

Altaic from the Point of View of Tungusic Past & Present State and Future Prospects

Václav Blažek & Michal Schwarz^{*}
(Brno)

Abstract: The traditional Altaic theory operates with three branches: Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic, where Tungusic plays a rather peripheral role. However, if we consider Korean and Japanese as well, Tungusic branch may occupy a central position from the geographical perspective and play an intermediary role within the Altaic language continuum. To prove this view, the history together with the current research of this topic is scrutinized and an overview of major events in the history of Tungusic studies is provided.

For the future prospects we found out that an interdisciplinary research which would combine comparative linguistics (i.e. study of new lexical parallels¹ and Altaic comparative grammar), genetics, archaeology, and anthropology (more specifically the study of human migration) is the most promising procedure that will provide a new perspective of Altaic studies for example in the newest projects of Robbeets² and Blažek & Schwarz³.

Keywords: Altaic, Tungusic, comparative linguistics, archaeology, anthropology

Özet: Geleneksel Altay teorisi üç kol üzerine kurulmuştur: Türk, Moğol ve Tunguz. Tunguzca, diğer iki kol ile kıyaslandığında daha dış bir roldedir. Ancak, Korece ve Japonca da buraya dâhil edilip Tunguzcanın konuşıldığı bölgeye de coğrafi açıdan bakıldığından, Tunguzcanın bu teorinin ortasında yer aldığı ve

* Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic, blazek@phil.muni.cz,
schwarz@phil.muni.cz

¹ e.g. alternative etymologies:

Tg. *mańa “paw” (EDAL 902)...Kor. män “hand” (PKE:105-06)

Tg. *pujukte “child” (EDAL)...OKor. *puk “boy” (Lee 1977:88)

Tg. *ur “male”....Tk. *uri “male child” (EDAL:607/1039)

² <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/news-agenda/using-erc-grant-with-beans-and-millet.html>.

³ <http://www.muni.cz/phil/research/projects/30385>

dolayısı ile Altay diller bütünü içerisinde aracı konumunda olduğu söylenebilir. Bu görüşü kanıtlamak için, çalışmanın konusu bütün boyutlarıyla ele alınmış ve Tunguz çalışmalarına dair önemli gelişmelerin genel bir değerlendirmesi yapılmıştır.

Gelecek araştırmalar için ise, Altay çalışmalarına yeni bir bakış açısı sağlayacak ve karşılaştırmalı dilbilim (başka bir deyişle güncel söz varlığı benzerlikleri çalışmaları ile karşılaştırmalı Altay dilleri dilbilgisi), genetik, arkeoloji ve antropolojiyi (özellikle göç çalışmaları) bir araya getirecek disiplinler arası bir çalışmanın en etkili yöntem olacağını düşünmektedir. Bu tür çalışmalara Robbeets⁴ ve Blažek ile Schwarz'ın⁵ çalışmaları örnek olarak verilebilir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Altay dilleri, Tunguzca, karşılaştırmalı dilbilim, arkeoloji, antropoloji

1. In the traditional conception of the Altaic theory operating with three branches, Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic ('Micro-Altaic'), the Tungusic branch played a rather peripheral role. We note that the proto-Altaic reconstructions of Poppe were based especially on Mongolic. When Korean and Japanese are taken into account as well, the Tungusic branch shifts to the central position in geographical perspective. This corresponds with its intermediary position within the Altaic language continuum, independently of genealogical or areal interpretation of similarities between the five Altaic branches. It is characteristic that the proto-Altaic reconstruction of Sergei Starostin and his team applied in EDAL follows Tungusic.

2. The first surviving dictionary of Manchu with grammatical remarks, called *Dajcin gurun ji iooní bitxe*, was compiled by the Chinese Hun-Jao in 1682 (cf. Zaxarov 1875:xv). Very soon it was followed by another Manchu dictionary called *Manju nikan šu adali iooní bitxe* (1690). The first European grammatical description of the Manchu language was written by the French Jesuit Gerbillon in the 1680s, but published under the title *Elementa Linguæ Tartaricæ* in 1696. The first European dictionary of the Manchu language was translated from its Manchu-Chinese original by Amyot and published by Langlès in 1789. In the 19th

⁴ <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/news-agenda/using-erc-grant-with-beans-and-millet.html>.

⁵ <http://www.muni.cz/phil/research/projects/30385>

century these were superseded by the grammars of von Gabelentz (1832) and grammar and dictionary of Zaxarov (1879, 1875). The first information to European scholars about the non-literary Tungusic languages was mediated by Witsen (1692:654). He had recorded the text of the *Paternoster* in one of the Evenki dialects. He also introduced the term Tungusic. In 1730 Strahlenberg recognized the whole group of the Tungusic languages (cited after the English edition from 1738:52). In Appendix called *Harmonia Linguarum* he compared c. 25 lexemes in two Evenki and one Even (Lamut) dialects. The relationship of Manchu to Evenki and Even was recognized by Pallas (1787:xxv). The first standard description of Evenki was written by Castrén (1856). In his *Vorwort* the editor Schieffner presented the regular phonetic correspondences between Evenki and Manchu. In 1896 Grube transcribed and translated the Jurchen-Chinese glossary, illustrating the close relation between Jurchen and Manchu, mentioned already by Klaproth (1823:292-93). The modern transcriptions of Mudrak (1985, 1988) and Kane (1989) demonstrate that Jurchen was an older stage of Manchu. During the 20th century all non-literary Tungusic languages are satisfactorily described. The comparative effort was crowned by publications of "Tungusic comparative phonetics" (Cincius 1949), "Tungusic comparative grammar" (Benzing 1955), and "Comparative dictionary of the Tungusic languages" (Cincius 1975-77). Also valuable were the synthetic studies of Lopatin (1958), Sunik (1959, 1968), Menges (1968a, 1968b, 1978a) and Miller (1994). New syntheses appeared in the latest decade: Janhunen (2005), Malchukov & Whaley (2012), Schwarz & Blažek (2012).

3. The term 'Altaic' was introduced by Castrén in 1844, cf. Castrén 1845[1846]:185, and its definition in his dissertation (1850:2): 'Quod commercium earum animadvertentes pariter atque plures scriptores, soliti item sumus nosmet, has omnes, quarum mentionem fecimus, linguas Finnicas, Samojedicas, Turcicas, Mongolicas atque Tungusicas communii complecti nomine, atque ut esset quo interea uteremur, appellavimus eas linguas **Altaicas**, cum gentes ipsae ab ultima antiquitate fuerint atque magna ex parte adhuc sint regionum in vicinia **montium Altaicorum** incolae.' A more realistic opinion was expressed by Klaproth (1823:295):

‘Die tungusischen, mongolischen und türkischen Dialecte zeigen unter sich einen sonderbaren Zusammenhang.’ Two classics of the Altaic studies, Ramstedt (1952-57) and Poppe (1960, 1965), operate in this scope, although they admitted the Korean affinity too. More detailed studies between ‘Micro-Altaic’ and Korean & Japanese (Lee Ki-Moon, Murayama, Martin, Miller, Street, Vovin) bring new impulses, leading to the newly formulated system of sound rules and proto-Altaic reconstruction (Starostin 1991). It becomes a base for “Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages” (EDAL), published by Starostin, Dybo & Mudrak in 2003, where Tungusic plays the central role. If rational criticism of EDAL (e.g. Robbeets 2005) is applied in combination with reinterpretation of some assumed cognates as loans (e.g. Kotwicz 1939; Poppe 1966; Romanova et al. 1975; Menges 1978b; Doerfer 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Rozycki 1994; Vovin 2010), the final result promises a higher quality in Altaic studies in the 21st century.

4. Tasks for the future should follow in the topics which were already elaborated, namely comparative phonology, comparative morphology, comparative lexicology, onomastics, genealogical classification, substratal & adstratal interferences with non-Altaic languages.

4.1. The Tungusic comparative phonology, founded by Cincius (1949) and Benzing (1955), was further developed in partial studies of Doerfer in the field of Tungusic vocalism (1967, 1978b) or Dybo in her partial studies about Tungusic consonantism (1990a, 1990b). The Tungusic protoforms reconstructed in EDAL represent an alternative to the model of reconstruction of Cincius and Benzing, and are also rather different from Doerfer’s reconstructions. It is legitimate to ask for a unification of proto-Tungusic reconstructions.

4.2. After the pioneering studies of Menges (1943, 1952), Cincius (1948) and Benzing (1955) devoted to Tungusic morphology there are new studies about the Tungusic verb (Sunik 1962), noun (Sunik 1982, 1986; Boldyrev 1987) and pronoun (Bulatova 2003). A new synthesis, more diachronic than synchronically descriptive, should be expected.

4.3. The “Comparative dictionary of the Tungusic languages” compiled by Cincius et alii (1975-77) was for its time extraordinarily

important. But now it is already incomplete with respect to the fact that new important lexical materials have been published, e.g. Manchu by Norman (1977, 2013), Lamut/Even by Novikova (1980) and Doerfer, Hesche, & Scheinhardt (1980), Nanai by Onenko (1980), Khamnigan Ewenki (Janhunen 1991), Khamnigan and Oluguya Ewenki by Tsumagari (1992), Ewenki (Boldyrev 1994), Ewenki of Manchuria by Doerfer & Knüppel (2004) etc. Several special studies were devoted to detailed analyses of partial semantic fields, e.g. zoological terminology (Novikova 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1979, 1984), body part terms (Kolesnikova 1972, Dybo 1988; cf. Dybo 1996), designations of metals (Rybatzki 2002; cf. also Cincius & Bugaeva 1979). And a new comparative 200-word-dictionary of the Tungusic languages (Kazama 2003) should also be taken into account. This progress implies the time is already mature for a new comparative-etymological dictionary of the Tungusic languages based on the diachronic approach and operating with convincing reconstructions.

4.4. The Tungusic onomastic research is surprisingly relatively scarce, namely toponyms studied e.g. by Vasilevič (1958), Leont'jev & Novikova (1989), and ethnonyms analyzed e.g. by Stary (1990), Helimsky & Janhunen (1990), Menges (1995), Burykin (2000). This field expects new and systematic research.

4.5. The questions of classification have been discussed repeatedly already for at least a century. After the models proposed by Schmidt (1915), Cincius (1949) and Benzing (1955) new modifications and alternatives are discussed by Sunik (1959), Vasilevič (1960), Avrorin (1960), Doerfer (1973, 1975, 1978a), Ikegami (1974), Vovin (1993), Grenoble, Li, & Whaley (1999), Georg (2004). It seems, the situation is ready for a new synthesis evaluating all relevant approaches leading to the preceding models of the Tungusic classification and seeking a new solution.

4.6. The mutual interferences with neighboring non-Altaic languages allow us to determine the role of adstratal languages, namely Ugric, studied especially by Futaki (1975), and Samoyedic, studied e.g. by Joki (1976) and Anikin & Xelimskij (2007); further, Nivkh, where both roles, substratum and adstratum, are expectable, cf. Krejnovič (1955) or Panfilov (1973). Only the role of substratum is more probable in the case of

Chukcho-Koryak, whose impact on Tungusic was studied by Burykin (1984); Blažek (1997:58-60; 1999:124-26) and Blažek & Schwarz (2015:12), and Eskimo, proposed as the old predecessor of the North Tungusic populations by Vovin (2015).

Only with satisfactory solutions of these particular problems it is rational to solve the ‘global’ questions of localization of the Tungusic homeland or relation(ship) of Tungusic to other members of the Altaic club.

5. The problem of the Altaic theory consists not only in the relationships between the languages, but perhaps much more in which graphic model is appropriate for illustrating the development of whole language group. The creation of such a model is one of the tasks of our project.

The development of a language family has traditionally been depicted by tree diagrams, which began already in the time of August Schleicher (who was himself very likely inspired by F. L. Čelakovský). However, it is clear that this concept does not describe the convergent processes between languages. Consequently, an alternative known as the wave model was proposed by Schleicher’s successor, Johann Schmidt, although he did not reject the basic idea of a common Indo-European protolanguage. The development of real languages, which are related, should always be depicted by a combination of both the tree and wave models. It is natural to apply the same approach to a language entity whose relationship is still debated, as in the case of the Altaic languages. In principle, there are two scenarios describing the development of languages classified as Altaic.

A. A sole protolanguage disintegrates into several branches. During their development they are in mutual contact. Or to put it more poetically, one trunk spreads out into branches which become intertwined. This was the conception of the founders of comparative Altaic linguistics, Ramstedt and Poppe, and also the authors of EDAL, although with various degrees of emphasis on convergent processes.

B. A group of originally unrelated languages form a *Sprachbund*, where they are integrated into a secondary unity. Or more poetically, several different roots become intertwined into a new trunk. This idea is more

or less explicitly expressed by Ščerbak, Clauson, Doerfer, Janhunen, Vovin or Georg. But some of them admit at least a partial relationship (Janhunen: Tungusic+Mongolic; Vovin: Korean+Japonic, plus maybe Tungusic).

It may seem that the tree and wave models correspond with these two conceptions respectively and are mutually exclusive. However, experience with other language families demonstrates that these models represent only the same process seen from various perspectives. For a parallel, one might draw a comparison with the particle and wave theories of light. Only quantum theory could unite these seemingly antagonistic conceptions. Our ambition is to find an analogous unified theory in the field of Altaic research.

6. The importance of the Tungusic branch should be seen in its central position among other Altaic branches, which indicates that the probable Tungusic homeland in northern Manchuria could be close to the area where the Altaic languages were formed (cf. Vovin 2013a), independently of whether one prioritizes the divergent or the convergent model.

–The homeland of the Turkic language family was perhaps located in what is today Mongolia. One should note that especially the eastern part of Mongolia had to be more important with respect to better conditions for agriculture and possibilities for economic subsistence.

–The homeland of the modern Mongolic languages may be placed in the tribal territory of Chingiskhan in eastern Mongolia, between the Onon and Kerülen rivers, i.e. in the vicinity of the so-called para-Mongolic populations (Xianbei, Tabgač and Khitan) in southern Manchuria. This means that the Mongolic languages might have originated ultimately in the same area, or in the Khingan mountain range of western Manchuria, whence they moved westwards to Mongolia, gradually replacing the Turkic languages that were spoken there beforehand.

–The Tungusic homeland was probably in the Middle Amur region of northern Manchuria (also Janhunen 1996a).

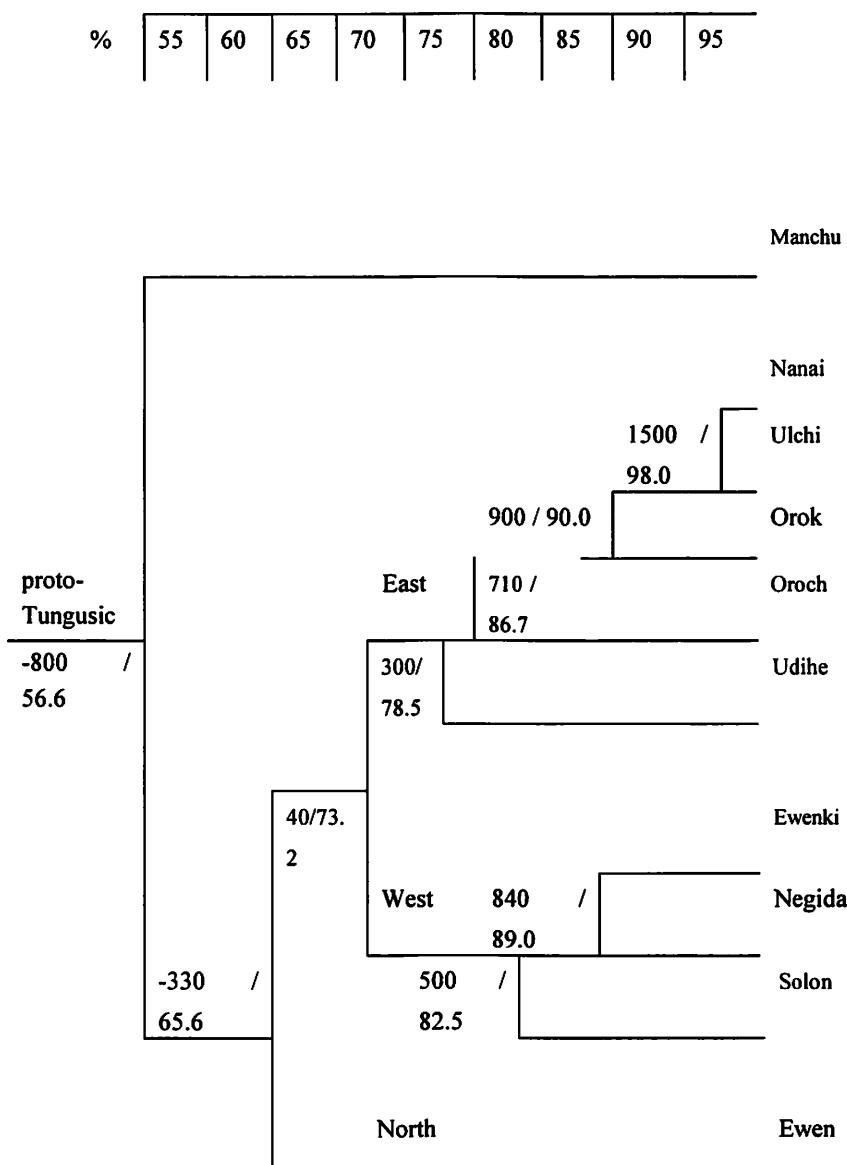
–The ancestors of the Korean speakers also came from Manchuria before the beginning of the common era (also Vovin 2013b).

—Finally, there is no consensus about the homeland of the Japonic languages, but according to the generally-accepted view, the ancestors of the Japonic speakers came from the Korean peninsula and ultimately from the continent, i.e. from the close vicinity of the other Altaic branches. It is probable they were pushed from the peninsula by the ancestors of the Koreans (Vovin).

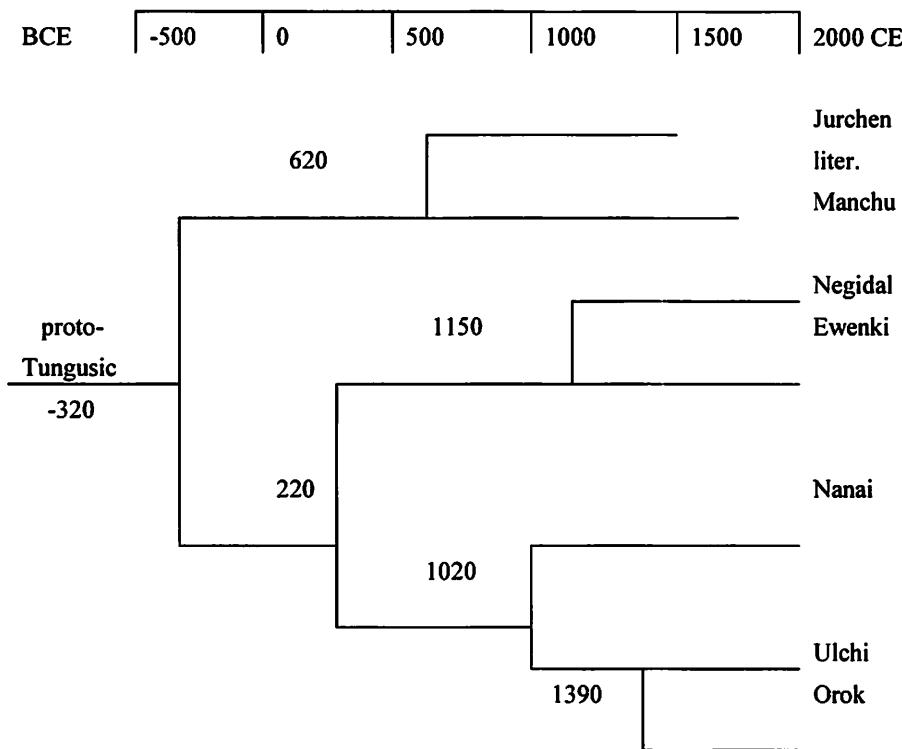
We hope that our future research, with the help of achievements in toponymic and palaeoclimatic studies, will lead to construction of more complete models and bring about a better understanding of where and how the Altaic branches were connected in the past. The future research of the mutual relationships between the Altaic languages should also be combined with the results of non-linguistic disciplines such as DNA analysis (e.g. Nasidze et al. 2005, Kim et al. 2009, MHGDA 2009, Balanovsky et al. 2015, etc.) and archaeology (e.g. Tumen 2012). Only such interdisciplinary investigation can build a foundation for more reliable conclusions about the relationships within and outside Altaic.

Appendix: Tree-diagrams

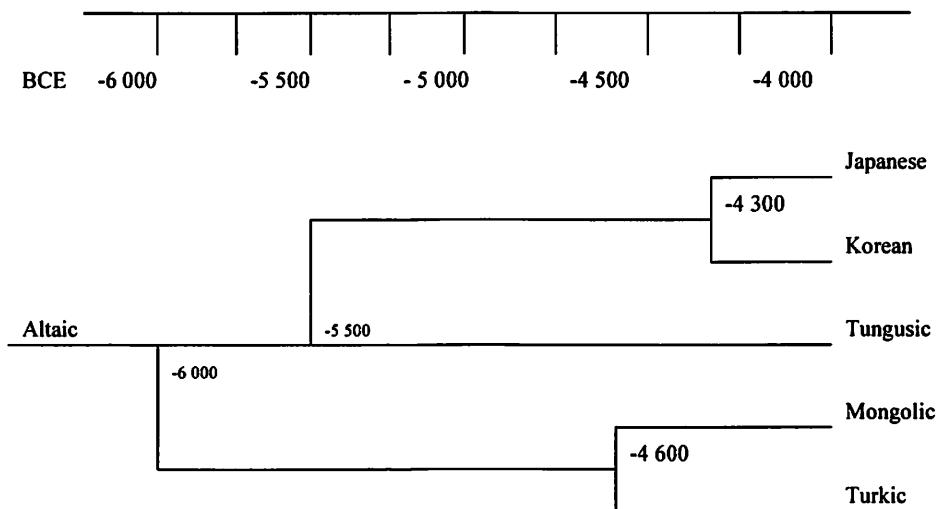
A. The most detailed lexicostatistic analysis of the Tungusic languages was published by Alexander Vovin for nine living languages and literary Manchu (1993, 99-113). Vovin's results may be depicted by the following tree-diagram:



B. Younger results were obtained by the team of Sergei Starostin (ms. 2004), applying so-called ‘recalibrated’ glottochronology for 7 Tungusic languages, including Jurchen:



C. George Starostin (2015, 568-69), using his modified ‘recalibrated’ variant of glottochronology, presents a quite realistic model of sequential disintegration of the Altaic languages, where the Tungusic branch occupies the central position.



References

- Amyot, Jean Joseph Marie (1789): *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou Francaise, composé d'après un Dictionnaire mantchou-chinois*, redigé par L. Langlès, 1-3. Paris: Didot.
- downloaded: <<http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/China-Bibliographie/blog/2010/06/27/langles-amiot/>>
- Anikin, Anton E. & Xelimskij, Evgenij A (2007): *Samodijsko-tunguskie leksičeskie parallel'i*. Moskva.
- Avrorin, Valentin A. (1960): O klassifikacii tunguso-mańčurskix jazykov. XXV meždunarodnyj kongress vostokovedov, Doklady delegacii SSSR. Moskva: Izd. XXV Vsemirnogo kongressa orientalistov.
- Balanovsky, O., Zhabagin, M., Agdzhoyan, A., Chukhryaeva, M., Zaporozhchenko, V. et al. (2015): Deep Phylogenetic Analysis of Haplogroup G1 Provides Estimates of SNP and STR Mutation Rates on the Human Y-Chromosome and Reveals Migrations of Iranic Speakers. *PLoS ONE* 10(4): e0122968. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0122968.
- Benzing, J. (1955): *Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Blažek, V. (1987): Some notes about new Korean etymologies of G.J. Ramstedt. *Archív orientální* 55, 156-161.

- Blažek, V. (1997): Altaic Numerals. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 2, 33-75.
- downloaded: <<http://info.filg.uj.edu.pl/zhhjj/sec/store/sec-2.pdf>>
- Blažek, V. (1999): *Numerals. Comparative-Etymological analyses of numeral systems and their implications*. Brno, Spisy Masarykovy university v Brně, FF, No. 321. VII+339.
- downloaded: <<https://www.phil.muni.cz/jazyk/files/blazek-numerals.pdf>>
- Blažek, V. (2005/2007): Current progress in Altaic etymology. *Folia Orientalia* 52, 2005/2007, 237-254.
- Blažek, V. (2008):(rev). Martine I. Robbeets: *Is Japanese Related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005). *Folia Orientalia* 42/43, 2006-07 [2008], 467-470.
- Blažek, V. (2010): Koguryo and Altaic. On the role of Koguryo and other Old Korean idioms in the Altaic etymology. *Journal of Philology: Ural-Altaic Studies* 1/1, 13-25.
- Blažek, V. (2013): Korean Numerals in Altaic Context. In: *Korean within Altaic language and Altaic language within Korean*. Seoul: Asian Cultural Studies Research Institute at Gachon University, 2013, 159-171.
- Blažek, Václav & Schwarz, Michal (2014): Altajská jmenná deklinace [Altaic nominal declension]. *Linguistica Brunensis* 62, 89-98.
- Blažek, Václav & Schwarz, Michal (2015): Numerals in Mongolic and Tungusic languages. In: *Proceedings of the 12th Seoul International Altaistic Conference. Multidimensional understandings of languages and cultures of Altaic people*. Seoul: The Altaic Society of Korea / Institute of Altaic Studies, Seoul National University, 11-20.
- Boldyrev, Boris (1987): *Slovoobrazovanie imen suščestviteľnyx v tunguso-mańčžurskix jazykax v srovnitel'no-istoričeskem osveščenii*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Boldyrev, Boris (1994): *Russko-évenkijskij slovar'*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Bulatova, N.Ja. (2003): Mestoimenija v sibirskoj gruppe tunguso-mańčžurskix jazykov. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*, Trudy Instituta lingvistickich issledovanij, Tom I, čast' 3, 171-236.
- Burykin, A. A. (1984): Drevnejšie substratnye i adstratnye komponenty v leksike tunguso-mańčžurskix jazykov. In: *Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka*, I. Moskva: Nauka, 20-23.

- Burykin, A. A. (1999): Morphological aspects of the language of the Jurchen script. In: Janhunen, Juha & Rybatzki, Volker (eds.). *Writing in the Altaic World*. (Studia Orientalia, Vol. 87. Finnish Oriental Society. Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference). Helsinki, 29-39.
- Burykin, A.A. (2000): Èvenkijskie i èvenskie ètnonimy Oxotskogo poberež'ja. *Jazyki i folklor* 7.
downloaded: <http://www.zaimka.ru/to_sun/burykin2.shtml>
- Castrén, Matthias Alexander. (1845)[1846]: Anteckningar om Samojediskans förvandtskap med de Finska Språken. *Suomi: Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* 5, 177–186.
- Castrén, Matthias Alexander (1850): *De affixis personalibus linguarum altaicarum: Dissertatio*. Helsingfors: Frenckell. The German translation Über die Personalsuffixe in den altaischen Sprachen, in: M.A. Castrén: *Kleine Schriften*, ed. A. Schiefner. St. Petersburg 1862, 151-222.
- Castrén, Matthias Alexander (1856): *Grundzuge einer tungusischen Sprache nebst Kurzem Wörterverzeichnis*, herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Castren, Matthias Alexander (1926): Osnovy izuchenija tungusskogo jazyka. In: *Tungusko-russkij slovar'*. Irkutsk. 1-64.
- Cincius, Vera I. (1948): Problemy sravnitel'noj grammatiki tunguso-mańčurskix jazykov. *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR, Otdel literatury i jazyka*, 1948, tom VII, vyp. 6, 518-526.
- Cincius, Vera I. (1949): *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-mańčurskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Učpedgiz.
- Cincius, Vera I. (1975/1977): *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tungusoman'čžurskikh jazykov. Materialy k etimologičeskому slovarju*, 1-2. Leningrad: Nauka. Review: Doerfer, Gerhard: Zum tungusischen Lexikon, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 74/1, 1979, 160-162.
- Cincius, Vera I. & Bugaeva, T.G. (1979): K ètimologii nazvanij metallov i ix splavov v altajskix jazykax. In: *Issledovanija v oblasti ètimologii altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 18-52.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1967): "Urtungusisch *-i, *-i, *-u, *-ü im Evenischen. *ZDMG* 117, 103-118.

- Doerfer, Gerhard (1973): Das Kur-Urmische und seine Verwandten. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 7, 567-599. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1975): Ist Kur-Urmisch ein nanaischer Dialekt? *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 47, 51-63.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1978a): Classification Problems of Tungus. In: *Tungusica I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1-26.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1978b): Urtungusisch *ö. In: *Tungusica I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 66-116.
- Doerfer, Gerhard, Hesche, Wolfram & Scheinhardt, Hartwig (1980): *Lamutisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1983): Das Birare. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 78, 1-19.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1984): Prolegomena zu einer Untersuchung der dem tungusischen und mongolischen gemeinsamen Wörter. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 79, 65-85.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1985a): The Mongol-Tungus connection. *Language Research* 21, 135-144.
- Doerfer, Gerhard (1985b): *Mongolica-Tungusica*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Doerfer, Gerhard. & Knüppel, M. (2004): *Etymologisch-Ethnologisches Wörterbuch tungusischer Dialekte (vornehmlich der Mandschurei)*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Olms Verlag.
- Driem, George van (2001): *Languages of the Himalaya. An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region. Volume one*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Zweite Abteilung. Indien). Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
- Dybo, Anna V. (1988): Ètimologièeskij material k rekonstrukcii pratungusomańčurskix nazvanij častej tela. In: *Sinxronija i diaxronija v lingvisticheskix issledovanijax*. Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija, 108-127.
- Dybo, Anna V. (1990a): Inlautnye guttural'nye v tunguso-mańčurskom i praaltajskom. In: *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoe jazykoznanie na sovremennom ètape*. Moskva, 51-53.
- Dybo, Anna V. (1990b): Sud'ba praaltajskogo *ń- po tungusomańčurskim i mongol'skim jazykam. In: *Vladimircevskie čtenija III*. Moskva.

- Dybo, Anna V. (1996): *Semantičeskaja rekonstrukcija v altajskoj ētimologii. Somaticeskie terminy (plečevoj pojas)*. Moskva: Škola “Jazyki russkoj kul’tury”.
- EDAL = *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, Part One [A-K], Part Two [L-Z], Part Three [Indices], by Sergei Starostin, Anna Dybo, Oleg Mudrak, with assistance of Ilya Gruntov and Vladimir Glumov. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Futaki, István (1975): *Tungusische Lehwörter des Ostjakischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gabelenz, Heinrich Conon von der 1832): *Eléments de la grammaire mandchoue*. Altenbourg: Comptoir de la littérature.
- Georg, Stefan (2003): Japanese, the Altaic Theory, and the Limits of Language Classification. In: Osada, Tosiki & Alexander Vovin (eds.). *Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese Language*. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 429-449.
- Georg, S. (2004): Unreclassifying Tungusic. In: Carsten Naeher (ed.): *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manchu-Tungus Studies*, Vol. 2: *Trends in Tungusic and Siberian Linguistics*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 45-57.
- Gerbillon, Jean-François (1696): Elementa Linguæ Tartaricæ. In: *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, IV. Partie. Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1-34.
[<https://archive.org/details/relationsdediver02th>](https://archive.org/details/relationsdediver02th)
- Grenoble, L. A., F. Li, and L. J. Whaley (1999): Revisiting Tungusic classification from the bottom up: a comparison of Evenki and Oroqen. *Language* 75, 286-321.
- Grube, Wilhelm (1896): *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
[<https://archive.org/details/diespracheundsc00unkngoog>](https://archive.org/details/diespracheundsc00unkngoog)
- Hauer, Erich (1952-55): *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* Bd. I-II, III. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Helimski, Eugene & Janhunen, Juha (1990): Once more on the ethnonym ‘Tungus’. *Specimina Sibirica* 3, 67-72.
- Ikegami, Iro (1974): Versuch einer Klassifikation der Tungusischen Sprachen. In: *Geschichte und Kultur der Altaischen Volker*, ed. by G. Hazai. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 271-72.

- Janhunen, Juha (1991): *Material on Manchurian Khamnigan Evenki*. Helsinki: Castrenianumin Toimitteita 40.
- Janhunen, Juha (1996a): Prolegomena to a Comparative Studies of Mongolic and Tungusic. *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*. Kawasaki, Japan: August 7-12, 1995. Ed. G. Stary. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 209-218.
- Janhunen, J. (1996b): *Manchuria. An Ethnic History*. Helsinki: The Finno-Ugrian Society.
- Janhunen, Juha (2005): Tungusic: an endangered language family in Northeast Asia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol. 173, 37-54.
- JN = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. Mongolskie, tunguzo-mańczurskie i paleoasiatskie jazyki*, eds. Vinogradov, V. V. i kol. Leningrad: Nauka 1968.
- Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) (2010): *Transeurasian Verbal Morphology in a Comparative Perspective: genealogy, Contact, Chance*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Joki, Aulis J. (1976): Some Samoyed-Tunguz word comparisons. In: *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenarioitime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 321-323.
- Kane, Daniel (1989): *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters*. Bloomington: Indiana University (Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 153).
- Kazama, Shinjiro (2003): *Basic vocabulary (A) of Tungusic languages*. Osaka : ELPR Publications A2-037.
[<http://repository.tufs.ac.jp/bitstream/10108/69777/1/A2-037.pdf>](http://repository.tufs.ac.jp/bitstream/10108/69777/1/A2-037.pdf)
- Kim, Jong-il. et al (2009): A highly annotated whole-genome sequence of a Korean individual. *Nature* 460, 2009, 1011-1015.
- Klaproth, Julius Heinrich (1823): *Asia Polyglotta*. Paris: Schubart; 2nd ed. Heideloff & Campe 1831.
[\(1st ed.\),](http://archive.org/details/asiapolyglotta02klapgoog)
[\(2nd ed.\).](http://archive.org/details/asiapolyglottaw00klapgoog)
- Kolesnikova, V.D. (1972): K xarakteristike nazvanij častej tela čeloveka v tunguso-mańczurskix jazykax. In: *Očerki sravnitelnoj leksikologii altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 257-336.

- Kotwicz, Władysław (1939): Les éléments turcs dans la langue mandchoue. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 14, 91-102.
- Krejnovič, E.A. (1955): Giljacko-tunguso-mańčžurskie jazykovye parallelī. *Doklady i soobščenija Instituta jazykoznanii* VIII, 135-167.
- Lee, Ki-Moon (1977): *Geschichte der koreanischen Sprache*. Übersetzt von Bruno Lewin. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Lee, Ki-Moon & Ramsey, S. Robert (2011): *A History of the Korean Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Leont'jev, V.V. & Novikova, K.A. (1989): *Toponimičeskij slovar' Severo-vostoka SSSR*. Magadan.
- Leontovič, S. (1896): *Russko-oročenskij slovar' s grammatičeskoj zametkoj*. Vladivostok.
- Lopatin, Ivan A. (1958): The Tungus Languages. *Anthropos* 53 (3-4), 427-440.
- Malchukov, Andrej L. & Whaley, Lindsay J. (eds.) (2012): Recent Advances in Tungusic Linguistics. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Martin, Samuel E. (1996): *Consonant Lenition in Korean and the Macro-Altaic Question*. Honolulu: University of Hawa‘i.
- Menges, Karl H. (1943): The function and origin of the Tungus tense in -ra and some related questions of Tungus grammar. *Language* 19, 237-251.
- Menges, Karl H. (1952): Zu einigen Problemen der tungusischen Grammatik. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 24, 112-121.
- Menges, K.H. (1968a): *Die tungusischen Sprachen*. In: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 5. Bd. *Altaistik*, 3. Abschnitt. Leiden - Köln: Brill, 21-256.
- Menges, Karl H. (1968b): *Tungusen und Ljao*. Wiesbaden: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes 38.1.
- Menges, Karl H. (1978a): Problems of Tungus Linguistics. *Anthropos* 73, 367-400.
- Menges, Karl H. (1978b): Jakutisch und Tungusisch. *Central Asiatic Journal* 22, 244-262.
- Menges, Karl H. (1984): Korean and Altaic – a preliminary sketch. *Central Asiatic Journal* 28, 234-295.

- Menges, Karl H. (1995): On some names of Tungus tribes and related problems. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85, 199-231.
- MHGDA 2009 = Mapping Human Genetic Diversity in Asia. The HUGO Pan-Asian SNP Consortium. *Science* 326, 2009, 1541-1545.
- Miller R.A. (1994): The original geographic distribution of the Tungus languages. In: *Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR*, ed. by H. I. Aronson. Columbus (OH): Slavica Publishers, 272-297.
- Mudrak, Oleg A. (1985): K voprosu o čžurčžeńskoj fonetike. In: *Jazyki Azii i Afriki (Fonetika. Leksikologija. Grammatika)*. Moskva: Nauka, 131-140.
- Mudrak, Oleg A. (1988): Znaki čžurčžeńskiego piśma. In: *Sinxronija i diaxronija v lingvističeskix issledovanijax*. Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija, 185-210.
- Murayama, Shichiro. (1976): Tungusica-Japonica. *Ural-Altaisch Jahrbücher* 48, 186-187.
- Nasidze, Ivan et al. (2005): Genetic Evidence for the Mongolian Ancestry of Kalmyks. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128, 846-854.
- Norman, Jerry (1977): The evolution of Proto-Tungusic *t to Manchu *s. *Central Asiatic Journal* 21, 229-233.
- Norman, Jerry (1978): *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Norman, Jerry (2013): *A Comprehensive Manchu-English Dictionary*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press (Asia Center).
- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1971a): K étimologii nazvanij sobaki v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax. In: *Problema obščnosti altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 176-190.
- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1971b): Inojačnye élementy v tunguso-mańčurskix naimenovanijax životnyx. In: *Problema obščnosti altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 236-255.
- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1972): Inojačnye élementy v tunguso-mańčurskoj leksike, otnosjašcej k životnomu miru. In: *Očerki sravnitelnoj leksikologii altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 104-149.
- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1979): Nazvanija domašníx životnyx v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax. In: *Issledovaniya v oblasti étimologii altajskix jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka, 53-134.

- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1980): *Očerki dialektov èvenskogo jazyka*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Novikova, Klavdija A. (1984): Nazvanija životnyx v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax. In: *Altajskie ètimologii*, ed. by V.I. Cincius & L.V. Dmitrieva. Leningrad: Nauka, 180-218.
- Onenko, Sulungu N. (1980): *Nanajsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.
- Pallas, Peter Simon. 1787-89. *Sravnitel'nye slovari vséx jazykov v i narečij*, I-II. Sanktpeterburg: Šnor.
- Panfilov, V.Z. (1973): Nivxsko-altajskie jazykovye svjazi. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1973/6, 3-12.
- Petrova, T. I. (1936): Ul'čskij dialekt nanajskogo jazyka. Moskva-Leningrad.
- Poppe, N. (1927): *Materialy dlja issledovanija tungusskogo jazyka*. Leningrad.
- Poppe, N. (1960): *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen. Teil I. Vergleichende Lautlehre*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Poppe, Nicholas (1965): *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Poppe, Nicholas (1966): On some ancient Mongolian loan-words in Tungus. *Central Asiatic Journal* 11, 187-198.
- Protod'jakonov, Prokopij (1901): *Gołdsko-russkij slovar'*. Vladivostok: Izvestija Vostočnogo instituta
- Ramstedt, Gustav J. (1952-1957): *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, I-II: *Lautlehre / Formenlehre*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Robbeets, Martine (2005): *Is Japanese related to Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic?* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Romanova, Agnija V., Myreeva, Anna N. & Baraškov, Petr P. (1975): *Vzaimovlijanie èvenkijskogo i jakutskogo jazykov*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Rozycki, W. (1994): *Mongol Elements in Manchu* (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, 157). Bloomington.
- Rybatzki, Volker (2002): Die tungusische Metallterminologie. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 7, 89-126
- Shirokogoroff, S. M. (1944): *A Tungus Dictionary: Tungus-Russian and Russian-Tungus*. Tokyo: Minzokugaku Kyokai.
- Schmidt, Paul (1915): *Ètnografija Dal'njago Vostoka*. In *Vivat Academia*. Vladivostok, 30-31; reprint: C. Naehler (ed.), P. Schmidt (†) –

- Étnografija Dal'njago Vostoka, *Zentralasiatische Studien* 29 (1999), 137-141.
- Schmidt, Paul (1923): The language of the Negidals. *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 5, 3-38.
- Schmidt, Paul (1923): The language of the Olchas. *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 8, 231-288.
- Schmidt, Paul (1928): The language of the Oroches. *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 17, 17-82.
- Schmidt, Paul (1928): The language of the Samagirs. *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 19, 219-249.
- Schwarz, Michal & Blažek, Václav (2012): Tunguzské jazyky – přehled, klasifikace, současný stav [Tungusic Languages – Survey, Classification and Present State]. *Linguistica Brunensis* 60, 147-170.
- Schwarz, Michal & Blažek, Václav (2013): On the classification of Mongolian. *Folia Orientalia* 50, 177-214.
- Starostin, Sergei.A. (1991): *Altajskaja problema i proisxoždenie japonskogo jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Stary, Giovanni (1990): The meaning of the word ‘Manchu’: A new solution to an old problem. *Central Asiatic Journal* 34, 109-119.
- Starostin, Georgij (2015): *K istokam jazykogo raznoobrazija*. Moskva: Izdateľskij dom Delo.
- Strahlenberg, Philipp-Johann (1730): *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asien*, Stockholm: Author, cited after the English translation: *An Historico-geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, London 1738.
- Sunik, Orest (1959): Tunguso-mańčurskie jazyki. In: *Mladopismennye jazyki narodov SSSR*. Moskva-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 318-351.
- Sunik, Orest P. (1962): *Glagol v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax*. Moskva-Leningrad.
- Sunik, Orest P. (1968): Tunguso-mańčurskie jazyki. Vvedenie. *JN*, 53-67.
- Sunik, Orest P. (1982): *Suščestviteľnoe v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Sunik, Orest P. (1986): *Imja suščestviteľnoe v tunguso-mańčurskix jazykax*. Leningrad: Nauka.

- Tsumagari, Toshiro (1992): A Basic Vocabulary of Khamnigan and Oluguya Ewenki in Northern Inner Mongolia. *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of North Eurasian Cultures* 21, 83-103.
- Tsumagari, Toshiro (2009): *A Sketch of Solon Grammar*. Hokkaido University. [cit.] 5.2.2015: http://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2115/38236/1/01_p1-21.pdf
- Tumen, D. et al. (2012): “Dornod Mongol – 2011” arxeologiin xeeriin sudalgaas [Archaeological fieldwork in the Eastern Mongolia in 2011]. *Mongolian Journal of Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 7, No. 1(378). Ulaanbaatar: National University of Mongolia, 1-38.
- Unger, J. Marshall (1990): Summary report of the Altaic panel. In: *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*, ed. by Philip Baldi. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 479–482.
- Vasilevič, G. M. (1934): *Èvenkijsko-russkij dialektologičeskij slovar'. C priloženiem, vvedenija i karty rasprostranenija dialektov*. Leningrad.
- Vasilevič, G.M. (1958): Toponimika Vostočnoj Sibiri. *Izvestija vsesojuznogo geografičeskogo obščestva* 1958/4, 324-335.
- Vasilevič, G.M. (1960): K voprosu klassifikacii tunguso-mańčurskix jazykov. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1960/2, 43-49.
- Vovin, Alexander (1993): Towards a new classification of Tungusic languages. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 65: 99-113.
- Vovin, Alexander (1995): Once again on the accusative marker in Old Korean. *Diachronica* 12/2, 223-236.
- Vovin A. (1997): *Japanese, Korean and Tungusic: Evidence for genetic relationship from verbal morphology*. 40th meeting of PIAC, Provo.
- Vovin, Alexander (2000): Pre-Hankul Materials, Koreo-Japonic, and Altaic. *Korean Studies* 24, 142-155.
- Vovin, A. (2001): Japanese, Korean and Tungusic: evidence for genetic relationship from verbal morphology. In: D. B. Honey & D. C. Wright (eds.). *Altaic Affinities*. Indiana University – Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. 83-202.
- Vovin, A. (2010): *Koreo-Japonica: A re-evaluation of a common genetic origin*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Vovin, A. (2013a): Northeastern and Central Asia: “Altaic” linguistic history. In: Immanuel Ness & Peter Bellwood (eds.). *The Encyclopedia of*

- Global Human Migration. Vol. I. Prehistory.* Malden – Oxford – Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. 197-203.
- Vovin, Alexander (2013b): From Koguryō to T''amna*. Slowly riding to the South with speakers of Proto-Korean. *Korean Linguistics* 15:2, 222-240.
- Vovin, Alexander (2015): Eskimo Loanwords in Northern Tungusic. *Iran and the Caucasus* 19, 87-95.
- Whaley, Lindsay J., Grenoble, Lenore A. & Fengxiang Li (1999): Tungusic Classification from the Bottom up: A Comparison of Evenki and Oroqen. *Language* 75/2, 286-321.
- Witsen, Nicolaas (1705): *Noord en Oost Tartarye*. Amsterdam: Halma
http://www.dblnl.org/tekst/wits008noor02_01/wits008noor02_01.pdf
- Zaxarov, Ivan I. (1875): *Polnyj mančžursko-russkij slovar'*. Sankt Petersburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija nauk.
- Zaxarov, Ivan I. (1879): *Grammatika mańčžurskogo jazyka*. Sankt Petersburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija nauk.

Acknowledgement:

The present study was prepared thanks to the grant of the The Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), GA15-12215S. We are very grateful to John D. Bengtson for his correction of English.