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Some Newly Identified Words in "Fuyu Kirghiz"*
(Part 1)

by Li Yongsŏng (Seoul), Mehmet Ölmėz (Istanbul) and Kim Juwon (Seoul)

A small ethnic group of Turkic origin lives among the Chinese, Mongols etc. in the villages of Wujiazi (五家子) and Qijiazi (七家子) in Fuyu County (富裕县), northeast of Qiqihar (齐齐哈尔) in China Heilongjiang Province (黑龙江省).1 They use the Qirīs (i.e. Kirghiz) ethnonym as a self-designation.2 According to a local legend, their ancestors were forced out of the Altay range around 1755–1757 (under the Qianlong Emperor, [乾隆帝] reign of the Qing (清) dynasty), during a war against the Jungars (Hu/IMART 1987: 3).3 They seem to have been originally divided into six clans:4

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1 The village of Wujiazi (五家子) has 148 farmhouses and 551 inhabitants; the "Fuyu Kirghiz" have 61 farmhouses and 276 inhabitants, thus constituting 49% [recte: 50.09%] of the population (Wu 2003: 180, 186). The village of Qijiazi (七家子) has a population of 397 consisting of 151 "Fuyu Kirghiz", 59 Mongols, 6 Dagurs, 3 Koreans, 5 Orochons, 4 Xibes, 4 Manchus, etc (Wu 2003: 217).


3 There is also the following information on the same page in Hu/IMART:

“All of them were to sedentarize quickly, adapting to local farming. Many married Mongolian-speaking girls, thus becoming bilingual (while little by little abandoning shamanism for a simplified variety of lamaism).

Three centuries later, this initial ‘coordinate bilingualism’ evolved into a typical ‘subordinate bilingualism’, with FG [= “Fuyu Kirghiz”] remaining more or less fluently used only by the older generation. Middle-aged adults who have now switched to a local form of Mongolian (hence the numerous Mongolian loanwords) still understand FG passively, using only occasionally an oversimplified form of it, while the younger generation (which is being taught exclusively in Chinese) retained just a few isolated words and, in spite of a renewed interest for their ‘roots’, is in most cases unable to speak or even understand it.”

4 Cf. Hu/IMART 1987: 3 and Hu 1991: 254. Alternately, the names of these 6 clans are
1. The Tabin (達本 Da-ben) (means 'five' in Mongolian), who were consequently at one time called the Wu 'five' and are now called the Wu by replacement of the character 五 with a nearly homophonous one;

2. The Qapxan (噶普韩 Ga-pu-ban), now called the Han 韩 through shortening of this transcription of the name to its final syllable;

3. The Iciq (鄂奇克 E-qi-ke), now called the Chang 常;

4. The Sandir (散德尔 San-de-er), now called the Cai 蔡, by substitution of this similar-looking character for 散 of the transcribed name;

5. The Piltil (博勒特尔 Bo-le-te-er), now called the Lang 郎, and

6. The Qiriyis (格尔额斯 Ge-er-e-si), now called the Si 司 by shortening of the transcription to its final character, 斯 and replacement of this with homophonous 司.

In addition to these 6 surnames, later, the surname Liu 刘 also appeared among the Cai 蔡.

Their mother tongue, "Fuyu Kirghiz", is the easternmost Turkic language with the exception of Yakut. This name may appear to be related to the Kirghiz language of Central Asia. It is true that the ancestors of the "Fuyu Kirghiz" and those of the Kirghiz in Central Asia lived in the past in the upper regions of the Yenisei and were closely related. But the "Fuyu Kirghiz" language belongs to the "azaq-group", whereas the Kirghiz language of Central Asia is within the "ayaq-group".

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given as follows in Wu/Bo 2003: 4 and Wu 2003: 191: 1. 他本 Ta-ben; 2. 噶博韩 Ga-bo-ban; 3. 鄂其克 E-qi-ke; 4. 蔡音德热 Cai-yan-de-re; 5. 博勒特热 Bo-le-de-re; 6. 青热格斯 Here-ge-si

3 Cf. the clan of Taban among the Piltil and among the Sayay of the Khakas. The Taban are subdivided into Ax Taban and Xara Taban.

6 五 wū and 吳 wú are practically the same sounds with different tones.

7 Cf. the clan of Xaxpīn among the Sayay and the clans of Suy-Xaxpīní (or Suy-Xaxpīna) and Tay-Xaxpīna among the Piltil of the Khakas. For the change of pq > qp cf. Ayban, the Khakas name of Abakan.

8 This may be a variant of Ečik or Ičik. Cf. the clan of Íčeg among the Sayay of the Khakas.

9 Cf. the clan of Sayin (or Sain) among the Sayay of the Khakas.

10 Cf. the ethnic group of Piltil among the Khakas. This ethnic group includes the clans of Ax-Piltil, Taban-Piltil and Xara-Piltil.

11 Cf. the clan of Qiriyis among the Altay-kiži of the Altay Turks; the clan of Xiriyis among the Sayay, among the Qača and among the Qiriz of the Khakas: This clan subdivides into Kök Xiriyis, Xara Xiriyis and Ax Xiriyis.


13 Cf. the map appendant to Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I (1959). Therefore, the label of "easternmost" in the title of Hu/Imart 1987 is not appropriate.

14 For details on this subject cf. Olmez 2001.
The present article is based on the lexical materials collected during fieldwork conducted on the 23rd–24th of September 2003 and on 15th–16th January 2004. Our informants used “Fuyu Kirghiz” in their childhood, but now they use Mongolian and Chinese in daily life. The vocabulary of the “Fuyu Kirghiz” language suggests a close relationship between “Fuyu Kirghiz” and the Turkic languages in southern Siberia, especially Khakas.

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15 The participants of the fieldworks were as follows:
1. 2003 (Wujiazi / Qijiazi)
   Kim Ju-won 金周源 (Korean, male, chief), Piao Lian-yu 朴莲玉 (Korean with Chinese nationality, female), Mehmet Ölmex (Turkish, male), Li Yong-song 李容成 (Korean, male) and Fan Lu-xin 范鲁新 (Chinese, male, interviewer)
2. 2004 (Qijiazi)
   Ko Dong-ho 高东昊 (Korean, male, chief), Piao Lian-yu 朴莲玉 (Korean with Chinese nationality, female) and Li Yong-song 李容成 (Korean, male)

16 The informants were as follows:
1. the village of 五家子 Wujiazi (23 ~ 24 September 2003, forenoon)
   (1) Han Shu-zhen (female, born in 1934)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: to 13 years of age
   (b) spouse: Kirghiz
   (c) places lived in to date: only Wujiazi
   (d) national singer
   (2) Chang Shu-fen (female, born in 1936)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: to 16 years of age
   (b) spouse: Kirghiz
   (c) living places so far: only Wujiazi
   (d) main informant
   (3) Chang Yu (male, born in 1952)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: to 9 years of age
   (b) spouse: Chinese
   (c) living places so far: only Wujiazi
   (d) younger brother of Chang Su-yuan of Qijiazi
2. the village of 七家子 Qijiazi
   (23–24 September 2003, afternoon)
   (1) Chang Su-yuan (female, born in 1935)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: to 19 years of age
   (b) spouse: Mongol
   (c) living places so far: born in Wujiazi, after marriage in Qijiazi
   (d) elder sister of Chang Yu of Wujiazi
   (e) main informant
   (2) Wu Guo-xun (male, born in 1934)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: ?
   (b) spouse: Kirghiz
   (c) living places so far: only Qijiazi
   (3) Wu Feng-zhen (female, born in 1928)
   (a) usage of “Fuyu Kirghiz” as daily vernacular: ?
   (b) spouse: Kirghiz
I. Newly Identified Words

1. abarîx ‘quite clean’ ↔ ōbîr ‘clean’ (Hu 1996: 75c; Mo.)

Kır. arû ‘clean; pretty, beautiful’ (KRS 71b); ēber ‘skillful seamstress, good needlewoman; ūg, master; skillful, clever’ (KRS 853b)

Alt. aru ‘clean’ (ORS 21b); ēber ‘care, caution, thrift; neatness, tidiness; carefully, cautiously, thriftily; neatly, tidily’ (ORS 177a)

Xak. ap-ariy ‘quite clean; very cleanly’ (XRS 28a); arîy ‘clean; bright, clear, serene; transparent, limpid; cleanly’ (XRS 32b); siber ‘care, caution;

17 The following languages and dictionary were cited in our comparisons:
1. Khakas: This is the closest language of “Fuyu Kirghiz”.
2. Shor: This language (M拉萨和Upper Tom dialects) is similar to Khakas, an “azaq-language”.
3. Chulym Turkish: This has a very close affinity with the Shor language.
4. Kirghiz: The name of this language appears related to “Fuyu Kirghiz”.
5. Altay: This is also a southern Siberian language which has a very close affinity with the Kirghiz language.
6. Sarıy Yoyur: This is also an “azaq-language”.
7. Tuvan: This is also a southern Siberian language (Tofa may be considered a dialect of the Tuwan language. Therefore, it was not considered separately in our comparative study).
8. ED: We think this is the primary reference book for the etymologies of most Turkic words.

18 The initial consonants ʃ, k, p, t in “Fuyu Kirghiz” sound like f, g, b, d respectively. So the initial consonants ʤ (=/f/) g, b, d, etc. from the materials of Hu Zhen-hua are in fact unvoiced and unaspirated sounds. In this article  metavar was not used for “Fuyu Kirghiz” words from our fieldworks.
thrift; neatness, tidiness, exactness; careful, cautious; thrifty; neat, tidy, exact; carefully, cautiously; thrifty; neatly, tidily, exactly' (XRS 185b)
Šor. ariy ‘clean’ (ŠRRSS 17b); seber ‘careful, cautious; thrifty; exact’ (ŠRRSS 67b)
Čul. ṭabārla- ‘take care (of)’ (LÇTJ 75)
SYo. ariy ‘clean’ (XYHC 19a)
Tuv. ariy ‘neat, tidy, exact; neatly, tidily, exactly; clean; cleanly’ (TRS 71b)
ED ariğ N./A. S. fr. arî:- ‘clean, pure’, lit. and metaph.; sometimes also used as an Adv. like arîtu: for ‘completely, thoroughly’. (213b)
See also Râsânen 1969: 25b, 101b.
Cf. Mo. ariy ‘pure, clear’ (Lessing 52b); ariy čeber ‘clean; hygienic’ (Lessing 1960: 52b); čeber ‘clean, pure; neat[ly]; immaculate[ly]; net (as profit, etc.)’ (Lessing 1960: 167b)

2. aĉbix sux ‘bitter alcoholic drinks’ (“bitter water”)
for aĉbix sux
Xak. aĉi swy ‘fig. vodka’ (XRS 30a, 121a)
SYo. atsiq su ‘bitter water’ (XYHC 16b); atsiq’h su ‘vinegar’ (XYHC 16a)

for aĉbix
Kir. aĉi ‘bitter; sour; bitternes; sourness; burning; pungent, painful; anger’ (KRS 82a)
Alt. aĉi ‘bitter, sour, pungent; grief, sorrow, annoyance; anger; angry; angrily; pitifully’ (ORS 23a)
Xak. aĉiy ‘bitter; sour; salty; having a pungent taste; grief; sorrow; annoyance’ (XRS 36b)
Šor. aĉiy ‘grief, sorrow; annoyance; bitter, with too much salt; sour; pitifully’ (ŠRRSS 18a)
Čul. aĉiy, aĉiy ‘bitter’ (LÇTJ 30)
SYo. atsiq’y ‘bitter, puckery; sour, vinegar, pungent, hot pepper; too salty’ (XYHC 16b); atsiq’h ‘sour’ (XYHC 16a)
Tuv. aĉiy ‘sour; bitter; grief, sorrow’ (TRS 40b)
ED açiğ (?aciğ) N./A. S. fr. açi:-; originally ‘bitter’ in a physical sense, in some languages ‘sour’, although this is properly ekṣiğ; it soon acquired the metaphor. meanings ‘grievous, painful’, and in some languages ‘anger, angry’. (21b–22a)
See also Râsânen 1969: 4a.

for sux
Kir. sū ‘water; river; river valley (in the mountains); damp, moist, wet;
tempering, hardening’ (KRS 666a–b); aq sū ‘joc. vodka (“white water”)’ (KRS 666b); tunuq sū ‘joc. vodka (“limpid water”)’ (KRS 666b, 767a)

Alt. sū ‘water; river’ (ORS 133a)
Xak. suγ ‘water; river’ (XRS 200a)
Šor. suγ ‘water; river’ (ŠRRŠŠ 49b)
Čul. suγ, siγ ‘water, juice’ (LČTJ 59)
SYo. su ‘water’ (XYHC 331b)
Tuv. suγ ‘water; river’ (TRS 389a–b)
ED suγ ‘water’; c.i.a.p.a.l.; in SW Tkm. still suγ; in NE Koiβ., Sag., Šor suγ; Čuv. šuv/šu (sic) Ash. XVII 171, 205; elsewhere su, occasionally suγ; sometimes with extended meanings, ‘stream, river’, etc. (783a)
See also RÅSÅNEN 1969: 431a.

For arayi ‘sweet alcoholic drinks’ see IV. 3. arayi.

3. ayil! ‘bring’!
Kir. alip kel- (sometimes in pronunciation apkel-) ‘to bring’ (KRS 43a, 61a)

Alt. ekel- ‘to bring’ (ORS 190a)
Xak. ayil- ‘to bring’19 (ŠRRŠŠ 15a)
Čul. ākål- ‘to bring’ (LČTJ 39)
SYo. ap’kkel- ‘to bring’ (XYHC 1a)
Tuv. ekkel- ‘to bring’ (TRS 609b)
ED ... alip kel- ‘to fetch’, ... akkel-. (124b)
See also RÅSÅNEN 1969: 15a.

4. aje ‘father’
Xak. (Sayay dial.) aja ‘elder brother; uncle (father’s brother)’ (XRS 37a)
Šor. aća ‘elder brother; uncle (father’s brother)’ (ŠRRŠŠ 18a)
Čul. (L) acaγim ‘my father’s elder brother’ (LČTJ 30)
SYo. atsa ‘father’ (XYHC 15b)
Tuv. aća ‘father’ (TRS 77a)
Cf. Alt. aći ‘father’s younger brother; brother’s daughters, sons, and grandchildren’ (ORS 23b)20

5. altyim ‘my chin, my (lower) jaw’ (< altix + im; altix * altek * altēk * al egek * alt egek ‘lower jaw’)’
Kir. ēk ‘chin; lower jaw; lower lip’ (KRS 971a)

19 Cf. ... alip käl > āk-käl ~ akkal ~ aköl- ~ Mrass dial. ayil- ~ Kondoma dial. ākål- ‘to bring’ ... (PRITSAK 1959: 634).
20 For this citation, there must be two different words. Cf. RÅSÅNEN 1969: 3b–4a.
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Alt. ēk ‘chin; lower lip’ (ORS 195b)
Xak. ēk ‘chin’ (XRS 333a)
Şor. ēk ‘chin’ (ŞRRŞŞ 74b)

ED enmek perhaps crasis of engek Den. N. fr. 2 en, cf. yana:k; originally, rather broadly, ‘lower jaw, jawbone, chin’, later, more specifically ‘chin’. (183b)
See also Räsänên 1969: 45b.

6. ax kalasīn → kazīn

7. ayī ‘palm (of the hand)’ ↔ alax ‘palm (of the hand)’ (Hu 1996: 73c; < Mo.)
   Kir. alaqan ‘palm (of the hand)’ (KRS 45a; < Mo.)
   Alt. alaqan ‘palm (of the hand)’ (ORS 16a; < Mo.)
   Xak. aya ‘palm (of the hand)’ (XRS 37a)
   Şor. aya ‘palm (of the hand)’ (ŞRRŞŞ 14b); alaqan ‘id.’ (ŞRRŞŞ 15b; < Mo.)
   SYo. baya ‘palm (of the hand)’ (XYHC 219b)
ED aya: ‘the palm of the hand’, with some extended meanings later.
S.i.m.m.l.; in others displaced by Mong. l.-w. alakan or Ar. l.-w. kaff.
(267a)
See also Räsänên 1969: 10b–11a.
Cf. Mo. ałayə(n) / ałra ‘palm (of the hand)’ (Lessing 1960: 26b)

8. čardım ‘my shoulder’ (< čarin + im) ↔ innə ‘shoulder’ (Hu 1996: 73b)
Our informants did not have a good command of their mother tongue; therefore concerning innə ‘shoulder’ [for insula or insula ‘his/her shoulder?’] (Hu 1996: 73b), they must have made a mistake for ‘my shoulder blade’.
Kir. jörün ‘shoulder blade’ (KRS 261b; < *yarín)
Alt. d’arın ‘shoulder blade’ (ORS 49b; d’ardi < d’arin + i)
Xak. ćarin ‘shoulder blade’ (XRS 312b)
Şor. ɕarín ‘back (of a horse)’ (ŞRRŞŞ 66b)
SYo. yarin ‘shoulder blade’ (XYHC 256a)
Tuv. ɕarin, ɕan ‘shoulder blade’ (TRS 520b, 515b)
ED yarin ‘shoulder-blade’; in this form n.o.a.b. A syn. word yağrin appeared in the medieval period; it can hardly be the original form of yarin, a much older word, and may be a mispronunciation due to a supposed etymological connection w. yağir, q. v. (970a)
See also Räsänên 1969: 178a–b.

9. čašțiɣı abı ‘grandfather’ (“old/aged father”) (Wujiäzi) ↔ jıjı (Hu 1996: 74a; < Chin. 爷爷 ye ye ‘grandfather’)

UAJb N. F. 21 (2007)
Cf. Xak. kirî abam ‘(paternal) grandfather (“old/aged father”)’ (XRIS 44a)

Tuv. qîrîn-aça ‘grandfather (“old/aged father”)’ (TRS 278b)

for čaštîy
Kır. jîstî ‘of / at the age of ...; aged ...’ (KRS 241a)
Alt. d’aštî ‘of / at the age of ...; aged ...’ (ORS 50b)
Xak. čaštîy ‘of / at the age of ...; aged ...’ (XRS 313b)

ED yašlığ P. N./A. fr. ya:š in all its meanings; s.i.s.m.l., often for ‘filled with tears’; in SE Türkî yašılık means both ‘age, aged’ and ‘youth, youthfulness, giddiness’; in SW Az., Osm. yašîl only ‘elderly, old’. (978 a–b)

for aba
Xak. (Sayay dial.) aba ‘father’ (XRS 13a; XRS 16a)
Šor. aba ‘father’ (ŠRRŠS 13b)
SYo. ava ‘father, dad’ (XYHC 17a)

ED aba:/1 apa:/ebe:/epe:: words of this form, connoting various terms of relationship abound in modern Turkish languages with meanings as various as (1) ‘ancestor’; (2) ‘grandfather’; (3) ‘grandmother’; (4) ‘father’; (5) ‘mother’; (6) ‘paternal uncle’; (7) ‘paternal aunt’; (8) ‘elder brother’; (9) ‘elder sister’; (10) (presumably metaph.) ‘midwife’. (5a)

See also RĂȘĂNĂnescu 1969: 1a.

10. čaštîy iji ‘grandmother’ (“old/aged mother”) (Wujjazi) ⇔ tetej (Hu 1996: 74b)

Cf. Xak. kirî ijem ‘(paternal) grandmother (“old/aged mother”)’ (XRIS 40a, 44a)

Tuv. qîrîn-âba ‘grandmother (“old/aged mother”)’ (TRS 278b)

for iji
Xak. ije ‘mother; maternal’ (XRS 69b)
Šor. iče ‘mother’ (ŠRRŠS 19b)
Čul. ičă ‘mother’ (LČTJ 34); (L) ĝćam ‘mother’ (LČTJ 33)

See also RĂȘĂNĂnescu 1969: 169a, 35a.

11. čatb! ‘lie!/lie down’
Kır. jat- ‘to lie; to be; to go to bed; to sleep; to appertain’ (KRS 239a)
Alt. d’at- ‘to lie; to be; to live, to dwell’ (ORS 50a–b)

21 The meaning of this word must be ‘my (paternal) grandfather’.
22 The meaning of this word must be ‘my (paternal) grandmother’.
23 The meaning of this word must be ‘my mother’.
Xak. *çat-* ‘to lie, to be; to lie (down)’ (XRS 313b)
Šor. *çat-* ‘to lie; to live, to exist’ (ŠRRŠS 61b)
Čul. (L) *yat-* ‘to lie’ (LČTJ 35), (M) *çat-* ‘to lie, to be’ (LČTJ 72)
SYo. *yabt*- ‘to lie’ (XYHC 251b)
Tuv. *çit-* ‘to lie, to be; to lie (down)’ (TRS 553b)
ED *yat-* ‘to lie down’, w. some extended meanings, ‘to lie down to sleep,
(of nomads) to settle down in one place’ (cf. *olur-*), etc.; s.i.a.m.l.g. w. the
usual phonetic changes. (884a)
See also Râsânên 1969: 192b.

12. čazi ‘field’
Kir. *jazi* ‘wide, broad; spacious; sprawling; plain; space’ (KRS 212b)
Xak. *çazi* ‘field; steppe’ (XRS 306b)
Šor. *çazi* ‘field’ (ŠRRŠS 60a)
SYo. *yazi* ‘flat embankment; plain, flat beach; flat, level’ (XYHC 254b–
255a)
ED *yazi*: Dev. N. fr. 1 *yaz*–; ‘a broad open plain’. S.i.m.m.l.g. w. the usual
phonetic changes. (984b)
See also Râsânên 1969: 194a.

13. ěn gis ‘sister’s daughter’, ěn gizîm ‘my sister’s daughter’
Kir. *jên* ‘nephew or grandson (in the female line)’ (KRS 285b); *jên qiz*
‘niece or granddaughter (in the female line)’ (KRS 285b)
Alt. *d’en* ‘nephew, niece; sister’s children and their descendants’ (ORS
51b)
Xak. *ěn* ‘nephew, niece; sister’s children and their descendants’ (XRS
315a), ‘nephew (sister’s child)’ (XRIS 214a); *ěn xîs* ‘niece, sister’s daughter’
(XRIS 214a)
Šor. *čeni* ‘nephew, niece (sister’s children)’ (ŠRRŠS 62a)
Čul. *çenayam, çenayam, çenım* ‘cousin (the son of my mother’s brother,
older than I)’ (LČTJ 73); *çendayım* ‘cousin (the son of my mother’s brother,
younger than I)’ (LČTJ 73)
SYo. *yeyen, yiyen* ‘nephew (sister’s son)’ (XYHC 260a, 268b); *yeyen qiz,
yiyen qiz* ‘niece (sister’s daughter)’ (XYHC 260a, 268b)
Tuv. *čen* ‘nephew, niece’ (TRS 561a)
ED *yegen* (*yėgen*) originally ‘the son of a younger sister or daughter’, see
K. Grønbech, op. cit. under 1 éçit. (912b)
See also Râsânên 1969: 194b.

14. ěn òl ‘sister’s son’, ěn olyîm ‘my sister’s son’
Xak. *ćen òl* ‘sister’s son’ (XRIS 214a)
Cf. *yeyen mula, yiyen mula* ‘nephew (sister’s son)’ (XYHC 260a, 268b)
15. čežin-tur ‘he/she is hiding himself/herself’
   Kir. jašin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (KRS 241b); jašir- ‘to hide, to conceal’ (KRS 241b)
   Alt. d'azin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (ORS 41b); d'ażir- ‘to hide, to conceal’ (ORS 41b)
   Xak. čazin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (XRS 306b); čazir- ‘to hide, to conceal; to renounce’ (XRS 307a)
   Şor. čazin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (ŞRRŞS 60a, 125a, 132b); čazir- ‘to hide, to conceal’ (ŞRRŞS 125a, 132b)
   Čul. (M) čazin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (ŁČTJ 70)
   SYo. yahs-, yas- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself; to lie in ambush’ (XYHC 253a, 254a); yahsir- ‘to collect’24 (XYHC 253a)
   Tuv. čašin-, čažin- ‘to hide oneself, to conceal oneself’ (TRS 523a, 523b); čažir- ‘to hide, to conceal’ (TRS 509a)
   ED yaş- ‘to hide (oneself, Intrans.); n.o.a.b., in modern languages displaced by the Refl. f. (sic) of yaşur-. (976b); yaşur- Caus. f. of yaş-; ‘to hide (something Acc.)’ and the like. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. the usual phonetic changes; in SW only Tkm. yaşir-. (979b)
   See also RASANEN 1969: 192a.

16. čilix ~ čilix ~ čılax ‘warm’ ↔ bolon (Hu 1996: 75a; Mo.)
   Kir. jılı ‘warmth; fig. warm, pleasant; fig. affectionate; fig. soul; fig. nest’ (KRS 282a)
   Alt. d’ili ‘warm’ (ORS 61b)
   Xak. čılıy ‘warmth; warm; warmly’ (XRS 326b)
   Şor. čılıy ‘warm; warmly’ (ŞRRŞŞ 66a)
   Čul. (M) čılıy, (L) yılıy ‘warmly’ (ŁČTJ 75)
   SYo. ili ‘warm’ (XYHC 31a)
   Tuv. čılıy ‘warmth; warm; warmly; phys. heat’ (TRS 556b)
   ED yılığ N./A. S. fr. yılı ‘hot; warm’. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. the same phonetic changes. (925a)
   See also RASANEN 1969: 200b.
   Cf. Mo. bûliyen, bûligen ‘warm, lukewarm’ (of liquids); fever (of a child) (LESSING 1960: 146b)

17. čis ‘smell’25
   Kir. jit ‘smell’ (KRS 284b)
   Alt. d’it ‘smell’ (ORS 62a)

24 藏 cáng ‘to hide, to conceal’ is expected for 收藏 shōu cáng ‘to collect’.
25 This word was identified in Qiijazi in 2004. During the fieldworks in Wujiazi in 2003 the informants had given the forms čis and čis čox the meanings ‘taste’ and ‘tasteless’,
Xak. čis ‘smell’ (XRS 327b)
Šor. čis ‘smell; stink, stench’ (ŠRRŠS 66a)
Čul. (M) čis, (L) yuy ‘smell’ (LČTJ 74, 35)
Tuv. čit ‘smell’ (TRS 559b)
ED yi:ːd ‘scent, odour, smell’; originally neutral in connotation, in some
contexts, e.g. yi:ːd yipaz ‘a pleasant smell’, but usually, esp. in der. f.s, ‘an
unpleasant smell, stink’. (883a)
See also RASĂNEN 1969: 199b.

18. čiːxar ‘outside, outwards’ ↔ dasgār (Hu 1996: 71c)
   For the same meaning, the form taʃyar was also identified.
Kir. tiːxari ‘outwards; beyond; exterior; external (men’s) half in a house
(of Uzbeks, Tajiks, or Uighurs)’ (KRS 796a)
Alt. tiːxari ‘outwards; external’ (ORS 165a)
Xak. taʃxar ‘out of doors; external; outwards’ (XRS 221a)
Šor. taʃɣara ‘outside; out of doors’ (ŠRRŠS 52b)
Čul. taʃɣar ‘out of doors’ (LČTJ 62)
SYo. taʃgar, taʃyar, taʃisyar ‘outwards’ (XYHC 97b, 127b)
Tuv. daʃqar ‘outwards, outdoors; aside, beyond’ (TRS 149b–150a)
ED taʃgaru: (d-) Directive Adv. fr. 1 taq; ‘outwards’ and the like. S.i.s.m.l.
w. some phonetic changes; NE Tuv. daʃkær; SW Osm. diʃarı; Tkm. daʃarı.
(563a)

19. čodî ~ čoda, čodîx ‘lower leg’
   Alt. d’odo ‘lower leg; (colloq.) knee’ (ORS 55b)
Xak. čoda ‘lower leg’ (XRS 319b)
Šor. čoda ‘thigh’ (ŠRRŠS 63a)
SYo. yota, yuta ‘calf of the leg’ (XYHC 270a, 274b)
Tuv. čoda ‘lower leg’ (TRS 537b)
ED yota: ‘the thigh’; unusually rare for an anatomical term. Survives in
this sense in NE yoda/yodo R III 440: SE Tar. yota do.; Türkî yota BS 662;
yote/yotté/yöte/lo:ta/loːte Jarring 159: (NC Kir. joto (sîc); Kzx. jota
‘mountain crest, or range’ is difficult to connect). (886a)
See also RASĂNEN 1969: 207b.
Cf.) Kir. joto ‘mountain range, mountain crest’ (KRS 263a)

respectively, but these must be erroneous. The informants had a worse command of their
mother tongue than those from Qijiazi. On the same days, the informants from Qijiazi
had given the meaning ‘taste’ and ‘tasteless’ to the forms anme and anmîn fox, respectively.
20. čolō ‘stone’ (< Mo.) ↔ daf (Hu 1996: 71a)
Kir. taš ‘stone; scale weight; pawn, draughtsman, chessman; testicle; hist. bead on the cap of a Chinese or Kalmyk official, grandee (decoration)’ (KRS 715a)
   Alt. taš ‘stone’ (ORS 144b)
   Xak. tas ‘stone’ (XRS 220b)
   Šor. taš ‘stone’ (ŠRRŠS 52b)
   Čul. taš ‘stone, glass’ (LČTJ 62)
   SYo. tas, tabs, ežabs ‘stone; pottery’ (XYHC 97b, 95a, 120a)
   Tuv. daš ‘stone’ (TRS 149b)
ED taš (?d)-’stone’ in all the usual meanings of that word in English.
S.i.a.m.l.g.; … (557a)
See also Rāsānēn 1969: 466a.
Cf. Mo. čiλaγu(n) / čuλaγγ(ŋ) ‘stone, rock’ (Lessing 1960: 182a)

21. ḫiṇi išṭi ‘the inside of the house’
   for ḫi cf.:
   Kir. ëy ‘yurt, house, living quarters’ (KRS 817b)
   Alt. ëy ‘house, living quarters, yurt’ (ORS 171a)
   Xak. ib ‘yurt; house’ (XRS 54a)
   Šor. em, (Kondoma dial.) ëy ‘house’ (ŠRRŠS 73a, 59a)
   Čul. (M) āp, āp, (L) ëy, ëg, ëg, ‘house’ (LČTJ 32, 68)
   SYo. yū ‘house; tent, yurt; home’ (XYHC 276b)
   Tuv. ëγ ‘yurt; fig. family’ (TRS 330a)
ED e:v basically ‘dwelling place’, with the particular connotation of a separate dwelling place, the exact meaning, ‘tent, house’, etc. depending on local circumstances. (3b)
See also Rāsānēn 1969: 34a.

   for išṭi cf.:
   Xak. išṭi ‘interior; belly, abdomen’ (XRS 69a)
   Šor. išṭi ‘interior’ (ŠRRŠS 19b)
   Čul. išṭe ‘interior, полная середина (“hollow middle”)’ (LČTJ 34)
   Tuv. ištın ‘interior’; ëγ išṭi ‘the inside of the yurt; fig. family, family members’ (TRS 202b), ‘family, family members; husband, wife’ (TRS 330b)

22. irğin gişi ‘Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)’ ↔ nixm (Hu 1996: 74c; irğin < Mo.; nixm < Ma.)
   Cf. Mo. irgen ‘[Ma. irgen] people, subject, citizen; Chinese (coll.); irgen kümün ‘Chinese (subst.)’ (Lessing 1960: 414b)
   Ma. irgen ‘people, the common people’ (Norman 1978: 150a; see Cincius 1975: 326b); nikan ‘Chinese’ (Norman 1978: 212a; see Cincius 1975: 590a–b)
23. işiyr ‘inside, inwards’
   Kir. ičkeri ‘inside, inwards; Southern dial. internal, women’s half in a
   house (of Uzbek and Tajiks)’ (KRS 307a)
   Alt. ičkeri ‘forwards, ahead; inwards, towards the middle’ (ORS 65a)
   Xak. išker ‘east; eastwards’ (XRS 68b)
   SYo. išker, išyer, siker, siyer ‘inside, inwards’ (XYHC 23b, 305a, 305b)
   Tuv. išker ‘below, downwards; inside, inwards, deep into (the heart)’ (TRS
   211b)
   ED içgerü: Directive f. of iç; properly an Adv. of motion ‘inwards’;
   s.i.m.m.l.g., usually as a N./A. ‘the inside, interior’, the -g- being elided in
   the SW and devoiced in most other languages. (25b)
   See also Räşänen 1969: 168a–b.

24. itıpıx ‘cake made of (wheat) flour’
   Alt. őtipök ‘(small) loaf’ (ORS 121a)
   Xak. ipekek, (dial.) ipeke ‘(baked) bread’ (XRS 67b, 61b), ‘bread; rye bread’
   (XRS 38b), itpekk ‘(Sayay dial.) rye bread; (Qaća dial.) bread’ (XRS 39b)
   Şor. itpekk ‘(rye) bread’ (ŞRRŞŞ 19b)
   Čul. itwāk / itpāk ‘bread’ (LČTJ 34)
   ED etmek/ötmek the oldest of three similar words for ‘bread’, the others
   being epmek, q. v., and ekmek, noted in NC, NW, and SW and prob. a
   recent Sec. f. due to a supposed connection with ek-. Ötmek seems to be
   the earlier of the two forms. (60a)
   See also Räşänen 1969: 376b.

25. izi ~ izi ~ iźi ‘his/her/its footprint’
   Kir. iz ‘footprint, track, trace’ (KRS 295a)
   Alt. is ‘footprint, track, trace’ (ORS 64b)
   Xak. is ‘footprint, track, trace’ (XRS 68a)
   Şor. is ‘footprint, track, trace’ (ŞRRŞŞ 19b)
   Čul. is ‘footprint, track, trace’ (LČTJ 34)
   SYo. yiz ‘footprint, track, trace’ (XYHC 269a)
   Tuv. i ‘footprint, track, trace’ (TRS 210b)
   ED iz (?iz) ‘footprint, track, trace’, lit. and metaph. Iziğ in KB 4411
   seems to be the Acc. of this word and suggests that it was originally ız.
   S.i.a.m.l.g.; in NE is. (277a)
   See also Räşänen 1969: 175b.

26. izir ‘saddle’
   Kir. īr, (Southern dial.) eger ‘saddle’ (KRS 972a, 942b)
   Alt. īr ‘saddle’ (ORS 195b)
   Xak. iżer ‘saddle’ (XRS 56b)
Šor. ezer ‘saddle’ (ŠRRŠS 72b)
Čul. állar ‘saddle’ (LČTJ 31)
SYo. ezer ‘saddle’ (XYHC 29b)
Tuv. ezer ‘saddle’ (TRS 608a; < Xak.)
ED eðer ‘saddle’. S.i.a.m.l.g. , usually as eyer but also NE ezer, e:r; SE Türtki iger; NC e:r; SC Uzb. əγар. (63b)
See also Råsånen 1969: 36a.

27. irdüm ‘my lip’ (< irin + i m)
Kir. erin ‘lip’ (KRS 961a; erdi, erni, erini ‘his lip’)
Alt. erin ‘lip’ (ORS 193b; erdi ‘his lip’)
Xak. irin ‘lip’ (XRS 62b)
Šor. erni ‘lip’ (ŠRRŠS 74a)
Čul. ārni ‘(his) lip’ (LČTJ 32)
Tuv. erin ‘lip; brim; width (of cloth)’ (TRS 618a)
ED érin ‘lip’, sometimes specifically ‘the lower lip’, and metaph. ‘the lip of a cup’. S.i.a.m.l.g. as érin, erin, irin, but almost obsolete in SW where ‘lip’ is normally Az., Tkm. dodak; Osm. dudak. (232b)
See also Råsånen 1969: 48a.

28. kaçhîr! ~ kbaçhîr! ‘chase! / drive away!’
Kir. qačr- ‘to give a chance to escape, to miss; to couple, to pair, to mate; to attack, to assault’ (KRS 362a)
Alt. qačr- ‘to allow to escape, to miss; to drive away, to turn out’ (ORS 76b)
Xak. (Sayay dial.) xačr- ‘to force to drive, to drive away’ (XRS 282a)
Šor. qačr- ‘to drive; to turn out’ (ŠRRŠS 24a)
Tuv. qačr- ‘to drive away’ (TRS 218a)
ED kaçur- Caus. f. of kaç-; ‘to put to flight, drive away’, and the like. S.i.a.m.l.g.; cf. kaçt-, kaçtur-. (592b)
See also Råsånen 1969: 217a.

29. kamayîm ‘my forehead’ (< kamax + ĕm) ↔ maylau ‘forehead’ (Hu/Imart 1987: 55b; < Mo.)
Kir. mayday ‘forehead; opposite side’ (KRS 516b; < Mo.)
Alt. mayday ‘forehead’ (ORS 108b; < Mo.)
Xak. xamax ‘forehead’ (XRS 270b)
Šor. qabaq ‘forehead’ (ŠRRŠS 20a)
Čul. qamaq ‘temple, forehead’ (LČTJ 37)

26 Cf. mën ‘forehead’ [a mistake for ‘neck’?] (Hu 1996: 73a)
Some Newly Identified Words in “Fuyu Kirghiz” (1)

Tuv. xaβaq ‘forehead; (cap) peak; hillock, knoll’ (TRS 460a)
See also Räšänen 1969: 228b.
Cf. Mo. maγlai, maγnai ‘forehead; front, vanguard; chief, leader; principal, advanced, foremost, supreme’ (Lessing 1960: 527a, 527b)

30. kastı kærındıiš ‘brother-in-law (husband’s elder brother)’
Kir. qayın aya ‘husband’s or wife’s elder kinsman’ (KRS 324b)
Xax. xazınaş (< xazın aya) ‘brother-in-law (wife’s elder brother)’ (XRS 264b); xazınašam ‘my wife’s elder brother’ (XRIS 172b)
Čul. (m) qazınašam, (L) qaynašam ‘my brother-in-law (elder brother of my wife)’ (LČTJ 36)
SYo. qazın aqa ‘brother-in-law (husband’s elder brother)’ (XYHC 189a)

31. kaya ‘wall’ (< Mo.)
Cf. Mo. qayaya, qaya ‘edge, border; lower part of something; side walls of a house or yurt; place near the wall; lower edge of walls of a yurt or building; lower part of a mountain slope’ (Lessing 1960: 915a, 914b)

32. kazın (Wujiazi) ‘birch’
Cf. ax kalasin (Qijiazi) ‘birch’ (“white-tree”)
Kir. qayıγh ‘birch’ (KRS 324b)
Alt. qayıγh ‘birch’ (ORS 68b)
Xax. xazıγ ‘birch’ (XRS 264b)
Șor. qazıγ ‘birch’ (ȘRRȘS 21a)
Čul. (M) qazıγ, (L) qayıγ ‘birch’ (LČTJ 36, 37)
Tuv. xadıγ ‘birch’ (TRS 461a)
ED kadın ‘birch tree, Betula’, and in the early period ‘a vessel made of birch bark’. S.i.a.m.l.g. usually as karyīn, SW Tkm. ǵayıγ; … (602b)
See also Räšänen 1969: 218b.

33. kigırya ~ kigırfix ‘chicken, fowl’ ↔ taxaj (Hu 1996: 72a; < Mo.)
Cf. Mo. takıryan / тахя ‘chicken; the tenth of the twelve animals of the zodiac’ (Lessing 1960: 770b)
Dagur bakra [xakra] ‘chicken, fowl’ (Hu 1988: 108a)

34. kβıčiγy abya (~ awya) ‘father’s younger brother’ (literal translation “small paternal uncle”; abya / awya < Mo.)
Cf. Mo. abaya / abıγa ‘paternal uncle’ (Lessing 1960: 2b); baγa abaya ‘father’s younger brother’ (Lessing 1960: 3a; “small paternal uncle”)

35. kβıčiγy įji ‘wife of father’s younger brother’ (literal translation “little mother”)

UAjb N. F. 21 (2007)
Cf. Kor. 작은어머니 [čagınaməni] ‘wife of father’s younger brother’ ("little mother")

36. kįjɔyim ‘my hair’ (< kijɔx + ɨm; kijɔx < ? kîjɔx < *qîlɛuq < qîl + ɛuq)

37. kîldî ‘his/her daughter-in-law (wife of his/her son)’ (< kîlin + ɨ)

Kir. kelin ‘daughter-in-law, son’s wife; young married woman’ (KRS 370a)

Alt. kelin ‘daughter-in-law, son’s wife; young married woman; young woman’ (ORS 78b); keldî ‘sister-in-law (younger brother’s wife)’ (ORS 78b; < kelin + ɨ)

Xak. kilin ‘daughter-in-law, son’s wife’ (XRS 74b)

Şor. kelin ‘daughter-in-law, son’s wife’ (ŞRRŞ 24b)

Čuí. kâllî ‘daughter-in-law, son’s wife; sister-in-law (wife of my husband’s younger brother)’ (LČTJ 40; < kâlin + ɨ)

SYo. k̥elîn ‘wife; daughter-in-law, son’s wife’ (XYHC 168ab)

Tuv. kelin ‘daughter-in-law (son’s wife), sister-in-law (younger brother’s wife)’ (TRS 237b)

ED kelin (g-) etymologically Dev. N. fr. kel-, in the sense of ‘one who comes in (to the family)’; properly a term of relationship meaning ‘the wife of one’s younger brother or son’ used only by the father or elder brother of the husband, but more usually rather generally for ‘bride’; indeed it seems to be the only native Turkish word with that meaning. (719a)

See also Râsanen 1969: 250a.

38. kîmsîx ‘fingernail’ ← dörðax27 (Hu 1996, p. 73b)

kîmsîx is a word of Mongolian origin with a Turkic diminutive suffix.28

Kir. tîrmâq ‘nail; claw; harrow; (Čuí dial.) nail; rake’ (KRS 793b–794a)

Alt. tîrmâq ‘nail, claw’ (ORS 164b)

Xak. tîrbax ‘claw; nail’ (XRS 245b)

Şor. tîrbaq ‘nail’ (ŞRRŞ 57b)

SYo. tîrmâq b ‘nail’ (XYHC 101b)

Tuv. dîrbaq ‘nail; claw’ (TRS 194b)

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27 In comparison with the forms in other Turkic languages, this might be a mistake for dörðax.

28 During the fieldwork we were able to find some other words with a diminutive suffix:

ćodîx ‘lower part of the leg’,
kuşîx ‘bird’,
sala ‘finger’, salayî ‘his/her finger’ (<) salax + ɨ)
unîx ‘flour’

UAŁb N. F. 21 (2007)
See also Räsänen 1969: 479a.
Cf. Mo. kimusu(n), qumusun ‘claws, talons, nails’ (Lessing 1960: 469a, 986a)

39. kolti ‘armpit’
In some cases our informants did not pronounce the final x-sound of a word. So kolti can be a mispronunciation of koltix or koltix due to their insufficient remembrance.
Kir. qoltuq ‘armpit’ (KRS 398b)
Alt. qoltuq ‘armpit’ (ORS 86a)
Xak. xoltix ‘armpit’ (XRS 285b)
Šor. qoltuq ‘armpit’ (ŠRRŠS 26a)
Čul. qoltuq ‘armpit’ (LČTJ 42)
SYo. qohltiq⁵, qohltiq⁶ ‘armpit’ (XYHC 198a, 214a)
Tuv. golduq ‘armpit’ (TRS 246b)
ED koltuk Den. N. fr. koł; ‘armpit’. The spelling koltik in Uygh. and Kas. (but with Den. V. koltukla:-) may be the original form. S.i.s.m.l.; ...
(619a)
See also Räsänen 1969: 276b.

40. kuldx ‘loving, liking’
Kir. könldä ‘glad, merry; voluntary’ (KRS 424b); könl, kõn ‘heart (as the receptacle of sense, desire, mood, thought; with the personal possessive affixes frequently kõnü, kõnğn, kõnûm, etc.)’ (KRS 423b, 426a)
Alt. kôn ‘strong desire, love, attention, mood, striving, inclination to something, will’ (ORS 101a)
Xak. kõllig ‘liking, loving’ (XRS 91a); kõl ‘mood; sense; love’ (XRS 91a); (with the 3rd person possessive affix) könñi ‘desire, striving; will; mood; inclination to something’ (XRS 90b); kölen- ‘to love; to fall in love’ (XRS 91a)
Šor. köññi ‘desire, striving, will; mood’ (ŠRRŠS 27b); kölen- ‘to love’ (ŠRRŠS 27b)
SYo. köñlliy ‘affectionate; conscientious; having an idea’ (XYHC 160a); könil ‘idea, intention; affection, amour; heart; conscience’ (XYHC 159b), kionil ‘mind; mood; idea, intention; conscience’ (XYHC 152a)
Tuv. xön ‘music stop, tuning; mood, intention, desire (= xöññi)’ (TRS 491b)
ED köñullig (g-) P. N./A. fr. köñül; normally qualified by a preceding Adj. ‘having a ... mind’, but s.i.m.m.l.g. meaning ‘well-disposed, willing, kindly, cheerful’, and the like; SW Osm. göñullü. (732b–733a); köñül (g-) originally an abstract word with rather varying connotations, ‘the mind’, as a thinking organization; ‘thought’ as the product of the mind, and the like.
Later, when the heart was taken to be the thinking organization it was also used in a physical sense for 'the heart', in addition to, or substitution for, yürek. S.i.a.m.l.g. with a wide range of shades of meaning ... (732b–733a)
   See also Rässänen 1969: 291a, 308b–309a.

41. kule 'husband of father's sister'
   Cf. Mo. kürgen 'husband of one's daughter or sister; son-in-law; bride-groom' (Lessing 1960: 505b); küri değüüz 'brother-in-law (wife's younger brother)' (Lessing 1960: 505b)

42. kuras 'wild animal, wild beast' (< Mo.)
   Cf. Mo. görügesü(n) / rə婆o(θ) 'wild herviborous animal, game, beast; antelope' (Lessing 1960: 387b)

43. kurun 'country, state' (< Ma.)
   Cf. Ma..greyun 'country, tribe, people; ruling house, dynasty' (Norman 1978: 115b; see Cinicius 1975: 174b)
   Mo. gürün / γυρεν [Ma. grayun] country, state, people, nation' (Lessing 1960: 392b)

44. mis 'face; cheek', mızım 'my face; my cheek' (mis < *megiz < *meniz < *beniz)
   During the fieldworks our informants from both villages had used the word mızım for both 'my face' and 'my cheek'. In 2004 we were able to ask only about the word for 'cheek'. A female informant Chang Shu-yuan gave the form mis. However, the form naya 'his cheek' was the reply of another female informant Han Xiu-lan. She was the oldest and had the best command of the mother tongue. Moreover, we can find the word naax 'cheek' in the materials of Hu Zhen-hua. So the original meaning of mis must be only 'face' in Fuyu Kirghiz.
   Xak. mis 'face' (XRS 61a)
   Čul. mānzi, mis, mis 'face' (LČTJ 48)
   ED beniz 'the complexion'. Survives only(?) in SE Tar. menzi R IV 2084; Türki ditto BS 698 and SW Osm. beniz. (352a); meniz See beniz (771a).
   See also Rässänen 1969: 70a.

45. nanı 'the side (of his/her body)' (< nan + i)
   Kir. jan 'side' (KRS 226b)
   Alt. d'an 'side' (ORS 46a)
   Xak. nan 'upper part of the thigh; side (of the body), side (of the) clothes') (XRS 114a); (Sayay dial.) can 'side' (XRS 310a)
Šor. nan ‘side (of the body), thigh’ (ŠRRŠS 34a); čan ‘side’ (ŠRRŠS 61a)
Čul. (M) čan, (L) yan’side’ (LČTJ 34, 71)
SYo. yan ‘groin; side, fringe’ (XYHC 247b)
Tuv. čan ‘environment, surrounding locality’ (TRS 515b)
ED yan:n originally an anatomical term ‘the hip’; hence more generally ‘the side, flank’ of the body, or in other contexts. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. the usual phonetic changes, but now usually used w. Poss. Suff.s meaning ‘beside’ or, more loosely, ‘in the possession of’. (940a)
See also RASANEN 1969: 184b.

46. napnā ‘brand-new, quite new’
Kır. jaʃyːʃi ‘brand-new, quite new’ (KRS 231b)
Alt. d’ap-d’anyi ‘brand-new, quite new; novelty’ (ORS 47a)
Xak. nap-nā ‘brand-new, quite new’ (XRS 112a)
SYo. yap-yani ‘brand-new, quite new’ (XYHC 246b)
Tuv. ʃap-ʃa ‘brand-new, quite new; just’ (TRS 518a)
ED yap/yep Reduplicative Intensifying Prefix, cf. ap/ep, used before words beginning w. y-; s.i.s.m.l. (870b)
See also RASANEN 1969: 185b.

47. nāʃ! ‘fight! / quarrel!’ (< *yanč-)
Kır. jaʃc ‘to crush, to pound; fig. to beat’ (KRS 229b)
Xak. nas- ‘to break; to chop; fig. to beat’ (XRS 115a)
SYo. yantʃi-, yantʃi- ‘to grind; to pound; to smash’ (XYHC 248a)
ED yanç ‘to crush, trample on’, and the like; survives in NC Kır. janç-;
Kzx. janši-; SC Uzb. yanç-; NW Kaz., Kumyk yanč-; Nog. yanş-. (944b)
See also RASANEN 1969: 185a.

48. oth türğin ‘train’ (“fire-cart/wagon”; türğin < Mo.)
This must be a translation from Chin. 火车 buo-che ‘train’ (“fire-cart/wagon”)
Kır. ot araba ‘obs. steam locomotive; obs. train’ (KRS 63a); ot arba ‘obs. steam locomotive’ (KRS 582a) (“fire-cart/wagon”)
SYo. oth t̟eryen ‘train’ (XYHC 32b) (“fire-cart/wagon”)
Tuv. ottu-yergh ‘obs. automobile’ (TRS 328b) (“cart/wagon with fire”)
Cf. Mo. terge(n) ‘vehicle; cart, wagon, carriage; car; rook (in chess)’; yaltu terge(n) ‘train, locomotive’ (LESSING 1960: 805a) (“cart/wagon with fire”)

49. paya ‘frog’
Kır. baqa ‘frog; fig. lean person; (lean) person like stick’ (KRS 99b–100a)
Alt. baqa ‘frog’ (ORS 26a)
Xak. paya, paya-palax ‘frog’ (XRS 139b)
Šor. paya ‘frog’ (ŠRRŠŠ 38b)
Čul. maya ‘frog’ (LČTJ 47)
SYo. paga ‘frog’ (XYHC 50a)
Tuv. paya ‘frog’ (TRS 342b)

ED baka: by itself ‘frog’; also ‘tortoise’ if preceded by words meaning ‘horn, stone’, and the like. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. minor phonetic changes in both meanings. (311b)
See also Rāsāñen 1969: 58a.
Cf. Mo. baqa ‘frog, toad’ (Lessing 1960: 92b)

50. pil jas ‘this spring’ (“this year-spring”; < *pil čas; *pil < *bīyil < *bu yīl; čas ∼ *yāz)
for pil cf.:
Kir. bīyil ‘this year’ (KRS 170b), but jīl ‘year’ (KRS 278b)
Xak. pūl ‘this year’ (XRS 169b), but čīl ‘year’ (XRS 325b)
Šor. pūl ‘this year’ (ŠRRŠŠ 44b), but čīl ‘year; age’ (ŠRRŠŠ 65b)

for jas cf.:
Kir. jaz ‘spring’ (KRS 211a)
Alt. d’as ‘spring’ (ORS 50a)
Xak. čas ‘spring’ (XRS 313b); časxi ‘spring; spring …’ (XRS 313b)
Šor. časqī ‘spring; spring …’ (ŠRRŠŠ 61b)
Čul. (M) čas, (L) yas ‘spring’ (LČTJ 72, 34)
SYo. yaz ‘spring’ (XYHC 254b)
Tuv. čas ‘spring’ (TRS 521a)

ED yaz (ā-) originally ‘summer’, later sometimes ‘spring’; see yār for its history and modern forms and meanings. A very early l.-w. in Hungarian as nyár. (982b)
See also Rāsāñen 1969: 193a.

51. pil gus ‘this autumn’ (“this year-autumn”; < *pil kus; kus < *kūz)
Kir. kūz ‘autumn’ (KRS 459b)
Alt. kūs ‘autumn’ (ORS 101a)
Xak. kūskū (obs.) kūs ‘autumn; autumn …’ (XRS 98a)
Šor. kūskū ‘autumn; autumn …’ (ŠRRŠŠ 30a)
Čul. kūs ‘autumn’ (LČTJ 45)
SYo. kuz ‘autumn’ (XYHC 158b)
Tuv. kūs ‘autumn’ (TRS 269b)

ED kūz (g-) ‘autumn’; s.i.a.m.l.g.; gūz in NW Kk., Kumyk; SW Osm.
52. pin gara ‘tonight’ ("today-night"); < *pin kara; pin < *pūn < *bu kūn; kara < *qarā < *qaranyu)
   for pin cf.:
   Kir. būgūn ‘today’ (KRS 165b)
   Alt. būgūn ‘today’ (ORS 37a)
   Xak. pūn ‘today’ (XRS 169b)
   Šor. pūgūn, pūn ‘today’ (ŠRRŠS 44b)
   Čul. pūn ‘today’ (ŁCTJ 56)
   SYo. puyin, poyin, poyin ‘today’ (XYHC 66b, 63b)
   Tuv. būgūn ‘today’ (TRS 116b)
   ED kūn (g-) originally ‘the sun’; hence, by extension, ‘day’. C.i.a.p.a.l.; …
   KB … bu kūn ‘today’ 191… (725ab)
   See also Răşănen 1969: 85a.

   for gara cf.:
   Kir. qaranyi ‘dark; darkness; fig. ignorant, benighted’ (KRS 349a)
   Alt. qaṙanyu ‘darkness; dark; fig. illiterate’ (ORS 73b)
   Xak. xarā ‘night; at night’ (XRS 274a)
   Šor. qarā ‘night’ (ŠRRŠS 22b)
   Tuv. qaranyi ‘dark, dense; darkness; fig. outdated, backward’ (TRS 228b)
   See also Răşănen 1969: 236b–237a.
   Cf. Mo. qaṙanyu, qaṙanyu, qaṙanyu ‘dark[ness]; dusk’ (Lessing 1960: 935a)

53. pīs ‘belt’ (< Mo.)
   Cf. Mo. büše / 6y(e)an ‘girdle or belt (worn around outer garments’)
   (Lessing 1960: 151a)
   See also Răşănen 1969: 93a.

54. sidi-tür ‘is urinating’
   Kir. sīy- ‘to urinate’ (KRS 647a)
   Alt. sīy- ‘to urinate’ (ORS 128b)
   Xak. side- ‘to urinate’ (XRS 188b)
   Šor. side- ‘to urinate’ (LIQR No. 854)\(^{29}\)

\(^{29}\) The Shor (Mras-su dialect) word materials of LIQR are from the fieldwork in the City of Myski in the Province of Kemerovo during 20 ~ 22 April 2004. The participants of this fieldwork were as follows:
SYo. siz-, siz- 'to urinate' (XYHC 327b, 323b)
Tuv. sidikte- 'to urinate' (TRS 375b)
ED sid- 'to urinate'. S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as siy-; SW Tkm. si-; cf. kaşan-.
(799a)
See also Räsänen 1969: 421a.

55. sō-: sux sō-tür 'the water became cold'
Kır. sū- 'to become cool, to get cold; (about a horse trained for galloping) to become lean, smart as the result of systematic plentiful sweating; fig. (about people) to grow cold, to grow cool; fig. to be disappointed' (KRS 667a)
Alt. sō- 'to get cold; fig. to grow cold, to grow cool; fig. to be disappointed' (ORS 130b)
Xak. sō- 'to cool; to get cold; fig. to grow cold, to grow cool' (XRS 193b)
Şor. sōt- 'to get cold' (LIQR No. 2634); söttür- 'to cool' (LIQR No. 2635)
Tuv. sō- 'to get cold (frosty); to grow cold; to become cool' (TRS 383b)
ED soğt-: 'to be cold'; s.i.s.m.l. w. phonetic changes (so-, su-, sovu-, etc.); in others displaced by der. f.s. (806a)
See also Räsänen 1969: 425a.

56. sux teren 'paddy field' ("water field")
This must be a translation from Chin. 水田 shui-tian 'paddy field' ("water field").

57. şilteşiş (Qijiazi), şiltextesiş (Wujiazi) 'money'
The original meaning of this word must be 'shining (metallic) little object'.
Xak. çiltur (şilîr, čaltur) 'spangle, metal plate; shining adornment; shining button; (fig.) money; foil' (XRIS 227b)
Cf. ED yaltır-: 'to shine, gleam', and the like. This seems to be the oldest form, but as in the case of yaltrik the vocalization is chaotic; ... (923b); VU yaltırık Dev. N./A. fr. yaltı-, q. v. regarding the vocalization; 'shining, a shining object'; as a star name, prob. 'Procyon', ... (922a–b)
See also Räsänen 1969: 182b, 201a.

Ko Dong-ho (Korean, male, chief), Li Yong-sŏng (Korean, male), Ko Seong-yeon (Korean, male) and Minara Sherikulova (Kirghiz, female, interviewer)
Our informant was Vladimir Egorovič Tannagašev (male, born in 1932).

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58. šiŋlayi ‘his/her elbow’ (< šiŋlax<sup>30</sup> + i) ↔ sviŋlax ‘arm’ (Hu 1996, p. 73a), toxo ‘elbow’ (Hu 1996, p. 73b; < Mo.)

We have identified this word from the informants from Qijiazi in 2004. In comparison with the equivalent forms from other Turkic languages, the word sviŋlax ‘arm’ from the materials of Hu Zhen-hua must be a mistake.

Kir. čiqanaq ‘elbow; Southern dial. bend (e.g. of pipe)’ (KRS 885a)
Alt. čayanaq, čayčaq ‘elbow’ (ORS 174b, 176a)
Xak. čyanax, (Šayay dial.) šiyanax, (Qızil dial.) čiyanax ‘elbow’ (XRS 325b, 205b, 327a)
Šor. šiyanag ‘elbow’ (ŠRRŠS 69b)
Čul. (M) šiyanag, (L) čiyanag ‘elbow’ (LČTJ 76, 70)
SYo. čiškenek, čiškenek ‘tip of the elbow’ (XYHC 236b, 237a)
Tuv. šenek ‘elbow; cape, promontory; jut (of a mountain)’ (TRS 570a)
See also Rásāněn 1969: 107a–b, 96a.
Cf. Mo. toqxy, toqay ‘elbow, cubit (measure of length, same as Ch. ch’ih尺, a Ch. foot); bend of a river, bay, port, harbor’ (Lessing 1960: 829b, 829a)

59. šiŋix ‘true’ (< šiṅ + i + x)

Kir. čin ‘truth; true, genuine, real’ (KRS 888a)
Alt. čin ‘truth; true, genuine, real; truly’ (ORS 183b)
Xak. šin ‘truth; true, genuine, real; truly; rightly’ (XRS 207b–208a); sīna-/šinxta- ‘to verify, to test’ (XRS 208a, 208b)
Šor. šin ‘truth; truthful; true; truly; rightly’ (ŠRRŠS 70b); šiŋīta- ‘to verify’ (ŠRRŠS 70b)
Čul. šin, (m) šin ‘truth’ (LČTJ 76)
SYo. čišn, čišŋ ‘true, genuine, real’ (XYHC 285a, 285b)
Tuv. šın ‘truth; true; truly; rightly’ (TRS 588b)
ED čin ‘true, genuine; truth’, and the like; a l.-w. fr. Chinese chên, same meaning (Giles 589). S.i.a.m.l.g., as čin/čin, etc. (424a)
See also Rásāněn 1969: 108b.
Cf. Chin. 真 zhēn ‘1. (as opposed to ‘false, fake’) true; real; genuine; 2. really; truly; indeed; 3. clearly; distinctly; unmistakably; 4. (in Chinese calligraphy) regular script; 5. portrait; image; 6. nature; natural state; 7. a surname’ (CCD 2435b)

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<sup>30</sup> The development of this word might have been as follows:

šiŋlax ↔ šiŋnax ↔ šiŋnax ↔ šiŋnax ↔ šiŋnag ↔ šiŋnag
60. teren 'field' (< Mo.)
   Cf. Mo. tariya(n) 'grain, corn, wheat; crop; field, farm; inoculation, vaccination' (LESSING 1960: 781a)
   See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 464b.

61. tıyır tašın-tur 'it has thundered / the sky has discharged a flash of lightning' (Qijiazi)
   for tašın- cf.:
   Alt. taži- 'to strike, to hit; to carry, to transport' (ORS 138b)³¹
   Tuv. daži- III 'to slap somebody in the face' (TRS 143a)
   Cf. Mo. taši- 'to beat, hit with a flat object, clap, slap, slam' (LESSING 1960: 782b)

62. tın-i 'his/her life', tın-im 'my life', tın-in 'your/thy life'
   Kir. tın 'breath, deep breath' (KRS 791a)
   Alt. tın 'myth. soul, ability of life (breath, growth); breath; rest, respite'
   (ORS 164a)
   Xak. tın 'soul; breath' (XRS 244b)
   Şor. tın 'throat; soul' (ŞRRŞŞ 57a)
   Çul. tın 'deep breath; breath' (LČTJ 66)
   Tuv. tìn 'life; rel. spirit, soul' (TRS 429b)
   ED tın (d-) Kaş. has two main entries tìn 'breath' and tın 'rest', but it is unlikely that the distinction in length is semantically valid ... Tın 'breath', sometimes by extension 'spirit, life', survives in all NE languages; ... (512a)
   See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 478a–b.

63. tolyın ayış 'column, pillar' (tolyın < Mo.) ↔ dunsol³² (Hu 1996: 73c)
   Cf. Mo. tulya(n) 'iron support consisting of four legs and two or more rings on which a kettle is placed; hearth, fireplace; trivet. [A. T. 48] support (fig.)' (LESSING 1960: 840b); tulyayuri, tulyayur, tulyur, tulyuri 'pillar (also fig.), column, support, prop; crutch; pole used to propel a boat; citadel; pressing; that which is directly against something or in its immediate neighborhood; urgent' (LESSING 1960: 841a, 841b)
   See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 498a.

³¹ There must be two different verbs here, i. e. taži- I and taži- II.
³² Cf. DURgİL 'pillow' (Hu/IMART 1987: 47b). This must be an error for DURgİL 'pillar'.
64. tős-čix ‘(has) ended / finished (something)’ (tős- < Mo.)
   Xak. tős- ‘to end, to finish’ (XRS 232b; < Mo.)
   Šor. tős- ‘to end, to finish’ (ŠRRŠS 55a; < Mo.)
   Tuv. dős- ‘to end, to finish, to complete’ (TRS 172a; < Mo.)
   Cf. Mo. dayus- ‘to end, finish, lapse; to become accomplished’ (LESSING 1960: 220a)
   See also RÄSNEN 1969: 454b.

65. tōtūr ‘was frozen’ (? < *tonyp turur)
   Kir. ton- ‘to freeze, to be frozen, to become hard with cold’ (KRS 749a)
   Alt. ton- ‘to freeze, to be frozen; to become hard with cold’ (ORS 153a)
   Xak. ton- ‘to freeze, to be frozen, to harden, to become hard with cold’ (XRS 231b)
   Šor. ton- ‘to freeze, to be frozen, to suffer from cold’ (ŠRRŠS 54b)
   Čul. ton- ‘to freeze, to be frozen’ (LČTJ 64)
   SYo. ton- ‘to become cold, to turn cold’ (XYHC 109b)
   Tuv. don- ‘to freeze, to be frozen; to freeze through; to suffer from cold’ (TRS 171a)
   ED ton- (d-) ‘to be frozen hard’. S.i.a.m.l.g.; don- in NE Tuv.; SW Az.,
   Osm., Tkm. (515a)
   See also RÄSNEN 1969: 488a-b.
   Cf. Chin. 冻 dòng ‘1. (of liquid or things containing water) freeze; change
   from liquid to solid due to extreme cold; 2. (冻儿 dòngr) jelly; savoury food
   made from juice or gelatine, which jiggles when moved; 3. feel very cold;
   freeze; be frostbitten’ (CCD 468b)

66. toxtbi-: namir toxtbi-diür ‘the rain has ceased’ (< Mo.)
   Kir. toqto- ‘to stop, to cease, to delay; (of children) to live, to survive, not
to die at an early age; (of the mare) to copulate and get pregnant’ (KRS 743b)
   Alt. toqto- ‘to stop, to delay’ (ORS 151b)
   Xak. toxta- ‘to stop; to cease; to delay’ (XRS 234a)
   Šor. toqta- ‘to stop’ (ŠRRŠS 54b)
   Čul. toqta- ‘to stop, to delay’ (LČTJ 64)
   SYo. t’ogsta- ‘to take one’s seat; to be, to exist’ (XYHC 128b-129a)
   Tuv. dogtä- ‘to stop’ (TRS 168b)
   Cf. Mo. toytä-, toyta- ‘to stop, rest, become immobile; to set; to become
fixed or established; to become stabilized; to depend on; to assume a shape
or form; to come to a decision or agreement; to become engaged; to remain
firm (in one’s resolution); to decide; to fix’ (LESSING 1960: 815a, 816b)
67. **tubrīk** 'round, circular'

Kir. *tegerëk*, tögörök ‘circle’ (KRS 718a, 756a)

Alt. *tegerik*, tegelik ‘circle; round; rim of the shaman’s tambourine’ (ORS 145b)

Xak. *teglek* ‘circle; round’ (XRS 222a), *terpek* ‘wheel; round, oval’ (XRS 223b), (Sayay dial.) *tigilek* ‘wheel; round’ (XRS 224a)

Šor. *tegeleń* ‘circle; ball; wheel; ring’ (ŠRRŠŠ 53a)

SYo. *tugir* ‘round, circular, spherical; lump, chunk; zero’ (XYHC 110a)

Tuv. *tigerik* ‘round; circle; obs. rouble, money, tugrik’ (TRS 417b)

ED *tegrek* (d-) Dim.(?) f. of *tegere* and syn. w. it. S.i.s.m.l. with some phonetic changes, e.g. NE Alt., Tel. *tegerek* R III 1031; NC Kir. *tegerek*; Kzx. *togerék*/*togerék*; NW Nog. *togerék*. (485b); *tegere*: (d-) Dev. N. (?) fr. *tëgir*; used both as an Adv. (and Postposn.) meaning ‘(all) around’ and the like, and as a N. meaning ‘surroundings’. Survives in both meanings in SC Uzb. *tegra*. See *tegrek*. (485b)

See also RASÅNEN 1969: 492b.

Cf. Mo. *tögırığ*, tõgerig, tõgûrîg ‘circle, disk; circular, round; a “tughrik,” monetary unit of the M. P.R. equivalent to -.99 rouble’ (LESSING 1960: 832b, 851a)

68. **tur-tür** ‘stood up, got up’

Kir. *tur-* ‘to stand, to get up; to be; to dwell; to live, to survive; there is, there are, to be present; to cost; to be in service; to work for a wage; to remain apatheic; to consist (of); ...’ (KRS 767b)

Alt. *tur*- ‘to stand; to get up; to be; to cost; to consist (of); to be in service, to work for a wage’ (ORS 158b)

Xak. *tur-* ‘to stand; to get up; to be; to cost’ (XRS 239b)

Šor. *tur*- ‘to stand; to be; to cost’ (ŠRRŠŠ 56a)

Čul. *tur-* ‘to stand; to be’ (LČTJ 65)

SYo. *tur*- ‘to stop, to cease; to dwell, to live’ (XYHC 116b)

Tuv. *tur*- ‘to stand; to get up; to be; to get tired’ (TRS 424a)

ED *tur-* (? d-) ‘to stand’, both in the sense of ‘to stand upright’ and ‘to stand still’ with various extended meanings. (529b)

See also RASÅNEN 1969: 500a–b.

69. **tüş** ‘dream’, **tüzųn** ‘your/thy dream’

Kir. *tüš* ‘dream’ (KRS 786a)

Alt. *tüş* ‘dream’ (ORS 163a)

Xak. *tüs* ‘dream’ (XRS 243b)

Šor. *tüs* ‘dream’ (ŠRRŠŠ 57a)

Čul. *tüš* ‘dream’ (LČTJ 66)

SYo. *tılı* ‘dream’ (XYHC 99a)

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Tuv. düşiş ‘dream’ (TRS 191a)
ED tüşiş (d-) ‘dream’. S.i.m.m.l.g. with minor phonetic changes; düşiş in NE Tuv.; SW Osm.; düşiş in Tkm. Cf. tül and Çuv. têlêk. (559a); tül ‘dream’; syn. w. 2 tüşiş (d-); an unusual example of a l/r form in Uyğ. (490b)
See also Räsanen 1969: 507a-b.

70. tüşi-tur ‘is dreaming’
Kir. tüşişi ‘to dream; to dream (about, that)’ (KRS 787a)
Alt. tüşiisen- ‘to dream, to dream (about, that)’ (ORS 160b)
Xak. tüze- ‘to dream, to dream (about, that)’ (XRS 242a)
Šor. tüże- ‘to dream’ (ŠRRŠS 56b)
SYo. tül tüs- ‘to dream’ (XYHC 99a)
Tuv. düşiş- ‘to dream (about, that)’ (TRS 187a)
ED tüşə- (d-) Den. V. fr. 2 tüşiş ‘to dream’. Survives in NE (Tuv. düje-);
exthere replaced by phr. like tüş kör-. (561b)
See also Räsanen 1969: 507a-b.

71. uga ‘wife of father’s elder brother’

72. uliý abya (~ awya) ‘father’s elder brother’ (“big paternal uncle”)
Cf. Mo. yeke abaya ‘father’s elder brother’ (Lessing 1960: 3a), ‘older brother of father, uncle’ (Lessing 1960: 431a; “big paternal uncle”)

73. uliý ījí ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (“big mother”)
This can be a translation from Chin. 大娘 da-niang ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (“big mother”)
Cf. SYo. pezik b ana ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (XYHC 60a; “big mother”)
Kor. 큰어머니 [kʰinomõni] ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (“big mother”)

74. ulix tiš ‘molar tooth’ (“big tooth”)
This must be a translation from Chin. 大牙 da-ya ‘molar tooth’ (“big tooth”).

75. užen ‘thirty’ (Wujiazi), otheus ~ othīs (Qijiazi) ↔ otus (Hu 1996: 76c)
Kir. otuz, (Southern dial.) ottuz ‘thirty’ (KRS 584a)

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33 Cf. tel tuse-, tel tüse-, tel tüsi- ‘to dream’ (Malov 1957: 116a, 126a, 127b).
Alt. oðus ‘thirty’ (ORS 114a)
Xak. oṭis ‘thirty’ (XRS 133a)
Šor. oðus ‘thirty’ (ŠRRŠS 139b)
Čul. őṭus, oṭus ‘thirty’ (LČT 51)
SYo. obtiṣ 36 butṣon, butṣun, futṣon ‘thirty’ (XYHC 35a, 223a, 90b)
Tuv. üzen ‘thirty’ (TRS 444b)
ED ottuz (ottəz) ‘thirty’. … S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as otuz. (74a)

76. xitiṣ 37 ‘Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)’ ↔ nixn (Hu 1996: 74c; < Ma.)

Alt. qidat ‘Chinese; knave, jack (in playing cards)’ (ORS 101b; < Mo.)
Xak. xidat ‘China; Chinese’ (XRIS 198b; < Mo.); Kitay ‘China’ (XRS 342a; < Rus. Kūmuũ)
Šor. Kitay ‘China’ (LIQR No. 64; < Rus. Kūmuũ)
SYo. qʰiṭe, qʰetey ‘Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)’ (XYHC 210b, 212b)

Tuv. qidat ‘Chinese’ (TRS 271b; < Mo.)
See RASĂNEN 1969: 268b.
Cf. Mo. kitaq ‘China; Chinese’ (LESSING 1960: 473b)
Ma. nikan ‘Chinese’ (NORMAN 1978: 212a; see CINCIUS 1975: 590a–b)

The following names of months in “Fuyu Kirghiz” must be a translation from the Chinese 38; for the traditional forms of names of months in Turkic languages see Bazin, 1991.

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34 Cf. Tölös of Čulyşman River  uğon ‘thirty’ (PRITSAK 1959: 584).
36 This is used for the compound numbers between 20 and 30 as follows:
   pirobiṣ (XY 74; XYHC 35a, 56b, pirobəs (XYHC 56b), ʃikən pi r (XY 74; XYHC 305b) ‘twenty-one’
   ʃipobəs (XY 74; XYHC 35a, 305b), ʃipobəts (XYHC 305b), ʃıkən ʃik (XY 74) ‘twenty-two’
   butsobiṣ (XY 74; XYHC 223a), butsobiṣ (XYHC 90b), ʃıkən ʃus (XY 74) ‘twenty-three’
   tiortobəts (XY 75; XYHC 107a), ʃıkən tiort (XY 75) ‘twenty-four’
   pesobəts (XY 75; XYHC 59b), ʃıkən pes (XY 75; XYHC 305b) ‘twenty-five’
   abləbiṣ (XY 75; XYHC 10b), ʃıkən abl (XY 75) ‘twenty-six’
   ʃitobəts (XY 75; XYHC 264b), ʃıkən ʃit (XY 75) ‘twenty-seven’
   saqəsobəts (XY 75; XYHC 318a), ʃıkən saq (XY 75) ‘twenty-eight’
   ʃubqisobəts (XY 75; XYHC 35a, 111a), ʃıkən ʃubqis (XY 75) ‘twenty-nine’

37 This may be a mispronunciation of bitiṭə.
38 Cf. Mo. sara, sara(n) ‘moon; month (Lunar months are designated by the cardinal numbers so that goyar sara is February, yurban sara is March, etc. January, how-ever, is
Some Newly Identified Words in “Fuyu Kirghiz” (1)

77. pîr ay ‘January’; cf. Chin. 一月 yi-yue ‘id.’ (“one-month”)

78. igi ay ‘February’; cf. Chin. 二月 er-yue ‘id.’ (“two-month”)

79. uş ay ‘March’; cf. Chin. 三月 san-yue ‘id.’ (“three-month”)

80. turtb ay ‘April’; cf. Chin. 四月 si-yue ‘id.’ (“four-month”)

81. piş ay ‘May’; cf. Chin. 五月 wu-yue ‘id.’ (“five-month”)

82. altbî ay ‘June’; cf. Chin. 六月 liu-yue ‘id.’ (“six-month”)

83. çibî ay ‘July’; cf. Chin. 九月 qi-yue ‘id.’ (“seven-month”)

84. sigîs ay ‘August’; cf. Chin. 八月 ba-yue ‘id.’ (“eight-month”)

85. toyîs ay ‘September’; cf. Chin. 九月 ji-yue ‘id.’ (“nine-month”)

86. on ay ‘October’; cf. Chin. 十月 shi-yue ‘id.’ (“ten-month”)

87. on bîr ay ‘November’; cf. Chin. 十一月 shi-yi-yue ‘id.’ (“eleven-month”)

88. on igi ay ‘December’; cf. Chin. 十二月 shi-er-yue ‘id.’ (“twelve-month”)

chagan sara or in formal style terigûn sara. The solar months are designated by the ordinal numbers, so that January is nigeđûr sara, etc.)’ (Lesssing 1960: 674a).

yurban sara ‘March; three months’ (Lesssing 1960: 674a).
dörben sara ‘April’ (Lesssing 1960: 268b).
tabun sara ‘the fifth month, May’ (Lesssing 1960: 674b).
firegûn sara ‘June; sixth month’ (Lesssing 1960: 1059b).
dolyûn sara ‘seventh month, July’ (Lesssing 1960: 260a).
mayman sara ‘August; the eighth month of the lunar year; eight months’ (Lesssing 1960: 559a).

arban sara ‘October; tenth month (lunar); ten months’ (Lesssing 1960: 49b).
arban nigen sara ‘November; eleventh month (lunar)’ (Lesssing 1960: 49b).
arban qoyar sara ‘December; twelfth month (lunar); twelve months’ (Lesssing 1960: 955b).
Some notes on Modern Kipchak Turkic
(Part 1)

by CLAUS SCHÖNIG, Berlin

0 Introduction
The aim of this article is to present a proposal for an internal linguistic division of Modern Kipchak Turkic (in short: Kipchak), which at the same time contributes to the understanding of the historical development of this language group and helps to fix its position within Turkic. An internal division of Modern Turkic including an internal division of Kipchak has already been proposed in SCHÖNIG (1999). Here, I shall try to strengthen the previously given division lines by adding new features, some of which are also useful for the internal division of whole Modern Turkic. At the same time, I shall present some other features, which only partly fit the given model, but point to developments, which have not been discussed yet. Anyhow, this article has only an explorative character. A more or less complete investigation of Kipchak must take into account the immense amount of all available dialectal materials (here mainly written languages and a very limited number of dialectal materials, which have been used thus far, are treated). But even if this article is full of generalizations, I hope that it is a helpful contribution to a better understanding of the internal structures of Modern Kipchak.¹

1 Kipchak as Norm Turkic
According to the definition given in SCHÖNIG (1999) Kipchak Turkic is Norm Turkic, since it has lost the Ancient Turkic word-initial *h₂,² it has

¹ When no other bibliographical information is given, the data are cited according to the standard grammars, dictionaries or articles in YN and PTF about the languages in question; the (“standard”) data for Baraba are given according to DMITRIEVA, for Tomsk Tatar according to TUMAŠEVA, for Salar according to ŽENIŠEV 1974a, and for Sarygh Yughur according to ŽENIŠEV 1974b. In general, these standard works are only mentioned in the text if the data are of more than of general interest.

² In this context it is of some interest that Arabic and Persian words with initial b- and h-, which probably were borrowed quite early, have lost their initial consonant, see, e.g. Fuyũ Türkic ič ← bici ‘no(t)/nothing/nobody (at all) (with negative predicate)’, Tatar äzér ‘ready’ (beside xäzér ‘now’), äram ‘in vain, useless’, Altay Türkic urmat ‘good luck; success; reputation’.
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