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Etymological Notes on Yakut Color Terms

Bayarma Khabtagaeva

University of Szeged, Szeged, Hungary & Free University Berlin, Germany

baiarma@hotmail.com

Abstract

The goal of the paper is to analyze Yakut color terms from an etymological perspective. In all, fifty-one color terms have been collected from different Yakut dictionaries and electronic sources. The terms show a heterogeneous picture: the basic color terms are of Common Turkic origin (e.g. *küöx* 'blue', *qara* 'black', *kihil* 'red') representing the archaic features, some basic color terms are absent in other Modern Turkic languages due to internal developments involving special Turkic or specifically Yakut suffixes (e.g. *saharxay* 'yellow', *kitarxay* 'red'). The largest group of Yakut color terms includes Mongolic loanwords, most of which are connected to the colors of animals (especially horses), which prove the Mongolic influence on the Yakut lifestyle. Another part of the paper considers the special suffixes in Yakut forming adjectives designating shades of colors, which have a mixed, i.e. Turkic and Mongolic origin. The paper tries to shed light on the way color terms may play in determining the place of the Yakut language among the Turkic languages.

Keywords

Yakut – Mongolic loanwords – etymology – color terms – derivation

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In memoriam Professor Claus Schönig

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1 Introduction

1.1 *Studies on Yakut Color Terms*

Color terms in Turkic languages were examined in detail in the famous work by Laude-Cirtautas (1961). She divided the color-terms into two groups, namely, the group of summarizing color-terms¹ and object color terms.² She collected some of the historical and modern occurrences of these words, including in Yakut, as well as words derived from them. Also, she investigated the shades of meaning of color terms, which she divided into two groups: first, the primary shades, and then the group of abstract meanings. This monograph is the most important publication for studies on color terms in Turkic languages.

In 2010, an interesting paper about Yakut³ word *sahil* 'fox' was published by Stachowski. He connected the Yakut word with the Turkic color term *yašil* 'green' (cf. Turkish *yeşil*). According to him, the Yakut word for 'fox' changed according to the model 'green' → 'red' → 'golden' → 'yellow'. The paper shows how color terms specifically developed in the Yakut language.

The etymology of some Yakut color terms was mentioned in the various etymological dictionaries of Turkic languages by Räsänen (VEWT), Clauson (1972), Severtjan (1974, 1978, 1980) and ESTJa (1989, 1997, 2000, 2003).

In her dissertation, Gabyševa devoted a chapter to color names, dealing with the role of color terms in Yakut culture (Gabyševa 2003: 96–271). The peculiarities of horse naming in Yakut and the problems of translating them into Russian and French were studied by Borisova (2013).

2 Yakut Color Terms

From an etymological point of view, Yakut color terms show a mixed picture. Eleven of them are inherited from Turkic, whereas five of them independently

1 This means that their use is not limited, they can be used for anything in everyday life.

2 This means that their use is limited.

3 The Yakuts have a special place among Turkic people from a geographical aspect: they live isolated from other Turkic people. Their language shows at least two migration waves of Turkic groups which left their traces in its phonetics, the older Mongolic and the later Russian influence, and an impact of Tungusic and Yeniseian substrate languages (Stachowski & Menz 1998: 416). According to the classification of the Turkic languages (Johanson 1998: 83), the Yakut language belongs in the North Siberian group with Dolgan, and it has some distinct grammatical features that distinguish it from all other Turkic languages, e.g. the preservation of original long vowels, the shift $*V\delta V > VtV$ (e.g. Yakut *atax* < **adaq* 'leg'), the disappearance of the initial **s-* (e.g. Yakut *sän* < **sän* 'you'), the changing of the initial **y-* > *s-*, the loss of the Turkic locative, and the emergence of new cases, etc.

developed in Yakut. Fifteen Yakut color terms were borrowed from Mongolic, where ten of them are connected to the colors of animals—which proves the enormous Mongolic influence on the Yakut lifestyle. And only one color term, *oruosabay* ‘pink’ is of Russian (*розовые* ‘pink’) origin.

2.1 *The Color Terms of Turkic Origin*

1. The most basic color terms in Yakut are of Turkic origin:

Yakut *kihil* ‘red’⁴ (Slepcov 213a) ~ Turkic:⁵ cf. Old Turkic *qizil* ‘red’;⁶
 Yakut *küöx* ‘blue’ (Slepcov 200a) ~ Turkic:⁷ cf. Old Turkic *kök* ‘sky colored, blue, blue-grey’;
 Yakut *ürün* ‘white’⁸ (Slepcov 457b) ~ Turkic:⁹ cf. Old Turkic *ürün* ‘white’;
 Yakut *xara* ‘black’¹⁰ (Slepcov 481b) ~ Turkic:¹¹ cf. Old Turkic *qara* ‘black’.

4 Cf. Yakut *kihil xaptajas* ‘red currant’, *kihil kömüs* ‘red gold’, *kihil ogo* ‘baby, newborn child’, etc. Cf. also Yakut *kihilä-* (< *kihil+lÄ-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 218}) ‘to redden; to drink red wine’.

5 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 50–56), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 469–470), Räsänen (VEWT 269a), Clauson (ED 681a, 683b), SIGTJa (2001: 602–603) and ESTJa (2000: 194–196).

6 *qizil* < *qiz-* ‘to be red’ -*il* {Turkic VN/Adj.: Clauson ED xlv}; cf. Yakut *qis-* ‘to be red; to turn purple’.

7 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 77–85), Räsänen (VEWT 287), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 640–642), Clauson (ED 708b), Sevortjan (3: 66–68) and SIGTJa (2001: 60, 604).

8 Cf. Yakut *ürün kümäji* ‘white paper’, *ürün bilät* ‘white clouds’, *ürün tün* ‘White Nights’, *ürün as* ‘dairy produce, milk products’ (Pekarskij 3: 3178–3179), etc.

9 I agree with Vovin’s opinion that the word should be a loanword in Turkic due to the limited widespread. Possibly, the word was borrowed from the language X, which may be connected to Ruan-ruan (for more details, see Vovin 2010: 30–31). Given the Khalaj form *hürün* the reconstructed Proto-Turkic form is **hürün*. The word presents in Karakhanid-Uyghur *ürün* ‘white’; Dolgan *ürün* ‘white’, Anatolian Turkish *ürün* ‘milk, yogurt’, in other Turkic languages traces of *aq*. For etymology, see Clauson (ED 233b), Stachowski (1993: 253), SIGTJa (2001: 601) and Vovin (2010: 30–31).

10 Cf. Yakut *xara öj* ‘black color’, *xara it* ‘black dog’, *xara bilät* ‘black cloud’; further derivations: *xarär-* (< *xara+Ar-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 219–220}) ‘to become black’, *xaralä-* (< *xara+lÄ-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 217}) ‘to cover by something black’.

11 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 17–38), Räsänen (VEWT 235ab), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 426–433), Clauson (ED 643b), Stachowski (1993: 253), ESTJa (1997: 286–288) and SIGTJa (2001: 601).

Only two special color terms connected to the color of horses are of Turkic origin:

Yakut *ala* 'dappled, spotted, with white spots (*color of horse*)' (Slepcov 36b) ~ Turkic:¹² cf. Old Turkic *āla* 'parti-colored, dappled, mottled, spotted, blotchy';

Yakut *xoŋor* 'light bay, brown' (Slepcov 498b) ~ Turkic:¹³ cf. Old Turkic *qoŋur* 'dark chestnut (*of a horse's coat*)'.

2. A separate group includes the derived color terms of Turkic origin but developed internally in Yakut:

Color terms with the Turkic denominal noun suffix +Xš which forms names designating slight shades of colors (for details on function, see Erdal 1991: 102–103):

Yakut *araġas* ~ *araŋas* 'yellowish; reddish'¹⁴ (Slepcov 44b) < *s'ariġ +Xš ~ Turkic:¹⁵ cf. Old Turkic *sariġ* 'yellow' (> Yakut *arī* 'butter');

Yakut *kuġas* 'red (*of a horse*)' (Pekarskij 1191) < *quba +Xš ~ Turkic:¹⁶ cf. Old Turkic *quba* 'pale, pale yellow, pale grey';

Yakut *turaġas* 'bay (*of a horse*)' (Slepcov 406a) < *turaġ +Xš ~ Turkic:¹⁷ cf. Old Turkic *toruġ* 'bay (*of a horse*)'.

12 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas (1961: 70–76), ESTJa (1974: 129), Doerfer (TMEN 2: 95–97), Räsänen (VEWT 15a), Clauson (ED 126a) and SIGTJa (2001: 607–608).

13 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas (1961: 100–102), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 1536; 1985: 37), Räsänen (VEWT 280–281), Clauson (ED 639b) and ESTJa (2000: 62–65).

14 Cf. Yakut *araŋas arī* 'yellow butter', *araġas čačir* 'yellow birch', *araġas kōmūs* 'gold' (Pekarskij 127).

15 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas (1961: 64–68), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 220–221), Räsänen (VEWT 403b), Clauson (ED 848a), SIGTJa (2001: 601) and ESTJa (2003: 206–208).

16 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas (1961: §91), Räsänen (VEWT 295), Clauson (ED 581a), Stachowski (1993: 116), ESTJa (2000: 93–94).

17 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtauas (1961: 106), Räsänen (VEWT 489b), Doerfer (TMEN 2: 475–477) and Clauson (ED 538a).

There is one case when the Turkic word was borrowed in Yakut via Russian:

Yakut *čälaj* 'blue, bluish' (Slepcov 505b)¹⁸ ← Russian *чальный* 'grey'
← Turkic:¹⁹ cf. Old Turkic *čäl* 'of a mixed black and white color; grey
(hair)'.

There are the color terms with their own Yakut suffixes (for details on the suffixes, see below under *Derivation of color terms in Yakut*):

Yakut *kubaġay* 'pale, light'²⁰ (Slepcov 184b) < **quba* + *GAy* {Yakut denominal noun suffix forming adjectives} ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *quba* 'pale, pale yellow, pale grey';²¹

Yakut *kitarxay* 'red, ruddy' (Pekarskij 1444; Slepcov 214a) < **kit* + (A)*rKAy* {Yakut denominal noun suffix forming adjectives}, cf. *kitar-* (< **kit*+*Ar-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 219}) 'to be red' ~ Turkic²² **qüz*: cf. Old Turkic *qizar-* 'to be or become red', *qüzil* 'red';

Yakut *saharxay* 'yellow; brown (eyes), blond (hair)' (Slepcov 318b) < **sah* + (A)*rKAy* {Yakut denominal noun suffix forming adjectives} cf. *sahar-* 'to become yellow' ~ Turkic **yāš* 'green':²³ cf. Old Turkic *yāš* 'fresh, moist, green vegetables'.²⁴

18 Cf. Yakut *čälaj tii* 'blue squirrel', *čälaj solonġo* 'blue weasel' (Pekarskij 3558), *küöx čälaj xallān* 'blue sky' (Slepcov 505b).

19 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 97–98), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 31), Räsänen (VEWT 96b), Clauson (ED 417a).

20 Cf. Yakut *kubaġay köġörköy* 'pale blue', *kubaġay araġas* 'pale yellow', *kubaġay kihil* 'pale red', etc.

21 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 95–97), Räsänen (VEWT 295ab), Clauson (ED 581a) and ESTJa (2000: 94–96).

22 For the etymological background, see Clauson (ED 685a), Stachowski (1993: 94).

23 Cf. Turkic **yašil* 'green' < **yašsil* < **yāš+sll* {Turkic denominal noun suffix forming adjectives}, Old Turkic *yašil*; Turkish *yeşil*; Tuvan *čažil* 'orpin' ~ Yakut *sahil* 'fox' (Stachowski 2010: 539–540).

24 Turkish, Azeri *yaš* 'green', Turkmen *yāš* 'onion leaves'; Tatar *yāš* 'green sprout of trees', Nogay *yas* 'unripe, green', Karakalpak *žas* 'unripe', Altay *daš* 'green, fresh'. For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 59–64), Räsänen (VEWT 192a), Clauson (ED 973b, 975b, 978a), ESTJa (1989: 162) and Stachowski (2010).

2.2 *The Color Terms of Mongolic Origin*

1. There are two basic color terms of Mongolic origin:

Yakut *boroy* 'grey, brown'²⁵ (Slepcov 75b) < **boro*²⁶ +*ŋ* {Yakut additional consonant which appears sporadically in the Mongolic loanwords:²⁷ see Kałużyński 1962: 56} ← Mongolic²⁸ **boro* 'grey, brown; dark, swarthy (face); plain, simple': cf. Literary Mongolian *boro* ~ *bora* (Rassadin 1980: 72) ← Bulghar Turkic **bōrō* 'grey': cf. Old Turkic *bōz*;²⁹ Yakut *kürüŋ* ~ *kürän* 'brown' (Slepcov 201) ← Mongolic³⁰ **kürey*³¹ 'dark brown, maroon (*of fur*); deep violet': Literary Mongolian *küreng* (Kałużyński 1962: 54, 7, 110).

2. There are two Mongolic loanwords denoting shades of darkness and lightness:

Yakut *barān* 'dark, black' (Pekarskij 372) ← Mongolic³² **barān* 'dark, dark-brown' < *baraya*³³⁺ⁿ {Mongolic denominal noun suffix}: Literary Mongolian *barayan* (Kałużyński 1962: 40; Rassadin 1980: 72);

25 Yakut → Tungusic: Ewenki (Tokko, Uchur, Chulman, Aldan, Maja, Sakhalin, Urmi) *boroy* 'grey, brown; whitish' (Khabtagaeva 2011: 103).

26 Cf. another Yakut verb *boroy-* 'to become grey' where metathesis occurred and goes back to the Mongolic verb *borola-* (< *boro* 'grey' +*lA-* {Mongolic denominal verbal suffix, see Poppe GWM §245}) 'to become grey'.

27 E.g. Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *yolumta* 'fireplace in a yurt' → Yakut *xolumtan*; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qayalya* 'gate, door' → Yakut *xalyan*; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *sirqa* 'wound; sore' → Yakut *siryān*; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *tayaburi* 'guess, riddle' → Yakut *tābirij*; etc. (Khabtagaeva 2011: 103).

28 Cf. Middle Mongol: Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu *boro*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *buro*; Mukaddimat al-Adab, Rasulid Hexaglot *bora*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *boro*; Onon Khamnigan *boro*; Dagur *bɔr*; Khalkha, Kalmuck *bor* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 285).

29 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: 86–93), Doerfer (TMEN 2: 335), Räsänen (VEWT 80b, 82a), Clauson (ED 388b), Sevortjan (2: 172) and SIGTJa (2002: 605–606).

30 Cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid Hexaglot *küren*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *xüri(n)*; Onon Khamnigan *kürin*; Dagur *xurin*; Khalkha *xüren*; Oirat *kürün* ~ *kürin*.

31 Mongolic → Modern Turkic: Tuvan *xürey* 'brown' (Khabtagaeva 2001: 236).

32 Middle Mongol: Secret History *baru'an*; Modern Mongol: Buryat, Onon Khamnigan, Khalkha, Kalmuck *barān*.

33 Cf. Literary Mongolian *barayara-* (< **baraya+rA-*) 'to be[come] or appear black or dark', *barayaqan* (< **baraya+KAn*) 'blackish, dark', *barayala-* (< **baraya+lA-*) 'to shade, make dark', etc.

Yakut *d'änggir* 'virid; transparent, clear, bright, light'³⁴ (Slepcev 137b)
 ← Mongolic³⁵ **čengkir*³⁶ 'light blue, bluish' < **če+ngkir* {Mongolic
 denominal noun suffix, see Khabtagaeva 2001: 129³⁷}; Literary
 Mongolian *čengkir* ~ *čengker* (Kałużyński 1962: 46; 57).

3. An interesting case where the Mongolic horse term developed into a basic color term in Yakut:

Yakut *maḡan* ~ *maġan* (Pekarskij 1523; Slepcev 235a) 'white, whitish
 (horse, hair, cloud, house)'³⁸ ← Mongolic³⁹ **maḡqan* 'horse with a star
 on its forehead':⁴⁰ Literary Mongolian *mangqan*, cf. *mangqar* 'horse or
 cattle with a white head or face' (Rassadin 1980: 72).

4. The greatest number of Mongolic loanwords are connected to color terms connected to animals, especially horses, e.g.

Yakut *äriän* 'mottled, multicolored'⁴¹ (Slepcev 545b) ← Mongolic⁴² **eriyen*
 'motley, variegated': cf. Literary Mongolian *eriyen* (Kałużyński 1962: 33;
 Rassadin 1980: 72);

34 Cf. Yakut *d'eḡgir küöx* 'emerald-blue' (Sidorov: online), cf. also *čenggir* ~ *nängkir* (Kałużyński 1962: 46; 57).

35 Cf. Middle Mongol - ; Modern Mongol: Buryat *senxir*; Onon Khamnigan - ; Khalkha *cenxer*; Kalmuck *tsänjkr*; cf. also Literary Mongolian *čangkir* 'whitish, blond; grey (of hair)'.
 36 Mongolic → Modern Turkic: Chuvash *senker* 'blue', Kirgiz *čenkil* 'blue' (Räsänen VEWT 104, 531).

37 *+ngkir* ~ *+nggir*: non-productive Mongolic suffix, which forms adjectives, e.g. *čangkir* 'whitish, blond; grey (of hair)' < **ča*: cf. *čayan* 'white'; *ulanggir* 'reddish' < **ula*: cf. *ulayan* 'red'.

38 E.g. Yakut *tunali maḡan* 'dazzling white field' (Pekarskij); *maḡan xār* 'white snow' (Sidorov: online). Cf. also Yakut *maḡxay-* 'to become white', *maḡās* 'with white head, white-beaked (about an animal)'.
 39 Middle Mongol - ; Modern Mongol: Buryat, Onon Khamnigan - ; Khalkha *manxan*; Kalmuck *maḡxvn*.

40 Cf. Mongolic → Siberian Turkic: Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *maḡxan* 'pale yellow'; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *maḡkan* 'fallow (color of horse)', cf. Sagai *maḡan* 'the pallor on the forehead of horses, white patches around eyes of horses (color of horse)' (R); Sayan Turkic: Tuvan *maḡgan* 'very white' (Khabtagaeva 2019: 56).

41 Cf. Yakut *äriän inax* 'motley cow', *erien kün* 'variable weather'.
 42 Cf. Modern Mongol: Buryat *eryēn*; Onon Khamnigan *eryēn*; Khalkha *erēn*; Kalmuck *erēn*.

- Yakut *būlūr* 'light-bay' (Slepcev 87b) ← Mongolic⁴³ **būrul* 'grey, grey-haired, greyish': cf. Literary Mongolian *buyurul* ~ *buyural* (Kałużyński 1962: 34, 66; Rassadin 1980: 72);
- Yakut *čakir* 'white'⁴⁴ (Slepcev 507a) ← Mongolic⁴⁵ **čaqir* > *čakir* 'very white, light, snow white; white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird' < **ča*⁴⁶+*kir* {Mongolic denominal noun suffix forming adjectives, see Khabtagaeva 2001: 119}: cf. Literary Mongolian *čakir* (Kałużyński 1962: 46; Rassadin 1980: 72) ← ? Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *čağir* 'blue, blue-grey';⁴⁷
- Yakut *čuogur* 'variegated, multicolored' (Slepcev 513b), cf. another form where excrescence happened: Yakut *čōčugur* 'id.' (Slepcev 511a) ← Mongolic⁴⁸ **čōqur* < *čooqor* 'variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled; pockmarked': cf. Literary Mongolian *čooqor* ~ *čooqor* (Kałużyński 1962: 36; Rassadin 1980: 72);
- Yakut *d'ağil* 'horse with big spots on the neck and shoulders'⁴⁹ (Slepcev 124b) ← Mongolic⁵⁰ **jaɣal* 'having dark spots on the neck and shoulders (*of a stallion or gelding*)': cf. Literary Mongolian *jaɣal* (Rassadin 1980: 72);

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- 43 Cf. Middle Mongol: Mukaddimat al-Adab *būrul*; Rasulid Hexaglot *būrul*; Yi yu *bowurul* ~ *būrul*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *būral*; Onon Khamnigan *būral*; Dagur *bōrul*; Khalkha *būral*; Kalmuck *būrɫ* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 293).
- 44 Yakut → Ewenki (Tokko, Tommot, Uchur) *čakir* 'white-colored reindeer' (Khabtagaeva 2011: 104).
- 45 Middle Mongol -; Modern Mongol: Buryat *saxir*; Khalkha *caxir*; Kalmuck *tsäkr*; Onon Khamnigan -.
- 46 The 'dead' base of the Mongolic word is the form **ča*, cf. Literary Mongolian *čayi-* (< **ča+yi-*) 'to be[come] white, turn pale; to turn grey (*of hair*); to dawn, grow light'; Literary Mongolian *časun* (< **ča+sUn*) 'snow'; Literary Mongolian *čayan* (< **ča+GAN*) 'white'; Literary Mongolian *čayir* (< **ča+yi-r*) 'zinc, tin' (Khabtagaeva 2001: 130).
- 47 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen (VEWT 96), Doerfer (TMEN 2: 77) and Clauson (ED 409b).
- 48 Cf. Middle Mongol: Mukaddimat al-Adab *čōqur* 'mottled'; Rasulid Hexaglot *čoqur*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *čouqor* 'horse with white spots'; Modern Mongol: Buryat *sōxor* 'mottled; *fig.* semi-consciousness'; Onon Khamnigan *cōxor* 'motley'; Dagur *tšōkur*; Khalkha *cōxor* 'spotted, speckled; pock-marked'; Oirat dial. *tsōxār* ~ *tsōxōr* ~ *tsōxūr* 'speckled, spotted (*of a horse*)'.
- 49 Cf. Yakut *sur d'ağil at* 'a grey horse with black spots on the shoulders', *d'ağil toyon* 'Steller's sea eagle (lat. *Haliaeetus pelagicus*)'.
- 50 Middle Mongol: Yi yu *čayal* ~ *jaɣal*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *zagal*; Onon Khamnigan *dza-gal*; Dagur -; Khalkha *dzagal*; Kalmuck *zagɫ*.

Yakut *kärä* ~ *körö* 'grey, whitish grey' (Pekarskij 1040) ← Mongolic⁵¹ **kēr*⁵² < *keger* 'bay or chestnut (*color of horse*): cf. Literary Mongolian *keger*; Yakut *sālir* 'color of isabella; a horse with black main and tail' (Slepcov 305a) ← Mongolic⁵³ **sāral* < *sayaral* 'ashen, dun-colored': Literary Mongolian *sayaral* ~ *saral* (Kałużyński 1962: 66; Rassadin 1980: 72).

5. Semantically, the Mongolic name of a bird changed to the color of a cattle in Yakut:

Yakut *sād'ajay* '(cattle) with a white stripe on the back' (Slepcov 304b) ← Mongolic⁵⁴ **sājīyai* < *šayaǰīyai* 'magpie' < **šayaǰi* + *GAi* {Mongolic denominal noun/diminutive suffix, see Poppe GWM §123; Khabtagaeva 2001: 117}; cf. Literary Mongolian *siyājīyai* ~ *šayaǰayai* (Kałużyński 1962: 32; Rassadin 1980: 72) ← Turkic⁵⁵ **saǰizǰan* < *saǰiz* + *GAn* {Turkic denominal noun suffix, which forms nouns that designate names of plants and animals, see Erdal 1991: 85}; cf. Old Turkic *saǰizǰan*.

6. There is one case where the basic Mongolic color term is used regarding to the color of a horse in Yakut:

Yakut *ulān* 'mouse dun, red dun, yellow dun (*of a horse*)' (Slepcov 432b) ← Mongolic⁵⁶ **ulān* < **hulān* 'red': cf. Literary Mongolian *ulayan* 'red' (Kałużyński 1962: 28; Rassadin 1980: 72).

51 Cf. Middle Mongol: Prekl.Mo. *keǰēr*; Secret History *ke'er*; Yi *yu keir*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *kēr* ~ *keher*; Rasulid Hexaglot *kehir* ~ *keher*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *xēr*; Onon Khamnigan *kēre*; Dagur *keire*; Khalkha *xēr*; Kalmuck *kēr*.

52 Mongolic → Siberian Turkic 'chestnut': Yenisey Turkic: Shor *kār*; ChulymT *kār*; Altay Turkic: Altay, Quu, Teleut *kār*; Kipchak: Kazak, Kirgiz *kār*. For more details and data, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: §114), Stachowski (1993: 88).

53 Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *sayāral*; Rasulid Hexaglot *saral*; Modern: Buryat *hāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral*; Dagur *sārəl*; Khalkha *sāral*; Kalmuck *sārǰ* (see also Nugteren 2011: 479).

54 Cf. Middle Mongol: Hua-yi yi-yu *saǰiqai*; Modern: Buryat *šāzǰai* ~ *šāžǰai*; Onon Khamnigan *šādzaǰai* ~ *sādzaǰai*; Dagur *sājīγ*; Khalha *šādzaǰai*; Kalmuck *šāzayā* ~ *šāzγā*.

55 For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen (VEWT 396b), Clauson (ED 818a) and ESTJa (2003: 166–169).

56 Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *ulayān*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu *hula'an*; Yi *yu fula'an*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *hulā*; Muq *hula'an* ~ *hulān* ~ *ulān*; Leiden *hulān*; Rasulid Hexaglot *hulān*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *ulān*; Onon Khamnigan *ulān*; Dagur *xulān*; Khalkha *ulān*; Kalmuck *ulan* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 363).

7. Next color term is of unknown origin. The authors of ESTJa (2003: 360–361) connect it with a Mongolic word. The word is also present in all Kipchak and some other Turkic languages with the same meaning ‘grey color of horse’ and with initial spirant *s*-,⁵⁷ which confirms the foreign origin of the word⁵⁸ due to the phonetic rule that the original Turkic initial consonant **s*- is regularly deleted in Yakut:⁵⁹

Yakut *sur* ‘grey (color of a horse)’ (Slepcev 344b) < **sūr* ← ? Mongolic⁶⁰
 **sayural* < *sayaral* ‘ashen, dun-colored’: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayaral*.

The etymological background of the basic color terms and the special color terms of animals in Yakut are summarized in the following two tables:

TABLE 1 The basic color terms in Yakut

Color term		Yakut form	Origin
Black		<i>xara</i>	Turkic
White	‘bright, pure’	<i>ürüy</i>	Turkic
	neutral meaning	<i>maŋan ~ maġan</i>	Mongolic (horse term)
Red	common meaning	<i>kihil</i>	Turkic
	ruddy	<i>kitarxay</i>	Turkic
Blue		<i>küöx</i>	Turkic
Yellow	reddish shade	<i>saharxay</i>	Turkic ‘greenish’
	yellowish shade	<i>araġas</i>	Turkic ‘yellow’
Green		<i>kögörköy</i>	Turkic ‘bluish’
Brown		<i>küräŋ</i>	Mongolic
Grey		<i>boroŋ</i>	Mongolic

57 Cf. Siberian Turkic: *Altay Turkic*: Altay, Qumandy, Tuba kiži, Teleut *sur*; Kipchak Turkic: *West Kipchak*: Kumyk *sur*; *Volga Ural*: Tatar *sürü*; Siberian Tatar *sür*; Bashkir *hürü*; *Aralo-Kaspian group*: Kirgiz, Kazak, Karakalpak *sur*; Uyghur Turkic: Uzbek dial. *sür*; East Oghuz: Turkmen *sür*; Chuvash *särä ~ sär* (ESTJa 2003: 360–361).

58 For Turkic data and etymological background of the word, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: §116), Doerfer (TMEN 3: 287) and ESTJa (2003: 360–361). From Turkic, the word was borrowed in New Persian (Dorerfer TMEN 3: 287).

59 E.g. Yakut *än* ‘you’ ~ Old Turkic *sän*; Yakut *ia-* ‘to milk’ ~ Old Turkic *saġ-*; Yakut *üt* ‘milk’ ~ Old Turkic *süt*, etc.

60 Cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid Hexaglot *saral*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *hāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral*; Dagur *sārəl*; Khalkha *sāral*; Kalmuck *sār* (for more data, see Nugteren 2011: 479).

TABLE 2 The special color terms of animals in Yakut

Color terms of animals	Yakut form	Origin	
Black	<i>xara</i>	Turkic	
Brown	<i>kürüŋ</i>	Mongolic	
Red	yellowish red	<i>arağas</i>	Turkic
	red	<i>kuğas</i>	Turkic
	red dun, mouse dun	<i>ulān</i>	Mongolic
Palomino, light bay	brownish	<i>xoŋor</i>	Turkic
	bay	<i>bülür</i>	Mongolic
White	<i>čakir</i>	Mongolic	
Bay	<i>turağas</i>	Turkic	
Isabella	<i>sälir</i>	Mongolic	
Grey	dark grey	<i>boroŋ</i>	Mongolic
	ash grey	<i>sur</i>	? Mongolic
	bluish grey	<i>kögöččör</i>	Mongolic
	dark grey with white dots	<i>kärä ~ körö</i>	Mongolic
Variegated, multicolored	<i>čuogur</i>	Mongolic	
	<i>äriän</i>	Mongolic	
Dappled, spotted	<i>ala</i>	Turkic	
	<i>d'agil</i>	Mongolic	

3 Derivation of Color Terms in Yakut

From the morphological perspective, there are five special Yakut suffixes added to color terms. Functionally, they have a diminutive character and form adjectives designating slight shades of colors. Etymologically, two of them are of Mongolic origin, one is of Turkic origin and two have a hybrid character, i.e. Turkic-Mongolic origin.

3.1 Denominal Noun/Adjective Suffixes

1. +lXŋX

The Yakut suffix +lŋI | +lUŋU (with different variants +dŋI | +dUŋU, +tŋI | +tUŋU, +nŋI | +nUŋU) forms nouns designating slight shades of colors:

Yakut *kihillŋi* 'reddish' (Slepšov 213a) < *kihil* 'red' +lŋI;

Yakut *kitarxaydŋi* 'reddish' (Slepšov 214a) < *kitarxay* 'red' +dŋI;

- Yakut *küöxtüñü* 'bluish, greenish' (Slepšov 200b) < *küöx* 'blue' +*tUηU*;
 Yakut *kürüñnüñü* 'brownish' (Slepšov 201a) < *kürüñ* 'brown' +*nUηU*;
 Yakut *mañannüñi* 'whitish' (Slepšov 235a) < *mañan* 'white' +*nIηI*;
 Yakut *surduñu* 'mousy gray (color of a horse)' (Slepšov 345a) < *sur* 'grey' +*dUηU*;
 Yakut *xaratüñi* 'blackish, darkish' (Slepšov 483a) < *xara* 'black' +*tIηI*;
 Yakut *xarañatüñi* 'darkish, fuscous' (Slepšov 483a) < *xarañga* 'dark color' +*tIηI*.

There are two hypotheses regarding to the origin of the suffix:

- The Yakut suffix is maybe connected to the Mongolic compound suffix +*Langgi*, which consists of the denominal verbal suffix +*LA* and deverbial noun suffix forming adjectives *-nggi* (Khabtagaeva 2001: 129).

The function of the Mongolic denominal verbal suffix +*LA*- is to denote the acquirement of a quality (Poppe GWM §245), while the deverbial noun suffix *-nggi* is a non-productive in Mongolic languages, it appears in Buryat (Sanžeev 1962: 120) and Kalmuck (Szabó 1943: §145). The Mongolic compound suffix is related also to color terms (Khabtagaeva 2001: 129), e.g. Buryat *xarlanggi* (< **qaralangi*) 'dark, blackened', *šarlangi* (< **siralangi*) 'yellowed, yellowing (of leaves)'.
 – More likely, it is the Yakut internal development from the suffixes +*L̄A*- and *-ηI*.

If the Yakut productive denominal verbal suffix +*L̄A*- is of Turkic origin, which forms intransitive verbs (for details, see Ubrjatova 1982: 217, e.g. *kihil̄ā*- 'to paint with red color' < *kihil* 'red'; *ürüñn̄ā*- 'to add white color' < *ürüñ* 'white'; *äriänn̄ā*- 'to make variegation' < *äriän* 'mottled'; *ulaxann̄ā*- 'to make big' < *ulaxan* 'big', etc.), another deverbial noun suffix *-ηI* is of Mongolic origin (Kałużyński 1962: 95) (for details, see Ubrjatova 1982: 167, e.g. *dadañi* 'poor' < *daday*- 'to become poor'; *döyüñü* 'deaf' < *döy*- 'to stun'; *sārañi* 'doubtful' < *sārā*- 'to doubt', etc.).

2. +(V)rKAy

The compound Yakut suffix consists of the denominal verbal suffix +(V)r- and the deverbial noun suffix *-KAy* (for details on function, see Károly 2013: 107–108). Both suffixes are productive in Yakut. If the first one is of Turkic origin and forms intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives (for details on function, see Ubrjatova 1982: 219–220, e.g. *silāñir*- 'to become warm' < *silās* 'warm', *tüñihir*- 'to become hard or tight' < *tüñis* 'hard, tight', *čümpur*- 'to calm down' < *čümpu* 'quiet, calm', *tialir*- 'to blow' < *tial* 'wind'), while *-KAy* ~ *-GAy* is of Mongolic origin (Kałużyński 1962: 76) and forms adjectives (for details,

see Ubrjatova 1982: 165, e.g. *xamparxay* ‘ramshackle’ < *xampariy-* ‘to collapse’, *d’ölörkōy* ‘holey’ < *d’ölöriy-* ‘to make a hole’, etc.). Important to note that the devoiced variant *-KAY* is peculiar for words ending in *-r*. The compound suffix *+(V)rKAY* forms color terms from ‘petrified’ bases, all forms are derived from color terms which are absent in Modern Yakut:

- Yakut *bolōrxoy* ~ *balārxay* ‘ash-colored, ashy-grey, dark grey’ (Slepcev 74b) < **boro* ‘grey’ +*rKAY*;
 Yakut *borolxoy* ‘grey’ (Pekarskij 502) < **boro* +*rKAY*;
 Yakut *kitarxay* ‘red, ruddy’ (Slepcev 214a) < **qit* ‘red’ +*ArKAY*;
 Yakut *kōjōrkōy* ‘light blue, blue, green’ (Sidorov: online) < **kōk* ‘blue’ +*ArKAY*;
 Yakut *kubarxay* (> *kubaxxay*) ‘pale’ (Slepcev 184b) < **kuba* ‘pale yellow’ +*rKAY*;
 Yakut *ōlbōrkōy* ‘dim, pale’ (Slepcev 285b) < **ōlbō*⁶¹ ‘pale’ +*rKAY*;
 Yakut *saharxay* ‘yellow’ (Slepcev 318b) < **sah* ‘green’ +*ArKAY*;
 Yakut *tunārxay* ‘pale grey’ (Slepcev 401b) < **tunā*⁶² ‘white’ +*rKAY*.

Etymologically, the suffix belongs to hybrid Turkic-Mongolic origin forms.

3. *+(A)ččAr*

- Yakut *kōjōččōr* ‘grey, ash grey (color of horse)’ (Slepcev 175b) < **kōk* +*(A)ččAr*.

Despite the fact that the form **kōkečer* is absent in Mongolic, it may be the source of borrowing for Yakut. The Yakut suffix *+(A)ččAr* is connected to Mongolic productive suffix *+čAr*, which has a diminutive function (Poppe GWM: §113; Szabó 1943: §192). The suffix is also added to Mongolic color terms, e.g. *alayčar* ‘colorful’ < *alay* ‘multicolored, spotted, variegated, motley’, *boročar*

61 Cf. Yakut *ōlbōdīy-* (< **ōlbō+DXy-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 220}) ‘to pale, to fade’. The base is of unknown origin. Possibly, it is connected to Mongolic color term *ōlō* ‘grey’ (Mostaert 1941: 531a).

62 Cf. Yakut *tunār-* (< **tunā+r-* {Yakut denominal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 219}) ‘to show white unclearly’; *tunārīy-* (< **tunā+rIy-* {Yakut deverbal verbal suffix, see Ubrjatova 1982: 220}) ‘to have bluish white color’, *tunāx* (< **tunā+K* {Yakut denominal noun suffix}) ‘toadstool’; *tunālī* (< **tunā+I* {Yakut Yakut denominal noun suffix}) *maḡan* ‘bright white’, *tunax* (< **tunā+K* {Yakut denominal noun suffix}) ‘milk food’, etc. The etymology of word is unknown.

'greyish, brownish' < *boro* 'grey', *noγočar* 'greenish' < *noγoγan* 'green', *qaračar* 'blackish' < *qara* 'black', etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 116).

4. +GAR

There is only one color term to which the Yakut productive denominal noun suffix +GAR (for details on function, see Ubrjatova 1982: 164, e.g. *balgajar* 'swollen' < **balğa*: *balğay-* 'to swell', *xilagar* 'cross-eyed' < **xila*: *xilay-* 'to make cross-eyes', etc.) of Mongolic origin was added (Kałużyński 1962: 79). The suffix is discussed as a deverbal noun in Ubrjatova's grammar, but it is more proper to consider it as a denominal noun suffix, which forms adjectives similarly in the Mongolic languages (Khabtagaeva 2009: 281, e.g. *bujigir* 'curly' < **bujaya*: cf. *bujyi-* 'to curl'; *γonjoγor* 'long, stretched, thin and long, oblong, oval' < **γonja*: cf. *γonjayi-* 'to taper, to have an oval or elongated shape').

Yakut *maγxağar* 'white, whitening' (Slepcev 235b) < **maγxa* 'white' +GAR, see above *maγan* 'white'.

5. +LĀx

A productive Yakut suffix, which forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. *öydōx* 'clever, smart' < *öy* 'mind', *kūstēx* 'strong' < *kūs* 'power', *dollōx* 'happy' < *dol* 'happiness, luck', etc. (for details on function, see Ubrjatova 1982: 163). The suffix is of Turkic origin, related to Old Turkic +*lIG*. I found only two Yakut color terms derived with this suffix:

Yakut *d'ajillāx* [*ulān*] 'palomino (*of a horse*)' (Slepcev 125a) < *d'ajil* 'horse with big spots on the neck and shoulders' +LĀx;

Yakut *xaralāx* 'blackish' (Slepcev 482b) < *xara* 'black' +LĀx.

3.2 Denominal Verbal Suffixes

1. +DXy-

The most verbs connected to color terms were derived with the productive denominal verbal suffix +*Dly-* / +*DUy-* with its variants +*lly-* / +*lUy*, +*nly-* / +*nUy* and +*sly-* / +*sUy* (for details on function, see Ubrjatova 1982: 220). The list of variants is expanded with +*ry-*:

Yakut *aragastÿy-* 'to be[come] yellow' (Slepcev 44) < *aragās* 'yellow' +*tly-*;

Yakut *boloruy-* 'to become grey' (Slepcev 74) < **boro* 'grey' +*lUy-* (metathesis);

- Yakut *boroṅsuy-* 'to be[come] grey' (Slepcov 75) < *boroṅ* 'grey' +*sUy-*;
 Yakut *kubarīy-* 'to become pale' (Slepcov 184) < **kuba* +*rXy-*;
 Yakut *ölbödüy-* 'to pale, to fade' (Slepcov 285) < **ölbō*+*DXy-*;
 Yakut *tunārīy-* 'to have a bluish white color' (Slepcov 401) < **tunā* 'white'
 +*rly-*.

2. +(A)r-

Some verbs connected to color terms with the suffix +(A)rKAY were derived with denominal verbal suffix +(A)r- (for details on function, see above +(A)rKAY and Ubrjatova 1982: 219–220):

- Yakut *kītar-* 'to be red' (Slepcov 213) < **kīt* 'red';
 Yakut *kögör-* 'to be blue; green' (Slepcov 175) < **kök* 'blue';
 Yakut *sahar-* 'to become yellow' (Slepcov 318) < **sah* 'green';
 Yakut *xarār-* 'to become black' (Slepcov 482) < *xara* 'black'.

4 Conclusion

In all, fifty-one color term was collected from different Yakut dictionaries and papers (Slepcov; Pekarskij; Afanas'jev & Xaritonov 1968; Gabyševa 2003; Borisova 2013), and electronic sources (Sidorov: online). The material demonstrates that the basic color terms as *white*, *black*, *red* and *blue* are of Turkic origin, the secondary basic color terms such as *yellow* and *green* are derived with a hybrid Turco-Mongolic suffix +*rKAY*, while the colors denoting *brown* and *grey* are Mongolic loanwords. An interesting fact is that for *white* two different terms are used in Yakut. The Turkic *ürünj* is used only in shamanic terminology and folklore texts (Prokopieva 2019, personal communication) with the meaning 'bright, pure, clean', while the Mongolic loanword *maṅṅan* with its phonetic variant *maḡan* is used for everyday life, for everything, which is used originally in Mongolic languages only as a horse color. From the collected eighteen color terms of animals (mostly horses) twelve terms are of Mongolic origin, thereby proving the great Mongolic influence on the Yakut lifestyle.

The second part of the paper discusses the most productive Yakut suffixes +*LXηX* and +(X)*rKAY*, used with color terms and designating slight shades of colors have a hybrid Turco-Mongolic origin. Ultimately the etymological study of Yakut color terms presents the evidence that the Yakut language is an archaic Turkic language which had a strong Mongolic influence.

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