

Some Newly Identified Words in “Fuyu Kirghiz”<sup>\*</sup>  
(Part 1)

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(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 Qiqihaer (齐齐哈尔) in China Heilongjiang Province (黑龙江省).<sup>1</sup> They use the Qiryis (i. e. Kirghiz) ethnonym as a self-designation.<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup>

They seem to have been originally divided into six clans:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HU/IMART 1987: 3:

“This ethnic group – called ‘oyrot’ by their Mongolian-speaking immediate neighbors, ‘solon’ or ‘daghür’ by the Japanese during the ‘Manchukuo’ [滿洲国] period and, from 1957 on ‘jilijisi’ [recte: ji-er-ji-si] (吉尔吉斯) by local Hans still use the Gırgıs [qıryıs] ethnonym as self-designation.”

<sup>3</sup> 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.”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HU/IMART 1987: 3 and HU 1991: 254. Alternately, the names of these 6 clans are

1. The Tabin<sup>5</sup> (达本 *Da-ben*) (means 'five' in Mongolian), who were consequently at one time called the 五 *Wu* 'five' and are now called the 吴 *Wu*<sup>6</sup> by replacement of the character 五 with a nearly homophonous one;

2. The Qapxan<sup>7</sup> (噶普韩 *Ga-pu-han*), now called the Han 韩 through shortening of this transcription of the name to its final syllable;

3. The İcïq<sup>8</sup> (颉奇克 *E-qi-ke*), now called the Chang 常;

4. The Sandir<sup>9</sup> (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 Piltir<sup>10</sup> (博勒特尔 *Bo-le-te-er*), now called the Lang 郎, and

6. The Qiryis<sup>11</sup> (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.<sup>12</sup>

Their mother tongue, "Fuyu Kirghiz", is the easternmost Turkic language with the exception of Yakut.<sup>13</sup> 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".<sup>14</sup>

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given as follows in Wu/Bo 2003: 4 and Wu 2003: 191: 1. 他本 *Ta-ben*; 2. 嘎博韩 *Ga-bo-han*; 3. 颉奇克 *E-qi-ke*; 4. 蔡音德热 *Cai-yin-de-re*; 5. 博勒德热 *Bo-le-de-re*; 6. 害热格斯 *He-re-ge-si*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the clan of Taban among the Piltir and among the Sayay of the Khakas. The Taban are subdivided into Ax Taban and Xara Taban.

<sup>6</sup> 五 *wü* and 吴 *wú* are practically the same sounds with different tones.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the clan of Xaxpin among the Sayay and the clans of Suy-Xaxpinî (or Suy-Xaxpîna) and Tay-Xaxpîna among the Piltir of the Khakas. For the change of *pq* > *qp* cf. Ayban, the Khakas name of Abakan.

<sup>8</sup> This may be a variant of Eçik or İcïk. Cf. the clan of İçege among the Sayay of the Khakas.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the clan of Sayin (or Sain) among the Sayay of the Khakas.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the ethnic group of Piltir among the Khakas. This ethnic group includes the clans of Ax-Piltir, Taban-Piltir and Xara-Piltir.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the clan of Qiryiz among the Altay-kizi of the Altay Turks; the clan of Xiryis among the Sayay, among the Qaça and among the Qizil of the Khakas: This clan subdivides into Kök Xiryis, Xara Xiryis and Ax Xiryis.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hu 1991: 254 and Wu/Bo 2003: 5

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> For details on this subject cf. ÖLMEZ 2001.

The present article is based on the lexical materials collected during fieldwork conducted on the 23<sup>rd</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> of September 2003 and on 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> January 2004.<sup>15</sup> Our informants used "Fuyu Kirghiz" in their childhood, but now they use Mongolian and Chinese in daily life.<sup>16</sup> The vocabulary of the "Fuyu Kirghiz" language suggests a close relationship between "Fuyu Kirghiz" and the Turkic languages in southern Siberia, especially Khakas.

<sup>15</sup> The participants of the fieldworks were as follows:

1. 2003 (Wujiazi / Qijiazi)

KIM JU-WON 金周源 (Korean, male, chief), PIAO LIAN-YÜ 朴莲玉 (Korean with Chinese nationality, female), Mehmet ÖLMEZ (Turkish, male), LI YONG-SÖNG 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-YÜ 朴莲玉 (Korean with Chinese nationality, female) and LI YONG-SÖNG 李容成 (Korean, male)

<sup>16</sup> The informants were as follows:

1. the village of 五家子 Wujiazi (23 ~ 24 September 2003, forenoon)

(1) 韩淑珍 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) 常淑芬 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) 常玉 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 常淑元 Chang Su-yuan of Qijiazi

2. the village of 七家子 Qijiazi

(23-24 September 2003, afternoon)

(1) 常淑元 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 常玉 Chang Yu of Wujiazi

(e) main informant

(2) 吴国勋 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) 吴凤珍 Wu Feng-zhen (female, born in 1928)

(a) usage of "Fuyu Kirghiz" as daily vernacular: ?

(b) spouse: Kirghiz

I. Newly Identified Words<sup>17</sup>

1. *abarix* 'quite clean' ↔ *fabar* 'clean' (Hu 1996: 75c; Mo.)<sup>18</sup>

Kir. *aru* 'clean; pretty, beautiful' (KRS 71b); *čeber* 'skillful seamstress, good needlewoman; fig, master; skillful, clever' (KRS 853b)

Alt. *aru* 'clean' (ORS 21b); *čeber* 'care, caution, thrift; neatness, tidiness; carefully, cautiously, thriftily; neatly, tidily' (ORS 177a)

Xak. *ap-arıy* 'quite clean; very cleanly' (XRS 28a); *arıy* 'clean; bright, clear, serene; transparent, limpid; cleanly' (XRS 32b); *siber* 'care, caution;

(c) living places so far: only Qijiazi

(d) bad command of "Fuyu Kirghiz" vocabulary

(4) 蔡文斌 Cai Wen-bin (male, born in 1934)

(a) usage of "Fuyu Kirghiz" as daily vernacular: to 6 years of age

(b) spouse: Mongol

(c) living places so far: only Qijiazi

(d) bad command of "Fuyu Kirghiz" vocabulary

(15-16 January 2004)

(1) 常淑元 Chang Su-yuan: main informant

(2) 吴国勋 Wu Guo-xun

(3) 韩秀兰 Han Xiu-lan (female, born in 1924)

(a) usage of "Fuyu Kirghiz" as daily vernacular: with her spouse at home to his death 10 years ago

(b) spouse: Kirghiz

(c) living places so far: only Qijiazi

(d) mother's sister of 常淑元 Chang Su-yuan and elder brother's wife of 吴国勋 Wu Guo-xun

<sup>17</sup> The following languages and dictionary were cited in our comparisons:

1. Khakas: This is the closest language of "Fuyu Kirghiz".

2. Shor: This language (Mrass and 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. Sariy Yoyur: This is also an "azaq-language".

7. Tuvan: This is also a southern Siberian language (Tofa may be considered a dialect of the Tuvan 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.

<sup>18</sup> The initial consonants *č*, *k*, *p*, *t* in "Fuyu Kirghiz" sound like *f*, *g*, *b*, *d* respectively. So the initial consonants *dʒ* (= *f*), *g*, *b*, *d*, etc. from the materials of Hu Zhen-hua are in fact unvoiced and unaspirated sounds. In this article *q* was not used for "Fuyu Kirghiz" words from our fieldworks.

thrift; neatness, tidiness, exactness; careful, cautious; thrifty; neat, tidy, exact; carefully, cautiously; thriftily; neatly, tidily, exactly' (XRS 185b)

Šor. *arıy* 'clean' (ŠRRŠS 17b); *šeber* 'careful, cautious; thrifty; exact' (ŠRRŠS 67b)

Čul. *šäbärlä-* 'take care (of)' (LČTJ 75)

SYo. *arıy* 'clean' (XYHC 19a)

Tuv. *arıy* 'neat, tidy, exact; neatly, tidily, exactly; clean; cleanly' (TRS 71b)

ED *arığ* N./A. S. fr. *arı:-* 'clean, pure', lit. and metaph.; sometimes also used as an Adv. like *arıtı:* for 'completely, thoroughly'. (213b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 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. *ač<sup>h</sup>ix sux* 'bitter alcoholic drinks' ("bitter water")

for *ač<sup>h</sup>ix sux*

Xak. *ačiy suy* 'fig. vodka' (XRIS 30a, 121a)

SYo. *atsiy su* 'bitter water' (XYHC 16b); *atsiq<sup>b</sup> su* 'vinegar' (XYHC 16a)

for *ač<sup>h</sup>ix*

Kir. *aču* 'bitter; sour; bitterness; sourness; burning, pungent, painful; anger' (KRS 82a)

Alt. *aču* 'bitter, sour, pungent; grief, sorrow, annoyance; anger; angry; angrily; pitifully' (ORS 23a)

Xak. *ačiy* 'bitter; sour; salty; having a pungent taste; grief; sorrow; annoyance' (XRS 36b)

Šor. *ačiy* 'grief, sorrow; annoyance; bitter, with too much salt; sour; pitifully' (ŠRRŠS 18a)

Čul. *ačiy, ačiy* 'bitter' (LČTJ 30)

SYo. *atsiy* 'bitter, puckery; sour, vinegar, pungent, hot pepper; too salty' (XYHC 16b); *atsiq<sup>b</sup>* 'sour' (XYHC 16a)

Tuv. *ažiy* 'sour; bitter; grief, sorrow' (TRS 40b)

ED *açığ* (?ačığ) N./A. S. fr. *açı:-*; originally 'bitter' in a physical sense, in some languages 'sour', although this is properly *ekşig*; it soon acquired the metaph. meanings 'grievous, painful', and in some languages 'anger, angry'. (21b–22a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 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. *suy* 'water; river' (XRS 200a)

Šor. *suy* 'water; river' (ŠRRŠS 49b)

Čul. *suy, süy* 'water, juice' (LČTJ 59)

SYo. *su* 'water' (XYHC 331b)

Tuv. *suy* 'water; river' (TRS 389a-b)

ED *su:v* 'water'; c.i.a.p.a.l.; in SW Tkm. still *suv*; in NE Koib., Sag., Šor *suğ*; Çuv. *şiv/şu* (*sic*) *Ash.* XVII 171, 205; elsewhere *su*, occasionally *su*; sometimes with extended meanings, 'stream, river', etc. (783a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 431a.

For *arayï* 'sweet alcoholic drinks' see IV. 3. *arayï*.

### 3. *ayïl* 'bring!'

Kir. *alip kel-* (sometimes in pronunciation *apkel-*) 'to bring' (KRS 43a, 61a)

Alt. *ekel-* 'to bring' (ORS 190a)

Xak. *ayil-* 'to bring'<sup>19</sup> (ŠRRŠS 15a)

Čul. *äkäl-* 'to bring' (LČTJ 39)

SYo. *ap<sup>b</sup>k<sup>b</sup>el-* 'to bring' (XYHC 1a)

Tuv. *ekkel-* 'to bring' (TRS 609b)

ED ... *alip kel-* 'to fetch', ... *akkel-*. (124b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 15a.

### 4. *aĵe* 'father'

Xak. (Sayay dial.) *aĵa* 'elder brother; uncle (father's brother)' (XRS 37a)

Šor. *aĵa* 'elder brother; uncle (father's brother)' (ŠRRŠS 18a)

Čul. (L) *acayim* 'my father's elder brother' (LČTJ 30)

SYo. *atŷa* 'father' (XYHC 15b)

Tuv. *aĵa* 'father' (TRS 77a)

Cf. Alt. *aĵi* 'father's younger brother; brother's daughters, sons, and grandchildren' (ORS 23b)<sup>20</sup>

### 5. *altiyim* 'my chin, my (lower) jaw' (< *altix* + *im*; *altix* < \**altek* < \**altäk* < \**alt egek* < \**alt eyek* 'lower jaw')

Kir. *äk* 'chin; lower jaw; lower lip' (KRS 971a)

<sup>19</sup> Cf. ... *alip käl-* > *äl-käl-* ~ *alkäl-* ~ *akäl-* ~ Mrass dial. *ayil-* ~ Kondoma dial. *äkäl-* 'to bring' ... (PRITSÄK 1959: 634).

<sup>20</sup> For this citation, there must be two different words. Cf. RÄSÄNEN 1969: 3b-4a.

Alt. *ek* 'chin; lower lip' (ORS 195b)

Xak. *ek* 'chin' (XRS 333a)

Šor. *ek* 'chin' (ŠRRŠS 74b)

ED *enek* perhaps crasis of *engek* Den. N. fr. 2 *en*, cf. *yaŋa:k*; originally, rather broadly, 'lower jaw, jawbone, chin', later, more specifically 'chin'. (183b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 45b.

6. *ax kalasın* → *kazın*

7. *ayi* '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)

Šor. *aya* 'palm (of the hand)' (ŠRRŠS 14b); *alaqqan* 'id.' (ŠRRŠS 15b; < Mo.)

SYo. *haya* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 10b-11a.

Cf. Mo. *alaya(n)* / *алга* 'palm (of the hand)' (LESSING 1960: 26b)

8. *čardım* 'my shoulder' (< *čarın* + *ım*) ↔ *innə* 'shoulder' (Hu 1996: 73b)

Our informants did not have a good command of their mother tongue; therefore concerning *innə* 'shoulder' [for *ıynə* or *ıyni* 'his/her shoulder?'] (Hu 1996: 73b), they must have made a mistake for 'my shoulder blade'.

Kir. *jörün* 'shoulder blade' (KRS 261b; < \**yayrın*)

Alt. *d'arın* 'shoulder blade' (ORS 49b; *d'ardi* < *d'arın* + *i*)

Xak. *čarın* 'shoulder blade' (XRS 312b)

Šor. *šayrın* 'back (of a horse)' (ŠRRŠS 66b)

SYo. *yarın* 'shoulder blade' (XYHC 256a)

Tuv. *čarın*, *čan* 'shoulder blade' (TRS 520b, 515b)

ED *yarın* 'shoulder-blade'; in this form n.o.a.b. A syn. word *yağrın* appeared in the medieval period; it can hardly be the original form of *yarın*, a much older word, and may be a mispronunciation due to a supposed etymological connection w. *yağır*, q. v. (970a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 178a-b.

9. *čaštıy abə* 'grandfather' ("old/aged father") (Wujiazi) ↔ *jəjə* (Hu 1996: 74a; < Chin. 爷爷 *yeye* 'grandfather')

Cf. Xak. *kiri abam* '(paternal) grandfather ("old/aged father")'<sup>21</sup> (XRS 44a)

Tuv. *qiryān-ača* 'grandfather ("old/aged father")' (TRS 278b)

for *čaštīy*

Kir. *jaštū* 'of / at the age of ...; aged ...' (KRS 241a)

Alt. *d'aštu* 'of / at the age of ...; aged ...' (ORS 50b)

Xak. *čaštīy* 'of / at the age of ...; aged ...' (XRS 313b)

ED *ya:şlıġ* P. N./A. fr. *ya:ş* in all its meanings; s.i.s.m.l., often for 'filled with tears'; in SE Türki *yaşlık* means both 'age, aged' and 'youth, youthfulness, giddiness'; in SW Az., Osm. *yaşlı* 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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 1a.

10. *čaštīy iji* 'grandmother' ("old/aged mother") (Wujiazi) ↔ *tetej* (Hu 1996: 74b)

Cf. Xak. *kiri ijem* '(paternal) grandmother ("old/aged mother")'<sup>22</sup> (XRS 40a, 44a)

Tuv. *qiryān-aşa* 'grandmother ("old/aged mother")' (TRS 278b)

for *iji*

Xak. *iġe* 'mother; maternal' (XRS 69b)

Šor. *iče* 'mother' (ŠRRŠS 19b)

Čul. *ičā* 'mother' (LČTJ 34); (L) *ēcām* 'mother'<sup>23</sup> (LČTJ 33)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 169a, 35a.

11. *čatʰ!* 'lie!/lie down!'

Kir. *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)

<sup>21</sup> The meaning of this word must be 'my (paternal) grandfather'.

<sup>22</sup> The meaning of this word must be 'my (paternal) grandmother'.

<sup>23</sup> The meaning of this word must be 'my mother'.

Xak. *čat-* 'to lie, to be; to lie (down)' (XRS 313b)

Šor. *čat-* 'to lie; to live, to exist' (ŠRRŠS 61b)

Čul. (L) *yat-* 'to lie' (LČTJ 35), (M) *čat-* 'to lie, to be' (LČTJ 72)

SYo. *yaht<sup>b</sup>-* 'to lie' (XYHC 251b)

Tuv. *čit-* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 192b.

## 12. *čazī* 'field'

Kir. *jazī* 'wide, broad; spacious; sprawling; plain; space' (KRS 212b)

Xak. *čazī* 'field; steppe' (XRS 306b)

Šor. *čazī* 'field' (ŠRRŠS 60a)

SYo. *yazī* 'flat embankment; plain, flat beach; flat, level' (XYHC 254b-255a)

ED *yazī*: Dev. N. fr. 1 *yaz-*; 'a broad open plain'. S.i.m.m.l.g. w. the usual phonetic changes. (984b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 194a.

## 13. *čēn gīs* 'sister's daughter', *čēn gīzim* 'my sister's daughter'

Kir. *žen* 'nephew or grandson (in the female line)' (KRS 285b); *žen qiz* 'niece or granddaughter (in the female line)' (KRS 285b)

Alt. *d'en* 'nephew, niece; sister's children and their descendants' (ORS 51b)

Xak. *čēn* 'nephew, niece; sister's children and their descendants' (XRS 315a), 'nephew (sister's child)' (XRIS 214a); *čēn xīs* 'niece, sister's daughter' (XRIS 214a)

Šor. *čēni* 'nephew, niece (sister's children)' (ŠRRŠS 62a)

Čul. *čēnayam*, *čēnayam*, *čēnim* 'cousin (the son of my mother's brother, older than I)' (LČTJ 73); *čēndāyīm* '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. *čēn* 'nephew, niece' (TRS 561a)

ED *yegen* (?*yégen*) originally 'the son of a younger sister or daughter', see K. Grønbech, op. cit. under 1 *éçi*: (912b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 194b.

## 14. *čēn ol* 'sister's son', *čēn olγīm* 'my sister's son'

Xak. *čēn ol* 'sister's son' (XRIS 214a)

Cf. *yeyen mula*, *yiyen mula* 'nephew (sister's son)' (XYHC 260a, 268b)

15. *čəzin-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'ažin-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself' (ORS 41b); *d'ažir-* 'to hide, to conceal' (ORS 41b)

Xak. *čazın-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself' (XRS 306b); *čazir-* 'to hide, to conceal; to renounce' (XRS 307a)

Šor. *čazın-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself' (ŠRRŠS 60a, 125a, 132b); *čazir-* 'to hide, to conceal' (ŠRRŠS 125a, 132b)

Čul. (M) *čazın-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself' (LČTJ 70)

SYo. *yabs-, yas-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself; to lie in ambush' (XYHC 253a, 254a); *yabsir-* 'to collect'<sup>24</sup> (XYHC 253a)

Tuv. *čašin-, čazın-* 'to hide oneself, to conceal oneself' (TRS 523a, 523b); *čazir-* '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. *yaşır-*. (979b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 192a.

16. *čilix ~ čəlix ~ čələx* 'warm' ↔ *bələn* (Hu 1996: 75a; Mo.)

Kir. *jilü* 'warmth; fig. warm, pleasant; fig. affectionate; fig. soul; fig. nest' (KRS 282a)

Alt. *d'ilu* 'warm' (ORS 61b)

Xak. *čilij* 'warmth; warm; warmly' (XRS 326b)

Šor. *čilij* 'warm; warmly' (ŠRRŠS 66a)

Čul. (M) *čilij*, (L) *yilij* 'warmly' (LČTJ 75)

SYo. *ilij* 'warm' (XYHC 31a)

Tuv. *čilij* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 200b.

Cf. Mo. *büliyen, büligen* 'warm, lukewarm' (of liquids); fever (of a child) (LESSING 1960: 146b)

17. *čis* 'smell'<sup>25</sup>

Kir. *žit* 'smell' (KRS 284b)

Alt. *d'it* 'smell' (ORS 62a)

<sup>24</sup> 藏 *cáng* 'to hide, to conceal' is expected for 收藏 *shōu cáng* 'to collect'.

<sup>25</sup> This word was identified in Qijiazhi in 2004. During the fieldworks in Wujiazhi 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 *yı:d* 'scent, odour, smell'; originally neutral in connotation, in some contexts, e.g. *yı:d yıpa:r* 'a pleasant smell', but usually, esp. in der. f.s, 'an unpleasant smell, stink'. (883a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 199b.

18. *č<sup>h</sup>ixar* 'outside, outwards' ↔ *dəfgar* (Hu 1996: 71c)

For the same meaning, the form *tašyar* was also identified.

Kir. *tışqari* 'outwards; beyond; exterior; external (men's) half in a house (of Uzbeks, Tajiks, or Uighurs)' (KRS 796a)

Alt. *tışqari* 'outwards; external' (ORS 165a)

Xak. *taxsar* 'out of doors; external; outwards' (XRS 221a)

Šor. *tašqara* 'outside; out of doors' (ŠRRŠS 52b)

Čul. *tašqar* 'out of doors' (LČTJ 62)

SYo. *tasqar*, *tasyar*, *tışyar* 'outwards' (XYHC 97b, 127b)

Tuv. *dašqār* 'outwards, outdoors; aside, beyond' (TRS 149b-150a)

ED *tašgaru:* (d-) Directive Adv. fr. 1 *taš*; 'outwards' and the like. S.i.s.m.l. w. some phonetic changes; NE Tuv. *daška:r*; SW Osm. *dışarı*; Tkm. *daşarı*. (563a)

19. *čodī* ~ *čodə*, *čodix* '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.*; Türki *yota* BŞ 662; *yote/yo:té/yöte/lo:ta/lo:te* *Jarring* 159: (NC Kır. *joto* (*sic*); Kzx. *jota* 'mountain crest, or range' is difficult to connect). (886a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 207b.

Cf.) Kir. *joto* 'mountain range, mountain crest' (KRS 263a)

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respectively, but these must be erroneous. The informants had a worse command of their mother tongue than those from Qijjazi. On the same days, the informants from Qijjazi had given the meaning 'taste' and 'tasteless' to the forms *amte* and *amtin fox*, respectively.

20. *čʰolō* '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, tʰabs* 'stone; pottery' (XYHC 97b, 95a, 120a)

Tuv. *daš* 'stone' (TRS 149b)

ED *ta:š* (?d-) 'stone' in all the usual meanings of that word in English. S.i.a.m.l.g.; ... (557a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 466a.

Cf. Mo. *čilayu(n)* / чулуу(н) 'stone, rock' (LESSING 1960: 182a)

21. *iḫt̪in išt̪i* 'the inside of the house'

for *iḫ* cf.:

Kir. *üy* 'yurt, house, living quarters' (KRS 817b)

Alt. *üy* 'house, living quarters, yurt' (ORS 171a)

Xak. *ib* 'yurt; house' (XRS 54a)

Šor. *em*, (Kondoma dial.) *üy* 'house' (ŠRRŠS 73a, 59a)

Čul. (M) *äp, ä-p*, (L) *üy, üg, ũg*, 'house' (LČTJ 32, 68)

SYo. *yü* 'house; tent, yurt; home' (XYHC 276b)

Tuv. *öy* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 34a.

for *išt̪i* cf.:

Xak. *ist̪i* 'interior; belly, abdomen' (XRS 69a)

Šor. *išt̪i* 'interior' (ŠRRŠS 19b)

Čul. *ište* 'interior, полая середина ("hollow middle")' (LČTJ 34)

Tuv. *ižin* 'interior'; *öy išt̪i* 'the inside of the yurt; *fig.* family, family members' (TRS 202b), 'family, family members; husband, wife' (TRS 330b)

22. *irg̃in g̃iji* 'Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)' ↔ *nixən* (Hu 1996: 74c; *irg̃in* < Mo.; *nixən* < 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. *işyir* 'inside, inwards'

Kir. *işkeri* 'inside, inwards; *Southern dial.* internal, women's half in a house (*of Uzbeks and Tajiks*)' (KRS 307a)

Alt. *işkeri* 'forwards, ahead; inwards, towards the middle' (ORS 65a)

Xak. *işker* 'east; eastwards' (XRS 68b)

SYo. *işker, işyer, şiker, şiyer* 'inside, inwards' (XYHC 23b, 305a, 305b)

Tuv. *işkär* '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.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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 168a-b.

24. *itpäk* 'cake made of (wheat) flour'

Alt. *ötpök* '(small) loaf' (ORS 121a)

Xak. *ipek*, (*dial.*) *ipek* '(baked) bread' (XRS 67b, 61b), 'bread; rye bread' (XRIS 38b), *itpek* '(Sayay dial.) rye bread; (Qača dial.) bread' (XRIS 39b)

Šor. *itpek* '(rye) bread' (ŠRRŠS 19b)

Čul. *itväk / itpäk* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 376b.

25. *izi ~ izi ~ izi* '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)

Šor. *is* 'footprint, track, trace' (ŠRRŠS 19b)

Čul. *is* 'footprint, track, trace' (LČTJ 34)

SYo. *yiz* 'footprint, track, trace' (XYHC 269a)

Tuv. *is* 'footprint, track, trace' (TRS 210b)

ED *iz* (?i:z) 'footprint, track, trace', lit. and metaph. *Iziğ* in KB 4411 seems to be the *Acc.* of this word and suggests that it was originally *i:z*. S.i.a.m.l.g.; in NE *is*. (277a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 175b.

26. *izir* 'saddle'

Kir. *ēr*, (*Southern dial.*) *eger* 'saddle' (KRS 972a, 942b)

Alt. *ēr* 'saddle' (ORS 195b)

Xak. *izer* 'saddle' (XRS 56b)

Šor. *ezer* 'saddle' (ŠRRŠS 72b)

Čul. *äzär* 'saddle' (LČTJ 31)

SYo. *ezer* 'saddle' (XYHC 29b)

Tuv. *ezer* 'saddle' (TRS 608a; < Xak.)

ED *eder* 'saddle'. S.i.a.m.l.g. , usually as *eyer* but also NE *ezer*, *e:r*; SE Türki *iger*; NC *e:r*; SC Uzb. *egar*. (63b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 36a.

27. *irdim* '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. *ärni* '(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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 48a.

28. *kačhir!* ~ *kʰačhir!* 'chase! / drive away!'

Kir. *qačir-* 'to give a chance to escape, to miss; to couple, to pair, to mate; to attack, to assault' (KRS 362a)

Alt. *qačir-* 'to allow to escape, to miss; to drive away, to turn out' (ORS 76b)

Xak. (Sayay dial.) *xačir-* 'to force to drive, to drive away' (XRS 282a)

Šor. *qačir-* 'to drive; to turn out' (ŠRRŠS 24a)

Tuv. *qajir-* '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. *kaçit-*, *kaçtur-*. (592b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 217a.

29. *kamayim* 'my forehead' (< *kamax* + *im*) ↔ *maylay* 'forehead' (Hu/Imart 1987: 55b; < Mo.)<sup>26</sup>

Kir. *mañday* 'forehead; opposite side' (KRS 516b; < Mo.)

Alt. *mañday* 'forehead' (ORS 108b; < Mo.)

Xak. *xamax* 'forehead' (XRS 270b)

Šor. *qabaq* 'forehead' (ŠRRŠS 20a)

Čul. *qamaq* 'temple, forehead' (LČTJ 37)

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *məən* 'forehead' [a mistake for 'neck' ?] (Hu 1996: 73a)

Tuv. *xaβaq* 'forehead; (cap) peak; hillock, knoll' (TRS 460a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 228b.

Cf. Mo. *maŋlai*, *maŋnai* 'forehead; front, vanguard; chief, leader; principal, advanced, foremost, supreme' (LESSING 1960: 527a, 527b)

30. **kastī karīndīs** 'brother-in-law (husband's elder brother)'

Kir. *qayın aya* 'husband's or wife's elder kinsman' (KRS 324b)

Xak. *xazınax* (< *xazın aya*) 'brother-in-law (wife's elder brother)' (XRS 264b); *xazınayam* 'my wife's elder brother' (XRS 172b)

Čul. (m) *qāzınayam*, (L) *qayınayam* '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. *qayın* 'birch' (KRS 324b)

Alt. *qayın* 'birch' (ORS 68b)

Xak. *xazın* 'birch' (XRS 264b)

Šor. *qazın* 'birch' (ŠRRŠŠ 21a)

Čul. (M) *qāzın*, (L) *qāyın* 'birch' (LČTJ 36, 37)

Tuv. *xadın* '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 **kayın**, SW Tkm. **ğayın**; ... (602b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 218b.

33. **kigır̄ya** ~ **kigır̄jix** 'chicken, fowl' ↔ *taxaj* (Hu 1996: 72a; < Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *takiya(n)* / тахиа 'chicken; the tenth of the twelve animals of the zodiac' (LESSING 1960: 770b)

Dagur *hakra* [xakra] 'chicken, fowl' (Hu 1988: 108a)

34. **k̄h̄č̄h̄iy abȳa** (~ **aw̄ya**) 'father's younger brother' (literal translation "small paternal uncle"; *abȳa* / *aw̄ya* < Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *abaȳa* / авга 'paternal uncle' (LESSING 1960: 2b); *baya abaya* 'father's younger brother' (LESSING 1960: 3a; "small paternal uncle")

35. **k̄h̄č̄h̄iy iji** 'wife of father's younger brother' (literal translation "little mother")

Cf. Kor. 작은어머니 [čaginəməni] 'wife of father's younger brother' ('little mother')

36. *kijəyim* 'my hair' (< *kijəx* + *im*; *kijəx* < ? *kiljəx* < \**qilčəuq* < *qil* + *čəuq*)

37. *kildi* 'his/her daughter-in-law (wife of his/her son)' (< *kilin* + *i*)

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); *keldi* 'sister-in-law (younger brother's wife)' (ORS 78b; < *kelin* + *i*)

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

Šor. *kelin* 'daughter-in-law, son's wife' (ŠRRŠS 24b)

Čul. *källi* 'daughter-in-law, son's wife; sister-in-law (wife of my husband's younger brother)' (LČTJ 40; < *kälin* + *i*)

SYo. *k<sup>b</sup>elün* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 250a.

38. *kimsix* 'fingernail' ↔ *dərdəx*<sup>27</sup> (Hu 1996, p. 73b)

*kimsix* is a word of Mongolian origin with a Turkic diminutive suffix.<sup>28</sup>

Kir. *tirmaq* 'nail; claw; harrow; (Čuy dial.) nail; rake' (KRS 793b-794a)

Alt. *tirmaq* 'nail, claw' (ORS 164b)

Xak. *tərbax* 'claw; nail' (XRS 245b)

Šor. *tirbaq* 'nail' (ŠRRŠS 57b)

SYo. *tirmaq<sup>b</sup>* 'nail' (XYHC 101b)

Tuv. *dirbaq* 'nail; claw' (TRS 194b)

<sup>27</sup> In comparison with the forms in other Turkic languages, this might be a mistake for *dərbax*.

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

*čodix* 'lower part of the leg',

*kušix* 'bird',

*sala* 'finger', *salayı* 'his/her finger' (< *salax* + *i*)

*unix* 'flour'

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. *qobltiq<sup>b</sup>*, *q<sup>b</sup>obltiq<sup>b</sup>* 'armpit' (XYHC 198a, 214a)

Tuv. *qolduq* 'armpit' (TRS 246b)

ED *koltuk* Den. N. fr. *ko:l* ; 'armpit'. The spelling *koltuk* in Uyğ. and *Kaş.* (but with Den. V. *koltukla:-*) may be the original form. S.i.s.m.l.; ... (619a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 276b.

### 40. *kuldix* 'loving, liking'

Kir. *köñüldü* 'glad, merry; voluntary' (KRS 424b); *köñül*, *kön* 'heart (as the receptacle of sense, desire, mood, thought; with the personal possessive affixes frequently *könü*, *könüñ*, *könüm*, etc.)' (KRS 423b, 426a)

Alt. *kün* 'strong desire, love, attention, mood, striving, inclination to something, will' (ORS 101a)

Xak. *köllig* 'liking, loving' (XRS 91a); *köl* 'mood; sense; love' (XRS 91a); (with the 3rd person possessive affix) *köñni* 'desire, striving; will; mood; inclination to something' (XRS 90b); *kölen-* 'to love; to fall in love' (XRS 91a)

Šor. *köñnü* 'desire, striving, will; mood' (ŠRRŠS 27b); *kölen-* 'to love' (ŠRRŠS 27b)

SYo. *köñülliy* 'affectionate; conscientious; having an idea' (XYHC 160a); *köñil* 'idea, intention; affection, amour; heart; conscience' (XYHC 159b), *kioñil* 'mind; mood; idea, intention; conscience' (XYHC 152a)

Tuv. *xön* 'music stop, tuning; mood, intention, desire (= *xöñnü*)' (TRS 491b)

ED *köñüllüg* (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. *göñüllü*. (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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 291a, 308b-309a.

41. *kule* 'husband of father's sister'

Cf. Mo. *kürgen* 'husband of one's daughter or sister; son-in-law; bridegroom' (LESSING 1960: 505b); *küri degüü* 'brother-in-law (wife's younger brother)' (LESSING 1960: 505b)

42. *kurəs* 'wild animal, wild beast' (< Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *görügesü(n)* / röpөөс(өн) 'wild herbivorous animal, game, beast; antelope' (LESSING 1960: 387b)

43. *kurun* 'country, state' (< Ma.)

Cf. Ma. *gurun* 'country, tribe, people; ruling house, dynasty' (NORMAN 1978: 115b; see CINCIVS 1975: 174b)

Mo. *gürün* / rүрөн '[Ma. *gurun*] country, state, people, nation' (LESSING 1960: 392b)

44. *mīs* 'face; cheek', *mizim* 'my face; my cheek' (*mīs* < \**megiz* < \**mejiz* < \**beniz*)

During the fieldworks our informants from both villages had used the word *mizim* 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 *mīs*. However, the form *nāyā* '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 *mīs* must be only 'face' in Fuyu Kirghiz.

Xak. *mīs* 'face' (XRIS 61a)

Čul. *māyzi*, *mīs*, *mis* 'face' (LČTJ 48)

ED *beniz* 'the complexion'. Survives only(?) in SE Tar. *menzi R IV* 2084; Türki ditto BŞ 698 and SW Osm. *beniz*. (352a); *meniz* See *beniz* (771a).

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 70a.

45. *nani* '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.) *čan* '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 *ya: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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 184b.

46. *napnā* 'brand-new, quite new'

Kir. *jaṗjaṗi* 'brand-new, quite new' (KRS 231b)

Alt. *d'ap-d'aṗi* 'brand-new, quite new; novelty' (ORS 47a)

Xak. *nap-nā* 'brand-new, quite new' (XRS 112a)

SYo. *yap-yaṗi* 'brand-new, quite new' (XYHC 246b)

Tuv. *čap-čā* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 185b.

47. *nāš!* 'fight! / quarrel!' (< \**yanč*)

Kir. *janč* 'to crush, to pound; *fig.* to beat' (KRS 229b)

Xak. *nas-* 'to break; to chop; *fig.* to beat' (XRS 115a)

SYo. *yantsi-, yantsi-* 'to grind; to pound; to smash' (XYHC 248a)

ED *yañ-* 'to crush, trample on', and the like; survives in NC Kir. *jañ-*; Kzx. *janš-*; SC Uzb. *yañ-*; NW Kaz., Kumyk *yañ-*; Nog. *yañ-*. (944b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 185a.

48. *ot<sup>h</sup> tūrgin* 'train' ("fire-cart/wagon"; *tūrgin* < Mo.)

This must be a translation from Chin. 火车 *huo-che* 'train' ("fire-cart/wagon")

Kir. *ot araba* 'obs. steam locomotive; obs. train' (KRS 63a); *ot arba* 'obs. steam locomotive' (KRS 582a) ("fire-cart/wagon")

SYo. *ot<sup>h</sup> tūryen* 'train' (XYHC 32b) ("fire-cart/wagon")

Tuv. *ottuy-terge* 'obs. automobile' (TRS 328b) ("cart/wagon with fire")

Cf. Mo. *terge(n)* 'vehicle; cart, wagon, carriage; car; rook (in chess)'; *γaltu terge(n)* 'train, locomotive' (LESSING 1960: 805a) ("cart/wagon with fire")

49. *paṗa* 'frog'

Kir. *baqa* 'frog; *fig.* lean person; (*lean*) person like stick' (KRS 99b-100a)

Alt. *baqa* 'frog' (ORS 26a)  
Xak. *paya*, *paya-palčax* 'frog' (XRS 139b)  
Šor. *paya* 'frog' (ŠRRŠS 38b)  
Čul. *maya* 'frog' (LČTJ 47)  
SYo. *paqa* '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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 58a.  
Cf. Mo. *baqa* 'frog, toad' (LESSING 1960: 92b)

50. *pil jas* 'this spring' ("this year-spring"; < \**pil čas*; \**pil* < \**biyil* < \**bu yil*; *čas* < \**yāz*)

for *pil* cf.:

Kir. *biyil* 'this year' (KRS 170b), but *jil* 'year' (KRS 278b)  
Xak. *pül* 'this year' (XRS 169b), but *čil* 'year' (XRS 325b)  
Šor. *pül* 'this year' (ŠRRŠS 44b), but *čil* 'year; age' (ŠRRŠS 65b)  
See RÄSÄNEN 1969: 85a.

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. *časqi* 'spring; spring ...' (ŠRRŠS 61b)  
Čul. (M) *čas*, (L) *yas* 'spring' (LČTJ 72, 34)  
SYo. *yaz* 'spring' (XYHC 254b)  
Tuv. *čas* 'spring' (TRS 521a)

ED *ya:z* (ñ-) originally 'summer', later sometimes 'spring'; see *ya:y* for its history and modern forms and meanings. A very early l.-w. in Hungarian as *nyár*. (982b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 193a.

51. *pil gus* 'this autumn' ("this year-autumn"; < \**pil kus*; *kus* < \**küz*)

Kir. *küz* 'autumn' (KRS 459b)  
Alt. *küs* 'autumn' (ORS 101a)  
Xak. *küskü*, (*obs.*) *küs* 'autumn; autumn ...' (XRS 98a)  
Šor. *küskü* 'autumn; autumn ...' (ŠRRŠS 30a)  
Čul. *küs* 'autumn' (LČTJ 45)  
SYo. *kuz* 'autumn' (XYHC 158b)  
Tuv. *küs* 'autumn' (TRS 269b)  
ED *küz* (g-) 'autumn'; s.i.a.m.l.g.; *güz* in NW Kk., Kumyk; SW Osm.,

Tkm. (güyz); Çuv. *kër Asb.* VII 271. (757a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 312b.

52. **pin gara** 'tonight' ('today-night'; < \**pīn kara*; *pīn* < \**pūn* < \**bu kūn*; *kara* < \**qarā* < \**qaranyu*)

for *pin* cf.:

Kir. *bügün* 'today' (KRS 165b)

Alt. *bügün* 'today' (ORS 37a)

Xak. *pūn* 'today' (XRS 169b)

Šor. *pügün, pūn* 'today' (ŠRRŠS 44b)

Čul. *pūn* 'today' (LČTJ 56)

SYo. *puyin, poyn, poyin* 'today' (XYHC 66b, 63b)

Tuv. *bögün* 'today' (TRS 116b)

ED **kün** (g-) originally 'the sun'; hence, by extension, 'day'. C.i.a.p.a.l.; ...

KB ... **bu kūn** 'today' 191... (725ab)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 85a.

for *gara* cf.:

Kir. *qaranyı* 'dark; darkness; fig. ignorant, benighted' (KRS 349a)

Alt. *qaranyy* 'darkness; dark; fig. illiterate' (ORS 73b)

Xak. *xarā* 'night; at night' (XRS 274a)

Šor. *qarā* 'night' (ŠRRŠS 22b)

Tuv. *qaranyı* 'dark, dense; darkness; fig. outdated, backward' (TRS 228b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 236b–237a.

Cf. Mo. *qaranyuy, qaranyu, qaranyuy* 'dark[ness]; dusk' (LESSING 1960: 935a)

53. **pīs** 'belt' (< Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *büse* / бусе(әһ) 'girdle or belt (worn around outer garments)' (LESSING 1960: 151a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 93a.

54. **sīdi-tīr** 'is urinating'

Kir. *siy-* 'to urinate' (KRS 647a)

Alt. *siy-* 'to urinate' (ORS 128b)

Xak. *side-* 'to urinate' (XRS 188b)

Šor. *side-* 'to urinate' (LIQR No. 854)<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> 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 *si:d-* '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-tir* 'the water became cold'

Kir. *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)

Šor. *sōt-* 'to get cold' (LIQR No. 2634); *sōttir-* 'to cool' (LIQR No. 2635)

Tuv. *sō-* 'to get cold (frosty); to grow cold; to become cool' (TRS 383b)

ED *soğı:-* '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. *šilt'iras* (Qijiazi), *šilt'iras* (Wujiazi) 'money'

The original meaning of this word must be 'shining (metallic) little object'.

Xak. *čiltir* (*šiltir*, *čaltir*) 'spangle, metal plate; shining adornment; shining button; (*fig.*) money; foil' (XRS 227b)

Cf. ED *yaltri:-* 'to shine, gleam', and the like. This seems to be the oldest form, but as in the case of *yaltrık* the vocalization is chaotic; ... (923b); VU *yaltrık* Dev. N./A. fr. *yaltri:-*, q. v. regarding the vocalization; 'shining, a shining object'; as a star name, prob. 'Procyon', ... (922a–b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 182b, 201a.

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Ko DONG-HO (Korean, male, chief), LI YONG-SÖNG (Korean, male), Ko SEONG-YEON (Korean, male) and MINARA SHERIKULOVA (Kirghiz, female, interviewer)

Our informant was Vladimir Egorovič Tannagašev (male, born in 1932).

58. *šinlayı* 'his/her elbow' (< *šinlax*<sup>30</sup> + *i*) ↔ *sənlax* 'arm' (Hu 1996, p. 73a), *toxoxo* 'elbow' (Hu 1996, p. 73b; < Mo.)

We have identified this word from the informants from Qijjazi in 2004. In comparison with the equivalent forms from other Turkic languages, the word *sənlax* '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, čaŋčaq* 'elbow' (ORS 174b, 176a)

Xak. *čıyanax*, (Sayay dial.) *sıyanax*, (Qızıl dial.) *čıynax* 'elbow' (XRS 325b, 205b, 327a)

Šor. *šıyanaq* 'elbow' (ŠRRŠS 69b)

Čul. (M) *šıyanaq*, (L) *çıyanaq* 'elbow' (LČTJ 76, 70)

SYo. *č<sup>h</sup>ikenek<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>ik<sup>h</sup>enek<sup>h</sup>* 'tip of the elbow' (XYHC 236b, 237a)

Tuv. *šenek* 'elbow; cape, promontory; jut (of a mountain)' (TRS 570a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 107a–b, 96a.

Cf. Mo. *toquy, 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. *šinix* 'true' (< *šin* + *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); *sina- / šinixta-* 'to verify, to test' (XRS 208a, 208b)

Šor. *šin* 'truth; truthful; true; truly; rightly' (ŠRRŠS 70b); *šiniqta-* 'to verify' (ŠRRŠS 70b)

Čul. *šin*, (m) *šin* 'truth' (LČTJ 76)

SYo. *tšin, tšij* 'true, genuine, real' (XYHC 285a, 285b)

Tuv. *šin* 'truth; true; truly; rightly' (TRS 588b)

ED *çin* 'true, genuine; truth', and the like; a l.-w. fr. Chinese *chên*, same meaning (Giles 589). S.i.a.m.l.g., as *çin/çin*, etc. (424a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 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)

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

*šinlax* < \**šinmax* < \**šınmax* < \**šıyınax* < \**šıyanaq* < \**çıyanaq*

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. *üyir tašin-tur* 'it has thundered / the sky has discharged a flash of lightning' (Qijiazi)

for *tašin-* cf.:

Alt. *taži-* 'to strike, to hit; to carry, to transport' (ORS 138b)<sup>31</sup>

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. *tin-i* 'his/her life', *tin-im* 'my life', *tin-in* 'your/thy life'

Kir. *tin* 'breath, deep breath' (KRS 791a)

Alt. *tin* 'myth. soul, ability of life (breath, growth); breath; rest, respite' (ORS 164a)

Xak. *tin* 'soul; breath' (XRS 244b)

Šor. *tin* 'throat; soul' (ŠRRŠS 57a)

Čul. *tin* 'deep breath; breath' (LČTJ 66)

Tuv. *tin* 'life; rel. spirit, soul' (TRS 429b)

ED *tɪ:n* (d-) *Kaş.* has two main entries *tɪn* 'breath' and *tɪ:n* 'rest', but it is unlikely that the distinction in length is semantically valid ... *Tɪn* 'breath', sometimes by extension 'spirit, life', survives in all NE languages; ... (512a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 478a–b.

63. *tolyin ayış* 'column, pillar' (*tolyin* < Mo.) ↔ *dursəl*<sup>32</sup> (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.

<sup>31</sup> There must be two different verbs here, i. e. *taži-* I and *taži-* II.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. DURĞİL 'pillow' (HU/IMART 1987: 47b). This must be an error for DURĞİL 'pillars'.

64. *tōs-čix* '(has) ended / finished (something)' (*tōs-* < Mo.)

Kak. *tōs-* 'to end, to finish' (XRS 232b; < Mo.)

Šor. *tōs-* 'to end, to finish' (ŠRRŠS 55a; < Mo.)

Tuv. *dōs-* 'to end, to finish, to complete' (TRS 172a; < Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *dayus-* 'to end, finish, lapse; to become accomplished' (LESSING 1960: 220a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 454b.

65. *tōtir* 'was frozen' (? < \**toɣup turur*)

Kir. *toɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen, to become hard with cold' (KRS 749a)

Alt. *toɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen; to become hard with cold' (ORS 153a)

Kak. *toɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen, to harden, to become hard with cold' (XRS 231b)

Šor. *toɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen, to suffer from cold' (ŠRRŠS 54b)

Čul. *toɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen' (LČTJ 64)

SYo. *toɣ-* 'to become cold, to turn cold' (XYHC 109b)

Tuv. *doɣ-* 'to freeze, to be frozen; to freeze through; to suffer from cold' (TRS 171a)

ED *toɣ-* (d-) 'to be frozen hard'. S.i.a.m.l.g.; *doɣ-* in NE Tuv.; SW Az., Osm., Tkm. (515a)

See also RÄSÄNEN 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 *dòng'er*) jelly; savoury food made from juice or gelatine, which jiggles when moved; 3. feel very cold; freeze; be frostbitten' (CCD 468b)

66. *toxt<sup>hi</sup>-*: *namir toxt<sup>hi</sup>-dir* '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)

Kak. *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<sup>h</sup>oq<sup>h</sup>ta-* 'to take one's seat; to be, to exist' (XYHC 128b–129a)

Tuv. *doqtā-* 'to stop' (TRS 168b)

See RÄSÄNEN 1969: 485b.

Cf. Mo. *toɣta-*, *toɣtu-* '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. *tubrīx* 'round, circular'Kir. *tegerek*, *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. *tegelek* 'circle; ball; wheel; ring' (ŠRRŠS 53a)SYo. *toqir* 'round, circular, spherical; lump, chunk; zero' (XYHC 110a)Tuv. *tögerik* 'round; circle; *obs.* rouble, money, tughrik' (TRS 417b)ED *tegrek* (d-) Dim.(?) f. of *tegre*: 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. *tögerek/tönerek*; NW Nog. *tögerek*. (485b); *tegre*: (d-) Dev. N.(?) fr. \**tegir*-; 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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 492b.

Cf. Mo. *tögürig*, *tögerig*, *tügürig* 'circle, disk; circular, round; a "tughrik," monetary unit of the M. P.R. equivalent to -0.99 rouble' (LESSING 1960: 832b, 851a)68. *tur-tir* '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' (ŠRRŠS 56a)Čul. *tur-* 'to stand; to be' (LČTJ 65)SYo. *tur-* 'to 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 RÄSÄNEN 1969: 500a-b.

69. *tüš* 'dream', *tüžin* 'your/thy dream'Kir. *tüš* 'dream' (KRS 786a)Alt. *tüš* 'dream' (ORS 163a)Xak. *tüš* 'dream' (XRS 243b)Šor. *tüš* 'dream' (ŠRRŠS 57a)Čul. *tüš* 'dream' (LČTJ 66)SYo. *til* 'dream' (XYHC 99a)

Tuv. *düş* 'dream' (TRS 191a)

ED *tü:ş* (d-) 'dream'. S.i.m.m.l.g. with minor phonetic changes; *düş* in NE Tuv.; SW Osm.; *dü:ş* in Tkm. Cf. *tül* and Çuv. *tələk*. (559a); *tül* 'dream'; syn. w. 2 *tü:ş* (d-); an unusual example of a *l/r* form in Uyğ. (490b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 507a-b.

70. *tüzi-tur* 'is dreaming'

Kir. *tüşö-* 'to dream; to dream (about, that)' (KRS 787a)

Alt. *tüşen-* 'to dream, to dream (about, that)' (ORS 160b)

Xak. *tüze-* 'to dream, to dream (about, that)' (XRS 242a)

Şor. *tüşe-* 'to dream' (ŞRRŞS 56b)

SYo. *tül thus-* 'to dream' (XYHC 99a)<sup>33</sup>

Tuv. *düşe-* 'to dream (about, that)' (TRS 187a)

ED *tüşe-* (d-) Den. V. fr. 2 *tü:ş*; 'to dream'. Survives in NE (Tuv. *düşe-*); elsewhere replaced by phr. like *tüş kör-*. (561b)

See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 507a-b.

71. *ugə* 'wife of father's elder brother'

72. *uliy abya* (~ *awya*) 'father's elder brother' ("big paternal uncle")

Cf. Mo. *yekə abaya* 'father's elder brother' (LESSING 1960: 3a), 'older brother of father, uncle' (LESSING 1960: 431a; "big paternal uncle")

73. *uliy iji* '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<sup>b</sup> ana* 'wife of father's elder brother' (XYHC 60a; "big mother")

Kor. 큰어머니 [k<sup>h</sup>inəməni] 'wife of father's elder brother' ("big mother")

74. *ulix tiş* 'molar tooth' ("big tooth")

This must be a translation from Chin. 大牙 *da-ya* 'molar tooth' ("big tooth").

75. *užen* 'thirty' (Wujiazi), *ot<sup>h</sup>us* ~ *ot<sup>h</sup>is* (Qijiazi) ↔ *otus* (Hu 1996: 76c)

Kir. *otuz*, (Southern dial.) *ottuz* 'thirty' (KRS 584a)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *tel tuse-, tel түse-, tel түsi-* 'to dream' (Malov 1957: 116a, 126a, 127b).

- Alt. *odus* 'thirty'<sup>34</sup> (ORS 114a)  
 Xak. *otīs* 'thirty' (XRS 133a)  
 Šor. *odus* 'thirty'<sup>35</sup> (ŠRRŠS 139b)  
 Čul. *ōtus, otus* 'thirty' (LČTJ 51)  
 SYo. *ohtīs*<sup>36</sup> *butšon, butšun, futšon* 'thirty' (XYHC 35a, 223a, 90b)  
 Tuv. *ūžen* 'thirty' (TRS 444b)  
 ED *ottuz (ottoz)* 'thirty'. ... S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as *otuz*. (74a)

76. *xīt<sup>h</sup>īs*<sup>37</sup> 'Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)' ↔ *nixən* (HU 1996: 74c; < Ma.)

Alt. *qīdat* 'Chinese; knave, jack (in playing cards)' (ORS 101b; < Mo.)

Xak. *xīdat* 'China; Chinese' (XRIS 198b; < Mo.); *Kitay* 'China' (XRS 342a; < Rus. *Китай*)

Šor. *Kitay* 'China' (LIQR No. 64; < Rus. *Китай*)

SYo. *q<sup>h</sup>itey, q<sup>h</sup>etey* 'Han nationality, the Han (= Chinese)' (XYHC 210b, 212b)

Tuv. *qīdat* 'Chinese' (TRS 271b; < Mo.)

See RÄSÄNEN 1969: 268b.

Cf. Mo. *kitad* '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<sup>38</sup>; for the traditional forms of names of months in Turkic languages see Bazin, 1991.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Tölös of Čulyšman River *ūčön* 'thirty' (PRITSÄK 1959: 584).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *odus* (dial. *ūžon*) 'thirty' (PRITSÄK 1959: 635).

<sup>36</sup> This is used for the compound numbers between 20 and 30 as follows:

*pirohīs* (XYJ 74; XYHC 35a, 56b), *pirohtus* (XYHC 56b), *šikon pīr* (XYJ 74; XYHC 305b) 'twenty-one'

*šikohīs* (XYJ 74; XYHC 35a, 305b), *šikohthis* (XYHC 305b), *šikon šiki* (XYJ 74) 'twenty-two'

*butšohīs* (XYJ 74; XYHC 223a), *futšohīs* (XYHC 90b), *šikon uš* (XYJ 74) 'twenty-three'

*tiorthohīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 107a), *šikon tiorth* (XYJ 75) 'twenty-four'

*pesohīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 59b), *šikon pes* (XYJ 75; XYHC 305b) 'twenty-five'

*ahltohtīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 10b), *šikon ahlī* (XYJ 75) 'twenty-six'

*yitohīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 264b), *šikon yiti* (XYJ 75) 'twenty-seven'

*saqışohīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 318a), *šikon saqīs* (XYJ 75) 'twenty-eight'

*tobqışohīs* (XYJ 75; XYHC 35a, 111a), *tobqışohīs* (XYHC 111b), *šikon tohqīs* (XYJ 75) 'twenty-nine'

<sup>37</sup> This may be a mispronunciation of *hi<sup>h</sup>i<sup>h</sup>*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Mo. *sara, sara(n)* 'moon; month' (Lunar months are designated by the cardinal numbers so that *qoyar sara* is February, *γurban sara* is march, etc. january, how-ever, is

77. **pīr 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. **uš ay** 'March'; cf. Chin. 三月 *san-yue* 'id.' ("three-month")
80. **turt<sup>h</sup> ay** 'April'; cf. Chin. 四月 *si-yue* 'id.' ("four-month")
81. **piš ay** 'May'; cf. Chin. 五月 *wu-yue* 'id.' ("five-month")
82. **alt<sup>h</sup>i ay** 'June'; cf. Chin. 六月 *liu-yue* 'id.' ("six-month")
83. **č<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>i ay** 'July'; cf. Chin. 七月 *qi-yue* 'id.' ("seven-month")
84. **sigīs ay** 'August'; cf. Chin. 八月 *ba-yue* 'id.' ("eight-month")
85. **toyīs ay** 'September'; cf. Chin. 九月 *jiu-yue* 'id.' ("nine-month")
86. **on ay** 'October'; cf. Chin. 十月 *shi-yue* 'id.' ("ten-month")
87. **on bīr 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")

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*čagan sara* or in formal style *terigün sara*. The solar months are designated by the ordinal numbers, so that January is *nigedüger sara*, etc.)' (LESSING 1960: 674a).

*yurban sara* 'March; three months' (LESSING 1960: 674a).

*dörben sara* 'April' (LESSING 1960: 268b).

*tabun sara* 'the fifth month, May' (LESSING 1960: 674b).

*jiřugan sara* 'June; sixth month' (LESSING 1960: 1059b).

*dolugan sara* 'seventh months, July' (LESSING 1960: 260a).

*nayman sara* 'August; the eighth month of the lunar year; eight months' (LESSING 1960: 559a).

*arban sara* 'October; tenth month (lunar); ten months' (LESSING 1960: 49b).

*arban nigen sara* 'November; eleventh month (lunar)' (LESSING 1960: 49b).

*arban qoyar sara* 'December; twelfth month (lunar); twelve months' (LESSING 1960: 49b, 955b).