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Some Newly Identified Words in “Fuyu Kirghiz”\*  
(Part 2)

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and KIM JUWON (Seoul)

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## NEUE FOLGE

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## Some Newly Identified Words in “Fuyu Kirghiz”\* (Part 2)

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### II. Newly Identified Meanings

1. *ižixti pas!* ‘shut the door!’ ↔ *bas-* ‘to press’ (Hu 1996: 77a).

We have identified this meaning by informants from Qijiazi in 2004. CHANG SHU-YUAN and Wu GUO-XUN gave the forms *ižix pas* and *ižixti pas*. But the third informant HAN XIU-LAN gave the forms *čap<sup>b</sup>* and *ižixti čap<sup>b</sup>*, in comparison with *dʒap-* in Hu 1996: 77c and equivalent forms from other Turkic languages, the word *čap<sup>b</sup>* must be the right word for ‘to shut’ in “Fuyu Kirghiz”.

For *pas-* cf.: Kir. *bas-* ‘to press; to go; to flood, to cover completely; to be in abundance; to print; to reduce, to diminish (e.g. *the light*); to lower (e.g. *the voice*); to attack; to trample; to fan, to blow (*fire with the bellows*); (*card game*) to cover (*a card*)’ (KRS 113b); Alt. *bas-* ‘to step; to tread; to press; to print; to cover; to conquer, to subdue; to force’ (ORS 27a–b); Xak. *pas-* ‘to press; to step; to tread; to weigh; to write; to print; to suppress, to subdue’ (XRS 145a); Šor. *pas-* ‘to write; to press’ (ŠRRSS 39b); Cul. (M) *pas-* ‘to press; it functions as an auxiliary verb’ (SMCD 142); SYo. *pas-* ‘to press, to suppress; to mate (*of camel*); to be contaminated by; to affix, to print’ (XYHC 52a–b), *pahs-* ‘to press, to oppress; to mate (*of camel*); to be contaminated by; to affix, to print’ (XYHC 51a); Tuv. *bas-* ‘to press; to squeeze; fig.

\* This work was supported by Korea Research Foundation Grant (KRF-2006-322-A00054); part I cf. *UAJb* 21. 2007, 141–169.

<sup>1</sup> This Tuvan word material of LIQC is from the fieldwork conducted in the village of Aqqaba (白哈巴) of Habahe County (哈巴河县) in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region 新疆维吾尔自治区 during 2 ~ 4 May 2005. The participants of this fieldwork were Li Yong-söng (이용성, Korean, male) and HWANG YUNG-KWANG (황영광, Korean, male, interviewer). The informant was QADIRXAN (卡德尔汉, male, born in 1962). Another field-work was carried out by the same participants in the village of Qanas (喀纳斯) of Burchin County (布尔津县) in the same area during 28 April ~ 1 May 2005. MEHMET ÖLMEZ (Turk, male) and TOOLAI (托来, Tuvan with Chinese nationality, female) were also participants for the first two days. The informant was MÄČIGIR (玛其格尔, female, born in 1949).

to suppress; *fig.* to conquer; to step; to move; to amble; to put; to iron; *pr.* to print; *fig.* to slur over, to hide' (TRS 84a-b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **bas-** 370b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 64a-b.

For *čap-*; Kir. *jap-* 'to cover, to shut; to cover completely' (KRS 231a-b); Alt. *d'ap-* 'to cover, to shut' (ORS 47b); Xak. *čap-* 'to cover, to wrap up' (XRS 310a); Šor. *čap-* 'to cover; to shut' (ŠRRŠS 61a); Čul. *čap-* 'to cover, to shut' (LČTJ 71); Tuv. *sip-* 'to cover; to lay; to spread, to run' (TRS 585a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **yap-** (?d-) 870b-871a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 187a-b.

2. **kol** 'hand; arm' ↔ *Gol* 'hand' (Hu 1996: 73b); cf. *sayılx* 'arm' (Hu 1996: 73a).

During the fieldworks in 2003 our informants could not remember the word for 'arm'. But in 2004 our informants from Qijiasi gave the form *sayılayi* 'his/her elbow' (<*sayılx* + *i*). In many Turkic languages one and the same word is used for both 'hand' and 'arm'. Therefore *sayılx* from the materials of Hu 1996 has to be corrected.

Kir. *qol* 'arm, hand; foreleg, forefoot; finger; hand(writing); signature' (KRS 395b-396a); Alt. *qol* 'arm, hand; foreleg, forefoot' (ORS 85b); Xak. *xol* 'id.' (XRS 285a); Tuv. *xol* 'id.' (TRS 480a); Šor. *qol* 'arm, hand' (ŠRRŠS 26a); Čul. *qol* 'arm, hand' (LČTJ 42); SYo. *qol* 'arm' (XYHC 197a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **ko:l** 614b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 276b.

3. **koye** 'mother's sister; wife of mother's brother' ↔ *gəjə* 'mother's sister' (Hu 1996: 74a).

Xak. *köyi* 'maternal aunt' (XRS 88b), 'wife of mother's brother' (XRSSu 195b) (*used with the third person possessive suffix*); Tuv. *küy* 'id.' (TRS 270a); SYo. *kuye, quyey* 'mother's sister' (XYHC 157b, 201a).

For Old Turkic form see ED **küküy** 714a.

4. **kučim** 'my buttocks/ hip' (< \**kučim* < \**kučigim* < *kučik* + *im*) ↔ *gətfyk* 'buttocks, hip' (Hu 1996: 73b).

During the fieldworks in 2003 our female informant HAN SHU-ZHEN from Wujiasi had given bashfully *kučin* as a reply to the question "From where does urine come out?". This *kučin* must be a mispronunciation of *kučim*. So we can assume that *kučim* means both 'my buttocks/ hip' and 'my vagina/ vulva'.

Kir. *köčük* 'buttocks, hip' (KRS 433b); Šor. *köčük<sup>b</sup>* 'id.' (LIQR No. 792);

Xak. *köten* (*köt*, *küt*) 'id.' (XRIS 53a); Kir. *köt* 'id.; rear; (male/ female) genital organ; power; courage; ability' (KRS 431b); Xak. *köčik* 'hinder part of animal' (XRIS 53a); Čul. *köt* 'buttocks, hip' (LČTJ 43), 'vagina/ vulva' (SMCD 131); SYo. *k bööt*, *k biot* 'vagina' (XYHC 175b, 171a); Tuv. *köt* 'id.' (LIQC No. 2485)<sup>1</sup>. For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *köçük* 697a and *köt* (g-) 700b; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 294b.

##### 5. *kun kır-tır* 'the sun has set' ↔ *gər* 'to enter' (Hu 1996: 76b).

Kir. *kir-* 'to enter, to fly in; to reach (the age of ...); to overflow after the drifting of the ice (on water); to be in a rut, to rut (on a camel stallion, a bull, a male yak); to shrink (on cloth); to join battle' (KRS 388a); *kün battı* 'the sun sets' (KRS 116b, 465a); Xak. *kün kır-pardı* 'id.' (XRS 79b); Alt. *kün battı* 'id.' (ORS 27b); *kir-* 'to get in, to enter; to reach (the age of ...); to begin, to start' (ORS 82b); Xak. *kir-* 'to enter, to get in, to fly in; to set (on heavenly bodies); to pass (from one class to another); to reach (the age of ...); to begin, to start; to join' (XRS 79b); Šor. *kir-* 'to enter' (ŠRRSS 25a); *kün qonča* 'the sun sets, the sun is setting' (LIQR No. 3); Čul. *kir-* 'to enter, to get in' (LČTJ 41); SYo. *kir-* 'to enter' (XYHC 166b); *k bun yay-*, *k bun yerya-* 'the sun to sets' (XYHC 173a); *k bun yaytı* 'id.' (XYHC 251a), *k bun yayıp tro*, *k bun yeryap tro* 'the sun has set' (XYHC 173a, 173a-b, 262b); Tuv. *kir-* 'to enter, to get in; to join; to reach (the age of ...); to be required, to be used; to go in' (TRS 242a); *xün aža bergen* 'the sun has set' (TRS 40b, 497a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kir-* (g-) 298a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 271b.

##### 6. *kun šix kıl-tır* 'the sun has risen', *ay šix kıl-tır* 'the moon has risen' ↔ *ʃax-* 'to proceed from inside to outside' (Hu 1996: 76c), *gəl-* 'to come' (Hu 1996: 76a)

Kir. *čiq-* 'to go out, to come out; to ascend; to be heard (on sound); to reach (the age of ...); to become apparent, to be revealed; to be divorced (from the husband); to take (on vaccination); to mate and get pregnant (on cattle)' (KRS 884b); *kel-* 'to come; to reach; to be proportionate, to be corresponding; to be fulfilled, to be realized; to be; to begin, to start' (KRS 368b); *kün čiqti* 'the sun rose' (KRS 465a, 884b); *ay čiqti* 'the moon appeared; the moon rose' (KRS 884b); Alt. *čiq-* 'to go out, to come out, to appear; to climb, to ascend; to be heard (on sound)' (ORS 183a); *kel-* 'to come; to approach (on time)' (ORS 78b); *kün čiqti* 'the sun rose' (ORS 99b, 183a); Xak. *šix-* 'to go out, to leave; to appear; to come out (on objects); to move in and out (e.g. table drawers); to climb, to ascend; to sprout (on seeds)' (XRS 210a); *kıl-* 'to arrive; to come; to approach (on time)' (XRS 74b); *kün šixti* 'the sun rose' (XRS 96a, 210a); Šor. *šiq-* 'to go out; to climb, to ascend; to leave the service' (ŠRRSS 70a); *kel-* 'to come, to arrive' (ŠRRSS 24a); *kün*

*śiqča* 'the sun rises, the sun is rising' (LIQR No. 2); Čul. *śiq-* 'to go out' (LČTJ 76); *käl-* 'to come' (LČTJ 39); SYo. *kel-*, *kbil-* 'to come' (XYHC 149b, 171a); *qip<sup>b</sup>-qızıl k<sup>b</sup>un unup<sup>b</sup> kep<sup>b</sup> tro* 'The crimson sun has risen' (XYHC 39b); Tuv. *kel-* 'to come; to arrive; to call on; to approach' (TRS 237b); *xün ünüp kelgen* 'the sun has risen' (TRS 449b, 497a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *çık-* 562a, *kel-* (g-) 715b, *kün tuğdı:* and *kü:n tuğdı:* 465b; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 107b, 466a; 248b.

7. *kurt<sup>hu</sup>yax* 'wife' ↔ *Gurdzax gadži* 'woman'<sup>2</sup> (Hu 1996: 74b).

Xak. (Sayay dial.) *xurtuyax* 'old woman; wife' (XRS 293a)<sup>3</sup>; (Qızıl dial.) *xurayax* 'old woman' (XRS 293a); Šor. *qurtuy* 'id.' (ŠRRŞS 29a),<sup>4</sup> SYo. *q<sup>b</sup>ur<sup>b</sup>qa*, *qubr<sup>b</sup>qa*, *q<sup>b</sup>ubr<sup>b</sup>ka*, *qobr<sup>b</sup>qa* 'id.' (XYHC 217b, 201a, 216a, 198a); Tuv. *quruyaq* '(colloq. slightly) id.' (TRS 266b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kurtğa:* 648b; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 304a.

8. *kuze* ~ *kuzə* 'son-in-law, daughter's husband' ↔ *güzii* 'fiancé' (Hu/IMART 1987: 52a).

Kir. *küyō*, (Southern dial.) *küyöw* 'bridegroom; young husband; son-in-law (*with respect to wife's all relatives*)' (KRS 461a); Alt. *küyü* 'son-in-law' (ORS 99a); Xak. *kızō* 'id.' (XRS 79a); Šor. *küze* 'id.' (ŠRRŞS 29b); Tuv. *küde* 'id.' (TRS 268b); SYo. *qız kuzeyi* 'id.' (XYHC 159a); Xak. *kızō*, *küzə* 'id.; bridegroom' (XRIS 46a, 54a); Čul. *quzi* 'son-in-law; younger sister's husband' (LČTJ 44); SYo. *kuzeyi* 'husband' (XYHC 158b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *küde:gü:* (g-) 703a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 306b.

9. *pala-zī* 'its young' ↔ *bala* 'child' (Hu 1996: 74a).

Kir. *bala* 'child; boy; grandchild (in the male line)' (KRS 102b); *balala-* 'to breed (on animals)' (KRS 103b); Alt. *bala* 'child' (ORS 26a); Šor. *pala* 'id.' (ŠRRŞS 39b); Xak. *pala* 'id.' (XRS 141a), 'id., animal's young' (XRIS 82b); Čul. *palam* 'my son, my grandson' (LČTJ 52), (M) 'my son; my child' (SMCD 141); SYo. *mila*, *mula*, *mola* 'child, boy' (XYHC 81b, 87a, 86a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *bala:* 332b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 59b.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'person without a girdle'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. (Sayay dial.) *xurtuyax ayı* 'obs. November' (XRS 293a).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *qurtuyaq ayı* 'October' (ŠRRŞS 29a).

10. *pıl-im* 'my waist; my back' ↔ *bəl* 'waist' (Hu 1996: 73c).

Kir. *bel* 'waist; fig. support; fig. power; mountain range; mountain col (in the shape of a saddle)' (KRS 126b); Alt. *bel* 'back, waist; mountain range' (ORS 29b); Xak. *pil* 'back, waist; saddle (in the mountains)' (XRS 149b); Čul. *päl* 'back' (LČTJ 53); Šor. *pel* 'waist' (ŠRRŠS 40b); SYo. *pel* 'id.' (XYHC 57b); Tuv. *bel* 'id.; slope (of a mountain)' (TRS 98a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **bé:l** 330a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 69a.

### III. Errors in HU ZHEN-HUA's Materials

1. *aŋli-dır* '(he) has hunted' ↔ *ayəl-*<sup>5</sup> (Hu 1996: 77c).

This is a denominal verb from *ay* 'wild animal'. There is a word *aylar gədʒi* 'hunter' (literally 'hunting person') in Hu 1996: 71c. So, the form *ayəl-* must be an error for *ayla-* or *ayla-*. Kir. *ay* 'wild animal (as the object of hunting)' (KRS 58a); Xak. *ay* 'id.' (XRS 27b); Šor. *ay* 'id.' (ŠRRŠS 16b); Čul. (m) *āy* 'id.' (LČTJ 29); Tuv. *ay* 'id.' (TRS 61b); Alt. *ay* 'id.; maral' (ORS 18b); *ayda-* 'to be engaged in hunting, to hunt the wild animal' (ORS 18b); Xak. *ayna-* 'to hunt the wild animal' (XRS 28a); Šor. *ayna-* 'to hunt' (ŠRRŠS 16b); Čul. *ayzin-* 'to hunt' (LČTJ 29); Tuv. *ayna-* 'to hunt; to go hunting' (TRS 63a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **eŋle:-** 186a, **a:v** 166a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 20b. Cf. Mo. *ay* 'beast[s], wild animal[s], game; hunting' (LESSING 1960: 43b); *ayna-, ayla-* 'to hunt, trap or catch game' (LESSING 1960: 45b).

2. *ašti-tür* 'he/ she was hungry, felt hungry' ↔ *af-* (Hu 1996: 77a).

This is a denominal verb from *ač* 'hungry' (< \**āč*). It is found typically in the South Siberian Turkic languages. So, the form *af-* must be an error for *afda-* [ašti-]. Kir. *ačiq-* 'to feel hungry' (KRS 82b); Alt. *ašta-* 'id.' (ORS 24a); *ač* 'hungry; Kir. *ač* 'hungry, bright' (in combination with the words designating a bright color) (KRS 81b); Alt. *ač* 'hungry; covetous' (ORS 23a); Xak. *asta-* 'to feel hungry' (XRS ); *as* 'hungry' (33b); Čul. *ač* 'id.' (LČTJ 30); Šor. *ašta-* 'to be hungry, to feel hungry' (ŠRRŠS 18b); SYo. *ašta-* 'id., to go hungry' (XYHC 17a), *ahšta-* 'to be hungry, to feel hungry' (XYHC 11b); Šor. *ač* 'hunger' (ŠRRŠS 85b); SYo. *aş* 'hungry; shrivelled; not plump (on the grains)' (XYHC 16b); Tuv. *ašta-* 'to go hungry' (TRS 78a); *ač* 'hunger; hungry' (TRS 77b).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ayıl-* 'to support, to reinforce' (Hu/ IMART 1987: 42a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *a:c-* (*a:c-*) 17a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 3b.

3. *ištan* ‘pants, trousers’ ↔ *ſtan* (Hu 1996: 73b).

Kir. *iſtan* ‘trousers; drawers’ (KRS 941b; < Rus.); Alt. *ſtan* ‘id.’ (ORS 186a; < Rus.); Xak. *iſtan* ‘trousers’ (XRIS 232a); Šor. *iſtan* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 72a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *içton* 21a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 168b, 488a, 520b–521a.

4. *kastü abə* ‘wife’s father’ ↔ *Gastax aba* (Hu 1996: 74a).

Kir. *qayın ata* ‘father-in-law’ (KRS 324b); Alt. *qayın ada* ‘id.’ (ORS 68b); Xak. *xastü* ‘id.; husband’s elder brother’ (XRS 279b), ‘father-in-law’ (XRS 379; < \**xazin + i*); Šor. *qastü* ‘father-in-law’ (ŠRRŠS 23b; < \**qazin + i*); SYo. *qasta* ‘id.’ (XYHC 189a; < \**qazin ata*); Čul. (M) *qastüm*, (L) *qaynüm* ‘my father-in-law’ (LČTJ 37; < \**qazin + im*; < \**qayin + im*); Tuv. *qat: qatim* ‘my wife’s father’; *qatiy* ‘your wife’s father’; *qati* ‘his wife’s father’ (TRS 231b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kadın* 602a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 218a–b.

5. *kastü iji* ‘wife’s mother’ ↔ *Gastax idže* (Hu 1996: 74b).

Kir. *qayın ene*, (Southern dial.) *qayne* ‘mother-in-law’ (KRS 324b, 320b); Alt. *qayın ene* ‘id.’ (ORS 68b); Xak. *xazine* ‘id.’ (XRS 264b, 379; < \**xazin ine*); SYo. *qazina*, *qazana* ‘id.’ (XYHC 189a–b, 189a; < \**qazin ana*); Šor. *qazne(z)* ‘husband’s father’ (ŠRRŠS 20b; < \**qazin ene(z)*); Čul. (m) *qāznam* ‘my wife’s mother’ (LČTJ 36; < \**qazin ana + m*); Tuv. *qat-iye* ‘id.’ (TRS 232a); Čul. (t) *qāznam* ‘my wife’s mother; wife of my mother’s brother who is older than I’ (LČTJ 36); (L) *qaynam* ‘id.’, ‘wife of my mother’s elder brother’ (LČTJ 37; < \**qayin ana + m*).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kadın ana* 170a, *ka:yın ana:*, *kayn ana* 602a; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 218a–b.

6. *küs!* ‘wear!, put on!’, *kizim* ‘I will wear, I will put on’ ↔ *gəz-* (Hu 1996: 76b).

There is no /z/ sound at the end of a syllable in “Fuyu Kirghiz” as well as in the South Siberian Turkic languages. So, the form *gəz-* must be an error for *gəs-*. Kir. *kiy-* ‘to put on, to wear (*clothes, footgear, cap*)’ (KRS 385b); Alt. *kiy-* ‘id. (*clothes, footgear, cap*)’ (ORS 81b); Xak. *kis-* ‘id.’ (XRS 78a); Šor. *kes-* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 25a); SYo. *kez-* ‘id.’ (XYHC 151b); Tuv. *ket-* ‘id.’ (TRS 234b); Čul. (M) *käş-*, (L) *kiy-* ‘to clothe’<sup>6</sup> (LČTJ 40).

<sup>6</sup> ‘надевать’ is expected instead of ‘одевать’.

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **ke:d-** (g-) 700b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 246b.

7. **mōn** [mɔ:n] 'neck' ↔ *mün* (Hu/ IMART 1987: 56a).<sup>7</sup>

This word has the round vowel [ɔ] which is acoustically similar to [ə]. So, *mün* (or *mæn*) must be an error for *mən*. Kir. *moyun* 'neck; fig. neck (of an object)' (KRS 533a); Alt. *moyin* 'id.' (ORS 110b); Xak. *moyin* 'id.' (XRS 109a); Šor. *moyun* 'id.' (ŠRRSS 146a);<sup>8</sup> Čul. *muyn, poyn* 'id.' (LČTJ 48, 54);<sup>9</sup> SYo. *moyin, moin, moen* 'id.' (XYHC 86b, 85b); Tuv. *moyun* 'id.' (TRS 299b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **boyn** 386b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 80a.

8. **ot kamüs!** 'light a fire!' ↔ *ot Gamastar-* (Hu 1996: 76b).

This word is the causative form of \**qam-* 'to burn'.<sup>10</sup> So, *ot Gamastar-* must be an error for *ot Gamastar* 'he/ she has light a fire'.

Alt. *qabis-* 'to light fire with a match, to strike fire with flint, tinder or steel' (ORS 66a); Xak. (Sayay dial.) *xabis-* 'to light fire' (XRS 262b); Šor. *qabis-* 'id.' (ŠRRSS 20a); Tuv. *qibis-* 'to light; to kindle; fig. to set on fire, to rouse' (TRS 278a); *qip-* 'to burn, to catch fire, to flame up' (271b).

This verb can be compared with *tamiz-* and its variants as follows:

Kir. *tamiz-* 'to kindle' (KRS 700a); *tam-* 'to burn, to catch fire' (KRS 698a); Xak. *tamis-* 'to light, to kindle; to light a cigarette' (XRS 216a); *tamil-* 'to burn, to catch fire' (XRS 216a); SYo. *tamtür, tamtur-* 'to cause to burn' (XYHC 118a, 118b), *tamtür-* 'to light a fire' (XYHC 90b); *tam-* 'to burn' (XYHC 118a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED **tamid-** 504a, 504a-b<sup>11</sup>; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 459b.

9. **sarni-tür** 'he/ she has sung' ↔ *sarndar-* (Hu 1996: 77b).

This is a denominal verb from *sarin* 'song'. It is found typically in the South Siberian Turkic languages. So, the form *sarndar-* must be an error for *tamis-*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *mæn* 'forehead' (Hu 1996: 73a; a mistake for 'neck'?).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *moynu* 'neck' (ŠRRSS 33a); *moydu* 'id.' (LIQR No. 768). The meaning of these forms must be 'his / her /its neck'.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. (M) *moynu* 'his/her neck' (SMCD 136).

<sup>10</sup> The *-m-* instead of *-b-* in the verb *qamis-* might have been result of the analogy with *tamis-*.

<sup>11</sup> The information here must be corrected, for *tamiz-* and *tamtur-* are two different causative forms of \**tam-* 'to burn' (*tamiz-* < *tam-iz-*; *tamtur-* < *tam-tur-*). If there was a verb *tamid-*, it would not be *tamiz-* but \**tamiy-* in modern Kirghiz, etc.

*sarnəðar* ‘he/ she has sung’. Alt. *sarna-* ‘to sing’ (ORS 126b); *sarin* ‘song’ (ORS 126b); Xak. *sarna-* ‘to sing’ (XRS 182b); *sarin* ‘song’ (XRS 182b); Šor. *sarna-* ‘to sing’ (ŠRRŠS 47a); *sarin* ‘song’ (ŠRRŠS 47a); Tuv. *sarin* ‘despondency, melancholy; sad/ melancholy/ cheerless song’ (TRS 370a).

See RÄSÄNEN 1969: 404a.

10. *šinlayi* ‘his/her elbow’ (<*šin lax* + *i*) ↔ *səylax* ‘arm’ (Hu 1996: 73a). See I. 58. *šinlayi*.

11. *tır* ‘skin’ ↔ *dir* (Hu 1996: 73c).  
We have identified this word from the informants from Qijiazi in 2004. The forms *tır*, *tirim* and *tiri* were given by CHANG SHU-YUAN, Wu GUO-XUN and HAN XIU-LAN respectively. So all the informants pronounced the first vowel long.

Kir. *teri* ‘skin, hide’ (KRS 728b); Šor. *tere* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 53b); SYo. *t̥erī*, *t̥er* ‘id.’ (XYHC 125b); Alt. *tere* ‘id.; obs. hide covering a shaman tambourine’ (ORS 148a); Xak. *tēr* ‘skin, hide; sheepskin’ (XRS 222b), (Sayay dial.) *tiri* ‘its skin, its hide’ (XRS 226a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *teri*: (d-) 531a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 475b.

12. *tüs* ‘knee’, *tizüm* ‘my knee’ ↔ *dəzə* [tüzi] (Hu 1996: 73a).

We have identified this word through informants from Qijiazi in 2004. All three informants pronounced *tüs* many times. In addition, CHANG SHU-YUAN, a female informant, also pronounced *tizüm* ‘my knee’. During the fieldworks both in 2003 and in 2004 our informants pronounced many words with possessive suffixes. These possessive suffixes were generally for first or third person singular. Therefore, the meaning of *dəzə* [tüzi] from the materials of HU ZHEN-HUA cannot be ‘knee’. Its meaning must be ‘his/her/its knee’.

Kir. *tize*, (Southern dial.) *tiz* ‘knee’ (KRS 732a, 731b); Alt. *tize* ‘id.’ (ORS 149a); Xak. *tizek*, *tistenek*, (Sayay dial.) *tizenek*, (dial.) *tüs* ‘id.’ (XRS 227a, 228b); Šor. *tize* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 54a); Čul. *tüspiš* ‘id.’ (LCTJ 67); SYo. *tiz* ‘id.’ (XYHC 101a); Tuv. *diskek*, *dis* ‘id.’ (TRS 165a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *ti:z* (d-) 570b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 482a.

13. *tüs* ‘chest’, *tüzi* ‘his/her chest’ ↔ *dus* (Hu 1996, p. 73c).

This word was identified in Qijiazi in 2004. CHANG SHU-YUAN and Wu GUO-XUN pronounced *tüs* ‘chest’, *tüzi* ‘my chest’ and *tüzi* ‘his/her chest’; HAN XIU-LAN *tüzi*, *tüzi* ‘his/her chest’. So, *dus* must be an error for *dys*.

Kir. *töṣ* ‘chest; brisket, lower part of a slope’ (KRS 760b); Alt. *töṣ* ‘chest;

brisket; low place, low-lying place' (ORS 156b); Xak. *tös* 'chest; brisket; slope (of a mountain)' (XRS 236a); Šor. *tös* 'chest' (ŠRRŠS 55b); Čul. *tös* 'id.' (LČTJ 65); SYo. *tös*, *tios* 'chest' (XYHC 117a, 106b); Tuv. *tös* 'breastbone' (TRS 420b), *dös* 'slope, height' (TRS 179b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *tö:s* (d-) 558b; also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 495b.

14. *inna* 'shoulder' (Hu 1996: 73b) must be a mistake for *iyna* 'his/her/its shoulder'.

Kir. *iyin* 'shoulder; fig. clothes' (KRS 296b); *iyini*, *iyni* 'his/her/its shoulder'; Xak. *iyni* 'his/her/its shoulder' (XRS 61b), 'shoulder; fig. clothes' (XRIS 34b); Alt. *iyin* 'id.' (ORS 63b); Čul. *äyne*<sup>12</sup> '(his) id.' (LČTJ 32); SYo. *eyin*, *yiyin* 'id.' (XYHC 27a, 268a); Tuv. *egin* 'id.' (TRS 605a; *ekti* 'his/her/its shoulder').

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *egin* 109a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 37a-b. Cf. Mo. *egem* 'clavicle, collarbone, complete arm' (LESSING 1960: 298b).

#### IV. Forms Different from HU ZHEN-HUA's Materials

During the fieldworks we were able to find that the velarization of front vowels had already taken place in many words. So, there are now such homonyms as *sōx* 'cold' (< \**sɔyiq*; *soox* in Hu 1996: 75c) vs. *sōx* 'bone' (< \**süyök*; *søox* in Hu 1996: 73c). In addition, there are some forms which are different from these kinds of homonyms:

1. *abya* ~ *awya* 'father's brother'<sup>13</sup> ↔ *abuua* (Hu 1996: 74a; < Mo.).

Alt. *abayay*, *abāy* 'wife's elder brother; address to a kinsman from the same tribe (*sōk*); *obs. hunting bear*' (ORS 11a; < Mo.); Xak. *abā* 'elder brother' (XRS 13a), (Qača dial., Qızıl dial.) 'elder brother; my father's younger brother; my grandfather's younger brother; husband's elder brother; *taboo word for bear*' (XRIS 16a; < Mo.). Cf. Mo. *abaya* / *abra* 'paternal uncle' (LESSING 1960: 2b).

<sup>12</sup> An error for *äyni*? Cf. *ay* *äyni* *čalbaq ämäs* 'His shoulders are not broad' (LČTJ 32).

<sup>13</sup> *kbičiy abya* (~ *awya*) 'father's younger brother', *uliy abya* (~ *awya*) 'father's elder brother'

2. am kılır jıl ‘next year’<sup>14</sup> (“the coming year”) ↔ galər dʒəl (Hu 1996: 71c).

Xak. *kiler cil* ‘next year’ (XRSSu 163a); Tuv. *kelir cil* ‘next year’ (TRS 237b).

3. arayi ‘sweet alcoholic drink’ ↔ arax ‘alcoholic drink’ (Hu 1996: 72a)

This word has a final vowel. So, the form *arax* must be an error for *arayi* (or *araya*).

Kir. *araq* ‘vodka’ (KRS 63b); Alt. *araqī* ‘vodka’ (ORS 19b); Čul. *araya* ‘id.’ (LČTJ 29); Xak. *araya* ‘dial. apaká’ (XRS 29a); ‘apaká (milk vodka); alcoholic drink, wine, vodka; feast at the time of matchmaking ceremony for the little children’ (XRIS 24b-25a); Šor. *araya* ‘(alcoholic) liquor, alcoholic drinks’ (LIQR No. 1235); SYo. *arabkii*, *arabqii* ‘id.’ (XYHC 19a); Tuv. *araya* ‘apaká (alcoholic drink); wine; vodka; alcohol’ (TRS 64b).

See RÄSÄNEN 1969: 23a. Cf. Mo. *araki(n)*, *ariki(n)* ‘alcoholic liquor made of airay through distillation; any alcoholic beverage: brandy, wine, etc.’ (LESSING 1960: 48a, 53b; < Ar. *araqī*).

For *ašix sux* ‘bitter alcoholic drink’ (“bitter-water”) see I. 2. ačhix sux

4. asarıx, asınsarıx ‘east’ (Qijiazi), ‘west’ (Wujiazi) ↔ asar ‘east’ (Hu 1996: 71b).

Cf. Xak. *sarıx (sax)* ‘side’ (XRIS 110b)

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *sarı*: 844b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 403b, 417b.

5. cil ‘year’ ↔ dʒəl (Hu 1996: 71a).

Kir. *jıl* ‘year; a year of the 12-animal cycle’ (KRS 278b); Alt. *dıl* ‘year; a year of the 12-animal cycle’ (ORS 61a); Xak. *cıl* ‘year’ (XRS 325b); Čul. (M) *cıl* ‘id.’ (LČTJ 75); SYo. *yıl* ‘id.’ (XYHC 265a); Tuv. *cıl* ‘id.’ (TRS 554b); Šor. *cıl* ‘id.; age’ (ŠRRSS 65b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *yıl* 917a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 200a. Cf. Mo. *jıl* ‘year’ (LESSING 1960: 1054a).

6. īrtin ‘morning’ ↔ ertej (Hu 1996: 71c).

Kir. *ertej* ‘tomorrow; morning’ (KRS 963b); *erte* ‘early; tomorrow; the next day; Southern dial. = erten’ (KRS 963a-b); Alt. *erten* ‘tomorrow’ (ORS 194a); *erte* ‘early’ (ORS 194a); Xak. *irten* ‘in the morning’ (XRS 63b); *irte* ‘morning; early; in the morning’ (XRS 63b); Šor. *erten* ‘morning’ (ŠRRSS

<sup>14</sup> There is also *taxo jıl* ‘next year’.

74a); *erte* 'early' (ŠRRŠS 74a); Čul. *ärtän* 'in the morning' (LČTJ 32); SYo. *ehrte* 'long ago' (XYHC 28b); *ihrte* 'morning' (XYHC 22b); Tuv. *erten* 'morning; in the morning; tomorrow' (TRS 619a); *erte* 'early' (TRS 618b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *érte*: 202b, *erten*/*erten* 207a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 46a. Cf. Mo. *erte(n)* 'early time; early, earlier, long ago; former, ancient' (LESSING 1960: 331b).

#### 7. *kalasın* 'tree' ↔ *geles* (Hu 1996: 72a: < Mo.)

Cf. Mo. *qalisu(n)* / хальс 'the outer layer of something, husk, hull, rind, peel, peelings, shell, bark, skin; membrane' (LESSING 1960: 920b); *qayilasu(n)* / хайлс 'elm tree' (LESSING 1960: 912b).

#### 8. *kəmdix* 'cheap, inexpensive' ↔ *gəndəx* (Hu 1996: 75a)

This is probably a loanword from Mongolian. In that case, *gəndəx* must be an error for *gəmdəx*. Its final *x* may be due to the analogy of *unlix* ~ *undix* 'expensive, dear'.

Cf. Mo. *kimda* / хямд 'cheap[ly], inexpensive[ly]; easy, easily, simple, simply' (LESSING 1960: 468a).

#### 9. *kije* 'yesterday' ↔ *gədʒə* (Hu 1996: 71c).

Kir. *keče* 'yesterday; fig. evening (for amusement); Southern dial. night' (KRS 383a); *keče* 'yesterday; evening; the past<sup>15</sup>' (KRS 384b); Alt. *keče* 'yesterday' (ORS 81b); Xak. *kije* 'id.' (XRS 78b); Čul. (M) *käčä*, (L) *kecä* 'id.' (LČTJ 40); Šor. *keče* 'id., the day before' (ŠRRŠS 25a); SYo. *keče*, *keči* 'evening of the previous day, yesterday evening' (XYHC 150b); Tuv. *kezé* 'evening; in the evening' (TRS 236a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED 694b<sup>16</sup> and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 245b.

#### 10. *kümsix* 'eyebrow'<sup>17</sup> (< Mo. ) ↔ *Gəməsən* (Hu 1996: 73a).

Xak. *kömiske* 'eyebrow' (XRS 90a; < Mo.). Cf. Mo. *kömüsge* / хөмсөг 'eyebrow[s]; the brow of a hill; steep slope of a mountain' (LESSING 1960: 487b). See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 289b-290a.

#### 11. *kümsix* 'fingernail' ↔ *dərdəx* (Hu 1996: 73b). See I. 38. *kümsix*.

<sup>15</sup> 'в прошлом' is expected instead of 'прошлое'.

<sup>16</sup> The information that *kéče*: (*géce:*) is a deverbal noun/adjective from *ké:ç-* 'to be late' must be corrected, for *kéče*: (*géce:*) is a denominal noun from *ké:ç* (*gé:c*).

<sup>17</sup> This form was identified in Qijiazi in 2004. It was given as *kimiγə* in the same place in 2003.

12. **kündix** ‘navel’ ↔ *gindik* (Hu 1996: 73a).

Kir. *kindik* ‘navel; navel string; fig. obs. center’ (KRS 387a–b); Alt. *kindik* ‘navel, navel string’ (ORS 82b); Xak. *kīn*, *kündik* ‘id.’ (XRS 79a); Alt. *kin* ‘stream of a musk deer’ (ORS 82b); Šor. *kindik<sup>b</sup>* ‘navel’ (LIQR No. 807); Čul. *kindiy* ‘id.’ (LČTJ 41), (M) *kindik* ‘id.’ (SMCD 129); SYo. *k<sup>b</sup>intik<sup>b</sup>* ‘id.’ (XYHC 165b); *k<sup>b</sup>in* ‘navel string’ (XYHC 165b); Tuv. *xin* ‘navel; stream of a musk deer’ (TRS 477a); *xindik* ‘navel; crown (of the head)’ (TRS 477a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kindik* 729a, *kin* 725a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 271a.

13. **kučim** ‘my buttocks/ hip’ (< \**kučim* < \**kučigim* < *kučik* + *im*) ↔ *gøtſyk* (Hu 1996: 73b). See II. 4. **kučim**.14. **kun** ‘sun; day’ ↔ *gyn* (Hu 1996: 71c).

Kir. *kün* ‘sun; day; time; weather’ (KRS 465a–b); Alt. *kün* ‘sun; day; weather’ (ORS 99b); Xak. *kün* ‘sun; day’ (XRS 96a); Šor. *kün* ‘sun; day; weather’ (ŠRRŠS 29b); Čul. *kün* ‘day; sky’ (LČTJ 45);<sup>18</sup> SYo. *k<sup>b</sup>un* ‘sun; day; date, time limit; life’ (XYHC 173a); Tuv. *xün* ‘sun; day’ (TRS 497a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *kün* (g-) 725a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 309a.

15. **kurt<sup>h</sup>yax** ‘wife’ ↔ *Gurdjax gədʒi* ‘woman’ (Hu 1996: 74b). See II. 7. **kurt<sup>h</sup>yax**.16. **osarix**, **osünsarix** ‘west’ (Qijiazi), ‘east’ (Wujiazi) ↔ *usar* ‘west’ (Hu 1996: 71c).

Cf. Xak. *ozarix* ‘the other side (of the river)’ (XRS 123b); *sarix* (*sax*) ‘side’ (XRIS 110b). See also RÄSÄNEN 1969: 367b, 403b, 417b.

17. **pil jıl** (< \**pil čil*; \**pil* < \**bīyil* < \**bu yıl*), **pin jıl** (< \**pin čil*; \**pin* < \**pūn* < \**bu kün*), **pu jıl** (< \**bu yıl*) ‘this year’<sup>19</sup> ↔ *biin dʒol* ~ *bybyn dʒol* (Hu 1996: 71b). Cf. I. 50. **pil jas**.18. **pin gun** (\**pin kün* < \**pūn kün*; \**pūn* < \**bu kün*) ‘today’ ↔ *biin gyn* ~ *bybyn gyn* (Hu 1996: 71c). Cf. I. 52. **pin gara**.19. **pin gun** ‘daylight hours; day; time between dawn and dusk’ ↔ *gynda* (Hu 1996: 71b). Cf. I. 52. **pin gara**.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *kün qarayı* ‘sun’ (“the eye of the sky”) (LČTJ 45).

<sup>19</sup> The forms *pil jıl*, *pin jıl* and *pu jıl* are from CHANG SHU-YUAN, Wu GUO-XUN and HAN XIU-LAN respectively.

20. *pırx* 'cap', *pır īm* 'my cap' ↔ *byryx* ~ *byrx* (Hu 1996: 73c).

Kir. *börk*, *börük* 'cap; head of a nail; Southern dial. tassel on the crown of boy's hat' (KRS 153a, 153b); Alt. *börük* 'cap, headgear; head of a nail' (ORS 34b); Xak. *pörük* 'cap, headgear' (XRS 160b); Šor. *pörük* 'id.' (ŠRRŠS 43a); Tuv. *bört* 'id.' (TRS 118b; *börgü* 'his/her cap, headgear'); Čul. *pörük* 'cap' (LČTJ 55); SYo. *pörük<sup>b</sup>*, *p<sup>b</sup>ırık<sup>b</sup>*, *p<sup>b</sup>erük<sup>b</sup>*, *p<sup>b</sup>örük<sup>b</sup>*, *p<sup>b</sup>örek<sup>b</sup>*, *p<sup>b</sup>örük<sup>b</sup>* 'cap, hat' (XYHC 67b, 70b, 72a, 76b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *börk* 362a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 84b.

21. *purgun* 'the day before yesterday' ↔ *burun gyn* (Hu 1996: 71a).

Kir. *murdayı künü* 'the day before yesterday; the other day, lately' (KRS 539a); *murdā künü* 'the day before yesterday' (KRS 539a); Xak. *purnükün* 'the day before yesterday' (XRS 169a), *purnukün* 'id.' (XRSSu 400b); Tuv. *burunu xün* 'id.' (TRS 123a).

22. *sala*, *kol salayı* 'finger', *salayı* 'his/her finger' (<*salax* + *i*) ↔ *sala* 'twig, branch; finger' (Hu 1996: 72a, 73a; < Mo.).

Kir. *salā* '(in the mountains) narrow gully (*along which the meltwater or the rainwater flows down*); space between fingers; finger' (KRS 625b–626a; < Mo.); Alt. *salā* 'tributary of a river; branching (of tree, road); space between fingers; membrane between fingers' (ORS 125a; < Mo.); Xak. *salā* 'finger; twig, branch' (XRS 179a; < Mo.); Šor. *sala* 'twig, branch' (ŠRRŠS 46a; < Mo.).

Cf. Mo. *salaya(n)* 'branch, twig or limb of a tree, offshoot; prongs of a fork; space between fingers or toes; tributary, arm of a river; bifurcation; part or portion; department, branch (as of science, office, store); detachment, platoon (mil.)' (LESSING 1960: 663b). See also Räsänen 1969: 397a.

23. *sın* 'you, thou' ↔ *sin* (Hu 1996: 75a).

Kir. *sen* 'you, thou; sometimes you (pl.)' (KRS 643a); Alt. *sen* 'you, thou' (ORS 127b); Xak. *sin* 'id.' (XRS 187a); Šor. *sen* 'id.' (ŠRRŠS 47b); Čul. *sän* 'id.' (LČTJ 57); SYo. *sen* 'id.' (XYHC 325a); Tuv. *sen* 'id.' (TRS 373a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *sen* 831b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 409b.

24. *sırer* 'you (pl.)' ↔ *sırər* (Hu 1996: 75a)

Kir. *siler* 'you (address to many people); Čuy subdial. you (polite address to a person, chiefly used by the women to a man)' (KRS 647b); *siz* 'you (polite address to a person)' (KRS 647a); Alt. *sler* 'you (address to many people); you (polite address to a person)' (ORS 128b); Xak. *sırer*, (Sayay dial., Qızıl dial.) *siler* 'you (address to several people); you (polite address to a person)' (XRS

189a, 188b); Šor. *siler* ‘you (pl.)’ (ŠRRŠS 48a); Čul. *silär* ‘you (pl.)’ (LČTJ 58); SYo. *seler* ‘you (pl.); you (*used to a chieftain, a Living Buddha, a honored guest*)’ (XYHC 325b); Tuv. *siler* ‘you (pl.); you (*polite address*)’ (TRS 376b)

Cf. ED *si:z* 860a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 424b.

**25. sōx ‘bone’, sōyüm ‘my bone’ (< *sōx* + *im*) ↔ *søəx* (Hu 1996: 73c)**

Kir. *sōk*, *süyök* ‘bone; relative by marriage; remains, body of the deceased’ (KRS 659b–660a, 670b); Alt. *sōk* ‘tribe, descent; bone, bones, remains; burial ground’ (ORS 131b); Xak. *sōk* ‘bone; remains; clan, descent’ (XRS 196b); Šor. *sōk* ‘bone, remains; tribe’ (ŠRRŠS 49a); Čul. (M) *sōk*, (L) *süök* ‘bone’ (LČTJ 22, 59); SYo. *sunuk<sup>b</sup>* ‘bone’ (XYHC 334a), *sunuq<sup>b</sup>*, *soyuq<sup>b</sup>*, *sijik<sup>b</sup>*, *sumuk<sup>b</sup>*, *simik<sup>b</sup>*, *simiq<sup>b</sup>* ‘bone; tribe, family name’ (XYHC 334a, 328b, 322b, 332b, 321a); Tuv. *sōk* ‘bone; obs. tribe; obs. nationality; colloq. race, breed; colloq. quality; dead body, remains’ (TRS 386a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *sünük* (?*sünök*) 838b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 437a.

**26. sus ‘word, language’ ↔ *səs* (Hu 1996: 74c).**

Kir. *söz* ‘word; speech, talk’ (KRS 658a); Alt. *sös* ‘word, speech, talk’ (ORS 131b); Xak. *sös* ‘word’ (XRS 197b); Šor. *sös* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 49a); SYo. *söz*, *soz*, *šöz*, *šoz* ‘word, language; word and phrase, words in speech, poem, article, or play’ (XYHC 336b, 331a, 245a, 244a), *sioz* ‘word’ (XYHC 326b); Tuv. *sös* ‘word; text; colloq. language’ (TRS 387a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *sö:z* 860b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 430b.

**27. suxə ‘axe’ ↔ *suxun* (Hu 1996: 73a; < Mo.).**

Kir. *balta* ‘axe; fig. card game knave, jack’ (KRS 106a); Alt. *malta* ‘axe’ (ORS 108b); Xak. *palti* ‘id.’ (XRS 142a); Šor. *malta* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 32b); Čul. *palta* ‘id.’ (LČTJ 52), (M) *palti* ‘id.’ (SMCD 141); Tuv. *süge* ‘id.’ (TRS 393a); *baldi* ‘id.’ (TRS 89a).

Cf. ED *baltu:* (*balto:*) 333b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 61a–b. Cf. Mo. *süke* / сүх ‘axe, hatchet’ (LESSING 1960: 742b); *balta* / балта ‘big hammer, sledge hammer; axe’ (LESSING 1960: 81a); *balta süke* ‘battle axe’ (LESSING 1960: 81a).

**28. tašyar ~ č̥ixar ‘outside, outward’ ↔ *dəʃgar* (Hu 1996: 71c). See I. 18. č̥ixar.**

**29. tñjür (Wujiazi), tñjyr (Qijiazi) ‘sky, heaven’ ↔ *dəʒər* (Hu 1996: 71a).**

Kir. *tejir*, *tejiri* ‘God; sky, heaven’ (KRS 725a, 725b); Alt. *teperi* ‘id.’ (ORS 147b); Xak. *tigir* ‘sky, heaven’ (XRS 224a); Šor. *tegri* ‘id.’ (ŠRRŠS 53a); SYo. *tejir* ‘id.; weather; God; paradise, heaven’ (XYHC 103a), *teyer* ‘sky, heaven;

weather; God' (XYHC 103b); Tuv. *dēr*, (colloq.) *deyger* 'sky, heaven' (TRS 196a, 156b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *teñri*: 523b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 474a, 136a. Cf. Mo. *tjri*, *teñgeri*, *tegrı* / тэнгэр 'heaven; god; sky; weather' (LESSING 1960: 809b, 802b, 794a).

30. *tolÿin aÿiš* 'column, pillar' ↔ *durusel* 'column, pillar' (Hu 1996: 73c). See I. 63. *tolÿin aÿiš*.

31. *učix-tır* 'It has flown' ↔ *uf-* (Hu 1996: 76b).

Kir. *uč-* 'to fly; fig. (only of children) to die; (of dyes) to become obliterated, to fade; (of plants) to dry, to turn yellow, to dry up' (KRS 811b); Alt. *uč-* 'to fly; to take wing' (ORS 169a); Xak. *učux-* 'to fly; to take wing' (XRS 253a); Šor. *učuq-* 'to fly' (ŠRRŠS 58b); Čul. *uč-* 'id.' (LČTJ 68); SYo. *ubk<sup>b</sup>-* 'id.; to die' (XYHC 43a);<sup>20</sup> Tuv. *uč-* 'to fly' (TRS 435a); *užuq-* 'to fly away; to fly under one's own momentum; to move (to rush) at a high speed' (TRS 435a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *uç-* 19b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 509a.

32. *unlix* ~ *undix* 'expensive, dear' ↔ *unlx* (Hu 1996: 75c).

This is the adjective of the word \**un* 'price, value' of Mo. origin.

Tuv. *ünelig* 'valuable; precious; having (such and such) a value' (TRS 449a); *üne* 'value' (TRS 449a; < Mo.).

Cf. Mo. *ünetey* / үнэтэй 'expensive, valuable' (LESSING 1960: 1010a); *üne* / үнэ 'price; value, cost' (LESSING 1960: 1008a) and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 521b.

We have found many suffixed forms as follows:

33. *ačbi öl* 'brother's son', *ačbi olyim* 'my brother's son' ↔ *atʃə ool* (Hu 1996: 74b).

Alt. *ači* 'father's younger brother; brother's daughters, sons, and grandchildren' (ORS 23b);<sup>21</sup> Xak. *ači xarindas* 'cousin' (XRS 36b); Čul. *ačiŋ qarı:ndazim* 'my cousin' (LČTJ 39); SYo. *batṣi oyil* 'brother's son' (XYHC 220a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *ati*: 40b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 31b, 3b–4a. Cf. Mo. *ači* 'grandson, granddaughter; nephew,

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *q<sup>b</sup>usqas*, *q<sup>b</sup>usq<sup>b</sup>as*, *q<sup>b</sup>uqas*, *q<sup>b</sup>ohqas*, *qohqas*, 'sparrow, small bird' (XYHC 216b, 216a, 214a, 198a; < \**qučyat*, see ED 672a); *uč-*, *uč-*, *üč-* 'to fly' (MALOV 1957: 132a, 132b, 133b).

<sup>21</sup> Two different words! Cf. Šor. *ača* 'elder brother; (paternal) uncle' (ŠRRŠS 18a).

niece (used only in reference to one's son's or brother's children)' (LESSING 1960: 8a).

34. **axsī** 'his/her/its mouth' (< *ās* + *i*; *ās* < \**ayiz*) ↔ **aas** (Hu 1996: 73b).

Kir. *ōz* 'mouth; inlet; gate' (KRS 571b-572a); Alt. *ōs* 'mouth; aperture; mouth, outfall' (ORS 116b; *ōzi* 'his/her/its mouth; ...'); Xak. *ās* 'mouth; mouth (of animal); aperture; mouth, outfall' (XRS 12b), (with the possessive suffix of 3<sup>rd</sup> person) *axsī* 'mouth, mouth (of animal); mouth, outfall (of a river); aperture; muzzle (e.g. of a gun)' (XRS 36a; < *ās* + *i*; *ās* < \**ayiz*); Šor. *ās* 'mouth' (ŠRRŠS 13b), (with the possessive suffix of 3<sup>rd</sup> person) *aqsī* 'mouth (of human and animal); entrance' (ŠRRŠS 15b; < *ās* + *i*; *ās* < \**ayiz*); Čul. (M) *ayis* / *āyis*, (L) *ās* 'mouth' (LČTJ 26, 30), (M) *aqsī* 'his/her/its mouth' (SMCD 110); SYo. *abs* 'mouth, oral cavity; sentence' (XYHC 11b), *as* 'mouth, oral cavity' (XYHC 17a);<sup>22</sup> Tuv. *ās* 'mouth (of human and animal); mouth, outfall; aperture, muzzle (of a gun); entrance; lid' (TRS 30a; *aqsī* 'his/her/its mouth; ...' < *ās* + *i*; *ās* < \**ayiz*).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *ağız* 98a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 8b.

35. **kardīm** 'my belly/abdomen' (< *karin* + *im*) ↔ **Garin** (Hu/ IMART 1987: 48b).

Kir. *qarīn* 'belly, stomach' (KRS 356a; *qardī*, *qarīni* 'his/her/its belly, stomach'); Alt. *qarīn*<sup>23</sup> 'belly, stomach; fig. waterskin' (ORS 75a); Xak. *xarin* 'belly; stomach; peritoneum; waterskin' (XRS 278a); Šor. *qarnī* 'belly; stomach' (ŠRRŠS 23a), *qardī* 'belly' (LIQR No. 772; < *qarīn* + *i*); SYo. *qarīn*, *q'arīn* 'stomach, tripe, rumen' (XYHC 191a, 210a); Tuv. *xirīn* 'belly; peritoneum; stomach; fig. food, nourishment' (TRS 501a; *xirnī* 'his/her/its belly, stomach ...').

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *karın* 661a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 238a.

36. **nāyī ~ nāyə** 'his cheek' (< *nāx* + *i*) ↔ **naax** (Hu 1996: 73b).

Kir. *jāq* 'jaw; side, lateral part (of some objects), etc.' (KRS 207a-b); Alt. *dāq*, *dāq* 'cheek, jaw; jamb (of door, window)' (ORS 40a, 43b); Xak. *nāx* 'cheek; lateral, usually flat part of something' (XRS 112b); Šor. *nāq* 'cheek' (ŠRRŠS 33b); Čul. (M) *čāq*, *čaq* 'cheek' (LČTJ 71); SYo. *yayaqb*, *yinayaqb*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ayis*, *axis*, *axs* 'mouth' (MALOV 1957: 12a, 19b); *axsī* 'his mouth' (MALOV 1957: 19b).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *qardī toybos* 'glutton' ("his/her belly is insatiable") (ORS 75a).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *xarnī tospas* 'colloq. glutton' ("his/her belly is insatiable") (XRS 278a).

'lower jaw' (XYHC 249a, 266b); Tuv. čāq 'cheek; jaw; jamb (*of door*)' (TRS 503b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *yanyačk* 948b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 187a.

37. öl 'son', olyim 'my son' ↔ ool (Hu 1996: 74b).

Kir. ül 'son; rarely child. (*independently of sex*); fig. fine fellow' (KRS 810a-b); Alt. ül 'son; lad' (ORS 168b); Xak. öl, (Qızıl dial.) oyil 'young man, lad' (XRS 127b, 123a); öl 'son, lad' (XRS 378; ölyi 'his/her son'); Šor. oylu 'his/her son' (ŠRRSS 35a); Čul. öyil, öylu, öl 'son' (LČTJ 49), (M) oylu 'his/her son' (SMCD 137); öl 'lad' (LČTJ 50), (M) 'lad, boy, son' (SMCD 139); SYo. oyul, oyil 'son' (XYHC 34b); Tuv. öl 'id.; youngster; lad' (TRS 322a).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *oğul* 83b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 358a.

38. purdi<sup>25</sup> 'his/her/its nose' (< *purun* + *i*) ↔ burun (Hu 1996: 73a).

Kir. murun 'nose; nostril' (KRS 539b; *murdu, murunu* 'his/her/its nose'); Xak. *purun* 'nose' (XRS 167a; *purnü* his/her/its nose'); Šor. *purnu* 'nose' (ŠRRSS 43b; < *purun* + *u*); *purdu, murdu* 'id.' (LIQR No. 744); Čul. *purun, murun* 'nose' (LČTJ 56, 48), (M) *murnu* 'his/her/its nose' (SMCD 136).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *burun* 366b and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 90a.

39. šežim 'my hair' (< *šas* + *im*) ↔ *saf* (Hu 1996: 73b).

Kir. čač 'hair (*of the human head*)' (KRS 852a); Alt. čač 'id.' (ORS 176b); Xak.<sup>26</sup> *sas* 'id. (*of the head*)' (XRS 183a); Šor. *šas* 'id.' (ŠRRSS 67b); Čul. (M) čač, (m) *šas*, (L) *cac* 'id.' (LČTJ 23, 72, 69); SYo. *saz, saz* 'id. (*of the human head*)' (XYHC 319a, 300b); Tuv. čač 'plait, tress, braid' (TRS 522b).

For Old Turkic form and etymology of the word see ED *sac* 794a and RÄSÄNEN 1969: 391b.

<sup>25</sup> Our informants pronounced the first vowel *o* frequently.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Sayay dial. *sas* 'hair', *sas* 'his hair', *sazim* 'my hair' (XRS 362); *sazim* 'my hair' (XRS 363, 364); Qača dial. čačim 'id.' (XRS 363, 364); Qızıl dial. šašim 'id.' (XRS 363); Šor dial. šažim 'id.' (XRS 363).

## V. Words Different from HU ZHEN-HUA's Materials

1. **abarix** 'very clean' ↔ *fabər* 'clean' (Hu 1996: 75c). See I. 1. **abarix**.
2. **aże** 'father' ↔ *aba* (Hu 1996: 74c). See I. 4. **aże**.
3. **ayi** 'palm' ↔ *aləx* (Hu 1996: 73c). See I. 7. **ayi**.
4. **čardim** 'my shoulder' (< *čarin* + *im*) ↔ *inna* (Hu 1996: 73b). See I. 8. **čardim**.
5. **čaštiy abə** 'grandfather' ("old-father") (Wujiazi) ↔ *jəjə* (Hu 1996: 74a; < Chin. 爷爷 *yeye* 'id.'). See I. 9. **čaštiy abə**.
6. **čaštiy iji** 'grandmother' ("old-mother") (Wujiazi) ↔ *tetej* (Hu 1996: 74b). See I. 10. **čaštiy iji**.
7. **čilix ~ čelix ~ čeləx** 'warm' ↔ *bələn* (Hu 1996: 75a; < Mo.). See I. 16. **čilix ~ čelix ~ čeləx**.
8. **č<sup>h</sup>olō** 'stone' ↔ *daf* (Hu 1996: 71a). See I. 20. **č<sup>h</sup>olō**.
9. **irgın giži** or **xit<sup>h</sup>is** 'Han nationality, the Han' ↔ *nixən* (Hu 1996: 74c; < Ma.). See I. 22. **irgın giži** and I. 76. **xit<sup>h</sup>is**.
10. **kamayım** 'my forehead' ↔ *maylay* 'forehead' (Hu/ IMART 1987: 55b; < Mo.).<sup>27</sup> See I. 29. **kamayım**.
11. **kigırya ~ gigırjix** 'chicken, fowl' ↔ *taxaj* (Hu 1996: 72a; < Mo.). See I. 33. **kigırya ~ kigırjix**.
12. **k<sup>h</sup>ičhıy iji** 'wife of father's younger brother' ("small mother") ↔ *ugma* (Hu 1996: 74b).
13. **kurt<sup>h</sup>yax** 'wife' ↔ *ibdik* (Hu 1996: 74c). Cf. ED *evlig* P.N./ A. fr. *e:v*; lit. 'possessing (one's own) dwelling', usually 'married' applied both to men ('the head of the household') and women ('living at home'); s.i.a.m.l.g.; in NE somewhat distorted. Xak. XI ... *evlüg* (*sic*) *al-zawca* 'the woman of the house' I 251, 9; ... XIV *Rbg.* *evlig* 'wife' ... (10a). See II. 7. **kurt<sup>h</sup>yax**.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *məm* 'forehead' [a mistake for 'neck' ?] (Hu 1996: 73a).

14. **užen** ‘thirty’ (Wujiazi), **otʰus** ~ **otʰüs** (Qijiazi) ↔ *otus* (Hu 1996: 76c). See I. 75. **užen**.

## VI. Some Phonetrical and Lexical Features of “Fuyu Kirghiz”

Now we also can deduce some phonetical and lexical features of the “Fuyu Kirghiz” language from our fieldwork materials as follows:

1. The development of *-d* > *-z-*: e.g. *izir* ‘saddle’ (< \*eder), *kazin* ‘birch’ (< \*qadıj), *kuze* ‘son-in-law, daughter’s husband’ (< \*küdegü), etc. This feature is found also in Khakas, Shor (Mrass dialect), Middle Chulym and Yellow Uighur. The secondary *-z* became *-s* in “Fuyu Kirghiz” like in Altay, Khakas, Shor (Mrass dialect) and Middle Chulym: e.g. *čis* ‘smell’ (< \*yid), *kis-* ‘to put on, to wear’ (< \*ked-), etc.
2. The development of *y-* > *č*<sup>28</sup>: e.g. *čatʰ-* ‘to lie’ (< \*yat-), *čazi* ‘a broad open plain’ (< \*yazi), *čilix* ‘warm’ (< \*yiliy), etc. This feature is found also in Khakas, Shor, Middle Chulym and Tuvan.
3. The development of *y-* > *n-* before a nasal sound: e.g. *nayı* ‘his cheek’ (< \*yanaq + i), *nani* ‘the side (of his/her body)’ (< \*yān + i), *napnā* ‘brand-new, quite new’ (< \*yap-yanji), *nás!* ‘fight!/ quarrel?’ (< \*yanč-), etc. This development is also found in Khakas and Shor.
4. The development of *č* > *š* and *-č* > *-š*: e.g. *šežim* ‘my hair’ (< šaš + im; šaš < \*čač < \*sač), *šinlayi* ‘his/her elbow’ (< \*čiyanaq + i), *šinix* ‘true’ (< \*činiq), *ašti-* ‘to be hungry, to feel hungry’ (< \*āsla-/\*āčta-), *uš* ‘three’ (< \*üč), etc. The intervocalic *č* is preserved, but sometimes it becomes *ʃ*: e.g. *ačix* ‘bitter’, *kačir-* ‘to chase, to drive away’, *ucčix-* ‘to fly’, but *aje* ‘father’, *kiče* ‘yesterday’, etc.
5. The development of *b-* > *p-*: e.g. *paya* ‘frog’ (< \*baqa), *piš* ‘five’ (< \*bēš), *pır* ‘one’ (< \*bir), *pırx* ‘cap’ (< \*börük), *purdi* ‘his/her/its nose’ (< \*burun + i), etc.

<sup>28</sup> At least in one example this secondary *č* became *ʃ*: *siltiras* / *siltiras* ‘money’. The initial consonants *dʒ* (=ʃ), *g*, *b*, *d*, etc. from the materials of Hu ZHEN-HUA are in fact unvoiced and unaspirated sounds.

6. The voicing of voiceless consonants between two vowels: e.g. *čodī* ‘lower leg’ (< \**yota*), *izi* ‘his/her/its footprint’ (< *is* + *i*), *paya* ‘frog’ (< \**bāqa*), *tūži* ‘to dream’ (< \**tūše-*), etc.

7. The unvoicing of voiced consonants at the end of a syllable: *čas* ‘spring’ (< \**yāz*), *isti* ‘its inside’ (\**ižni* < \**ižin* + *i*; \**ižin* < \**išin* < \**ičin*), *ip* ‘house’ (< \**ib* < \**eb*), *otus* ‘thirty’ (< \**otuz*), *tis* ‘knee’ (< \**tiz*), etc. This feature is also common in the South Siberian Turkic languages. In “Fuyu Kirghiz” the development of -γ > -x also took place, whereas -γ remains in Khakas, Shor, Chulyshman Turkish, Yellow Uighur and Tuvan: e.g. *abarix* ‘quite clean’ (< \**ap-āriy*), *ařix* ‘bitter’ (< \**āčriy*), *sux* ‘water’<sup>29</sup> (< \**suy* < \**sūb*), *ulix* ‘big’ (< \**uluy*), etc.

8. The development of *e* / *ɛ* > *i* (or *ɨ*) in the first syllable: e.g. *čit'i* ‘seven’, *ip* ‘house’, *izir* ‘saddle’, *ižix* ‘door’, *irdim* ‘my lip’, *kije* ‘yesterday’, *kil-* ‘to come’, *kildi* ‘his/her daughter-in-law (wife of his/her son)’, *pis* ‘five’, *pilim* ‘my waist; my back’, *sigis* ‘eight’, *sin* ‘you, thou’, *tir* ‘skin’, *tı̥yır* ‘sky’.

This development is common only in “Fuyu Kirghiz” and in Khakas.

9. The development of *-rn-* > *-rd-*: e.g. *čardim* ‘my shoulder’ (< *čarin* + *im*), *irdim* ‘my lip’ (< *irin* + *im*), *kardim* ‘my belly/ abdomen’ (< *karin* + *im*), *purdi* ‘his/her/its nose’ (< *purun* + *i*). This development is also found in Kirghiz, Altay Turkish and Shor.

10. The development of *-ln-* > *-ld-*: e.g. *kildi* ‘his/her daughter-in-law (wife of his/her son)’ (< *kilin* + *i*). This development is also found in Altay Turkish and Shor (Kondoma dialect).

11. The development of *-ll-* > *-ld-*: e.g. *kuldix* ‘loving, liking’ (< \**köñüllüg*). This development is also found in Kirghiz.

## 12. words / expressions

The following words / expressions are common either (1) in “Fuyu Kirghiz” and in some (South Siberian) Turkic languages or (2) in “Fuyu Kirghiz” and in Khakas:

(1) *axsi* ‘his/her/its mouth’: Xak., Šor., Čul., Tuv.

*ip* ‘house’ Xak., Šor., Čul.

*iji* ‘mother’: Xak., Šor., Čul.

*isti* ‘its inside’: Xak., Šor., Čul., Tuv.

<sup>29</sup> This word is in the form of *su* in Yellow Uighur.

- it<sup>b</sup>pix* 'cake made of (wheat) flour': Xak., Šor., Čul.  
*kamayim* 'my forehead' (< *kamax* + *im*): Xak., Šor., Čul., Tuv.  
*kara* 'night': Xak., Šor.  
*koye* 'mother's sister; wife of mother's brother': Xak., Čul., Tuv.  
*mis* 'face': Xak., Čul.  
*pil* 'this year': Xak., Šor.  
*pin* 'today': Xak., Šor., Čul.  
*sidi-* 'to urinate': Xak., Šor., Čul.  
*sux* 'water': Xak., Šor., Čul., Tuv.  
*śiŋlayi* 'his/her elbow': Kir., Alt., Xak., Šor., Čul., Tuv.  
*učix-* 'to fly': Xak., Šor.  
*užen* 'thirty'<sup>30</sup>: Tuv.
- (2) *ačix sux* 'bitter alcoholic drinks'  
*ayıl-* 'to bring'<sup>31</sup>  
*kun kir-* 'the sun to set'  
*kurthu yax* 'wife'  
*sirer* 'you (pl.)'  
*śilbiraš / śilbiras* 'money'  
*tubrix* 'round, circular'; in addition, the forms of *ol* 'son' and *olyim* 'my son' remind us of those in Khakas.

Unlike in Khakas, the primary and secondary *š* is preserved in "Fuyu Kirghiz". This consonant becomes *ž* between two vowels: e.g. *šežim* 'my hair' (< *šaš* + *im*; *šaš* < \**čač* < \**sac*), *śiŋlayi* 'his/her elbow' (< \**čiŋanaq* + *i*), *śinix* 'true' (< \**činiq*), *śix-* 'to go out' (< \**čiq*-), *čežin-* 'to hide oneself' (< \**yašin*-), *izix* 'door' (< \**čik*), *tüži-* 'to dream' (< \**tüše*-), *užen* 'thirty' (< \**üš on* < \**üč ön*), *asti-* 'to be hungry, to feel hungry' (< \**āčla*- / \**āčta*-), *näš!* 'fight! / quarrel!' (< \**yanč*-), *tiš* 'tooth' (< \**tiš*), *tüs* 'dream' (< \**tüs*), etc.

From the above phonetical and lexical features of "Fuyu Kirghiz" it may safely be said that this language is most similar to Khakas. Probably it is of Khakas origin.

It is very urgent that some long-term fieldworks be immediately carried out on "Fuyu Kirghiz", because the last memories of this practically extinct language will soon disappear forever.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Alt. (Tölös of Čulyšman River) *užon* 'thirty' (PRITSAK 1959: 584) and Šor. *odus* (dial. *üzon*) 'id.' (PRITSAK 1959: 635).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Šor. (Mrass dial.) *ayıl-* 'to bring' (PRITSAK 1959: 634).

<sup>32</sup> During 31 July ~ 21 August 2008 a fieldwork for Khakas was carried out mainly in Abakan by the team of the ASK REAL (The Altaic Society of Korea, Researches on the Endangered Altaic Languages). The actual period of investigation was 2 ~ 18 August 2008. The participants were YONG-SÖNG LI (이용성, Korean, male), JAE-MIN YANG (양재민, Korean, male), HYON-DOK PAHK (박현덕, Korean, male), and GEON-SOOK KIM (김건숙,

### Abbreviations and Bibliography

#### 1. Languages

Alt.	Altay (= Oyrot)
Ar.	Arabic
Chin.	Chinese
Čui.	Chulym Turkish
	(L) Lower Chulym dialect
	(M) Middle Chulym dialect
	(m) Melet subdialect of Middle Chulym dialect
	(t) Tatal' subdialect of Middle Chulym dialect
Kir.	Kirghiz
Kor.	Korean
Ma.	Manchu
Mo.	Mongolian
Rus.	Russian
SYo.	Sarīy Yoyur (Western Yugur, Yellow Uighur)
Šor.	Shor
Tuv.	Tuvan
Xak.	Khakas

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Korean, female, interviewer). During this period MIXAIL ANATOL'EVIC ČERTYKOV, a Khakas (Sagay) graduate student, visited YONG-SÖNG LI after the broadcasting of YONG-SÖNG LI's interview with the local television station in Khakas. He was born in 1980. He also visited the Fuyu Kirghiz, stayed about 2 weeks at CHANG SU-YUAN's home, and collected some 1,500 words from her in 2005. If his word material is published, it will be very useful for the Turkologists, etc.

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#### Errata & Corrigenda

On p. 146 of the Part 1.

Xak. *ayıl-* 'to bring'<sup>19</sup> (ŞRRŞS 15a)  
should be corrected as  
Xak. *ayıl-* 'to bring' (XRS 16b)  
Şor. *akel-* 'to bring'<sup>19</sup> (ŞRRŞS 15a).c