ~1400–1630 BP for *early borrowings* and ~900–1300 BP for *late borrowings* (Piispanen 2013, building on earlier research) as two distinctive waves of lexical borrowings. Borrowings made after these periods of time, i.e. being only a few centuries old, can be termed *very recent*.

#### 4. New cultural borrowings from Ewenki

Yukaghir suffixes are not generally expected with borrowed folktale lexicon. Thus, the following suggested folktale borrowings do not exhibit any of the previously known, or in this paper presented, Yukaghir suffixes; instead foreign suffixes can be detected, which strengthens the borrowing hypotheses and readily identifies the donor language.

##### *New borrowing*

Ewenki *deldit-mii* ‘to bend; to return’ (Vasilevič 1958: 113), borrowed as: PY \**d’el’di* > TY *d’el’dinee* ‘a man in a tale, lit. bender or returner’.

The ending *-nee* is no doubt the Ewenki agentive suffix *-ne* (Nedjalkov 1997: 299), directly rendering the meaning of ‘bender’ from ‘to bend’. The character’s name could alternatively be interpreted as ‘returner’, as having returned for example from a quest, war or similar. The Yukaghir root, which is found only in Tundra Yukaghir, has invalid prosody, clearly showing that this is a borrowing (as suggested in Nikolaeva 2006: 148), and is likely a *late borrowing* or even *very recent* given the obviously aberrant phonology of the root. Indeed, Late Proto-Yukaghir did not have any voiced obstruents (Nikolaeva 2006: 66) and so the two reconstructed \**d*’s must logically originate from borrowing, as is the case with practically all other Yukaghir lexicon items reconstructed with \**d-*.

##### *New borrowing*

(Proto-Tungusic \**dagu-r* ‘friend; allied kin’ >) Ewenki *dovor* ‘friend, comrade’ (Vasilevič 1958: 118), borrowed as: PY \**dowurə* > KY *dourə*, *dowurə* ‘a man in a tale, lit. comrade’.

Nikolaeva notes (in 2006: 149) that the Yukaghir root is a likely borrowing for phonological reasons (namely the reconstructed voiced \*d-, just as with the previous item above). The change \*-o- > \*-u- is quite regular for *late borrowings* in Yukaghir, while the final schwa is the epenthetic result of prosody, as CVCVCə is a valid three-syllabic noun root, while CVCVC would be invalid. The Tungusic form is also found with Ewen *doγō* ‘friend’, etc. (< Proto-Tungusic \***dagur**; TMS 1 189, 211-212), and thus the direction of borrowing is clearly from Ewenki into Yukaghir. The root is only found in Kolyma Yukaghir, and very clearly means ‘comrade’.

#### *New borrowing*

Ewenki *gerku-mii* ‘to step, to walk’ (Vasilevič 1958: 85),<sup>7</sup> borrowed as: PY \***gerke** > KK *gerkeñi* ‘a man in a tale, lit. walker’.

This Kolyma Yukaghir word was documented by the linguist Eruxim A. Krejnovič. This root has invalid prosody, clearly showing that this is a borrowing (as suggested in Nikolaeva 2006: 167); phonologically, just like with PY \*d, the reconstructed PY \*g also strongly indicates that a borrowing has taken place, as all other known forms reconstructed with PY \*g- are borrowings. The *-ñi* (with spontaneous palatalization) could originate from the Ewenki agentive suffix *-mni* (Nedjalkov 1997: 298), directly rendering the meaning of ‘walker’ from ‘to walk’ (\*gerkeni < \*gerkuni < \*gerku-mni). A less likely option would be another agentive form of \*gerku-ŋe (see above). An alternative, using the list of Yukaghir suffixes above, would be the interpretation of \*gerku-ñe > *gerkeñi*, even though that suffix is seemingly used only in Tundra Yukaghir, and not in Kolyma Yukaghir, where this root is encountered; further, there is no reason to believe that the Yukaghirs added a Yukaghiric suffix to a borrowing, which usually comes with a suffix of its own already. The change \*-u- > \*-e- is likely due to progressive vowel assimilation. Given the limited lexical spread of this root, and the voiced plosives, this is likely a *late borrowing* or even *very recent*.

#### *New borrowing*

Ewenki *ag-mii* ‘moor, to hit the beach; to get out of a boat; to wash ashore’ (Vasilevič 1958: 16), borrowed as: PY \***aya:ñə** > TY *agañe* ‘woman, lit. one who berths, one who moors’.

Another Yukaghir root with irregular synharmonism (as suggested in Nikolaeva 2006: 96). The borrowed form was possibly \*ag-mni~\*aga-mni > \*aya:ni > \*aya:ñə. After assimilation with vowel lengthening of the Ewenki agentive suffix *-mni* (Nedjalkov 1997: 298), the final *-ni* was palatalized, upon which the final vowel changed to a schwa to accommodate Yukaghir prosody. The ending may, alternatively, be

7 Ewenki *girkiilen* ‘association, friendship’ (Vasilevič 1958: 89) could have been another alternative. However, it has less fitting phonology and it would further have required no nominal derivational suffix because the word is already a noun. Thus this suggestion can be eliminated altogether.

the aforementioned TY nominal derivational suffix *-ne* used with folktale characters, but the name was likely borrowed complete with the Ewenki suffix. The root is found only in Tundra Yukaghir, and is likely a *late borrowing*. The woman in the tale may have been a boat-dweller/fisher, sea spirit or similar who regularly walked the beach, possibly to encounter the protagonist, hence the nomenclature of one who berths or moors.

The borrowings above are presented as originating in Ewenki. Since the two Tungusic languages Ewenki and Ewen (which is another known donor language of Yukaghir, including folklore borrowings) are quite similar, one might have expected uncertainties as to the exact Tungusic source of the above borrowings. However, as I have been unable to find the corresponding cognates in Ewen, or alternatively quite different phonological variants in Ewen, these borrowings certainly are from Ewenki specifically. This suggests that Ewenki was spoken closer to the Yukaghirs in historical times. From the borrowings above it is also obvious that Yukaghir speakers regularly deleted the Ewenki infinitive verbal marker *-mii* with the borrowings.

#### *New borrowing*

Ewenki *d'unta* 'east' (Vasilevič 1958: 143), borrowed as: PY *\*ju:nta:q* > TY *juundaaq(-nerile)* 'a place in folklore, lit. earthen hill with rocks in the eastern direction' (< TY *nerile* 'earthen hill with rocks').

Regarding the aberrant phonology, the root-final *\*-q* and the preceding long vowel both originate in the Yukaghir suffix *\*-a:q-*, an adverbial locative marker (Nikolaeva 2006: 79); a parallel use of this suffix is found with PY *\*jata-* > TY *jataq* 'straight' (< *\*jata:q*), etc. Further, this suffix is seen in effect with a previously unnoticed Uralic cognate pair, namely: POUG *\*arV~urV* 'edge, side, direction' (UEW 833–834) < PY *\*a:rq-* (< *\*ara:q*) > KY *a:rqin* 'to, towards, until (PP)' (Piispanen *forthcoming*). The exact meaning of PY *\*ju:nta:q* is thus 'eastern direction'. The first long vowel in the PY root may represent a phonological compensation for simplifying a root-initial *\*d'-*. The phonology of this borrowing closely mirrors the hypothetical development of Pre-PY *\*δ' > l' (> j)* (as suggested in Nikolaeva 2006: 69). In other words the following chain is suggested: Ewenki *d'unta*, borrowed as (*\*d'unta- > \*l'unta-aq >*) PY *\*ju:nta:q* > TY *juundaaq(-nerile)*. Also, the vowel correspondence of Ewenki *-u-* to Yukaghir *-u-* is characteristic of a *late borrowing*. The addition *-nerile* is a Yukaghir word that was likely added, on occasion in the tales, to specify that the place is a hill.

### 5. New cultural borrowings from Yakut

#### *New borrowing*

Yakut *анаа-* (*anaa-*) 'to appoint, set, fix' (JRS 41), Dial. Yakut *dajdy* 'land, country' (standard Yakut *дойду* (*dojdu*) 'land, country'; JRS 115), and Yakut *иччи* (*ičči*) 'internal spirit; master; ghost' (JRS 158), borrowed as: PY *\*an-dajdu* > KD *an-daidu-iččite* 'a goddess in a tale'.

As Nikolaeva suggests without further detail (2006: 107), the entire word is of Yakut origin. It was documented in the collected works of the linguist Waldemar Jochelson on the Kolyma Yukaghir lexicon. Indeed, in Yakut folklore, this goddess is identical with Yakut *ān dojdum iččite* (Аан дойдум иччитэ) ‘the host-spirit of my motherland’ (described, for example, in: Dmitrieva 2013: 436). The first word, *an-*, should be derived from the Yakut verb *anaa-* ‘to appoint, set, fix’, the second word, *dajdu*, is clearly derived from dialectal Yakut noun *dajdy* ‘land, country’, and the last word *iččite* originates from the Yakut noun *ičči* ‘internal spirit; master; ghost’. The *ičči* are spirits on Earth under the control of the creator-gods, and the *-te* is also of Yakut origin. The meaning of this borrowing in Yukaghir is thus, logically enough, ‘appointed goddess of the land’ or ‘goddess of the appointed land’. The Yakut, and by extension, Yukaghir folklore goddess discussed here—a spirit of the earth who lives in the sacred tree (*āl lūk mas*), the symbol of the link between the three worlds<sup>8</sup> as told in the *Olonkho* epic—also has other names: the longer Viluy Yakut *ān dojdum iččite Nelberdeen*, or *N’adjay Baraan khotun*, as well as *ān-alakhchyn-khotun* (Аан Алахчын хотун), *ān Darkhan Khotun* ‘initial great lady’<sup>9</sup>, *ān Aalay khotun* ‘initial lady Aalay’, etc. The term *appointed* may in the borrowing symbolize a divinely given right, or the right to rule specific tracts of land (i.e. a land-lady), depending on the interpretation of the full compound word. The borrowing, which is found only in Kolyma Yukaghir, is likely *very recent*, i.e. likely to be only a few centuries old, as the origin is still very much transparent. The theme is semantically paralleled by, for example, the Gaulic goddess *Epona*, the Celtic goddess *Henwen*, the Welsh goddess *Cerridwen*, etc., all goddesses of the land.

## 6. New cultural borrowings as *Wanderwörter*

### *New borrowing*

(Proto-Mongolic \***galayu(n)** ‘goose’ >) Buryat *galuun* ‘goose’, Mongol *galuu* ‘goose’,<sup>10</sup> Khalkha *galuu* ‘goose’, Kalmuck *γaluun* ‘goose’, Ordos *Galuu* ‘goose’, Dagur *galoo* ‘wild goose’, Monguor *Galuu* ‘goose’ (EDAL 547), borrowed as: Ewenki *galav* ‘goose’, and as: (PY \***galijən** >) SD *galyjan* ‘a woman in a tale, lit. goose’.

PY \***-jən** is a unique root ending in Yukaghir and is therefore likely part of a borrowing. This is seemingly a *Wanderwort* in tales told throughout the Siberian lands, because the word is encountered in most Mongolic languages as well as in Ewenki (a Tungusic language, where it must also be a borrowing) and seemingly also in an obscure Yukaghir dialect. The donor language in this case cannot readily be identified. While the closest phonological resemblance is found among the Buryat, Kalmuck and written Mongolian forms, geography suggests that Ewenki may

8 Likewise, Ewenki folktales have the *Sevek-Mo*, a sacred tree that links the three worlds.

9 While this is the literal translation given in the sources, I suspect that a better English translation would be ‘first great lady’.

10 In Written Mongolian *γalayun* ‘goose’.

have been the donor. The borrowing was made only into a dialect of Yukaghir and no Late Proto-Yukaghir form should be reconstructed, and the borrowing is quite likely *very recent*, i.e. only a few centuries old. The female character, that we must assume was called *goose* without knowing the exact story told, can semantically be compared directly to *Mother Goose* of English folklore (a character usually appearing as an elderly woman in tall hat and shawl, or, alternatively, as a goose wearing a bonnet), the teller of tales and the basis for many classic British pantomimes. Another relevant semantic comparison in Siberia is to the deity of fate, a *goose-god* of the Khanty people supposedly living in a nest made of furs and skins built in the mountains.

More importantly, the word *goose* is similarly borrowed elsewhere in Yukaghir folklore—with exactly the same semantic implications as suggested here—namely from Ewen *e:rbe:t* ‘goose’ (TMS 2 462), borrowed as KJ *erbetken* ‘a Yukaghir clan’ (note *-tke*, a suggested place suffix described in this paper), TJ *erbet* ‘goose’ and KJ *erbend’eiko* ‘a female spirit in folklore’ (borrowing noted in Nikolaeva 2006: 164).

## 7. Uncertain cultural borrowings

Four additional folkloric borrowings may be suggested, but all of these are tentative at best.

### *Possible borrowing*

Yakut эвен (*even*) ‘Ewen (Lamut)’ (JRS 536), borrowed as PY *\*eweŋe:* > TY *eweŋe:*, TK *eweŋee* ‘a man in a tale, lit. Ewen’ (likely: < *\*eweŋe:-* < *\*ewen-ŋe* < *\*even*).

The Yukaghir root appears to be suffixed with the Suffix TY *-ŋe* as presented in this paper. The borrowing was made only into Tundra Yukaghir. The meaning of the protagonist in the story is, of course, *Ewenki* in Yakut. The basic words for Ewen in Yukaghir are otherwise KD *ahata* ‘Ewen’; KY *erpəjə* ‘Ewen’; TY *erpeje* ‘Ewen’, but also KY *la:məd’i:* (cmp. *Lamut*) ‘a tribe that used to live in the upper basin of the river Korkodon in the mountains of Argaatas, probably the Ewen’ and TY *laametkaan* ‘an Ewen tribe’. Since most of the local Yukaghir words for Ewen are very different from those of the surrounding languages, this also shows that this folklore character is a possible borrowing. The change *\*-n-ŋe* > *\*-ŋe:-* is unusual, but not entirely without precedents; PY *\*an-* > MU *ángdsche* ‘cry’ (i.e. *andše*, using contracted suffixes); KJ *iŋe--inne-* ‘afraid’; Ewen *öline* ‘lazy’, borrowed suffixed as: TD *ellenne-* ‘lazy’, but B *alangnae* ‘lazy’, KY *eleŋŋə-* ‘lazy’, TY *eleŋŋe-* ‘lazy’ (noted in Nikolaeva 2006: 324). The *-ŋ* is also found with Yakut *debdeŋ* ‘boaster’ (JRS 121), which was borrowed from Pre-Yakut into PY as *\*debegej* > KY *debegej*, *tebegej*, *tabegej* ‘a man in folklore’ (borrowing noted in Nikolaeva 2006: 148).

The suggestion would not have worked with Yakut *evenk* ‘Ewenki, Tungus’ (JRS 536), since the required changes *\*-ŋk-ŋe* > *-ŋe:* or *\*-ŋk-e:-* > *-ŋe:* (using the other affective suffix *\*-e:* presented in this paper) in Yukaghiric would be most

irregular, as plosives do not disappear without a trace. Additionally, this Yakut word is quite recent and is unlikely to have been borrowed into TY and dialects. Further, the documented words for Ewenki in Yukaghir are TY *alajii~alad'ii* 'Ewenki', KD *aloyi* 'Ewenki'; TD *čaxanil-wodul* 'real Ewenki',<sup>11</sup> and so Yukaghir *eweŋe*: does appear to be a Yakut borrowing. The Yakut word for Yukaghir, on the other hand, is *juḱēbil* (дьүкээбил), which also interestingly has the additional meaning of *aurora borealis*.

#### Possible borrowing

Ewenki *kurčak* 'whorl, vertical, whisk' (Vasilevič 1958: 224), borrowed as PY *\*kyrča:nə* > KY *kyrča:nə* 'a man in folklore, lit. vertical, whisker, or similar'.

Possibly originally *\*kurčak-nə* > *\*kyrča:ne*. The phonological structure is unusual, but possible, though the semantics are dubious. The final supposed suffix in Yukaghiric, *-nə-*, is also unusual and reserved for intransitive functions (Nikolaeva 2006: 82). Another possible borrowing thesis would be assuming words like Ewenki *kurken* 'cue for collecting berries' (Vasilevič 1958: 223) or Ewenki *köörīke~kurīke* 'a kind of fish', both with complex suffixation patterns in Yukaghir, but these are not very satisfactory either.

#### Possible borrowing

(Proto-Tungusic *\*laka* 'name of a fish; goby' >) Ewenki *laka* 'minnow, small fish for bait', borrowed as: PY *\*layajək* > KJ *layajek*, *layajeq* 'a man in folklore, lit. small bait?' (? < KJ *jeq~jak* 'hortative marker; come on, let us').

While the phonology holds up, the semantics are a bit odd, but still possible for a folklore character (perhaps meaning 'enthusiastic minnow'). This suggestion could be only a phonological happenstance, but also compare semantically to other similar fish namings in folklore, such as for example pike-girl (Bogoras 2009: 143–148), TY *limqadie* 'a woman in folklore, lit. Coregonus peled woman, lit. northern whitefish woman' (in this paper), TY *muoqatke* 'a place in folklore, lit. broad whitefish place' (in this paper) and Ewen *ōkābe~ōkābe* (Өкэбе) 'salmon' (Robbek, V.A. & Robbek, M.E. 2005:227), borrowed as PY *\*ōko:* > TY *okuodie* 'a lake in folklore, lit. salmon lake', *okuonuor* 'a man in folklore, lit. salmon man' (Piispanen 2016, forthcoming). Here one may also want to mention *Yeman'gnyem*, a Khanty fish-god, as a semantic comparison in Siberia.

While there are no Ewen cognates, there are cognates to be found elsewhere in Tungusic: (Proto-Tungusic *\*laka* 'name of a fish; goby' >) Negidal *laxana*; Oroch *lāqqa* 'herring'; Nanai *lāqa*, etc. (TMS 1 487–488), which shows the direction of borrowing going from Tungusic to Yukaghiric. The word seems to be very widely spread around as there are also Written Mongol *laqa* 'sheat-fish', suggesting a possible Wanderwort.

11 Note that KY *odul* and TY *wadul~odul* (< PY *\*wont-*) both mean *Yukaghir*, while the older documented TD *odul*, *wodu-*, *uodu-*, *-wodul* and other similar terms mean *Ewenki*.

*Possible borrowing*

Ewenki *marma* ‘dome tent (configurable for one overnight stay on the road)’ (Vasilevič 1958:249) or Mongol *marma*- ‘to be covered in scars’, borrowed as: PY \***marmjan** > TK *marmjan* ‘a man in folklore, lit. night-watch or scarred man?’

Again the phonology holds up fairly well for unusual clusters, although the palatalization is left unexplained and the semantics are dubious, making little sense, but the borrowing could mean ‘night-watch (man)’. The palatal could actually represent the Yukaghir ending of *-jan*, which is unusual, but is found with at least one other noun. An alternative borrowing hypothesis would be provided by Mongol *marma*- ‘to be covered in scars’, and if so, the Yukaghir word could instead mean ‘scarred man’. These factors indicate that we are here dealing with yet another chance lexical similarity.

## 8. Summary and conclusions

A number of new folktale borrowings from (Pre-)Yakut (perhaps partly from the Yakut *Olonkho* (Олонхо) tale which dates to at least the 10th century CE, and probably long before that) and Ewenki into Yukaghiric have been presented from a phonological, chronologic and semantic framework. All suggested borrowings in this paper on folklore are suggested to be so-called *late borrowings* for various reasons. Further, affective suffixes used exclusively in Yukaghiric folklore have been identified and clarified. How can we know that the etymologies suggested here are correct and not merely guesswork? First, the obvious phonological similarities matched by other neighboring languages well represent the expected phonological forms found in historical Yukaghir. Second, the semantics—knowing the general style of Yukaghir stories (such as in Bogoras 2009)—may make a great deal of sense.<sup>12</sup> Third, in each case, foreign suffixes play a vital role in the identification of borrowings.<sup>13</sup> Fourth, checking the original tales from which the men, women, animals and

12 Character (compound) names in the vein of wood-master (Bogoras 2009: 31–34), sea-spirit (Bogoras 2009: 34–38), she-monster-monster-woman & eagle-man (Bogoras 2009: 55–62, 148–154), forest-owner (Bogoras 2009: 50–52), reindeer-born (Bogoras 2009: 62–65), one-side (Bogoras 2009: 93–98), raven-man (Bogoras 2009: 98–107), grass-blade-girl (Bogoras 2009: 115–121), alder-block (Bogoras 2009: 121–128), pike-girl (Bogoras 2009: 143–148), bad-merchant (Bogoras 2009: 180–184, 243–244), unclean-idol (Bogoras 2009: 184–190), fish-girl (Bogoras 2009: 221–223), mice-girl (Bogoras 2009: 227–228), stone-scraper, scraping-board & whetstone (Bogoras 2009: 243–244), grass-leg, bladder & little-finger (Bogoras 2009: 284) are common, just as is found with the suggested borrowings in this paper.

13 Although it should be noted that both the semantics and phonology may change considerably with borrowings. An example is given by the many tales of the daughters of the Yugha witch in Kolyma Yukaghir, stories that are borrowed from Russian folklore. They are called the Yaghisna, with the old Russian suffix *-ahna*. This, however, is also sometimes the name of the original Yagha in the KY tales, which shows how semantic facts and phonological details can change with borrowings (Bogoras 2009: 324).

geographic locations have been borrowed would be a fool-proof way of verifying the accuracy of all the borrowings presented here; if the personalities and characteristics of the character or location borrowed well match the nickname they have in the story, then each respective borrowing hypothesis is likely correct. However, since the exact source tales of these borrowings are not referenced in the Yukaghir dictionary used, this last verification step has not been possible within the scope of the present study. The other criteria listed here, however, can be satisfactorily given and explained. This paper thus presents etymologies for one (Pre-)Yakut and five Ewenki borrowings into Yukaghir, as well as one *Wanderwort*.

### 9. Abbreviations of the linguistic resources

B = Materials of Billings 1787; KD = Kolyma Yukaghir from Jochelson's manuscript dictionary; KJ = Kolyma Yukaghir materials of Jochelson (1898) *Obrazcy materialov po jukagiskomu jazyku i fol'kloru, sobrannye v Jakutskoj ekspedicii* [Samples of materials for studying Yukaghir language and folklore collected during the Yakut expedition], *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* 8, p. 151–177, & Jochelson (1900) *Materialy pojukagirskomu jazyku i fol'kloru* [Materials for studying Yukaghir language and folklore], Part 1, St Petersburg; KL = Materials of Klitschka (1781) *Bachmeistersche Sprachproben*, a letter kept at the Manuscripts Department of the State Public Library, St Petersburg (fund 7, № 11, p. 3 rev. -5); KK = Kolyma Yukaghir materials of Krejnovič (1982) *Issledovanija i materialy po jukagirskomu jazyku* [Studies and materials on Yukaghir], Leningrad: Nauka; KY = modern Kolyma Yukaghir; M = materials by Maydell presented by Schiefner (1871a) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der jukagirischen, Sprache Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences* 3, 16: p. 373–399 & Schiefner (1871b) *Über Baron Gerhard von Maydell's jukagirische Sprachproben*, *Mélanges Asiatiques* 6, 5: p. 600–626; MC = čhuvan materials of Matjuškin in Wrangel (1841) *Putešestvie po severnym beregatn Sibiri i po Ledovitomu morju, soveršennoe v 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 i 1824 godax ekspediciju, sostojavšeju pod načal'stvom flota lejtenanta Ferdinanda fon Vrangelja* [The trip along the Northern part of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean made in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 and 1824 by the expedition directed by lieutenant Ferdinand von Wrangel], Vols. 1–2. St Petersburg; ME = Materials of Merk 1787; MK = Kolyma Yukaghir materials of Mueller and Lindenau in 1741; MO = Omok materials of Matjuškin in Wrangel (1841) *Putešestvie po severnym beregatn Sibiri i po Ledovitomu morju, soveršennoe v 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 i 1824 godax ekspediciju, sostojavšeju pod načal'stvom flota lejtenanta Ferdinanda fon Vrangelja* [The trip along the Northern part of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean made in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 and 1824 by the expedition directed by lieutenant Ferdinand von Wrangel], Vols. 1–2. St Petersburg; RS = materials of Rajskij and Stubendorf presented by Schiefner (1871a) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der jukagirischen, Sprache Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences* 3, 16: p. 373–399 & Schiefner (1871b) *Über Baron Gerhard von Maydell's jukagirische Sprachproben*, *Mélanges Asia-*

tiques 6, 5: p. 600–626; SD = Kolyma Yukaghir materials of Spiridonov (2003) *Jukagirsko-russkij slovar' i évensko-russkij slovar'* [Jukaghir-Russian dictionary and Even-Russian dictionary]. Jakutsk: JaGU; SU = materials by Suvorov presented by Schiefner (1871a) *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der jukagirischen Sprache*, *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences* 3, 16: p. 373–399 & Schiefner (1871b) *Über Baron Gerhard von Maydell's jukagirische Sprachproben*, *Mélanges Asiatiques* 6, 5: p. 600–626; TD = Tundra Yukaghir materials of Jochelson (1926) *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*. *Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History* 9. New York: G.E. Stechert American Agents; TK = Tundra Yukaghir materials of Krejnovič (1958) *Jukagirskij jazyk* [The Yukaghir language], Moscow; Leningrad: Akademija Nauk & Krejnovič (1982) *Issledovanija i materialy po jukagirskomu jazyku* [Studies and materials on Yukaghir], Leningrad: Nauka, TY = modern Tundra Yukaghir; W = Early materials of Witsen in 1692. All these older materials are described and referenced in Nikolaeva (2006).

###### 10. References

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- TMS 2 = Cincius, Vera Ivanovna 1977. *Сравительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков* 2. [Comparative dictionary of the Tungus-Manchu languages]. Leningrad: Nauka.

UEW: Rédei, Károly 1988–1991. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

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#### **11. Yukaghir-related Etymological dictionaries and glossaries:**

The etymological reference works consulted in Nikolaeva (2006), the source of Yukaghir used for this research, were, given with a common abbreviation: CED (Fortescue et al. 1994), DEWOS (Steinitz 1966–1993), EDAL (Starostin et al. 2003), ESRD (Anikin 2000), ESRZ (Anikin 2003), JRS (Slepcov 1972), JU (Collinder 1940—notes Yukaghir parallels and arguments), HUV (Collinder 1965), LR (Fortescue 1998) and UJN (Collinder 1957). Further, the following glossaries were consulted and collected therein: Angere (1957, based on Kurilov 1900), Kurilov (2001), Veenker (1989), Endo (1997 & 2001), Nyikolajeva (2000), Nikolaeva & Shalugin (2003) and Maslova (2001 & 2003).