

# ULUSLARARASI YAKUTÇA ARAŐTIRMALARI

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Emine Yılmaz - Hasan Hayırsever



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# İÇİNDEKİLER

SUNUŞ .....	V
<b>1. САХА СИРИГЭР ТӨРӨӨБҮТ ТЫЛЫ ХАРЫСТААҤЫН УОННА САЙЫННАРЫБЫ .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Алексей Амбросьев</i>	
<b>1. YAKUTİSTAN’DA ANA DİLİN KORUNUMU VE GELİŞİMİ.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Aleksey Ambrosyev</i>	
<b>2. THE RECOGNITION OF THE DOLGANS, SCIENCE AND SOVIET INSTITUTIONS’ TOIL .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<i>Yann Borjon-Privé</i>	
<b>3. YAKUT/SAHA DESTANLARINDA KAHRAMANLARA AİT NESNELERİN TANIMLANMA BİÇİMLERİ VE BUNLARIN ANLATIMA ETKİSİ.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<i>Muvaffak Duranlı</i>	
<b>4. ПРАГМАТИЧЕСКАЯ НАПРАВЛЕННОСТЬ ЯКУТСКИХ И КЫРГЫЗСКИХ ПАРЕМИЙ С ПЕЙОРАТИВНОЙ ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКОВ ЧЕЛОВЕКА.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<i>Семен Гаврильев</i>	
<b>4. YAKUTÇA VE KIRGIZCADA YERĞİ İÇEREN ATASÖZÜ VE DEYİMLERİN PRAGMATİK YÖNÜ .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<i>Semen Gavriilyev</i>	
<b>5. DOLGANCADAKİ MOĞOLCA KOPYALARIN SES BİLİMSEL ÖZELLİKLERİ .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<i>Hasan Güzel</i>	
<b>6. YAKUTÇANIN AÇIKLAMALI BÜYÜK SÖZLÜĞÜ ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME .....</b>	<b>89</b>
<i>Hasan Hayırsever</i>	
<b>7. HORSE COLOR TERMS IN YAKUT .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<i>Bayarma Khabtagayeva</i>	

<b>8. SAHA TÜRKÇESİNDE HAYVAN ADLARIYLA İLGİLİ AKTARMALAR.....</b>	<b>135</b>
<i>M. Fatih Kirişçioğlu</i>	
<b>9. СЭМЭН АНДРЕЕВИЧ НОВГОРОДОВ ТУЪУНАН .....</b>	<b>155</b>
<i>Надежда Кузьмина</i>	
<b>9. SEMEN ANDREYEVİÇ NOVGORODOV HAKKINDA .....</b>	<b>157</b>
<i>Nadejda Kuzmina</i>	
<b>10. СЕМАНТИЧЕСКАЯ СТРУКТУРА СЛОВ КҮӨХ / КӨК ‘ЗЕЛЕНЫЙ, ГОЛУБОЙ’ В ЯКУТСКОМ И АЛТАЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ.....</b>	<b>159</b>
<i>Алена Прокопьева</i>	
<b>10. YAKUT VE ALTAY DİLLERİNDE KÜÖX / KÖK “YEŞİL, MAVİ” SÖZCÜKLERİNİN SEMANTİK YAPISI.....</b>	<b>165</b>
<i>Alyona Prokopyeva</i>	
<b>11. KONVERGENTE UND DIVERGENTE ENTWICKLUNG DER SEMANTIK BEI DEN VIELDEUTIGEN PHRASEOLOGISMEN DER JAKUTISCHEN SPRACHE .....</b>	<b>169</b>
<i>Svetlana Prokopyeva</i>	
<b>12. SAHA (YAKUT) TÜRKÇESİNDE OLUMSUZLUK YAPILARI.....</b>	<b>179</b>
<i>Mehtap Solak Sağlam</i>	
<b>13. 1857 TARİHLİ SAHA (YAKUT) TÜRKÇESİ İNCİL’DE DEYİM SÖZ VARLIĞI ÜZERİNE.....</b>	<b>189</b>
<i>Ümit Şahin</i>	
<b>14. МОНГОЛЬСКИЕ ПАРАЛЛЕЛИ В РЕЛЕВАНТНЫХ КОНЦЕПТАХ ДИАЛЕКТНОЙ ЛЕКСИКИ ЯКУТСКОГО ЯЗЫКА.....</b>	<b>213</b>
<i>Анастасия Шамаева</i>	
<b>14. YAKUTÇANIN AĞIZLARININ SÖZ VARLIĞINDAKİ MOĞOLCA PARALELLİKLER.....</b>	<b>231</b>
<i>Anastasiya Şamayeva</i>	
<b>15. ULUSLARARASI YAKUTÇA VE DOLGANCA ARAŞTIRMALARINA BAKIŞ.....</b>	<b>247</b>
<i>Emine Yılmaz</i>	
<b>ÖZ GEÇMİŞLER .....</b>	<b>271</b>

# SUNUŞ

Elinizdeki kitap, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Çağdaş Türk Lehçeleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümünün, kuruluşundan beri her yıl düzenlemekte olduğu Türk Dilbiliminde Tanımlama ve Belgeleme üst başlıklı uluslararası toplantıların yedincisi olan ve 17-18 Ekim 2019 tarihinde düzenlenmiş bulunan Uluslararası Yakutça Araştırmaları Çalıştayı'nda sunulmuş bildirilerden oluşmaktadır.

Neden Yakutça!

Bilindiği gibi Yakutça, Çuvaşçadan sonra en eskicil Türk dilidir ve bu nedenle tarihsel/karşılaştırmalı Türk dil bilimi çalışmalarında çok ayrıcalıklı bir yere sahiptir. Ancak Türkiye'de Yakutça çalışmaları henüz başlangıç düzeyindedir. Hacettepe Üniversitesinin bu alanda görece eski bir geleneği olduğu söylenebilir. Prof. Dr. Talat Tekin'in 1972'de Hacettepe Üniversitesinde, doktora düzeyinde başlatmış olduğu Yakutça dersleri kesintisiz olarak bugüne dek sürdürülmüştür. Ayrıca Talat Tekin, elliye yakın akademik yayımında Yakutçaya da geniş yer vermiştir.

Hacettepe'deki bu kırk beş yıllık gelenek, 2012'de Çağdaş Türk Lehçeleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümünün kurulmasıyla biraz daha güçlenmiştir. Bölümün dört araştırma görevlisinden ikisi yüksek lisansını bu alanda yapmıştır ve biri doktora tezini de bu alanda yapmaktadır. Son dört yılda dört kez Yakutistan'da alan araştırması yapmış olan araştırma görevlimiz Hasan Hayırsever, iyi derecede Yakutça bilmektedir.

Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Çağdaş Türk Lehçeleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü, yılda bir kez düzenlediği bu toplantılarda, doğrudan alan araştırmalarıyla belgelediği Türk dillerine odaklanmaktadır. Alan araştırmalarına dayalı bu toplantı aynı zamanda, Türkiye'de, doğrudan Yakutçaya odaklanmış ilk çalıştayıdır. Diğer toplantılarımızda olduğu gibi Yakut çalıştayı da alanın, zaten az sayıda olan tüm uzmanlarına katılım çağrısında bulunduk. Kimi araştırmacılar, farklı programları ya da sağlık sorunları nedeniyle katılamadılar. Bu nedenle toplantı Yakutistan Cumhuriyetinden 5, Dolgan-Nenets Özerk Bölgesi'nden 1, Macaristan'dan 1, Hollanda'dan 1, Fransa'dan 1 ve Türkiye'deki üniversitelerden 7 akademisyenin katılımlarıyla gerçekleşmiştir.

Alana yararlı olması dileklerimizle...

Editörlerden

Ankara 2021

# 7. Horse Color Terms in Yakut

Bayarma Khabtagayeva

## 0. Introduction

For the Yakut people, as for other nomadic peoples, the horse plays a significant role in their life. It has been not only a means of transport but also a source for food and clothes. The horse is a sacral animal for the Yakut people, whose shamanic rites and ceremonies are connected to horses. Due to natural and geographical conditions, there is a native breed of the ‘Yakut horse’, widespread in Yakutia.<sup>1</sup>

There are two terms for “horse” in Yakut: *at* and *silgī*. The first term is used for geldings, i.e. castrated horses, while the second is a general term (Prokopieva<sup>2</sup> 2020: personal communication). From an etymological perspective, both terms are of Turkic origin. While *at* is a common term for *horse* and it is present in all Turkic languages (for data and details, see Ščerbak 1961: 82-83; Clauson 33a; Sevortjan 1974: 197-198), *silgī*, which goes back to Turkic *\*yilgī*, originally had the meaning ‘livestock, quadrupeds, herd of horses’ and later acquired the meaning ‘horse’ (for

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<sup>1</sup> The Yakut breed of horses is frost-resistant, horses have an undercoat and wool eight to fifteen centimeters long. Even in winter, Yakut horses can eat grass under the snow, raking it with hooves. In Yakutia, horses live in the open air all year round (at temperatures in the summer up to +40 ° C and in winter down to –60 ° C) and seek out their food on their own. Yakut horses are stocky, with relatively short legs and a big heads (Yakut horse: online; Serkova: online).

<sup>2</sup> I want to express my thanks to Yakut colleague Alena Prokopieva (North-Eastern Federal University, Yakutsk, Russia) for her valuable comments and providing me with some Yakut materials.

details and data, see Ščerbak 1961: 84; Doerfer TMEN 2: 209-210; Clauson ED 925b; ESTJa 1989: 281-282; Stachowski 1993: 93).

This paper is an extended written version of a paper previously presented in Ankara and the recently published paper *Etymological Notes on Yakut Color Terms* (Khabtagaeva 2019). In the present paper I focus on the special color terms in Yakut: the colors of horses, and discuss them from an etymological and morphological perspective.

### **0.1. Studies on Yakut horse color terms**

The best work on color terms in Turkic languages is Laude-Cirtautas's monograph from 1961, where she investigated the general (summarising) color terms and object color terms. Although most color terms can be used for everything in everyday life, there is a small group with limited use. The focus of this paper is the latter group. Laude-Cirtautas dealt with horse color terms in a book chapter (1961: 105-114).

The peculiarities of horse naming in Yakut and the problems of translating them into Russian and French were studied by Borisova (2013). This paper gives a good overview of horse color terms in Yakut, and, as such, it was one of the important sources in my own research.

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

## **1. Horse color terms in Yakut**

In general, the colors of horses can be divided into *base* color terms and *all other* colors, which consist of combinations and shades of the base colors. Below see the list of the base (chestnut, black, bay, brown and white), dilution (palomino, dun, mouse dun, gray and roan), and spotted colors. The base colors are those that horses have it their coat is of one evenly distributed color. The dilution colors affect the base colors and can freely combine.

In all, seventy-six various color terms connected to horses have been collected from famous Pekarskij's (1959) and Slepcev's (1972) dictionaries, Borisova's paper (2013) and electronic sources (Yakut dictionary: online). Thirty-five of them can be considered as the 'main' names of the horse colors, while the remaining forty-one colors are the colors of horse labels or subtypes. Below see the list of horse color terms according to their colors and markings:

### 1.1. Base color terms

Chestnut' (Russian *рыжий*) is a horse with a light golden-red body, and the mane and tail have the same shade as the coat, slightly lighter or darker (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 37). In Yakut, there are four different basic color terms for 'chestnut':

1. *arağas* 'light chestnut; light yellow, reddish' (Pekarskij 127) → 'tail and mane are lighter, the body is reddish yellow' (Borisova 2013: 84b);

- *kuba arağas* 'honey chestnut; *lit.* yellowish as swan', cf. *kuba* 'swan' (Borisova 2013: 84b) → 'very light yellow horse';

2. *kītarxay* 'chestnut, reddish' (Pekarskij 1444; Yakut dictionary: online);

3. *kugas* 'chestnut, reddish-brown' (Pekarskij 1191; Slepcev 185a);

4. *siär* 'light chestnut' (Pekarskij 2192; Yakut dictionary: online) → 'light reddish brown horse'; 'a horse with faded shade colors of bay, dun or red color, there may be a black belt along the ridge' (Borisova 2013: 85b);

- *kīhīl siär* 'red chestnut, cherry chestnut; *lit.* red chestnut', cf. *kīhīl* 'red' (Yakut dictionary: online);

Black' (Russian *вороной*): this horse color is proportionately rare (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 37). There are four individual labels for black horse color term *xara* in Yakut:

5. *xara* 'black' (Pekarskij 3329; Slepcev 481b);

- *suor xara* 'raven black; *lit.* black as raven', cf. *suor* 'raven' (Yakut dictionary: online);



- *bütäy xara* ‘jet black; *lit.* solid black’, cf. *bütey* ‘solid, continuous’ (Yakut dictionary: online);
- *ölbörkөy xara* ‘fading black; *lit.* dim black’, cf. *ölbörkөy* ‘dim’ → ‘mane and tail are black, the body is brownish black’ (Borisova 2013: 84a);
- *čibiaskay xara* ‘jet black; *lit.* completely black’, cf. *čibiaskay* ‘completely’ (Slepcev 514b; Yakut dictionary: online);

‘Bay’ (Russian *гнедой*) is a red horse with black dots, very common, usually bay coats are fully saturated (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 37). Regarding bay color, *turağas* is the basic word in Yakut:

6. *turağas* ‘bay’ (Pekarskij 2839) → ‘standard bay’;

- *kihil turağas* ‘red bay’, cf. *kihil* ‘red’ → ‘a horse with reddish black mane and tail, the back is red, the belly is light brown’ (Borisova 2013: 85);
- *xān turağas* ‘blood bay’, cf. *xān* ‘blood’; ‘darker than *kihil turağas*’ (Borisova 2013: 85b) → ‘dark blood-red horse, almost purple’;
- *xara turağas* ‘dark bay<sup>3</sup> or black bay; *lit.* black bay’ → ‘horse with a black mane, tail and back, and the body with dark red sides and belly’ (Borisova 2013: 85a);
- *čuogurdāx xara turağas* ‘wild bay; *lit.* dappled blackish bay’ (Yakut dictionary: online), cf. *čuogur* ‘dappled’ + *dĀx* {Yakut denominal noun/adjective suffix: Kharitonov 1947: 134-35} + *xara* ‘black’ + *turağas* ‘bay’ → ‘a horse with minimal black points’;

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<sup>3</sup> Russian distinguishes a separate ‘dark bay’ color *караковый*. A dark bay horse has black color in the whole body, head and extremities, and it has reddish tan marks at the end of the muzzle, around the eyes, and under the belly.

‘Brown’ (Russian *буры́й*) is a horse with a black coat with brown spots (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 37). Yakut has three different terms, all of them etymologically related to each other, and all borrowed from Mongolic *küreŋ ~ küren ~ kürin* ‘brown, dark brown, deep violet’ (Lessing 505a). The Yakut forms *küräŋ* and *kürüŋ* have different vowels in the second syllable and indicate different horse colors, and the third Yakut form is derived with a suffix:

7. *küräŋ* ‘brown’ (Pekarskij 1327) → ‘brown horse with yellowish soft spots’;

8. *kürüŋ* ‘seal brown’ (Pekarskij 1335; Slepcev 201a) → ‘black horse with lighter soft spots’;

- *kürüŋnүgү* ‘brownish’ (Borisova 2013: 84b) <*kürüŋ* ‘brown’ +*nUŋU* {Yakut compound with a denominal noun/adjective suffix, the variant of +*lXŋX*, for details, see Khabtagaeva: 2019: 259};

‘Dominant white’ (Russian *белый*) is the color of a horse which is absent in many classifications. It is heavily debated whether there exists a gene for a white coat and generally agreed that albinism does not exist in horses (Horse colors and patterns: online). Yakut has four different terms for *white* color in horses. From a cultural perspective, the white color has a sacral character among Yakut people, they believe that white horses have a divine origin and were used for various shamanic ceremonies (Borisova 2013: 84b-85a):

9. *maŋan* ‘white’ (Pekarskij 1523; Slepcev 235a; Borisova 2013: 85a);

- *čiŋkil maŋan* ‘entirely white’, cf. *čiŋkil* ‘entirely, completely’ → ‘the horse has white nostrils in the inner side of ears, white tail and white hair on the joints, the mane and ridge are also white, the hooves are transparent’ (Borisova 2013: 85);
- *silbaraŋ maŋan* ‘lit. smooth white’, cf. *silbaraŋ* ‘smooth’ → ‘the horse with black nostrils, black hair around the eyes, a tail and mane are black, black hooves, joints with gray hair, and the main coat is white’ (Borisova 2013: 85a);

10. *ās* ‘yellowish white, gray white’ (Pekarskij 166);
11. *čakir* ‘white’ (Pekarskij 3557; Slepcov 507a);
12. *kārā* ‘white, whitish’ (Pekarskij 1040; Slepcov 222a);
- *ūt kārā* ‘lit. white horse as milk’, cf. *ūt* ‘milk’ (Pekarskij 1040).

## 1.2. Dilutions

‘Palomino’ (Russian *соловый*) is a horse with its entire coat diluted, with a flaxen mane and tail, ranging from cream to dark chocolate (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). Yakut has four different terms for this color:

13. *xoŋor* ‘palomino’ (Pekarskij 3490) → ‘horse with the dark yellow back, while the belly, mane and tail are lighter’ (Borisova 2013: 84b);

14. *sahil ulān* ‘red palomino; lit. red dun as fox’ (Pekarskij 2120; Borisova 2013: 84b), cf. *sahil* ‘fox’ and *ulān* ‘red dun, yellow dun’;

15. *sirdik ulān* ‘isabella palomino; lit. light red dun’ (Borisova 2013: 84b), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’ and *ulān* ‘red dun, yellow dun’;

16. *ölbörköy kugas* ‘golden palomino; lit. dim chestnut’ → ‘yellowish-brown horse with white tail and mane’ (Borisova 2013: 84b), cf. *ölbörköy* ‘dim’ and *kugas* ‘chestnut, reddish-brown’;

‘Dun’ (Russian *буланый и саврасый*) is a horse with a golden or sandy-earthly body, a head, tail and mane which are bright black, and also a black belt that can go along the back (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). There are three base horse colors in Yakut, whereas three other names of colors were formed via compounding:

17. *sālir* ‘dun’ (Pekarskij 2058; Slepcov 305) → ‘classic dun’;

18. *ulān* ‘mouse dun, red dun, yellow dun (of a horse)’ (Slepcov 432b);

19. *bulumas ~ buluŋas* ‘dun’ (Pekarskij 548);

20. *sālir bulumas* ‘dun’ (Pekarskij 548);

- *kihil buluṅas* ‘red-dun’ (Pekarskij 548), cf. *kihil* ‘red’;

21. *kärä jaḡil* ‘lit. whitish dun’ (Pekarskij 701; Borisova 2013: 85b) → ? ‘buttermilk dun’, cf. *kärä* ‘white, whitish’ and *jaḡil* ‘horse with big black spots on the neck and shoulders’;

22. *sirdik siär* ‘red-dun’ (Russian *рыже-саврасая подмасть*) (Borisova 2013: 86a), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’ and *siär* ‘light chestnut’;

23. *xara siär* ‘buckskin’ (Russian *булано-саврасая подмасть*) (Borisova 2013: 86a), cf. *xara* ‘black’ and *siär* ‘light chestnut’;

‘Grulla, mouse dun’ (Russian *мышастый*) is a horse of black-and-gray color, the hair on the horse’s body is of an ashen color, the mane, tail and lower limbs are black and brown, and there is a dark belt, spots on the shoulder blades, and stripes on the legs (Horse colors and patterns: online). The base color is *sur*:

24. *sur* ‘grulla, mouse dun’ (Slepcev 344b);

- *xara sur* ‘slate grulla’ → ‘a grulla horse with black tail, mane and limbs, and the ridge is also black’ (Borisova 2013: 86a), cf. *xara* ‘black’;
- *sirdik sur* ‘silver grulla’ → ‘a horse with light yellow-gray ridge color of ridge, belly and mane’ (Borisova 2013: 86a), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’;
- *sur jaḡil* ‘a gray horse with black spots on the shoulder blades’ (Borisova 2013: 86a), cf. *jaḡil* ‘horse with big black spots on the neck and shoulders’;

‘Gray’ (Russian *серый*) is a horse of dark gray color and various shades of gray (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). There are eleven different gray color terms in Yakut, four of them are basic gray colors:

25. *boroṅ* ‘gray’;

- *xara boronj* ‘dark gray’ → ‘a horse with white tail, with a mixture of white hair of back, limbs are black, prevail is black hair’ (Borisova 2013: 86b), cf. *xara* ‘black’;
- *sirdik boronj* ‘light gray’ → ‘a horse with white hair roots, the tops of hair have a bluish tint, the bottom of the extremities is dark gray’ (Borisova 2013: 86b), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’;
- *ū boronj* ‘lit. gray as a water’ → ‘a horse with an equal mixture of white and black hair throughout the body’ (Borisova 2013: 86b), cf. *ū* ‘water’;
- *timir boronj* ‘lit. gray as an iron’ → ‘darker and brighter than *ū boronj*’ (Borisova 2013: 86b), cf. *timir* ‘iron’;
- *kögöččör boronj* ‘gray’ → ‘a horse with a bluish-gray neck, chest and belly’ (Borisova 2013: 86b), cf. *kögöččör* ‘bluish gray’;

26. *bolomos* ~ *boloŋos* ‘gray’ (Pekarskij 493);

27. *kögöččör* ‘bluish gray and different shades of gray; gray as steel’ (Pekarskij 1122) → ‘steel gray’;

- *xara kögöččör* ‘dark gray’ (Pekarskij 1122), cf. *xara* ‘black’;
- *sirdik kögöččör* ‘light gray’ (Borisova 2013: 87a), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’;
- *kögöččördünjü* ‘grayish, with a grayish tint’ (Slepcov 175);

28. *kärämäs* ‘dark gray’ (Slepcov 222b) → ‘a dark gray horse, which has the color of a black fox, dark hair with silver or white dots prevails; legs, nostrils and mane are dark’ (Borisova 2013: 87a);

‘Roan’ (Russian *чалый*) – a horse has white hairs in its coat, but the head, legs and mane or tail remain “unwhitened”. Unlike gray, roan remains the same throughout the horse’s life but may look lighter in a short summer coat, darker in a long winter coat (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). There are four roan color terms in Yakut:

29. *bülür* ‘roan; dun’ (Pekarskij 549; Slepcov 87b);

- *sirdik būlūr* ‘honey roan; *lit.* light roan’ → ‘a horse is with pale knees, the inside part of the horse’s mane and chest have a light shade, the back, mane and tail are of dun color’ (Borisova 2011: 87a), cf. *sirdik* ‘light colored’;
- *kihil būlūr* ‘chestnut roan; *lit.* red roan’ → ‘a horse, which hair roots are light and the rest part is reddish’ (Borisova 2013: 87a), cf. *kihil* ‘red’;

30. *xagdaŋ kugas* ‘red roan; *lit.* faded red’ (Borisova 2013: 87a), cf. *xagdaŋ* ‘faded’ and *kugas* ‘chestnut, reddish-brown’.

### 1.3. Spotted colors

‘Pinto’ (Russian *nezuū*) is a horse with large white spots all over the coat. Usually, horses of nearly-solid colors (such as chestnut, bay, black and dun) can be referred to with these patterns, while their hooves are partially or completely white. A piebald color is a tobiano with a black base coat, while a skewbald color is a tobiano with any other color base (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). Yakut has ten different words for this color and nine of them are used with the form *älämäs*:

31. *ala* ‘spotted, with white stripes, spots’ (Pekarskij 62; Slepcev 36b);
32. *älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’ (Pekarskij 242; Slepcev 539b);
- *timir älämäs* ‘*lit.* piebald as steel’ (Pekarskij 242), cf. *timir* ‘iron’;
  - *küöx älämäs* ‘dark gray piebald; *lit.* blue piebald’ → ‘dark gray horse with large white spots’ (Pekarskij 242; Borisova 2013: 87b), cf. *küöx* ‘blue’;
  - *ulān älämäs* ‘skewbald tobiano; *lit.* spotted palomino’ (Pekarskij 242), cf. *ulān* ‘red dun, yellow dun’;

- *kitalik älämäs* ‘skewbald tobiano; *lit.* spotted as a Siberian Crane’ → ‘a horse which has white spots on extremities’ (Borisova 2013: 87b); cf. *kitalik* ‘Siberian Crane’<sup>4</sup>;
- *kärä älämäs* ‘skewbald tobiano; *lit.* spotted whitish horse’ (Pekarskij 242), cf. *kärä* ‘white, whitish’;
- *ägin älämäs* ‘*lit.* spotted variously’ (Pekarskij 242); cf. *ägin* ‘different, various’;
- *jäli älämäs* ‘*lit.* “freely” mottled’ → ‘a horse with large white spots below the wrists of the hind limbs’ (Borisova 2013: 87b); cf. *jäli* ‘arbitrariness’;
- *berbēkey älämäs* ‘*lit.* mottled ankle bone’ → ‘a horse with white spots on the lower legs’ (Borisova 2013: 87b), cf. *berbēkey* ‘ankle bone’;

‘Appaloosa or spotted’ (Russian *чубарый*) is a horse with small oval dark spots, black or brown in corpus with light skin; or a bright spot on the croup with dark spots (Horse colors and patterns: online; Silver 1976: 40). There are three different terms for ‘spotted’ horses in Yakut:

33. *čuoğur* ‘spotted, with dark spots’ (Pekarskij 3688);

- *čöčüğur čuoğur* ‘a spotted horse with small specks’ (Borisova 2013: 87b);
- *kihil čuoğur* ‘a horse with red spots; *lit.* spotted red’<sup>5</sup> (Pekarskij 3688; Borisova 2013: 87b), cf. *kihil* ‘red’;
- *xara čuoğur* ‘a horse with dark color with light color spots; *lit.* spotted black’ (Pekarskij 3688; Borisova 2013: 87b);
- *soho čuoğur* ‘a reddish horse with white apples on the back; *lit.* spotted as *soho*’<sup>6</sup> (Pekarskij 2290; Borisova 2013: 87b);

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<sup>4</sup> The Siberian white crane or snow crane (Lat. *Grus leucogeranus*) is a sacred bird for the Yakut people.

<sup>5</sup> Due to the rarity of the color, shamans sacrificed these horses to evil spirits from the lower world (Pekarskij 3688).

34. *jaḡil* ‘horse with big spots on the neck and shoulders’ (Slepcev 124b)

- *sur jaḡil* ‘a gray [horse] with black spots on the shoulders’, cf. *sur* ‘gray’;

35. *äbiriän* ‘spotted, a horse with a small specks’ (Pekarskij 221; Borisova 2013: 87b).

## 2. The etymological background of horse color terms in Yakut

From an etymological point of view, the horse color terms are either of Turkic or of Mongolic origin, no Russian or Tungusic loanwords are used. Statistically, there are twenty color terms, seven of them are Common Turkic, twelve of them are Mongolic loanwords, and one color term has a hybrid Turkic-Mongolic etymology. The largest number of Mongolic loanwords proves the enormous Mongolic influence on the Yakut lifestyle.

### 2.1. The color terms of Turkic origin

Yakut *ala* ‘dappled, spotted, with white spots (*color of horse*)’ ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *āla* ‘parti-colored, dappled, mottled, spotted, blotchy’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 70-76; ESTJa 1974: 129; Doerfer TMEN 2: 95-97; Räsänen VEWT 15a, Clauson ED 126a and SIGTJa 2001: 607-608);

Yakut *siär* ‘light chestnut’ <\*yägär <\*yägrä ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *yägrän* ‘chestnut’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961:109; Räsänen VEWT 194b; Clauson ED 913a; ESTJa 1989: 22-24; Stachowski 1993: 65);

Yakut *xara* ‘black’ ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qara* ‘black’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: §1-16; Räsänen

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<sup>6</sup> *soho* is a kind of soft red-colored stone, a kind of ocher (Pekarskij 2290).



VEWT 235ab; Doerfer TMEN 3: 426-433; Clauson ED 643b; Stachowski 1993: 253; ESTJa 1997: 286-288 and SIGTJa 2001: 601);

Yakut *xoŋor* ‘light bay, palomino’ ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *qoŋur* ‘dark chestnut (*of a horse’s coat*)’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 100-102; Doerfer TMEN 3: 1536; 1985: 37; Räsänen VEWT 280-281; Clauson ED 639b and ESTJa 2000: 62-65).

A separate group includes the derived color terms of Turkic origin which developed internally in Yakut. Here belong the 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 *kuğas* ‘chestnut’ < \**quba* +*Xš* ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *quba* ‘pale, pale yellow, pale grey’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: §91; Räsänen VEWT 295; Clauson ED 581a; Stachowski 1993: 116; ESTJa 2000: 93-94);

Yakut *arağas* ~ *araŋas* ‘light chestnut (*also yellowish, reddish*)’ < \**s’arig* +*Xš* ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *sarig* ‘yellow’ (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 64-68; Doerfer TMEN 3: 220- 221; Räsänen VEWT 403b; Clauson ED 848a; SIGTJa 2001: 601 and ESTJa 2003: 206-208);

Yakut *turağas* ‘bay’ < \**turağ* +*Xš* ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *toruğ* (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Laude-Cirtautas 1961: §106; Räsänen VEWT 489b; Doerfer TMEN 2: 475-477 and Clauson ED 538a);

Yakut *ās* ‘yellowish white, gray white’ < ??? \**ağas* < \**āq* +*Xš* ~ Turkic: cf. Old Turkic *āq* ‘white’.

## 2.2. Mongolic loanwords

Yakut *boroŋ* ‘gray’ < \**boro* +*ŋ* {an additional Yakut consonant which appears sporadically in the Mongolic loanwords:<sup>7</sup> see Kałużyński

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<sup>7</sup> E.g. Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *γolumta* ‘fireplace in a yurt’ → Yakut *xolumtan*; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *qayalya* ‘gate, door’ → Yakut *xalyan*; Mongolic:

1962: 56} ← Mongolic<sup>8</sup> \**boro* ‘grey, brown; dark, swarthy (face); plain, simple’: cf. Literary Mongolian *boro* ~ *bora* (Rassadin 1980: 72) ← Bulghar Turkic \**bōrō* ‘gray’: cf. Old Turkic *bōz*<sup>9</sup>;

Yakut *būlūr* ‘roan; dun’ ← Mongolic<sup>10</sup> \**būrul* ‘grey, grey-haired, greyish’: cf. Literary Mongolian *buyurul* ~ *buyural* (Kałużyński 1962: 34, 66; Rassadin 1980: 72);

Yakut *čakīr* ‘white’ ← Mongolic<sup>11</sup> \**čaqir* > *čakir* ‘very white, light, snow white; white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird’ < \**ča*<sup>12</sup>+*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’;<sup>13</sup>

Yakut *čuogur* ‘variegated, multicolored’, cf. another form where excrescence happened: Yakut *čōčugur* ‘id.’ ← Mongolic<sup>14</sup> \**čōqur*

Literary Mongolian *sirqa* ‘wound; sore’ → Yakut *siryān*; Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *tayaburi* ‘guess, riddle’ → Yakut *tābirih*; etc. (Khabtagaeva 2011: 103)

<sup>8</sup> 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 *bor*; Khalkha, Kalmuck *bor* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 285).

<sup>9</sup> 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).

<sup>10</sup> 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 *būrļ* (for more Mongolic data, see Nugteren 2011: 293).

<sup>11</sup> Middle Mongol -; Modern Mongol: Buryat *saxir*; Khalkha *caxir*; Kalmuck *tsäkr*; Onon Khamnigan - .

<sup>12</sup> 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).

<sup>13</sup> For more Turkic data and etymology, see Räsänen (VEWT 96), Doerfer (TMEN 2: 77) and Clauson (ED 409b).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Mukaddimat al-Adab *čōqur* ‘mottled’; Rasulid Hexaglot *čōqur*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *čouqor* ‘horse with white spots’; Modern Mongol: Buryat *sōxor*

<čooqor ‘variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled; pockmarked’: cf. Literary Mongolian *čooqor* ~ *čooqor* (Kałużyński 1962: 36; Rassadin 1980: 72);

Yakut *jağil* ‘horse with big spots on the neck and shoulders’ ← Mongolic<sup>15</sup> \**jaɣal* ‘having dark spots on the neck and shoulders (of a stallion or gelding)’: cf. Literary Mongolian *jaɣal* (Rassadin 1980: 72);

Yakut *kürä* ‘white, whitish’ ← Mongolic<sup>16</sup> \**kēr*<sup>17</sup>: Literary Mongolian *keger* ‘bay of chestnut’;

Yakut *kögöččör* ‘bluish gray and different shades of gray; gray as steel’ <\**köke* + *ččAr* {Yakut denominal noun/adjective suffix of Mongolic origin<sup>18</sup>} ← Mongolic: Literary Mongolian *köke* ‘blue, sky-blue; green; ash-colored’ ← Turkic \**kökč*; cf. Old Turkic *kök* ‘sky-colored, blue, blue-gray’;

Yakut *kürüŋ* ‘brown’, *kürüŋ* ‘seal brown’ ← Mongolic<sup>19</sup> \**kürenj*<sup>20</sup> ‘dark brown, maroon (of fur); deep violet’: Literary Mongolian *küreng* (Kałużyński 1962: 54, 7, 110).

‘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)’.

<sup>15</sup> Middle Mongol: Yi yu *čaɣal* ~ *jaɣal*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *zagal*; Onon Khamnigan *dzagal*; Dagur -; Khalkha *dzagal*; Kalmuck *zagol*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *kegēr*; 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*.

<sup>17</sup> Mongolic → Siberian Turkic ‘chestnut’: Yenisey Turkic: Shor *kār*; Chulym Turkic *kār*; Altay Turkic: Altay, Quu, Teleut *kār*; Kipchak: Kazak, Kirgiz *kār*. For more details and data, see Laude-Cirtautas (1961: §114), Stachowski (1993: 88).

<sup>18</sup> 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. *alajčar* ‘colorful’ <*alaj* ‘multicolored, spotted, variegated, motley’, *boročar* ‘greyish, brownish’ <*boro* ‘grey’, *nojočar* ‘greenish’ <*nojoγan* ‘green’, *qaračar* ‘blackish’ <*qara* ‘black’, etc. (Khabtagaeva 2001: 116)

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid Hexaglot *küren*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *xüri(n)*; Onon Khamnigan *kürin*; Dagur *xurin*; Khalkha *xüren*; Oirat *kürün* ~ *kürin*.

<sup>20</sup> Mongolic → Modern Turkic: Tuvan *xüreŋ* ‘brown’ (Khabtagaeva 2001: 236).

Yakut *maḡan* ~ *maḡan* ‘white, whitish’ ← Mongolic<sup>21</sup> \**maḡqan* ‘horse with a star on its forehead’:<sup>22</sup> Literary Mongolian *mangqan*, cf. *mangqar* ‘horse or cattle with a white head or face’ (Rassadin 1980: 72; Khabtagaeva 2019: 255);

Yakut *sālir* ‘dun’ ← Mongolic<sup>23</sup> \**sāral* <*sayaral* ‘ashen, dun-colored’: Literary Mongolian *sayaral* ~ *saral* (Kałużyński 1962: 66; Rassadin 1980: 72);

Yakut *sur* ‘gray’ <\**sūr*<sup>24</sup> ← ? Mongolic<sup>25</sup> \**sayural* <*sayaral* ‘ashen, dun-colored’: cf. Literary Mongolian *sayaral*;

Yakut *ulān* ‘mouse dun, red dun, yellow dun (of a horse)’ ← Mongolic<sup>26</sup> \**ulān* <\**hulān* ‘red’: cf. Literary Mongolian *ulayan* ‘red’ (Kałużyński 1962: 28; Rassadin 1980: 72).

<sup>21</sup> Middle Mongol -; Modern Mongol: Buryat, Onon Khamnigan -; Khalkha *manxan*; Kalmuck *maḡxon*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Mongolic → Siberian Turkic: Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *maḡxan* ‘pale yellow’; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *maḡan* ‘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).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *sayāral*; Rasulid Hexaglot *saral*; Modern: Buryat *hāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral*; Dagur *sārəl*; Khalkha *sāral*; Kalmuck *sārɫ* (see also, Nugteren 2011: 479).

<sup>24</sup> 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-*, which confirms the foreign origin of the word due to the phonetic rule that the original Turkic initial consonant \**s-* is regularly deleted in Yakut (Khabtagaeva 2019: 257).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Rasulid Hexaglot *saral*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *hāral*; Onon Khamnigan *sāral*; Dagur *sārəl*; Khalkha *sāral*; Kalmuck *sārɫ* (for more data, see Nugteren 2011: 479).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *ulayān*; Secret History, Hua-yi yi-yu *hula’an*; Yi yu *fula’an*; Zhiyuan Yiyu *hulā*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *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).

### 2.3. Hybrid word

There is one example of hybrid Turco-Mongolic origin. The Yakut word is *äbiriän* ‘a horse with a small specks’, consisting of two Yakut forms *äbir* ‘specks, freckles’ and *äriän* ‘mottled, multicolored’:

Yakut *äbir* < \**säp-Xr* {Yakut deverbal noun suffix<sup>27</sup>} ~ Turkic \**säp-*: cf. Old Turkic *säp-* ‘to equip, fit out’; \**säp-kil* ‘freckles’: Tuvan, Kazakh *sekpil*; Kirgiz, Karakalpak, Nogai *sepkil* (for more Turkic data and etymology, see Clauson ED 784; ESTJa 2003: 240-242; Róna-Tas & Berta WOT 790-793)

+ Yakut *äriän* ‘mottled, multicolored (usually cow)’ ← Mongolic<sup>28</sup> \**eriyen* ‘motley, variegated’: cf. Literary Mongolian *eriyen* (Kałużyński 1962: 33; Rassadin 1980: 72).

## 3. Phonetic changes

### 3.1. Excrescence

There is one case where for the intensivity of the color, excrescence is used:

*čöčuğur* ‘variegated, multicolored’ < *čuogur* ‘id.’, cf. *čöčuğur čuogur* ‘a spotted horse with small specks’.

### 3.2. Change of vowels

Yakut has two terms which etymologically go back to the same Mongolic word *küreŋ* ‘brown, dark brown’ (Lessing 505a). The Yakut forms *küräŋ* and *kürüŋ* have different vowels in the second syllable and indicate different horse colors:

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps it is related to the suffix of Mongolic origin *-(X)r*, which forms adjectives, e.g. *bokur* ‘bent, curved’ ← *bokuy-* ‘to be bent (of legs); to bow (squatting)’; *nolur* ‘long, long-skirted, drawing close to the earth’ ← *noluy-* ‘to spread, to be dragged’ (Károly 2013: 146-147).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Modern Mongol: Buryat *eryēn*; Onon Khamnigan *eryēn*; Khalkha *erēn*; Kalmuck *erēn*.

*kürāŋ* ‘brown’ → ‘brown horse with yellowish soft spots’;

*kürüŋ* ‘seal brown’ → ‘black horse with lighter soft spots’.

## 4. The morphological characteristics of the horse color terms in Yakut

### 4.1. Derivation

The group includes the Yakut base stems where the native Yakut denominal noun/adjective suffixes are added:

#### 1. $+(V)rKAy$

The Yakut compound suffix  $+(V)rKAy$  consists of the denominal verbal suffix  $+(V)r-$  and the deverbal noun suffix  $-KAy$  (Károly 2013: 107-108; Khabtagaeva 2019: 260). Both suffixes are productive in Yakut. The former is of Turkic origin and forms intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives (Ubrjatova 1982: 219-220), while the latter,  $-KAy \sim -GAy$ , is of Mongolic origin (Kałużyński 1962: 76) and forms adjectives:

*kītarxay* ‘chestnut, red’  $<*kīt + (A)rKAy$  {Yakut denominal noun/adjective suffix: Károly 2013: 107–108; Khabtagaeva 2019: 260}  $<*kīt + Ar-$  {Yakut denominal verbal suffix: Ubrjatova 1982: 219} and  $-KAy \sim -GAy$  {Yakut deverbal noun/adjective suffix of Mongolic origin: Kałużyński 1962: 76; Ubrjatova 1982: 165}  $\sim$  Turkic  $*qiz-$ : cf. Old Turkic *qizar-* ‘to be or become red’ (For the etymological background, see Clauson ED 685a; Stachowski 1993: 94);

#### 2. $+lXŋX$

The Yakut suffix  $+lŋl / +lUŋU$  (with different variants  $+dŋl / +dUŋU$ ,  $+tŋl / +tUŋU$ ,  $+nŋl / +nUŋU$ ) forms nouns designating slight shades of colors (Khabtagaeva 2019: 259), which developed from the Turkic denominal verbum suffix  $+lA-$  (Ubrjatova 1982: 217) and the Yakut deverbal noun suffix  $-ŋl$  of Mongolic origin (Kałużyński 1962: 95):

*kürüŋnünü* ‘brownish’  $<kürüŋ$  ‘brown’  $+nUŋU$ ;

*kögöččördünü* ‘grayish, with a grayish tint’  $<kögöččör$  ‘bluish gray’  $+dUŋU$ ;

### 3. +*mAs* ~ +*nas*

The origin of the suffix is unclear. Following Kałużyński (1968: 111), Károly (2013: 63-64) believes that the suffix is originally a deverbal noun suffix, which goes back to Turkic *-mAc̣*.<sup>29</sup> I believe that it is more correct to distinguish a separate suffix +*mAs*, which forms horse color terms from ‘petrified’ bases, i.e. all forms are derived from color terms which are absent in Modern Yakut:

*älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’ <\**älä*: cf. *ala* ‘dappled, spotted, with white spots (*color of horse*)’ (~ Turkic);

*bolomos* ~ *boloŋos* ‘gray’ <\**bolo*: cf. *boroŋ* ‘gray’, *bolōrxoy* ~ *balārxay* ‘ash-colored, ashy-grey, dark grey’ and *borolxoy* ‘grey’ (<\**boro* ‘grey’ +*rKAY*), *boloruy-* ‘to become grey’ (← Mongolic ← Turkic);

*bulumas* ~ *buluŋas* ‘dun’ <\**bulu*: cf. *būlūr* ‘roan; dun’ (← Mongolic);

*kärämäs* ‘dark gray’ <*kärä* ‘white, whitish’ (← Mongolic).

## 4.2. Compounds

The compound horse color terms are combined with two complementary stems. A determinative color or word is always in the first position of compounding.

### 1. Compound color terms:

There are three different semantic groups of compounding:

- *black* and *blue* indicate a **darker color**:

*xara turaġas* ‘dark bay’, cf. *turaġas* ‘bay’;

*xara siär* ‘buckskin’, cf. *siär* ‘light chestnut’;

*xara sur* ‘slate grulla’, cf. *sur* ‘gray’;

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<sup>29</sup> E.g. *talamas* ~ *talimas* (<\**tal-mAc̣*) ‘choice, selection’ <*tal-* ‘to choose’; *tiärmas* (<\**tägir-mAc̣*) ‘ring’ <*tiär-* ‘to turn’, *tälämäs* ‘large quadrangular rag’ <*täl-* ‘to cut; to cut something from leather; to mow’, etc.

*xara kōgōččör* ‘dark gray’, cf. *kōgōččör* ‘bluish gray’;

*xara čuoğur* ‘a horse with dark color with light color spots’, cf. *čuoğur* ‘dappled, spotted’;

*küöx älämäs* ‘dark gray piebald’, cf. *älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’;

- *white* suggests a **lighter color**:

*kärä jağil* ‘buttermilk dun’, cf. *jağil* ‘horse with big black spots on the neck and shoulders’;

*kärä älämäs* ‘skewbald tobiano’, cf. *älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’;

- *red* is the most widely used shade in compounds:

*kihil siär* ‘red chestnut, cherry chestnut’, cf. *siär* ‘chestnut’;

*kihil turağas* ‘red bay’, cf. *turağas* ‘bay’;

*kihil buluņas* ‘red-dun’, cf. *buluņas* ‘dun’;

*kihil bülür* ‘chestnut roan’, cf. *bülür* ‘roan; dun’;

*kihil čuoğur* ‘a horse with red spots’.

## 2. Secondary color terms:

The following horse color terms were added with names of animals, plants, metals, etc. to intensify the horse colors. Some examples are as follows

- horse color terms formed from names of natural phenomena:

*ū boroŋ* ‘*lit.* gray as a water (a horse with an equal mixture of white and black hair throughout the body)’ <*ū* ‘water’ and *boroŋ* ‘gray’;

- horse color terms formed from names of metals:

*timir boroŋ* ‘*lit.* gray as an iron’ <*timir* ‘iron’ and *boroŋ* ‘gray’;

*timir älämäs* ‘*lit.* piebald as steel’ <*timir* ‘iron’ and *älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’;

- horse color terms formed from names of animals and birds:



*kuba arağas* ‘honey chestnut; *lit.* yellowish as a swan’ <*kuba* ‘swan’ and *arağas* ‘light chestnut’;

*suor xara* ‘raven black; *lit.* black as a raven’ <*suor* ‘raven’ and *xara* ‘black’;

*kitalik älämäs* ‘skewbald tobiano; *lit.* spotted as a Siberian Crane’ <*kitalik* ‘Siberian Crane’ and *älämäs* ‘spotted, mottled’;

*sahil ulān* ‘red palomino; *lit.* red dun as a fox’ <*sahil* ‘fox’ and *ulān* ‘red dun, yellow dun’;

- horse color terms formed from names of fluids:

*xān turağas* ‘dark blood-red horse, almost purple; *lit.* blood bay’ <*xān* ‘blood’ + *turağas* ‘bay’;

- horse color terms formed from names of food:

*ūt kārā* ‘*lit.* horse white as milk’ <*ūt* ‘milk’ + *kārā* ‘white’.

### 3. Intensive and faint shades of colors

The intensity and the faintness of colors can be formed with special words, for instance, the following:

- intensive colors:

*bütäy xara* ‘jet black; *lit.* solid black’ <*bütäy* ‘solid, continuous’ and *xara* ‘black’;

*čibiaskay xara* ‘jet black; *lit.* completely black’ <*čibiaskay* ‘completely’ and *xara* ‘black’;

*čiŋkil maŋan* ‘white’ <*čiŋkil* ‘entirely, completely’ and *maŋan* ‘white’;

*silbaraŋ maŋan* ‘*lit.* smooth white’, cf. *silbaraŋ* ‘smooth’ and *maŋan* ‘white’;

- light, pale and dim colors. There are two different terms in Yakut: *ölbörkөy*<sup>30</sup> is for designation *dim and pale* colors, *sirdik* is for designation *light* colors:

*ölbörkөy xara* ‘fading black; *lit.* dim black’, cf. *xara* ‘black’;

*ölbörkөy kugas* ‘golden palomino; *lit.* dim chestnut’, cf. *kugas* ‘chestnut, reddish-brown’;

*sirdik ulān* ‘isabella palomino; *lit.* light red dun’, cf. *ulān* ‘red dun, yellow dun’;

*sirdik siār* ‘red-dun’, cf. *siār* ‘light chestnut’;

*sirdik sur* ‘silver grulla’, cf. *sur* ‘gray’;

*sirdik kögöččөр* ‘light gray’, cf. *kөгöčчөр* ‘bluish gray’;

*sirdik bülür* ‘honey roan; *lit.* light roan’, cf. *bülür* ‘roan; dun’.

## 5. Conclusion

In all, seventy-six different color terms used for horses are collected from the Yakut language. Thirty-four of them can be considered as the basic names of the horse suits, while the remaining forty-two colors are the colors of horse labels, which are morphologically formed via compounding with another color term or different names of animals, plants, metals for intensity the colors.

From an etymological perspective, of twenty terms, seven color terms are of Common Turkic origin, twelve are Mongolic borrowings, and one color term, *äbiriän* ‘a horse with a small specks’, has a hybrid Turkic-Mongolic etymology. According to the character of use, of twenty-six basic color terms of horses, twenty have limited application, i.e. the color is used only for horses (in a few cases for other animals), and only six are used as general (summarising) color terms, i.e. they can be used for anything in everyday life. This fact shows how important horse color terms are in the Yakut lifestyle.

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<sup>30</sup> \**ölbö* ‘pale’ +*rKAY* {Yakut denominal noun/adjective suffix}. For more details on etymology, see Khabtagaeva (2019: 260).

The etymology and character of use of the base horse color terms in Yakut can be outlined in the following table:

horse color	Yakut form	origin	use
chestnut	<i>kuğas</i>	Turkic <i>quba</i> 'pale' + <i>Xš</i> {Turkic denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
	<i>kūtarxay</i>	Turkic * <i>qiz</i> 'red' + <i>(A)r-</i> {Turkic denominal verbum suffix} - <i>KAy</i> {Yakut deverbil noun/adjective suffix of Mongolic origin}	general
light chestnut	<i>arağas</i>	Turkic <i>sarığ</i> 'yellow' + <i>Xš</i> {Turkic denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	general
	<i>siār</i>	Turkic * <i>yāğār</i> < <i>yāğrān</i> 'chestnut'	limited
black	<i>xara</i>	Turkic <i>qara</i> 'black'	general
bay	<i>turağas</i>	Turkic <i>toruğ</i> 'bay' + <i>Xš</i> {Turkic denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
brown	<i>kūrāj</i>	Mongolic <i>kürej</i> 'brown, dark brown'	general
	<i>kürüj</i>		
white	<i>mañan</i>	Mongolic <i>mañan</i> 'horse with a star on its forehead'	general
	<i>ās</i>	? Turkic <i>āq</i> 'white' + <i>Xš</i> {Turkic denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
	<i>čakir</i>	Mongolic <i>čakir</i> 'very white, light, snow white; white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird'	limited
	<i>kārā</i>	Mongolic * <i>kēr</i> < <i>keger</i> 'bay of chestnut'	limited
palomino	<i>xoñor</i>	Turkic <i>qoñur</i> 'dark chestnut'	limited
dun	<i>sālir</i>	Mongolic * <i>sāral</i> < <i>sayaral</i> 'ashen, dun-colored'	limited
	<i>ulān</i>	Mongolic * <i>ulān</i> < <i>ulayan</i> 'red'	limited
grulla, mouse dun	<i>sur</i> < * <i>sūr</i>	Mongolic * <i>sayural</i> < <i>sayaral</i> 'ashen, dun-colored'	limited
gray	<i>boroñ</i>	Mongolic <i>boro</i> 'gray' ← Bulghar Turkic * <i>bōrō</i> 'gray': Old Turkic <i>bōz</i> ;	general
	<i>bolomos</i>	Mongolic <i>boro</i> 'gray' (see above) + <i>mAs</i> {Yakut denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
	<i>kārāmās</i>	Mongolic * <i>kēr</i> (see above Yakut <i>kārā</i> 'white') + <i>mAs</i> {Yakut denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
	<i>kōğöččör</i>	Mongolic * <i>kōkečer</i> < <i>kōke</i> ← Bulghar Turkic * <i>kōkē</i> 'blue': Old Turkic <i>kōk</i> ;	limited
roan; dun	<i>bülür</i>	Mongolic * <i>bürul</i> < <i>buçurul</i> 'grey, grey-haired, greyish'	limited
	<i>bulumas</i>	Mongolic * <i>bürul</i> (see above) + <i>mAs</i> {Yakut denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
spotted	<i>ala</i>	Turkic <i>āla</i> 'dappled, mottled, spotted'	limited
	<i>ālāmās</i>	Turkic <i>āla</i> 'dappled, mottled, spotted' + <i>mAs</i> {Yakut denominal nomen/adjective suffix}	limited
	<i>čuoğur</i>	Mongolic <i>čooqor</i> 'variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled'	limited
	<i>jağil</i>	Mongolic <i>jayal</i> 'having dark spots on the neck and shoulders'	limited
	<i>ābiriān</i> < <i>ābir</i> 'freckles' + <i>āriān</i> 'mottled'	hybrid: Turkic * <i>sāp-Xr</i> + Mongolic <i>eriyen</i> 'motley, variegated'	limited

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