

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Volume 54 (1), 85–165 (2001)

COLOUR NAMES AND THEIR SUFFIXES*

A STUDY ON THE HISTORY OF MONGOLIAN WORD FORMATION

BAIARMA KHABTAGAEVA**
(Szeged)

Mongolian word formation and Mongolian colour names are considered a neglected field of study in Mongolistic literature. The aim of this paper is to find out if there is an affinity between certain lexical groups and specific word-forming suffixes. In order to answer this question, the author collected material on Mongolian word formation connected with colour names. Of the 108 suffixes examined, 49 are used with colour names and other lexical groups, and 59 are restricted to colour names, that is, they show special affinity to a specific lexical group, namely, to colour names.

Key words: Mongolian word formation, classification, basic colour names, object colour names, suffixes, semantics.

1. Introduction

1.1. Ways of Mongolian word formation

There are several ways of forming words in the Mongolian languages. Among these, suffixation is the most productive. But before we are discussing it, let us briefly review the others.

1. Word formation with strengthening prefix.¹ The first syllable is duplicated and a *-b* is added to it, as e.g. *qab qalagun* ‘extremely hot’, *sib sineken* ‘entirely new’, *ab adali* ‘very alike’. In another type of prefixation the first syllable is duplicated and the *-rA*, *-ro*, *-ri* syllable is added to it. This kind of partial re-

* I would like to express my thanks to Professor András Róna-Tas for his guidance of my work, and to Professors György Kara and Árpád Berta for their helpful advice. Thanks to my colleagues who helped me in the first steps of my work. I am also indebted to the Open Society Institute for its financial support, while I was on OSI scholarship in 1999–2001, which made this work possible.

** Baiarma Khabtagaeva, University of Szeged, H-6726 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2. Hungary,
e-mail: bkempf@freemail.hu.

¹ For more details see Bese (1960).

duplication may be used only if the word is the derivative of the *-GAr* suffix. E.g. Bur: *ara arbagar* ‘očen’ kosmatyj’, *boro borxigor* ‘očen’ nevzračnyj (*starjyj dom*)’, *tere tesxeger* ‘tolstyj-pretolstyj’. A third type is when a *-d(o)* syllable is added to the reduplicated first syllable, e.g. Bur. *bad balai* ‘temnym-temno, ničego ne vidno’, *bod boro* ‘soveršenno seryj’, *godo godogor* ‘čeresčur torčaščij, pripodnjatyj (*o hvoste*)’, *mad malān* ‘sovsem lysyj’, *mad mayā* ‘očen’ krivoj (*o nogah*)’, *šodo šodogor* ‘očen’ tonkij’.

2. Reduplication.
 - (a) Simple reduplication: Khal: *öndör-öndör* ‘very high’, *üye-üye* ‘from time to time’, *yamar-yamar* ‘what-all kinds of?’, *xen-xen* ‘who-all?’, *urt-urt* ‘very long’.
 - (b) Reduplication with additional word initial: Khal: *arix-marix* ‘all kinds of alcoholic beverages’, *ajil-majil* ‘work’, *apparat-mapparat* ‘camera’.
 - (c) Reduplication with change of the original initial:² Khal. *ger-mer* ‘the yurt and everything around’, *max-cax* ‘meat’, *cās mās* ‘paper’, *jolig-molig* ‘good-for-nothing’ Bur. *borxi-torxi* ‘nevzračnyj’; *pirō-mirō* ‘zap. pero (< Russian)’.
 - (d) Reduplication with change in vocalism: Bur. *meliger-müliger* ‘gladkij-pre-gladkij’, *pilxagar-pülxeger* ‘puhlyj’, Kalm: *salwr-sulwr* ‘in Unordnung’.
3. Compounds. The two stems are complementary or denote extremes: Bur. *exe-esäge* ‘parents (*lit.* mother–father)’, *axa-dū* ‘brothers’, *xolo-oiro* ‘*lit.* far–near: environs’, *ama-xamar* ‘*lit.* mouth–nose: face, physiognomy’, *gar-xüil* ‘*lit.* hands–feet: extremity’.
4. Suffixation. The word formative is added to primary stems and stems which already have suffix(es).

Suffixes may be divided into suffixes with unrestricted use and suffixes with restricted use, both of which may be divided further into simple and compound suffixes.

According to function, we distinguish between suffixes which form nouns from nouns (denominal nominals NN) and from verbs (deverbal nominals VN), and suffixes which form verbs from nouns (denominal verbs NV) and from verbs (deverbal verbs VV). In many cases, the suffix initial depends on the final of the stem. According to the vowel-harmony that characterises Mongolian languages, the vocalism of the suffix follows the vocalism of the stem.

The aim of our investigation is to find out whether or not all suffixes with unrestricted use may be added to stems of all lexical classes, or is there a restriction according to which some suffixes cannot be added to some word classes, while other suffixes have an “affinity” to certain word classes.

We have selected the names of colours as the subject of our research and shall investigate (1) which suffixes may be added to colour names only and (2) which suffixes may be added to colour names as well as to other word classes.

² For more details see Sanžeev (1941, pp. 119–121).

1.2. Earlier researches on Mongolian word formation

Before we present our material and to draw some conclusions, we shall briefly review the earlier literature on Mongolian word formation.

The beginnings of Mongolian studies are linked to the name of I. J. Schmidt (1779–1847), a Dutch scholar and a member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, who came to Russia from Holland as a merchant at the age of nineteen. He devoted his life to Mongolian studies after he had lived for three years among the Kalmucks, learning their language and customs.

It was an important event in the history of Mongolian studies when he published his grammar of the Mongolian language (Schmidt 1831) and a Mongolian–German–Russian dictionary (Schmidt 1835). He was the first to apply a scientific method in studying the Written Mongolian language.

Real research on the Mongolian language started when the Department of the Mongolian language was established at the University of Kazan in 1833, with J. Kowalewski³ as its head. During the 22 years of its existence, such fundamental works were carried out as Kowalewski's grammar of Written Mongolian (Kowalewski 1835), his Mongolian dictionary (Kowalewski), which is still in use, and A. V. Popov's grammar of the Kalmuck language (Popov 1848).

A. A. Bobrovnikov's⁴ grammar comparing two written Mongolian languages, namely, the Written Mongolian and the Written Oirat, was published in 1849 (Bobrovnikov 1849). It was the first grammar which cited examples from the spoken language.

In 1855, the department was moved to St. Petersburg, and Professor A. V. Popov (1808–1865)⁵ became its head.

A. M. Castrén, a scholar of the spoken Buriat language and its dialects, was the next to exert a decisive influence on the course of Mongolian studies. His grammar of the Buriat language (Castrén 1857) was in use for more than fifty years.

G. J. Ramstedt's (1873–1950) seminal studies, dealing with the phonetics and morphology of the Mongolian and Turkic languages (Ramstedt 1952), influence the work of scholars even today. He was the first to draw attention to the ancient glossaries of Mongolian spoken in the 13th century, comparing them with Written Mongolian and Khalkha forms. His Kalmuck dictionary (Ramstedt 1935), which is a treasury of useful information on Kalmuck phonology and Mongolian etymology, shows the scrupulous exactness of his work.

When Ramstedt arrived in St. Petersburg to lecture on Mongolian and Altaic subjects he met W. Kotwicz (1872–1944), a Polish scholar who belonged to the Radloff circle. From the point of view of Mongolian morphology, his grammar of Written Mongolian (Kotwicz 1902) for university students and his grammar of spoken Kalmuck (Kotwicz 1929) must be mentioned. The results of his research are summarised in the book published by his student M. Lewicki (Kotwicz 1953).

³ For more details see Ulymžiev (1994, pp. 26–44).

⁴ For more details see Ulymžiev (1994, pp. 86–95).

⁵ For more details see Ulymžiev (1994, pp. 45–52).

A. D. Rudnev (1878–1958), who belonged to Ramstedt's circle, applied the latter's methods in researching the living Mongolian languages and such dialects as Ujumchin, Gorlos, Durbut-Beise and other Inner-Mongolian dialects (Rudnev 1911).

His knowledge of his special field of study and thoroughness raises N. N. Poppe above the others. His works on Middle Mongolian (Poppe 1924, 1938, 1957), Written Mongolian (Poppe 1927, 1954), living Mongolian languages (Poppe 1930, 1951, 1960) and comparative Mongolian studies (Poppe 1955) opened a new era in the study of Mongolian languages.

In 1943 Teréz M. Szabó, a Hungarian scholar and a member of the Ligeti school, published her book on Kalmuck word formation (Szabó 1943), a little known work which would merit more attention.

G. D. Sanžeev's comparative grammar of Mongolian languages is another important work that must be mentioned. The first volume, which deals with phonology (Sanžeev 1953), was published in 1953, while the second volume on morphology and syntax (Sanžeev 1963) appeared only ten years later, in 1963. He also wrote grammars of modern Mongolian languages (Sanžeev 1940, 1941, 1959).

Sanžeev's contemporary, B. H. Todaeva published materials on several dialects that she collected on her expeditions in Inner Mongolia (Todaeva 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1986). She also included glossaries and grammatical explanations of the linguistic phenomena of these languages.

The long overdue grammar of the language of the Secret History was compiled by J. Street (Street 1957). Another of his works that deserves mention deals with Khalkha structure (Street 1963). This book contains a detailed discussion of Khalkha morphology.

M. N. Orlovskaya's book on the formation of Khalkha nouns (Orlovskaya 1961) listing the most productive suffixes, was published in 1961.

M. Weiers, in his valuable work on preclassical Mongolian (Weiers 1969), examines in detail the phonetics and morphology of the monuments in Uighur-Mongolian script known up to that time.

Among the modern Buriat scholars U. Š. Dondukov should be mentioned for his detailed study of Buriat productive and non-productive suffixes (Dondukov 1964). His sources include dictionaries, as well as newspapers, literary works and living dialects. Other Buriat scholars who wrote grammars of the language are D. D. Amogolonov (Amogolonov 1958), G. D. Sanžeev (Sanžeev 1962), and C. C. Cydypov (Cydypov 1988).

Khalkha Mongolians, for instance, C. Mömöö (Mömöö 1997), and C. Önörbayan (Önörbayan 1998), usually wrote grammars of their own language. The Khalkha grammar by Rita Kullmann and D. Tserenpil (Kullmann – Tserenpil 1996), which was recently published in English, presents the colloquial language in tables together with parallel examples of Written Mongolian forms.

A. Š. Kičikov (Kičikov 1963) and B. Badmaev (Badmaev 1966) are contemporary Kalmuck scholars.

Unfortunately, some valuable works on the subject, for instance, Činggeltei's *Odo üye-yin monggol kele jüi* (Činggeltei 1980) and L. Bold's *Orčin cagiin mongol xelnii dagawar* (Bold 1986), were not available to the author.

1.3. Studies on Mongolian colour names

Colour-name systems were investigated mostly from the semantic point of view, usually by comparing the colour-name system of one language to that of another. This method of listing the colour names and the differences between the systems, and explaining the reasons for the differences, is known as the relativistic research method. In subsequent research the universal character of colour names and their semantic fields were also examined.

The most important grammatical works on Mongolian languages are listed above, while the following is a list of the works on colour names.

Influenced by the Altaic theory, W. Kotwicz employed the comparative method to investigate the Tungus, Mongolian and Turkic colour names (Kotwicz 1930). In some cases, he tried to find the stems of the colour names and to relate them.

Ilse Laude-Cirtautas' book on Turkic colour names (Laude-Cirtautas 1961) was published in 1961. She divided the colour names into two groups: the summarising colour names⁶ and the object colour names⁷. She also collected some of the historical and modern occurrences of these words, as well as the words formed from them. Then she investigated the shades of meaning of the colour names, also dividing them into two groups: one designating primary shades and the other designating abstract meanings.

Although H. Okada's paper is titled "Color-names in Manchu" (Okada 1962), it is in fact a brief comparative study of Manchu and Mongolian.

A. Gabain (Gabain 1962) investigated the symbolic meaning of colour names in the Turkic and Mongolian languages.

N. N. Poppe's paper (Poppe 1977) shows the influence of Laude-Cirtautas' work. He identified the same semantic categories in the case of Mongolian colour names as Laude-Cirtautas did in the case of Turkic colour names.

In her book, N. L. Žukovskaya devoted a chapter to colour names, dealing mostly with the role of colour names in Mongolian culture (Žukovskaya 1988).

⁶ This means that their use is not limited, that they can be applied to anything in everyday's life.

⁷ This means that their use is limited.

2. Mongolian colour names

2.1. The semantics of the basic colour names

2.1.1. The role of colour names in Mongolian cultural life

All nations have their special and characteristic system of colour names. As in other languages, colour names play a special role in the Mongolian languages too. The rich word groups and living expressions formed from colour names proves this. The use of colour names as geo-symbols also exemplifies their special role. The five most important colour names denote the four cardinal points and the central point. The colour of North is black, South is red, East is blue, West is white, and the centre is yellow.⁸ For example, the two independent parts of the Golden Horde are the White Horde, that is, the territory to the West, and the Blue Horde, the territory to the East. The same five colours are used in the sexagenary cycle calendar.⁹ In addition, each of the five colours denotes one of the basic elements. Thus, white denotes metal, red denotes fire, yellow denotes earth, black denotes water, and blue (green) denotes tree. This system is probably of Chinese origin, and was known not only by the Mongols, but also by the Turkic people (Gabain 1962, p. 111). The system of the elements was used in official documents, while the system of colour names was used, and is still used, in everyday conversation.

A nation's culture and history determine the system of colour names which shows those circumstances that are important in the life of that nation.

White and black play the biggest role in Mongolian culture. There is a semantic opposition between them, denoting good and bad. The colour white has a sacral role, because this is the colour of milk and felt. Milk is used for offerings, it is the most important foodstuff beside meat,¹⁰ and when a guest enters a Mongolian home, he is offered milky food. The most important feast of the Mongols is the Čaġan sara 'the White month'.¹¹ If white denotes good, than black denotes what is bad and strong.

⁸ We find the same system, but with different colours, in the Tibetan art of painting (which is almost exclusively Buddhistic painting). According to the main system, the colour of North is green (water), South is yellow (earth), East is blue (air), West is red (fire), and the centre is white (ether) (Aschoff 1999, p. 5.) There are some differences in the various systems. For example, in the Bon religion South is dark blue, because the land of the dead is in the South, in unreformed Buddhism South is white, because light emanates from the South, and in the teachings of the Rnying ma pa sect the central colour is blue. On the mandala of the Medicine Buddha we find the same system as used by the Mongols (the North is black, the West is white, and the South is red).

⁹ E.g. 1975 is the year of the tree blue hare, and 2000 is the year of the iron white dragon.

¹⁰ čaġan idegen 'milky food' i.e. 'white food', qara idegen 'meat food' i.e. 'black food'.

¹¹ Originally this feast was held in September, when there is plenty of milky food. In 1276 Qubilai, under Chinese influence, ordered that the Čaġan sara be held around February, at a time when there is no milky food. This notwithstanding, the feast preserved its name.

In the Ordos language the colour name blue is under taboo. It can be used only as the epithet of the sky and the god embodied by the sky. In every other case the colour name grey is used.

The semantic field of colour names is not always limited to their basic meaning. For example, the colour name blue means blue and green, and the colour name grey can mean grey as well as brown.

Colour names also occur in the names of religions: *qara šašin* ‘shamanism’, *sira šašin* ‘Lamaism’,¹² *čaġan šašin* ‘Christianity’¹³ (Žukovskaya 1988, pp. 153–169; Coloo 1994, p. 28).

In the present paper colour names were divided into groups. If the monolexeme colour name could be used freely in everyday life in connection with anything, then this name was included in the basic colour name group. The basic colour name is a linguistic reflection rather than a physical reality.

Poppe gives the following semantic groups (for the sake of simplicity I shall mention only a few Khalkha and Buriat examples):

2.1.2. *The basic meaning and the semantic field of colour names*

boro: Bur. *boro tōhon* ‘seraja pyl’ (BurRS 106a);

čaġan: Khal. *cagān ar'stan* ‘belaja rasa’ (Luw. 600b); Bur. *sagān šāžan tabag* ‘belaja farforovaja tarelka’ (BurRS 381a);

köke: Khal. *xöx utā* ‘sinij dym’ (Luw. 556b); Bur. *xüxe tengeri* ‘goluboe nebo’; *xüxe nūr* ‘goluboe ozero’ (BurRS 635b);

nogōğan: Bur. *nogōn težēl* ‘zelenyj korm’; *nogōn üilse* ‘zelenaja ulica’ (BurRS 329a);

qara: Khal. *xar nüd* ‘černye glaza’ (Luw. 512b); Bur. *xara šoroi* ‘černozem’ (BurRS 548a);

sira: Bur. *šara nabša* ‘želtye list’ja, listopad’ (BurRS 720b);

ulaġan: Bur. *ulān bexe* ‘krasnye černila’; *ulān šuhan* ‘krasnaja krov’ (BurRS 466a).

2.1.3. *Special use of basic colour names*

2.1.3.1. Names of food

čaġan: Khal. *cagān idē* ‘moločnyj produkt’ (Luw. 600b); *cagān arxi* ‘mongol’skaja vodka, polučennaja putem peregonki moloka’ (Žukovskaya 1988, p. 160); *cagān tos* ‘pennoe maslo’ (Rassadin – Budaev 1994, p. 6); Bur. *sagān talxan* ‘belaja muka, krupčatka’ (BurRS 381a);

nogōğan: Bur. *nogōn sai* ‘zelenyj čaj’ (BurRS 329a);

qara: Khal. *xar cai* ‘černyj, ne zapravlennyj molokom čaj’ (Žukovskaya 1988, p. 160); Bur. *xara xilēmen* ‘černyj ili ržanoj hleb’ (BurRS 548a);

¹² Because the headgear of the lamas is yellow.

¹³ Because Christianity came to the Mongols from the west; cf. *čaġan qaġan* ‘the Russian tsar’.

sira: Khal. *šar airag* ‘pivo’ (Luw. 645b); *šar us* ‘syvorotka’ (Rassadin – Budaev 1994, p. 13); Bur. *šara tohon* ‘toplennoe maslo’ (BurRS 720b);
ulağan: Bur. *ulān arxi* ‘vino’ (BurRS 466a); *ulān ündegenei hainder* ‘pasha’ (Cyden-žapov 1992, p. 82).

2.1.3.2. Names of animals

boro: Khal. *bor bürged* ‘seryj berkut, orel’; *bor šuwū* ‘vorobej’ (Luw. 77b); Bur. *boro hoir* ‘kopaluha (*samka gluharja*)’; *boro šandagan* ‘zajac-rusak letom’; *boro xura* ‘teterka’ (BurRS 106a);
čağan: Khal. *cagān yamā* ‘omul’ (*ryba*)’; *cagān xorxoi* ‘lentočnyj glist’; *cagān üneg* ‘pesec’ (Luw. 601b); Bur. *sagān šubūn* ‘lebed’; *sagān zagahan* ‘sig’; *sagān xermen* ‘belka-al’binos’ (BurRS 381a);
köke: Khal. *xöx boljmor* ‘žavoronok’; *xöx cecgī* ‘sinica’ (Luw. 557a); Bur. *xüxe buxa* ‘lit. sinica; *Borzin golub*’; *xüxe šazgai* ‘soroka golubaja’; *dūša xüxe* ‘penočka zelenaja’; *xüxe deglī* ‘caplja seraja’ (BurRS 635b);
nogōğan: Khal. *nogōn xüreljgene* ‘polevoj sverčok’; *nogōn tolgoit sono* ‘ovod’ (Luw. 269b); Bur. *nogōn tonsūl* ‘zelenyj djatel’ (BurRS 329a);
qara: Bur. *xara xirē* ‘černyj voron’; *xara ünegen* ‘černo-buraja lisica’; *xara gürōhen* ‘buryj medved’; *xara xura* ‘teterev, kosač’; *xara hoir* ‘gluhar’-samec’ (BurRS 548a);
sira: Khal. *šar jögi* ‘osa’; *šar xömrög* ‘ovsjanka (*ptica*)’ (Luw. 646a); Bur. *šara šubūn* ‘filin’; *šara arāta* ‘stepnaja lisica’; *goloi šara sono* ‘stepnoj ryžij volk’ (BurRS 720b);
ulağan: Khal. *ulān sūl* ‘krasnoper (*ryba*)’ (Luw. 451a); Bur. *ulān zalāta* ‘zap. čečet-ka’; *ulān xorxoi* ‘doždevoj červjak’ (Bur. 466b).

2.1.3.3. Names of plants

boro: Khal. *bor budargana* ‘soljanka počečkonosnaja, kuraj’; *bor šawag* ‘polyn’ kserofitnaja’; *bor boroljoi* ‘pižma trehdol’naja’; *bor tair* ‘kačim pustynnyj’ (Luw. 77b);
čağan: Khal. *cagān terelj* ‘bagul’nik bolotnyj’; *cagān ceceg* ‘kermek dvucvetnyj’; *cagān šarilj* ‘polyn’ belolistnaja’; *cagān yargui* ‘anemonia, vetrenica narcissus-vidnaja’; *cagān sul* ‘volosnec gigantskij’ (Luw. 601a); Bur. *sagān xulhan* ‘trostnik’; *sagān ürmedül* ‘polyn’ belaja’; *sagān harxyāg* ‘belyj grib’ (BurRS 381b);
köke: Khal. *xöx taria* ‘rož’ (Luw. 557a); Bur. *xüxe seseg* ‘razg. nezabudka’ (BurRS 635b);
nil ‘indigo, ruby’ (Lessing 583a); Khal. *nil ceceg* ‘ibolya’ /Lat. *Viola*/ (Kara 1998, p. 288a);
nogōğan: Khal. *nogōn yerxög* ‘žitnjak sibirskij’ (Luw. 269b);
qara: Khal. *xar mod* ‘listvennica sibirskaja’ (Luw. 512b); Bur. *xara nerhen* ‘černaja černika’ (BurRS 548a);

sira: Khal. *šar budargana* ‘potašnik oblistvennyj’; *šar sarāna* ‘lilija kudrevataja, saranka’; *šar šawag* ‘polyn’ pescanaja’; *šar xoič* ‘podmarannik želtyj’ (Luw. 646a); Bur. *šara dere* ‘šalfej’; *šara modon* ‘barbaris sibirskij’ (BurRS 721a); *ulağan*: Bur. *ulān tolgoi* ‘polevica Triniusa’ (BurRS 466b); *yağan* ‘pink, rosy, ruddy, roseate, violet, lilac’: y. *čene* ‘peony’ (Lessing 423b).

2.1.3.4. Names of diseases

boro: Khal. *bor šar ~ borın gem* ‘kataral’noe zabolevanie tolstoj kiški’ (Luw. 77b); *čağan*: Khal. *cagān burxan* ‘ust. ospa’; *cagān xaniad* ‘legkij gripp’ (Luw. 601a); Bur. *sagān seseg* ‘ospa; vetrjanaja ospa, vetrjanka’ (BurRS 381b); *köke*: Bur. *xüxe xanyādan* ‘cil’nyj kašel’’ (BurRS 636a); *qara*: Khal. *xar deleñ* ‘the name of a cattle disease which manifests itself in goats ceasing to give milk and the udder gradually withering’ (Poppe 1977, p. 122); *sira*: Bur. *šara xumxā* ‘maljarija, želtaja lihoradka’; *šara übşen* ‘želtuha’ (BurRS 721a); *ulağan*: Bur. *ulān eşergene(en)* ‘kor’’ (BurRS 466a).

2.1.3.5. Human characteristics

boro: Khal. *bor xirin xün* ‘neprehotlivyj čelovek’; *bor caraitai* ‘smuglyj’ (Luw. 77a); Bur. *boro myaxatai* ‘krepkij, vynoslivyj’; *boro tolgoitoi* ‘s sedejuščej golovoj’ (BurRS 106a); *čağan*: Khal. *cagān xün* ‘dobrodušnyj čelovek; čelovek, vospriimčiviy k infekcionnym zabolevajjam’ (Luw. 601a); Bur. *xüxe sagān bolo-* ‘poblednet’ (*o lice*'); *sagān sed'xeltei* ‘bezobidnyj ili dobrodušnyj čelovek’; *sagān ühetei* ‘sedoj, s sedinoj’ (BurRS 381b); *köke*: Bur. *xüxe xün* ‘skučnyj, nudnyj čelovek’; *xüxe sagān* ‘blednyj, pomertvelyj’ (BurRS 635b); *qara*: Khal. *xar elegtei* ‘čužoj, nerodnoj; vraždebno nastroennyj; holodno otnosjaščij-sja’ (Luw. 513a); Bur. *xara barga xün* ‘nevežestvennyj ili otstalyj čelovek’; *xara hanātai* ‘zlovrednyj, kovarnyj’; *xara beye xün* ‘sovsem odinokij čelovek’ (BurRS 548a); *ulağan*: Khal. *ulān* ‘alčnyj, korystoljubivyj, žadnyj, bessovestnyj’ (Luw. 451a); Bur. *ulān zérde* ‘očen’ p’janyj’; *ulān xelete* ‘jazykastyj, očen’ govorlivyj’; *ulān nyudarga* ‘dračun’ (BurRS 466a).

2.1.3.6. Names of metals

čağan: Khal. *cagān alt* ‘platina’; *cagān möngö* ‘serebrjannye den’gi’; *cagān tömör žest’*; *cagān tugalga* ‘ollovo’; *xöngön cagān* ‘alljuminij’ (Luw. 600a); Bur. *sagān altan* ‘platina’; *sagān nürhen* ‘belyj ugol’’ (*o gidroenergii*); *xüngen sagān* ‘alljuminij’; *arpa sagān* ‘grivennik, serebrjanaja moneta, kopejka’ (BurRS 381a); *nil*: n. *erdeni* ‘Corundum, sapphire’ (Lessing 583a); *qara*: Khal. *xar tugalga* ‘svinec’ (Luw. 512b);

sira: Bur. *šara altan* ‘razg. červonnoe zoloto’ (BurRS 721a);
ulağan: Khal. *ulān möngö* ‘mednaja moneta, medjak’ (Luw. 451a); Bur. *ulān altan* ‘krasnoe zoloto 56 proby’ (BurRS 466a).

2.1.4. Figurative use of basic colour names

2.1.4.1. Easy, simple, safe

boro: Khal. *bor xōl* ‘mjasnaja pišča’; *xar bor ajıl* ‘prostaja fizičeskaja rabota’ (Luw. 77a); Bur. *boro edyēn* ‘prostoe kušanie’; *boro arga* ‘domašnee lečenie’ (BurRS 106a); *boro xirin xün* ‘zaurjadnyj čelovek’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 25);
čağan: Khal. *cagān bičig* ‘tekst, napisannyj prostym alfavitom bez transkripcionnyh znakov (*legkoe, netrudnoe*)’; *cagān zam* ‘horošaja gladkaja doroga’; *cagān tolgoi* ‘azbuka, alfavit (*legkoe načalo*)’ (Luw. 601a);
qara: Khal. *xar xel* ‘prostorečie, razgovornij jazyk’; *xar max* ‘postnoe mjaso’ (Luw. 513a); *xar šöl* ‘mjasnoj, no bez zapravki bul’on’; *xar us* ‘černaja, prostaja voda, podavaemaja čeloveku v otvet na pros’bu napit’sja, esli v jurte net nikakogo moločnogo napitka’; *xar arxi* ‘černaja vodka, polučennaja metodom peregonki zernovoj bardy (*tak nazývali kitajskuju vodku iz risa i prosa*)’ (Žukovskaya 1988, p. 160); Bur. *xara xün* ‘prostoljudin, mirjanin’ (BurRS 548a);
ulağan: Bur. *ulān tamxin* ‘razg. legkij tabak’ (BurRS 466a).

2.1.4.2. Good natured

čağan: Khal. *cagān üils* ‘dobrye dela’ (Luw. 601a); *cagān tal* ‘rovnaja bezopasnaja step’ (Žukovskaya 1988, p. 160); Bur. *sagān zōri* ‘čestno nažitoe imuščestvo’; *sagān dari* ‘bezdyminnyj poroh’ (BurRS 381a).

2.1.4.3. Bare, naked, uncovered

ulağan: Khal. *ulān garär* ‘golymi rukami’; *ulān nyarai* ‘novoroždennyj’ (Luw. 451a); Bur. *ulān xüлörő yabaxa* ‘hodit’ bosikom, hodit’ peškom’ (BurRS 466b); *ulān myaxärä* ‘potom i krov’ju’; *ulān nyürärä ûlza-* ‘vstretil’sja licom k licu’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 82).

2.1.4.4. Very, strong, strongly

čağan: Bur. *sagān žabar* ‘žgučij moroz’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 68);
köke: Bur. *xiixe xabar* ‘tjaželaja vesna’; *xiixe xereg* ‘nikčemnoe ili bespoleznoe delo; razg. nezadača’ (BurRS 636a);
qara: Khal. *xar tamxi* ‘opium’; *xar xöls* ‘obil’nyj pot’; *xar šürga* ‘užasnaja metel’ (Luw. 512b); Bur. *xara arxi* ‘krepkaja vodka’; *xara xiitten* ‘sil’nyj holod’; *xara halxin* ‘sil’nyj veter; bessnežnyj veter, pyl’nyj suhovej vesnoj’; *xara borō* ‘sil’nyj dožd’; samyj razgar doždja’; *xara xiüdelmeri* ‘černaja rabota, fizičeskij trud’ (BurRS 548a); *xara üglö* ‘rano utrom’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 103);

ulağan: Khal. *ulān salxi* ‘pyl’naja burja’ (Luw. 451a); Bur. *ulān zun* ‘samoe leto, razgar leta’ (BurRS 466b).

2.1.4.5. Epithet of harmful things

sira: Bur. *šara mogoi* ‘jadovitaja zmeja’; Šara *Erlig* ‘zeltyj d’javol (*o zolote*)’ (BurRS 721a).

2.1.4.6. Swear words and curses

qara: Bur. *xara noxoi* ‘černaja sobaka (rugatel’svo)’; *xara zolig* ‘ot”javlennyj negodjaj’ (Cydenžapov 1992, pp. 102–103).

2.1.4.7. Expressions for pure, undiluted, uncontaminated, alone, bare

qara: Bur. *xara uhan* ‘čistaja voda’: cf. *münxin xara uhan* ‘fol’klor. živaja voda (kristal’naja voda večnosti)’ (BurRS 548a).

2.1.5. Metonymic use of basic colour names

čağan ‘white’ → a) ‘the white of an egg or of the eye’; b) ‘walleye, leucoma of the cornea’; c) ‘mourning, white mourning clothing’ (Lessing 158a); d) Bur. *sagā(n)* ‘otstojavšaja prostakvaša’; e) Bur. *sagān* ‘Ehirit jagnenok letnego pometu’ (BurRS 381b);

noğogān ‘green’ → ‘grass, vegetable; dish (food)’ (Lessing 588a);

qara ‘black’ → Khal. ‘féltékenység, irigység’ [jealousy, envy] (Kara 1998, p. 557b);

sira ‘yellow’ → a) ‘yolk of an egg’; b) ‘bile, heartburn, acidity of the stomach; hang-over’ (Lessing 714b); c) Khal. ‘epe, düh, harag’ [fury, rage, anger] (Kara 1998, p. 702b).

2.1.6. Compound colour names

Basic colour names may form compounds, but they cannot be put side by side arbitrarily. Usually this compound formation is possible when the two colours are located next to each other on the spectrum.

boro ulagan ‘violet’ (Lessing 121b); *čağan boro* ‘light grey’ (Lessing 158a); Bur. *segēn xüxe* ‘svetlo-goluboj’ (BurRS 401a); *čengkir köke* ‘bluish, dove-coloured’ (Lessing 172b); *noğogabur sir-a* ‘greenish-yellow’ (Lessing 588b); *ulabur sir-a* ‘orange coloured’; *ulabur qara* ‘dark red’ (Lessing 869a); *ulabtur sira* ‘reddish yellow, orange’ (Lessing 868b); *qara boro* ‘dark brown, dark grey; dirty’ (Lessing 931a); Bur. *xara ulān* ‘temno-krasnyj’; *xara xüxe* ‘temno-sinij’ (BurRS 548a); Bur. *xara xürin* ‘buryj’ (GTS 95); *qarabtur noğogān* ‘dark green’ (Lessing 932a); *köke boro* ‘darkish or ash’ (Lessing 482a); *kökebtür ulagan* ‘violet, bluish red’ (Lessing 482b); *küreng ulagan* ‘brownish red; dark red, dark brown; purple, blood red’ (Lessing 505a); *sir-a ulagan* ‘yellowish-red’; *sirabtur noğugān* ‘yellowish-green’ (Lessing

714b); Bur. *šargal ulān* ‘ryžij’ (GTS 95); *yağan köke* ‘violet’ (Lessing 423b); Bur. *yagā ulān* ‘alyj’ (GTS 95).

2.1.7. Colour names with strengthening prefix

čab čağan ‘quite white, entirely white, snow white’ (Lessing 154a); *čeb čegen* ‘entirely white or light’; *čeb čengker* ‘very light blue’ (Lessing 167b); *qab qara* ‘entirely black’ (Lessing 895a); *köb köke* ‘entirely blue or green’ (Lessing 475b); *nob noǵoǵan* ‘completely green, pure green’ (Lessing 587b); *sib sira* ‘completely yellow’ (Lessing 693a); *ub ulaǵan* ‘completely red, quite red’ (Lessing 858a); *yab yaǵan* ‘very pink’ (Lessing 420a).

2.1.8. Colourfulness

Mongolian has several words and compounds for expressing the colourfulness of living beings and things. Originally, these expressions were used only to denote the colour of animals, but today their use is general.

alaǵ: alaǵ eriyen ‘multicoloured, parti-coloured’ (Lessing 26b); *čouqur ~ čoqur* ‘variegated, spotted’ (Lessing 199a); *eriyen* ‘motley, variegated’ (Lessing 327b); *eriyen čouqur* ‘motley, variegated’ (Lessing 199a).

2.2. The semantics of secondary or object colour names

The use of object colour names is restricted, for instance, to denoting the colour of fur or hair.

2.2.1. Denoting simple colours of fur/hair

bugural ‘grey, grey-haired, greyish’, cf. *bugural mori* ‘partly grey horse, roan horse’ (Lessing 131b); *ölö* ‘gris’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 531a); *jejerde* ‘red, chestnut’ (Lessing 1043b); *keger* ‘bay of chestnut’ (Lessing 443a); *qongǵur* ‘fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut (of a horse)’; *quwa ~ quoua* ‘light yellow, chestnut, bay; sallow, pale’ (Lessing 993a); *ságaral* ‘ashen, dun colored’ (Lessing 657b); *sirǵa* ‘light bay’ (Lessing 716b).

2.2.2. Denoting mixed colours of fur/hair

čabidár ‘reddish yellow with white mane and tail’ (Lessing 155b); *jaǵal* ‘having dark spots on the neck and shoulders (of a stallion or gelding)’ (Lessing 1022b); *qalıǵun* ‘brown, colour of horses which may vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, with black mane and tail and a black band on the spine’ (Lessing 920a); *qaltar mori* ‘bay horse with white breast and whitish muzzle’, cf. *qara q. mori* ‘black horse with white muzzle’, *q. noqai* ‘dog with yellow spots on his mouth’, *q. ünege* ‘silver fox’ (Lessing 921a); *qula* ‘fawn coloured, tawny, bay, having a black stripe along the spine; with black tail and mane’ (Lessing 983b).

2.3. The origin of secondary colour names

Originally, the following colour names were names of metals, precious stones, plants, animals, etc. and the meaning of the colour name was secondary.

2.3.1. Colour names formed from names of metals and precious stones

- altan* ‘gold, golden’ (Lessing 33a): Bur. *a. naran* ‘solnce krasnoe’; *a. taryālan* ‘zolotaja niva’ (BurRS 44b); Khal. *a. xundaga* ‘bot. želtaja lilija’ (Luw. 32b); ← Turkic *alton*;
- dung* ‘big sea shell’: *d. čağan* ‘snow-white’ (Lessing 274a): Khal. *dun cagān šüd* ‘hófehér, egézséges fogak’ [snow-white healthy teeth] (Kara 1998, p. 154a); ← Tib. *dung*;
- ǵauli* ‘brass, copper’ (Lessing 355a): Bur. *gūlin mete üngetei* ‘želtyj kak med’ (KTS 34);
- žebe* ‘rozsda’ [rust, corrosion] (Kara 1998, p. 219a): Bur. *žebin üngetei* ‘ržavogo cveta’; *žebe šara namag* ‘ržavoe boloto’ (BurRS 234b); Khal. *jewxi* ‘fakó’ [pale, faded, dun] (Kara 1998, p. 220a)
- mönggiün* ‘silver’ (Lessing 547b): Bur. *müngeñ müshed* ‘serebristye zvezdy’; *harin müngen saxarig* ‘serebrjannyj disk luny’ (BurRS 306b);
- nomin* ‘azure-stone, laxulite’ (Lessing 590b): Bur. *nomin (xüxe) dalai* ‘more s zelenovatym otlivom’; *nomin xüxe nyüdetei* ‘goluboglazýj’ (BurRS 330b); ← Tib. *mu men*;
- ogiu* ‘turquoise’ (Lessing 603b): Bur. *oyūn (xüxe) ogtorgoi* ‘birjuzovoe sinee nebo’ (BurRS 367b); ← Tib. *g-yu*;
- sirü* ‘coral’ (Lessing 719b): Bur. *şüre ulān* ‘krasnyj kak korall’; *şüre ulān xasar* ‘alye kak korall ščeki’; *şüre ulān şenise* ‘spelaja pšenica’ (BurRS 739a); ← Tib. *byi-ru*;
- tuǵulg-a(n)* ‘tin, lead’ (Lessing 838b): Bur. *tūlgan xara ülen* ‘svincovye, temnye tuči’ (BurRS 234b).

2.3.2. Colour names formed from names of natural phenomena

- časun* ‘snow’: č. *sikir* ‘granulated sugar’ (Lessing 166b); Bur. *sagān sahan [samsa]* ‘belosnežnaja [rubaška]’ (BurRS 387b);
- ǵal* ‘fire, conflagration’: *ǵal sir-a* ‘reddish yellow’; *ǵal ulağan önggetei* ‘fire-red, red-hot’ (Lessing 346a); Bur. *gal ulān oi* ‘bagrjannyj les osen’ju’; *gal ulān nyüden* ‘ognenno-krasnye glaza ot jarosti’; *gal xüxe üngetei übhen* ‘zelenoe-prizelenoe seno’; *galta xara ünegen* ‘černo-buraja lisica’ (BurRS 143a);
- manang* ‘mist, steam, fog’ (Lessing 525b): Bur. *manan ünge* ‘matovyyj, dymčatyj cvet’ (BurRS 292a);
- ünesün* ‘ash, ashes’: ü. *önge* ‘colour of ashes, grey[ish]’ (Lessing 1009b); Bur. *ünehen xüxe* ‘pepel’no-sinij (cvet)’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 95); *ünehen boro* ‘blednyj kak pepel (o lice)’ (BurRS 509b).

2.3.3. Colour names formed from names of animals and plants

anggir ‘a kind of yellow duck’: *a. sir-a* ‘yellow, reddish-yellow’ (Lessing 44b);
buğura ‘male camel’: *buğural* ‘grey’ (Lessing 131b);
bulağ-a(n) ‘sable’ (Lessing 133a): Bur. *bulgan nıdxe* ‘sobolinnye brovi temno-korichnevogo cveta’ (BurRS 111a);
jejeren ‘antelope’: *jejerde* ‘red, chestnut’ (Lessing 1043b);
keriy-e(n) ‘crow’ (Lessing 458a): Bur. *xirē xara ühetei* ‘černye kak vorona volosy’ (BurRS 574a);
moyil ‘bird-cherry’ (Lessing 542a): Bur. *moihon xara nyüdetei* ‘s černymi kak u čeremuhi glazami’ (BurRS 298b);
qalıgu(n) ‘otter’ (Lessing 919a): Bur. *xalyūn xara ühetei* ‘s černymi kak vydra volosami’ (BurRS 541a);
qung ‘swan’: *q. čağan* ‘white as a swan, snow-white’ (Lessing 986a): Bur. *xun sagān xonin* ‘belosnežnaja ovca’ (BurRS 601a);
temege(n) ‘camel’ (Lessing 800a): Houa-yi yi-yu *tämä’än öñgö* ‘jaune-brun, brunâtre (couleur de chameau)’ (Lewicki 78)
üyeng ‘ermine, stoat’ (Lessing 1002b): Bur. *üyen sagān sahan* ‘belosnežnyj’ (BurRS 496a);
ükər ‘bovine animal, ox, cow’: *ü.-üm nidü* ‘black currant, Ribes nigrum’ (Lessing 1003a); Bur. *üxer šabga* ‘černosliv’ (BurRS 518b);
ünege(n) ‘fox’ (Lessing 1008a): Bur. *ünegenei xaranxi* ‘samaja temnaja pora pered rassvetom’ (BurRS 508a).

2.3.4. Colour names formed from names of fluids and mass nouns

čisun ‘blood’: *č. ulağan* ‘blood-red, crimson’ (Lessing 192b); Bur. *šuhan zérde* ‘ognenno-ryzij’; cf. *tengerin xayā ulān šuhan üngetei* ‘gorizont bagrjanogo cveta’ (BurRS 736a);
dabirqai ‘pitch, tar; resin of a coniferous tree’ (Lessing 212b): Bur. *dabirxai xara* ‘soveršenno černyj’ (BurRS 179a);
kileng ‘velvet, plush’ (Lessing 466a): Bur. *xilen xara nyüden* ‘černye kak barhat glaza’; *xilen xaraxan ühen* ‘černye volosy kak barhat’ (BurRS 571b);
köbüng ‘cotton, cotton yarn’ (Lessing 477a): Bur. *xüben sagān manan* ‘belyj kak tuman’; *xüben sagān ülen* ‘belye, točno kak vata oblaka’ (BurRS 611a);
köge ‘soot’ (Lessing 478b): Bur. *xō xara* ‘černyj kak ugol’; *xō xara nıdxenüd* ‘ugol’no-černye brovi’ (BurRS 593b);
öndege(n) ‘egg’ (Lessing 636b): Bur. *ündegen sagān* ‘belosnežnyj’ (BurRS 505b); cf. *ündegen sagān şaraitai* ‘belolicyj’ (Cydenžapov 1992, p. 93);
sün ‘milk’ (Lessing 744a): Bur. *hün sagān* ‘belyj kak moloko’ (BurRS 696b).

2.3.5. Assimilated compounds

In these cases one element of the compound is a colour name. Sometimes it is very difficult to identify the second element of the compound.

Khal. *borbut* ‘sebforrasztófű /Lat. Descuriania sophia/’ (Kara 1998, p. 66a) < *boro* ‘grey’ + *buta* ‘bush, brushwood, thicket; lump, clump; bunch’ (Lessing 141a)
čaġbar ‘snežnyj bars’; Khal. *cagwar* (Luw. 602a; NT 96–97, p. 212) < *čaġan* ‘white’ + *bar* ‘tiger’ (Lessing 88b);
ulaqib (čečeg) ‘krasnaja kist’ (*nazvanie steljuščegosja rastenija, u kotorogo cvety v vide krasnoj kisti*); Khal. *ulāxiw ceceg* (NT 89–90, p. 181) < *ulağan* ‘red’ + *kib* ~ *kib* ‘silken scarf or kerchief; silk tissue, silk; gauze, crape’ (Lessing 465a);
qarbar ‘černyj tigr’; Khal. *xarwar* (NT 96–97, p. 213) < *qara* ‘black’ + *bar* ‘tiger’ (Lessing 88b);
kökedi ‘sinevataja kalavinka’; Khal. *xöxdı* (NT 96–97, p. 160) < *köke* ‘blue’ + *garudi* ‘Garuda, the king of the birds in Indian mythology’ (Lessing 394a);
Khal. *xarwi* ‘černyj aist’ /Lat. Ciconia nigra/ (NT 96–97, p. 162) < *qara* ‘black’ + *örbi* ‘stork, heron’ (Lessing 640a);
Ord. *šargā* ‘nom qu’on donne à un chien fauve’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a) < *sira* ‘yellow’ + *noqai* ‘dog’ (Lessing 592a).

2.4. The etymology of basic colour names

From the etymological point of view, Mongolian colour names show a mixed picture. Some of them are very early Turkic loanwords for instance, *boro* (Old-Turkic *bōz* ‘grey’ ED 388b), *köke* (Old-Turkic *kōk* ‘sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey’ ED 708b), *küreng* (Old-Turkic *küzen* ‘polecat’ ED 761b), *qara* (Old-Turkic *qara* ‘black’ ED 643b), *sira* (Old-Turkic **sira* < *sāriğ* ‘yellow’ ED 848a). In part of the Altaistic literature they are considered as ancestral Altaic words.

The colour name *nil* ‘violet’ is of Sanskrit origin: ← Sskr. *nīla*.

Colour names which include the Mongolian suffix +*GAn* are considered to be of Mongolian origin. The proof of this origin is that they can be morphologically etymologised from Mongolian.

ča-ġan ‘white’ < **ča* cf. *časun* ‘snow’, or *čaqa* cf. MNT *čaqa'an*, *čaqān* ‘white’;
noġo-ġan ‘green’ < **noqo* cf. Zhiyuan Yiyu *nu'o* ‘blue, indigo’;
ula-ġan ‘red’ < **ula* cf. *ulayi-* ‘to get red-hot, to become red, redder’ (Lessing 870a);
ya-ġan ‘pink’ < **ya*.

2.5. The morphological structure of the basic colour names

In Mongolian there are 5 word-stem types. These are: (C)V-; (C)V_C-; (C)V_{CV}-; (C)V_{CVC}-; (C)V_{CCV}- . Every suffix added to colour names has an initial consonant. All Mongolian basic colour names end in a vowel or in -*n*, *ŋ* (=ng).

According to the development of the final *-*n* of noun stems, Mongolian languages may be divided into two groups. In the first group the final -*n* disappears, in the second it is preserved.

In Mongolian comparative studies it is accepted as a general rule that if a derivative suffix is added to a word with final *-n*, then the *-n* disappears (Poppe 1955, p. 166).

So, when a suffix is added to colour names we get the following cases:

stem <i>V</i> +suffix → stem <i>V</i> +suffix:	e.g. <i>borobtur</i> ← <i>boro+btUr</i> ; <i>kökemdüg</i> ← <i>köke+mdUG</i> ;
stem <i>V</i> +suffix → stem+suffix:	e.g. <i>qartu</i> ← <i>qara+tU</i> ; <i>borjin</i> ← <i>boro+jin</i> ;
stem <i>n</i> +suffix → stem+suffix:	e.g. <i>čağabir</i> ← <i>čağan+bir</i> ; <i>ulağaljai</i> ← <i>ulağan+ljAi</i> ;
stem <i>y</i> +suffix → stem <i>n(y)</i> +suffix:	e.g. <i>kürengdü</i> ← <i>küreng+dU</i>

In many cases the last vowel of the colour name disappeared when a suffix was added to the word, which made it difficult to decide whether or not the word was related to the colour name, but such forms as MNT *borqai* and Houa-yi *yi-yu boroxai* are convincing.

On the basis of this work we can reconstruct colour-name stems such as **ča*, **ula*, **noǵo*. In some cases we have to take dialectical differences into consideration, as in the case of *boro* and Muq. *bora*¹⁴ (Poppe 1938, p. 121b).

2.6. The typology of the set of Mongolian basic colour names

In 1967–1969 Brent Berlin and Paul Kay collected colour-name data from 98 languages. The aim of their work was to disprove Edward Sapir and B. L. Whorf's hypothesis that “each language is semantically arbitrary relative to every other language” (Berlin – Kay 1969, p. 2). They found that “although different languages encode in their vocabularies different numbers of basic color categories, a total universal inventory of exactly eleven basic color categories exists from which the eleven or fewer basic color terms of any given language are always drawn. The eleven basic color categories are *white*, *black*, *red*, *green*, *yellow*, *blue*, *brown*, *purple*, *pink*, *orange*, and *grey*” (Berlin – Kay 1969, p. 2). The results of their work were summarised in a table containing the 22 existing types of basic colour-name systems (Berlin – Kay 1969, p. 3).

According to the criteria defined by Berlin and Kay (Berlin – Kay 1969, pp. 2–3), the following basic colour names are found in the Mongolian language: *čağan* ‘white’, *qara* ‘black’, *ulağan* ‘red’, *noǵoǵan* ‘green’, *sira* ‘yellow’, *köke* ‘blue’, *küreng* ‘brown’, *yagan* ‘pink’, *boro* ‘grey’. This set of colour names classifies the Mongolian language as belonging to the 14th type of colour-name system cited in Berlin – Kay (1969, p. 3).

¹⁴ The case when we find an *-a-* in the place of LM *-o-* is a West-Mongolian phenomenon.

3. Suffixes used with colour names

3.1. Introductory remarks

Suffixation is the most common way of forming words in the Mongolian language. Suffixes may be added to absolute stems or to derivatives.

The aim of this paper was to find out if there are such suffixes in Mongolian languages that show affinity only to colour names. Suffixes were divided into two groups: those used with colour names and other lexical groups, and those restricted to colour names.

3.2. Suffixes used with colour names and other lexical groups

3.2.1. Suffixes forming denominational nouns

3.2.1.1. LM +bči

Function: To form nouns designating covers of objects (GWM §108). e.g.: *čikibči* ‘cover for ears’ < *čikin* ‘ear’; *dalubči* ‘wing’ < *dalu* ‘scapula’; *quruğubči* ‘thimble’ < *quruğun* ‘finger’; *nidübči* ‘cover for eyes, eye flap’ < *nidün* ‘eye’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +bči

kökebči ‘kapskij golubok’ /Lat. Daption capensis/; *sirabči* ‘černyj al’batros’ /Lat. Diomedea nigripes/ (NT 96–97, p. 168)

Khal. +wč

xöxöwč ‘kapskij golubok’; *šarawč* ‘černyj al’batros’ (id.)

3.2.1.2. LM +či(n)

Function: To form nouns designating names of vocations (GWM §114). In Ramstedt’s opinion, the original meaning of this suffix was Nomen Actoris, but later its use was extended to form names of animals (Ramstedt 1952, §116), e.g.: *qoniči* ‘shepherd’ < *qonin* ‘sheep’; *malči* ‘herdsman’ < *mal* ‘cattle’; *qotači* ‘watchdog’ < *qota(n)* ‘city, town, village; enclosure; fortress, city wall’; *qatarči* ‘Trabber’ < *qatar* ‘Trab’

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

LM +či(n)

boračin ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81b); **čaǵaǵačin* ‘one who likes to eat milky foods’ (B.Kh.); *noǵoǵači(n)* ‘kitchen gardener; seller of vegetables’ (Lessing 588b); **ulayičin* ‘bloody, blood-thirsty’ (B.Kh.); *sirǵačin* ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a); *qaliǵučin* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 329a)

Khal. +cin

nogōči(n) ‘огородник, овошевод’ (Luw. 269b); *xarālč* ‘сквернослов’ (Luw. 513b)

Bur. +šA(n)

altaša ‘*Zakamna* hozjajstvennyj’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 173); *sagāša* ‘ljubitel’ moločnyh kušanij’ (BurRS 382a); *ulaiša* ‘krovavyj, krovožadnyj’ (BurRS 467b); *xaršan* ‘žestokij, svirepyj’ (BurRS 558a); *xarālšan* ‘ljubiletel’ rugat’sja, svarlivyj, vrednyj’ (BurRS 549b)

Ord. +tš‘i(n)

Boro^ctš^cin ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81b); *Džere^ctš^cin* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 192b); *šarga^ctš^cin* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a); *xara^ctš^cin* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339a); cf. *Gartš^cin* ‘Kharatchin (*nom d'une tribu mongole*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 295b); *xalū^ctš^cit* ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 329a)

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +či

časuči cegcēdei ‘snežnyj v’jurok; želtospinnaja trjasoguzka’ /Lat. Montufringilla nivalis/ (NT 96–97, p. 205) < *časun* ‘snow'; *qarači* ‘der Wasserrabe’ (KWb 170b)

Khal. +č

casč cegcēdei ‘snežnyj v’jurok; želtospinnaja trjasoguzka’ /Lat. Montufringilla nivalis/ (NT 96–97, p. 205); *xarč* ‘krasnolicyj baklan’ /Lat. Phalacrocorax urile/ (NT 96–97, p. 173)

Kalm. +tši

xartsi ‘der Wasserrabe’ ~ *xar^a galūn* (KWb 170b)

3.2.1.3. LM+dA

Function: NN (Szabó 1943, §153). E.g.: Kalm. *az^aD ~az^ada* ‘frech, unverschämt, wild, unbändig, verdrießlich’ < *az^a* ‘böser Geist, Dämon’; *gañgd^a* ‘die trockene, heiße Zeit im Sommer’ < *gañ* ‘große Hitze, Dürre (*im Sommer*)’; *xagd^a* ‘vorjähriges Gras, verwelktes Gras (*mitten im Grünen*)’ < *xaG* ‘ganz trocken’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM+dA

čağda ‘junges Antilopenweibchen’ (KWb 419b)

Bur. +dA

xulda ‘lun’ (*ptica*): *boro x.~ talīn x.* ‘lun’ polevoj, ütegei x. ‘lun’ lugovoj’, *xulhanai x.* ‘lun’ bolotnyj’ (BurRS 600a)

Kalm. +da

tsagda ‘junges Antilopenweibchen’ (KWb 419b)

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

LM+dA

borda ‘steljuščeesja rastenie: mnogolistvennyj žasmin’ (Kowalewski 1218b)

3.2.1.4. LM+dAi

Function: Diminutive suffix (Čeremisov 1951, p. 818). In the language of the MNT the role of this suffix is to denote masculine genus, used mostly with clan names.¹⁵ E.g.: *degiudei* ‘younger brother or sister’ < *degü* ‘id.’; *aqadai* ‘bratec’ < *aqa* ‘brat’, *abaǵadai* ‘djadjuška’ < *abaǵa* ‘djadja’

LM+dAi

*čaǵaǵadai ‘whitish’ < *čaǵaǵan* (B.Kh.); *sirǵadai ‘yellowish’ < *sirǵa* (B.Kh.); *ulaǵadai ‘reddish’ < *ulaǵan* (B.Kh.); *qaradai ‘blackish’ (B.Kh.)

with colour names it forms names of animals:

Bur. +dAi

sagādai ‘prozviše belogo životnogo, Beljanka’ (BurRS 380b); *šargādai* ‘prozviše želtogo životnogo, Želtinka (*laskovoe obraščenie k lošadi solovoj masti*)’ (BurRS 722b); cf. *šargādē* ‘Barguzin id.’ (Castrén 1857, p. 138b); *ulādai* ‘Krasnuška (*o korove*)’ (BurRS 466a); *ulāndai* ‘Khori odnoletnjaja molodaja samka olenja’ (BurRS 467a)

Kalm. +dā

xarādā ‘Schwärzling; als Vogelname: Schwalbe’ (KWb 168b)

Ord. +dā

tš'agāndā ‘nom qu'on donne à des enfants’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 692a); *ulāDā* ‘nom qu'on donne à un chien roux foncé’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b); *ulāndā* ‘nom qu'on donne à des enfants’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 729b)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM+dAi

yaǵandai ‘buzér’ /Lat. *Rubia*/ [madder] (Kara 1998, p. 749a)

Khal. +dAi

yagāndai ‘buzér’ /Lat. *Rubia*/ [madder] (Kara 1998, p. 749a); *jürxen y.* ‘ser-dečnaja marena’ /Lat. *Rubia cordifolia L.*/ (NT 59–60, p. 34)

3.2.1.5. LM+G

Function: NN (Szabó 1943, §156). E.g.: *ǵajig* ‘schräg, schiefl, Schräigkeit, Schiefheit, zurückgebogen’ < *ǵají* ‘schiefl, schräg, falsch, nicht richtig’; *boǵoniǵ* ‘kurz, kurzgewachsen’ < *boǵoni* ‘kurz, niedrig’; *ölüǵ* ‘hungry’ < *ölü* ‘hungry’

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM+G

siraǵ ‘imbi’, kurkuma’ (Kowalewski 1522a); *boraǵ* ‘čašča, gustaja rošča, le-sok’ (Kowalewski 1212b)

¹⁵ Cf. *borjigidai* [MNT 3] ‘a male who belongs to the Borjigin clan’; *uriangqadai* [MNT 12] ‘a male who belongs to the Uriangqan clan’. The feminine parallel of this suffix was the suffix +jin. cf. *mongoljin* [MNT 3] ‘a female who belongs to the Mongol clan’.

Kalm. +G

bor^oG ‘graues, altes Gras’: *boG bor^oG* ‘schlechtes Heu, welkes Gras’ (KWB 51b)

3.2.1.6. LM +GAi /+KAi

Function: NN: Compound suffix which consists of the NN +KA and NN +yi (Szabó 1943, §172). E.g.: *qoroqai* ‘insects and worms in general’ < *qoro* ‘poison’; *dangqai* ‘einfach, nicht doppelt, ungebildet’ < *dang* ‘nur, allein, einfach’; *qongqorqai* ‘rundes Loch, runde Vertiefung, Grube (*in der Erde*)’ < *qonqor* ‘runde Vertiefung, rund und tief’; *küitegei* ‘sehr kalt, große Kälte’ < *küiten* ‘kalt, Kälte’

Bur. +xAi

ulāxai ‘petušinnyj grebešok’ (Budaev 1992, p. 91)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM +GAi

qarağai ‘listvennica’: *sira q.* ‘želtaja pihta’, *toson q.* ‘temnokrasnaja pihta’ (Kowalewski 844b)

Khal. +gAi

xargai ‘sibirskaja listvennica’ /Lat. Larix sibirica/ (Luw. 515a)

Kalm. +GA

xargä, xargā ‘Tanne od. Lärche; Nadelholz’ (KWB 169a)

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

LM +GAi

**siragai* ‘nom qu’on donne à un chien fauve’,¹⁶ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a)

Ord. +gā

šargā ‘id.’

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

MNT +KAi

borqai ‘Ururgroßvater, Ahn’,¹⁷ (Haenisch 19) [MNT 180]

Houa-yi yi-yu +xAi

boroxai ‘trisaïeul’ (Lewicki 21)

3.2.1.7. LM+GAnA/+GUmA

Function: To form “names of plants, animals, and some diseases mostly from primary stems which denote qualities characteristic of the object (*plant, animal, disease*) denoted by the secondary noun” (Poppe 1981, p. 384). “The words ending in +GAnA denote mostly such plants (*or* animals) which occur in large numbers in one place and are relatively small and difficult to separate from each other, e.g. bushes forming a thicket, insects swarming all over a place” (Poppe 1981, p. 385). E.g.: *kedegen-e* ‘horsefly, gadfly; wasp, bumblebee’; *budurğan-a* ‘suaeda prostrata’; *bata-*

¹⁶ In Mostaert’s opinion, this word is a shortening of *sira noqai* (Mostaert 610a).

¹⁷ There is a semantic parallel in German *der Greis* ‘alter Mann’ < *gris* ‘gray’.

ğan-a ‘gnat, small fly; mosquito’; *kilağan-a* ‘feather grass’; Bur. *xailgana* ‘zool. čajka’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

Leiden +KUnA

qulquna ‘Maus’ (Poppe 1928, p. 64)

'Phags-pa +KAnA

qulaqana ‘mouse’ (Ligeti 1973, p. 63; Poppe 1957, p. 129b)

Nuzhatu-'l-kulūb +KUnA

qu'l'quna ‘rat’ (Pelliot 1931, p. 563)

Houa-yi yi-yu +'UnA/ +KAnA

hara'una ‘Wasserhuhn’ /Lat. *Fulica atra*/ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 215); *huluqana* ‘Ratte’ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 161)

Muq. +GUmA

qulguna ‘mys’, *krysa*’ (Poppe 1938, p. 309a)

Istanbul +GUmA

qulguna ‘souris’ (Ligeti 1962b, p. 46)

LM +GAnA/+GUmA

alağana ‘nazvanie rybki, iz roda snjatkov’ (Kowalewski 81a); *altağan-a* ‘am-tan bie cox šar öngötei neg jüil *xarācāi*’ (Cewel 1966, p. 35a); *qarağun-a* (~ *qarağana*) *qaljan* ‘a bird resembling the crow with a bald spot on its head, a white beak; coot’ (Lessing 933b); *qulugana* ‘mouse, rat’ (Lessing 984b) ~ *qulağana* (Kara 1998, p. 615a); *mogayıči* q. ‘faraonovaja krysa’ /Lat. *Herpestes ichneumon*/ (NT 96–97, p. 116), *čigči* q. ‘belobrjuhaja belozubka’ /Lat. *Crocidura leucodon*/ (NT 96–97, p. 115), *jığır-tü* q. ‘letučaja mys’” (NT 96–97, p. 114)

Khal. +gAnA

algana sogos ‘amurskij jaz’ /Lat. *Leuciscus waleckii*/ (NT 96–97, p. 128); *altgana* ‘želtyj striž, kamennyj striž’ /Lat. *Apus pallidus*/ (NT 96–97, p. 64); *xargana xaljan* ‘lysuha’ /Lat. *Fulica atra*/ (NT 96–97, p. 45); *xulgana* ‘egér /Mus/, patkány /Rattus/’ [mouse, rat] (Kara 1998, p. 615a); *mogoč x.* ‘faraonovaja krysa’ /Lat. *Herpestes ichneumon*/ (NT 96–97, p. 116), *čigč x.* ‘belobrjuhaja belozubka’ /Lat. *Crocidura leucodon*/ (NT 96–97, p. 115), *jığır-tü* x. ‘letučaja mys’” (NT 96–97, p. 114)

Bur. +gAnA~gAnĀn

xulgana~ xulganān ‘mys’” (BurRS 600a); *morin x.* ‘polevaja myš’, *al'ganša x.* ‘krot’ (BurRS 600a); *algana* ‘okun’” (BurRS 41a); cf. *alagana* ~ *algana* ‘Nižneudin., Tunka, Barguzin un petit poisson de l’espèce des chabots’ (Castrén 1857, p. 88a)

Kalm. +G^AnA

xulg'na ‘Maus’ (KWb 196a)

Ord. +GUmA

xuluguna ‘rat, souris’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 367b)

Mngr. +GlA

xanaGla ‘souris, rat’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 155)

Šera-yögür +glAg

hunaglag ‘souris, rat’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 155)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

MNT +qAnA

qaraqana ‘Dickicht, Gestrüpp, Bezeichnung einer Marschordnung’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 60) [MNT 107, 122, 195]

LM +GAnA/+GUaA

ulağan-a ‘kislica’ (Kowalewski 397a); *qarağun-a* ‘nazvanie dereva’ (Kowalewski 833a); *qarağan-a* ‘kargana’: *altan q.* ‘zolotarnik, židovnik’, *boro q.* ‘železnik, stepnaja čiliga’, *mönke q.* ‘maeran’ (Kowalewski 844b); *qardağan-a* ‘nizkij kustarnik’ (Kowalewski 849b)

Khal. +gXnX

ulāgana ‘smorodina krasnaja’ (Luw. 450b); *gašūn u.* ‘gor’kaja smorodina’, *xar u.* ‘černaja smorodina’ /Lat. Ribes atropurpureum C.A.M./, *gō u.* ‘smorodina krasivaja’ /Lat. Ribes pulchellum Turcz./, *xad öndör u.* ‘smorodina vysokaja’ /Lat. Ribes altissimum Turcz./, *anxilūn u.* ‘smorodina dušistaja’ /Lat. Ribes graveolens Bge./ (NT 59–60, p. 51); *xargana* ‘karagana, borsófa’ /Lat. Caragana Lani./ (Kara 1998, p. 560a); *altan x.* ‘belokoraja karagana’ /Lat. C. leucophloeus Pojark./, *bor x.* ‘karagana Bunge’ /Lat. C. Bungei Ldb./; *modlig x.* ‘drevovidnaja karagana’ /Lat. C. arborescens Lam./ (NT 59–60, p. 24), *mönx x.* ‘piptant mongol’skij’ /Lat. Piptanthus mongolicus Maxim./, *temēn x.* ~ *šiwiurt x.* ‘koljučaja karagana’ /Lat. C. spinosa (L)DC/, *ulān x.* ~ *tarwagan x.* ‘karlikovaja karagana’ /Lat. C. pygmaea (L)DC/, *üixer x.* ‘melkolistnaja karagana’ /Lat. C. microphylla/ (NT 59–60, p. 43); *xarcgana* ‘jastrebinka’ /Lat. Hieracium pitosella/: *xöxelei x.* ‘jastrebinka sinjakovidnaja’ /Lat. Hieracium echiooides Lumm./, *egel x.* ‘jastrebinka obyknovenennaja’ /Lat. Hieracium vulgatum Fries./, *xalūn x.* ‘jastrebinka jadovitaja’ /Lat. Hieracium virozum Pall./, *šüxert x.* ‘jastrebinka zontičnaja’ /Lat. Hieracium umbellatum L./ (NT 59–60, p. 60)

Bur. +gXn(X)

ulāgana ‘kislica’: *gazarai u.* ‘kostjanka’, *modonoi u.* ‘zap. krasnaja smorodina’ (BurRS 466a); cf. *Nižneudin.* ‘brusnika’ (Rassadin 1999, p. 136); *xargana* ~ *xarganān* ‘karagana’: *altan x.* ‘zolotarnik, karagana zolotistaja; zap. kusty, kustarnik’ (BurRS 554b); cf. *kargana* ‘Nižneudin., Tunka Spierpflanze’ (Castren 1857, p. 109a), *xarganai* ‘Okin. soet. ernik, karlikovaja bereza; Oka venik dlja podmetanija pola; Zakamna metla, venik’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 202); *zedegene* ‘klubnika, zemljanika’ (BXTTT 59)

Ord. +gAnA~gAnAk

xargana ~ *xarganak* ‘arbuste, espèce de robinier’: *šara x.* ‘id.’, *alta x.* ‘nom d’un arbuste’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339b)

Kalm. +GAnA

xarǵana ‘Caragana (*eine Baumart aus den Papilionaceae*)’ (KWb 169a);
ulǵana ‘eine Pflanze mit roten Beeren’ (KWb 448b).

with colour names it forms names of diseases:

LM +GAnA

**qulagána ebüčin* ‘chlorosis, green sickness’ (B.Kh.)

Khal. +gAnA

xulgana öwčin ‘blednaja nemoč’ (ANT 15).

3.2.1.8. LM+GUi

Function: NN. E.g.: (*ulabur*) *arǵui* ‘petuški, cvetki’ /Lat. iris Sibirica/ (Kowalewski 397b) < *ariǵun* ‘čistyj’; *yargui* ‘kökörcsin’ /Lat. Pulsatilla/ [pasqueflower, anemone] (Kara 1998, p. 755b) < *yar* ‘knot, nodule’

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

LM+GUi

alǵui ‘sarsaparilla’ (Lessing 31a)

Kalm. +GŪ

alǵū ‘Sassaparille (*Pflanze*)’ (KWb 7a)

3.2.1.9. LM+iyAčAi~ +GAčAi¹⁸

Function: To form nouns designating names of plants and animals (Dondukov 1964, p. 25; Rassadin 1999, p. 67). This suffix is productive only in the Buriat language. E.g.: Bur. *mīsgei* ‘koška’ (cf. LM *mī*, Khal. *mī* onomatopoetic word); *xyürōsgei* ‘pus-tel’ga’ < *xyürō* ‘pila’; cf. *saryūsgai* ‘prekrasnyj, velikolepnyj’ < *saryūn* ‘prekrasnyj, velikolepnyj; bodryj, energičnyj’;

with colour names it forms names of animals:

Houa-yi yi-yu +iyAčA

xariyača ‘hirondelle’ (Lewicki 1959, p. 44)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +iyAčA

qariyača ‘swallow’ (Kara 1990, p. 316)

LM+iyAčAi~ +GAčAi

qariyačai ~ qaraǵačai ‘swallow, martin’ (Lessing 938b): *elesün* q. ‘pesčanaja lastočka, kamennyj striž’, *eriugči* q. ‘domašnjaja lastočka’, *ičikü* q. ‘striž, okolevajušcij na zimu v duplah’, *oron* q. ‘rod lastočki’, *üker* q. ‘kasatka’, *qoton* q. ‘mongol’skaja lastočka’, *qonin* q. ‘striž’, *morin* q. ‘bol’šoj vid lastočki’ (Kowalewski 843)

Khal. +ĀčAi

xarācrai ‘lastočka’: *altan* x. ‘lastočka derevenskaja’, *temēn* x. ‘striž’, *üxer* x. ‘kasatka’ (Luw. 513b), *berelesni* x. ‘parti fecske’ /Lat. Riparia riparia/ [bank swallow] (Kara 1998, p. 558a), *ičix* x. ‘pal’movyj striž’ /Lat. Cypsiurus par-

¹⁸ *iyAčAi* < **iGAčAi* < *GAčAi*.

vus/, *morin* x. ‘belopojasnyj striž’ /Lat. *Apus pacificus*/, örxöč x. ‘kasatka, de-revenskaja lastočka’ /Lat. *Hirundo rustica gutturalis*/, *uran* x. ‘ryžepojasnič-naja lastočka’ /Lat. *Hirundo daurica*/, *xatan* x. ‘gornaja lastočka’ /Lat. *Hirundo rupestris*/, *xiatrun* x. ‘jurok’ /Lat. *Fringilla montifringilla*/, *xonin* x. ‘malyj striž’ /Lat. *Apus affinis* (NT 96–97, p. 64)

Bur. +AsgAi

xarāsgai ‘lastočka’: *morin* x. ‘lastočka-kasatka; lastočka temno-koričnevogo cveta (*živuščaja v gol'cah*)’, üxer x. ‘derevenskaja lastočka’, *xonin* x. ‘lastočka beregovaja; *Tunka* lastočka belogrudaja (*v'juščaja gnezda u domov*)’, er'ein x. ‘lastočka beregovaja’ (BurRS 549b); cf. *Selenga xarācagai* (Castrén 1857, p. 109a); *xüxesgei* ‘*Bohan* trjasoguzka’ (BurRS 636b) ~ ‘sinica’ (Dondukov 1964, p. 26); cf. *xüxsegeldei* ‘*Zakamna* trjasoguzka’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 206)

Ord. +ts^cĀ ~ +čGAi

xarāc̄tšā ‘hirondelle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338b): *aDū* x. ‘nom d’endroit (*Otok*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 4b), *Ga't'u* x. ‘hirondelle ordinaire qui loge dans les maisons’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 299a), *ü'k̄xer* x. ‘espèce de grande hirondelle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 754a); cf. *xarāčgai* (Rudnev 1911, p. 140b)

Kalm. +tsā

xarātsā ‘Schwalbe’ (KWB 168b)

Mngr. +ntš'iGĀ

xaranš'iGē ‘hirondelle’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159)

Širongol +jAGAi

karaјagai ‘hirondelle’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159)

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

LM+iyAčAi~ +GAčAi

borgócoi (cf. *borğučuğ*) ‘evergreen tree cone’ (Lessing 121a)

Khal. +gocoi

borgocoi (cf. *borgocog*) ‘šiška’ (Luw. 77b)

Bur. +bōsgoi

borbōsgoi ‘šiška hvojnogo dereva’ (BurRS 105b): cf. *Khori borgōsogoi*, *Se-lenga borgenso* (Castrén 1857, p. 169b)

3.2.1.10. LM +jin

Function: To form words which denote the age of female animals or female animal names from colour names (GWM §125; Hambis 1945, p. 7; Sanžeev 1941, p. 71). In ancient texts this suffix forms words from clan names, meaning ‘woman from the ... tribe’. The word for granite is not found in earlier texts, it occurs only in modern languages. E.g.: MNT *mongqoljin* ‘Mongolian woman’ < *mongqol* ‘Mongol’; *barqu-jin* ‘Bargu woman’ < *barqun* ‘name of a tribe and country in Northwest Manchuria’; LM *günajin* ‘la vache de trois ans’ < *günan* ‘le boeuf de trois ans’ < *gurban* ‘trois’; Bur. *dünzen* ‘četyrehletnaja samka (*krupnyh životnyh*)’ < *dii: cf. *dünen* ‘četyrehlet-nij (samec)’; *dürben* ‘4’

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

LM +jin

borjin nuğusun ‘rod dikoj utki’ (Kowalewski 1223b)

Khal. +jin

borjin nugas ‘vadkacsa’ [wild duck] (Kara 1998, p. 66b)

Bur. +žOn

boržon ‘utka (*samka*)’ (BurRS 105b)

Kalm. +džn

bordžn nuğ^usn ‘wilde Ente (das Weibchen)’ (KWb 51b)

with colour names it forms the name of a metal:

Khal. +jin

borjin ‘gránit’ [granite] (Kara 1998, p. 66b)

Bur. +žon

boržo(n) ‘fol’k. čekannyj, massivnyj, granitnyj’ (BurRS 105b)

3.2.1.11. LM+I

Function: NN (Szabó 1943, §160). E.g.: *sabal* ‘ein großer Napf od. eine Schale mit Stiel’ < *saba* ‘Gefäß (*im allgemeinen*), Behälter’; *góbil* ‘niedrige Stelle, Vertiefung’ < *góbi* ‘Steppe, niedrige trockene Ebene’

with colour names it forms the name of a metal:

LM+I

kürel ‘bronze’ (Lessing 504b)

Khal. +I

xürel ‘id.’ (Luw. 577b)

Kalm. +I

kürl ‘Bronze, Legierung’ (KWb 247b)

3.2.1.12. LM +lAi

An infrequent suffix. Ramstedt’s opinion that it may be a compound suffix in -l-Ai is probably based on *taulai* and its Turkic parallel (Ramstedt 1952, §105). I cannot agree with him, because there is no -Ai NN suffix in Mongolian. E.g.: *Qubilai* ‘Kubilai kan’ < *qubi* ‘dolja, sčast’e’; Khal. *dewēlei* ‘letnij pomet zajca’ < *dewē* ‘narost’; *kirağulai* ‘pozdnjaja osen’ < *kiragu* ‘zrelost’; *taulai* ‘zajac’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +lAi

**čağalai* ‘nom qu’on donne à un chien blanc’ (B.Kh.); **nogolai* ‘junge Hasen im Frühjahr’ (B.Kh.)

Khal. +lAi

nogolai ‘vesennij pomet zajca’ (Ramstedt 1952, §105)

Bur. +loi

borloj ‘Oka sivyj (o lošadi)’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 175)

Ord. +lä

tš'agālā ‘nom qu'on donne à un chien blanc’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 691a)

Kalm. +lä

noğālā ‘junge Hasen im Frühjahr’ (KWb 278b)

3.2.1.13. LM+ldAi

Function: Diminutive suffix (Dondukov 1964, p. 23). E.g.: *abağaldai* ‘a shamanistic idol; a mask representing a shamanistic god’ < *abag-a* ‘paternal uncle’: cf. Bur. *abgalda* ‘djadjuška’ < *abga* ‘brat otca, rodnoj djadja’; *bābgaldai* ‘medved’ < *bābgai* ‘id.’; *abāxalda* ‘pauk’ < *abāxai* ‘id.’; *bōxoldoi* ‘domovoj, duh, čert’ < *Bōxon* ‘name of a West-Buriat tribe’.

with colour names it forms proper names:

MNT +ldAi

Boroldai ‘ikiresz vitéz’ [Ikiresz valiant] [MNT 129] (Ligeti 1962a, p. 217), *Boroldai suyalbi* ‘Torokoldzsin-bajan legénye’ [lad of Toroqoljin-bayan] [MNT 3] (Ligeti 1962a: 217); *Qaraldai* ‘Menen-tudun ötödik fia’ [the fifth son of Menen-tudun] [MNT 45, 46], *Qaraldai toqura'un* ‘dzsalair vitéz’ [Jalair valiant] [MNT 120, 124] (Ligeti 1962a, p. 224)

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM+ldAi

boroldai ‘nazvanie kakoj-to ptički, podobnoj lastočke’ (Kowalewski 1219a); *boroldai boljimor* ‘zaviruška’ /Lat. Prunella/ (NT 96–97, p. 74); *noğogaldai* ‘zelenaja penočka’ /Lat. Phylloscopus trochiloides/ (NT 96–97, p. 75); *qaraldai biljūqai* ‘nestor (ptica, izvestnaja pod imenem ubijcy ovec)’ /Lat. Nestor notabilis/ (NT 96–97, p. 186)

Khal. +ldXi

boroldoi ‘seryj (o pticah i lošadjah); Serko (klička lošadi seroj masti); lask. žavoronok’ (Luw. 78a); *boroldoi boljmor* ‘zaviruška’ /Lat. Prunella/ (NT 96–97, p. 74); *nogoldoi* ‘zelenaja penočka’ /Lat. Phylloscopus trochiloides/ (NT 96–97, p. 75); *xaraldai boljmor* ‘žavoronok černyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 257); *xaraldai byaljūxai* ‘nestor (ptica, izvestnaja pod imenem ubijcy ovec)’ /Lat. Nestor notabilis/ (NT 96–97, p. 186)

Bur. +ldAi

xüxeldei ‘sinica lazorevaja’ (BurRS 636a)

Kalm. +lä

borldā ‘der Graue (Name für kleine Vögel od. graue Pferde); Lerche’ (KWb 52a)

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

LM+ldAi

**siralda* ‘cole-seed, rape’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +ldAi

šaraldai (*übhen*) ‘surepica, surepka’ /Lat. Brassica rapa rapifera/ (BurRS 721b)

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

Ord. +ldō/ +ldā

Boroldō ‘le brun, qui a le visage brun, qui a le teint foncé’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *šaralDā* ‘n.pr.m.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a)

3.2.1.14. LM +liG

Function: To form nouns designating an abundance of something (GWM §127). E.g.: *bayaliğ* ‘riches, wealth, prosperity’ < *bayan* ‘rich, wealthy’; *bağaturlığ* ‘heroism, virility, courage’ < *bağatur* ‘hero; knight’; *čečerlig* ~ *čečeglig* ‘flower garden; park’ < *čečeg* ‘flower’

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

LM +liG

qaralığ ‘rab, poddannyj, nevol’nik’ (Kowalewski 834b)

Khal. +lAg

xarlag ‘ust. čern’, holop, smerd’ (Luw. 517a)

Kalm. +liG

xar^aliG ‘Sklave, Unfreier’ (KWb 169b)

3.2.1.15. LM +lAng /+lOng

Function: NN (GWM §126). According to Ramstedt, this suffix occurs mostly in names of animals and it may be derived from the Chinese word *lang* ‘Tier’ (Ramstedt 1952, §109). In my opinion, this is a compound suffix in NV +lA- (GWM §245) and VN -ng (GWM §176). E.g.: *soyuğalang* ‘a domestic animal at the age of growing new eyeteeth’ < *soyuğ-a* ‘eyetooth’; *şidiülenç* ‘a domestic animal at the age of growing new teeth’ < *şidiün* ‘tooth’; *tariyalang* ‘field’ < *tariyan* ‘seed’

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

LM +lOng

borlong ‘másodfű kecskegida’ [goat in the second year] (Kara 1998, p. 66b)

Khal. +lOñ

borloñ ‘id.’ (Luw. 78a; Kara 1998, p. 66b)

Bur. +lOñ

borloñ ‘Bohan godovalyj (o barane, ovce, kozle)’ (BurRS 106a)

3.2.1.16. LM +lji(n)

Function: To form nouns designating birds, insects, and geometric figures (GWM §128). Later, in 1981, Poppe wrote that its function is to “form names of plants and animals the characteristic features of which are denoted by the nominal stem concerned. The suff. +lji is not to be confused with the suff. +ljin of names of geometri-

cal figures, e.g.: *dörbeljin* ‘square’ from *dörben* ‘four’ ” (Poppe 1981, p. 386). E.g.: *temegeljin* ‘dragon-fly’ < *temegen* ‘camel’; *sirguljin* ‘ant’; Bur. *sūsagālžan* ‘bekas’; *harālžan* ‘val’dšnep’; *bübölžen* ‘udod’

with colour names it forms names of plants:

Houa-*yi yi-yu +lijin*

siralijin ‘Kraut, Beifuß’ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 100)

LM *+ljī(n)*

boroljī(n) ‘a species of birch’ /Lat. *Betula frutiosa*/ (Lessing 122a); *ulaljī* ‘osoka, trava’ (Kowalewski 399a); *siraljīn* ‘sage-brush, /Lat. *Artemisia vulgaris*/’ (Lessing 715a; Kowalewski 1521a)

Khal. *+lj(in)*

boroljī(in) ‘Gmelin-nyírfa’ /Lat. *Betula fusca*/ [Gmelin birch] (Kara 1998, p. 66b): cf. *boroljī* ‘valy ili holmy s obnažennymi bokami, uvenčannye kustarnikami; pesčannye bugry, porosšie tal’nikom’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 72a); *ulalj* ‘osoka’ /Lat. *Carex*/ (Luw. 452a); *alag u.* ‘dvucvetnaja osoka’ /Lat. *Carex dichroa* Freyn/, *baga u.* ‘malaja osoka’ /Lat. *Carex parva* Ness./, *šargal u.* ‘osoka mortukovidnaja’ /Lat. *Carex eremopyroides* Krecz./, *xar cecegt u.* ‘osoka černocvetkovaja’ /Lat. *Carex melanantha* C.A.M./, *xar tolgoit u.* ‘černogolovaja osoka’ /Lat. *melanthaeformis* Litv./, *xürendü u.* ‘osoka burovataja’ /Lat. *Carex brunescens*/, *xyalgasan u.* ‘osoka volosovidnaja’ /Lat. *Carex capillaris* L./ (NT 59–60, p. 38); *šarilj* ‘bur’jan’/Lat. *Artemisia* L./: *xamba š.* ‘romaška lekarstvennaja’ (Luw. 647a), *büdeg š.* ‘polyn’ nejasnaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia obscura* Pamp./, *cagān š.* ‘polyn’ belolistnaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia leucophylla* Turcz./, *möngön š.* ‘polyn’ serebristolistnaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia argyrophylla* Ldb./, *nogōn š.* ‘polyn’ zelenaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia viridis* Willd./, *šar š.* ‘polyn’ želtovataja’ /Lat. *Artemisia xanthochroa* KRach./, *torgon š.* ‘polyn’ šelkovistaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia sericea* Wed./, *iijemjít š.* ‘polyn’ krasivaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia venusta* Pamp./, *morin š.* ‘polyn’ odnoletnjaja’ /Lat. *Artemisia anua* L./, *xōx nogōn š.* ‘polyn’ seraja’ /Lat. *Artemisia glauca* Pall./, *yamān š.* ‘metelčataja polyn’” /Lat. *Artemisia scoparia* W. et K./ (NT 59–60, p. 44)

Bur. *+lžX~+lžA*

borolžo ‘kustarnik, kusty; ernik’ (BurRS 106a; BXTTT 22): cf. *borolži* ‘melkij bereznjak’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 72a), *borolže* ‘Tanne’ (Castrén 1857, p. 169b); *šaralza* ‘bur’jan’ (BurRS 721b): cf. *šaralži* ‘Khori poželtevšaja ili opavšaja hvoja’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 157b)

Ord. *+ldž(n)*

BorolDžin ‘sol plus ou moins sablonneux où il n’y a ni grandes dunes, ni herbes épaisse, mais seulement de mauvaises fines herbes’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *šaralDži* ‘espèce d’armoise’: *mori š.* ‘*artemisia annua* L. (*d’après Potanin*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a) ~ *šarilDži* (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a)

Kalm. *+ldžn*

šarldžn ‘Name verschiedener großer Steppenpflanzen’ (KWb 350b)

Mngr. *+rD’žin*

sirarD’žin ‘armoise’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 398)

Durbut + lji

šärlji- ~ *s'ireljji* ‘poželtevšaja ili opavšaja hvoja’: š. *uptu* ‘klopočnik’ /Lat. *Lepidium ruderale* L./ (Rudnev 1911, p. 157b), *sagan* s. ‘belaja polyn’ /Lat. *Artemisia vulgaris* L. v. *lucophylla* Turcz./ (Rudnev 1911, p. 118b)

Üdzsüm. +lji

šarljji ‘polyn’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 157b)

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +lji

čagalji ‘krupnočešujnyj ugaj (*ryba*)’ (NT 96–97, p. 124)

Khal. +lj

cagāly ‘id.’

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

LM +lji(n)

siralji(n) ‘černobyl’nik’ (Kowalewski 1521a)

3.2.1.17. LM +lji+GAnA

Function: To form the name of “such plants and animals which are small in size and occur in large numbers in the same place as strawberries, dragon-flies, etc. which cannot be counted easily (Poppe 1981, p. 386). Compound suffix in NN +lji (see under 3.2.1.16.) and NN +GAnA (see under 3.2.1.7.). E.g.: *bögereljigene* ‘raspberry bush’ <*bögere* ‘kidney’; *güjigeljigene* ‘strawberry’ <*güjige* ‘stomach’; *temegeljigene* ‘dragon fly’ <*temegen* ‘camel’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +lji+GAnA

boroljigana ‘černaja belka s želtovatym brjuškom’ (Kowalewski 1219a); *kürelji-gene* ‘sverčok’ (NT 96–97, p. 147)

Khal. +lj+gXnX

boroljgono ‘orehovaja belka’ (NT 96–97, p. 111); *xüreljgene* ‘sverčok’ (NT 96–97, p. 147)

Kalm. +ldž+rgAnA

kürlđzrgəna ‘ein Insekt von dunkler Farbe’ (KWb 277b)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM +lji+GAnA

boruljigan-a ‘shrubs, shrubbery’ (Lessing 122a); *siraljağan-a* ‘csorbóka’ /Lat. *Sonchus*/ [sowthistle] (Kara 1998, p. 702b); *ulaljigan-a* ‘krasnaja smorodina; kostjanka’ (Kowalewski 399a)

Khal. +lјgXnX

boroljgono ‘kuril’skij čaj’ /Lat. *Dasiphora Rydb.*: *sōgōn b.* ‘kustarničkovyj kuril’skij čaj’ /Lat. *Dasiphora fruticosa* L./, *cōn nawčit b.* ‘kuril’skij čaj melkolistnyj’ /Lat. *Dasiphora parvifolia* Fisch Juz./ (NT 59–60, p. 29); *šaraljgana* ‘osot’ /Lat. *Sonchus L.*: *šüdlig* š. ‘osot Zubčatyj’ /Lat. *Sonchus dentatus* Ldb./, *xödöñi* š. ‘osot polevoj’ /Lat. *Sonchus arvensis* L./ (NT 59–60, p. 40); *ul-*

āl̄gana ~ ulān ulāgana ‘smorodina krasnaja’ (NT 59–60, p. 51); *cegēl̄jgene* ‘kasatilleja’ /Lat. Casatilleja Mutis./: *caiwar c.* ‘kasatilleja blednaja’ /Lat. Casatilleja pallida Kunth./ (NT 59–60, p. 24)

Bur. +lzAgAnA

ulālzagana ‘Khori krasnaja smorodina, kislitsa’ (BurRS 466a)

Kalm. +ldž'GAnA

šarldž'yanā ‘irgendeine gelbe Pflanze, viell. = šarldžn’ (KWb 350b)

3.2.1.18. LM +mAG

Function: This suffix occurs in few words and these are diminutives (GWM §130; Hambis 1945, p. 6). E.g.: *nuğurmağ* ‘pool’ < *nuğur* ‘lake’ (GWM §130); *ačimağ* ‘le mérite, le service, l’utilité’ < *ači* ‘le bienfait, le mérite’ (Hambis 1945, p. 6); Bur. *xužarmag* ‘nebol’sie solončaki’ < *xužar* ‘solončaki’ (Sanžeev 1941, p. 65); Khal. *jairmag* ‘moroženoe’ < *jair* ‘šuga’

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +mAG

siramağ ‘ein Vogel: die Meise’ (KWb 350b)

Kalm. +mAG

šarmaG ‘id.’ (KWb 350b)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM +mAG

qarmağ ‘Nitraria-cserje’ (Kara 1998, p. 562b)

Khal. +mAg

xarmag ‘selitrjanka Šoberova’ /Lat. Nitraria L./ (Luw. 517b; NT 59–60, p. 50) ~ ‘sondūl gedeg butarxag urgamlın ür, moil met xelbertei, xün iddeg’ (Cewel 1966, p. 666b): *x. teseg* ‘kurčavka koljučaja’ (Luw. 517b), *usan x.* ‘selitrjanka vzdutoplodnaja’ /Lat. Nitraria sphaerocarpa Maxim./, *sibirin x.* ‘selitrjanka Robrovskogo’ /Lat. Nitraria sibirica Pall./ (NT 59–60, p. 50)

3.2.1.19. LM+sUn

Function: To form nouns the meaning of which is usually the same as that of the primary word (GWM §137). Ramstedt writes that this suffix emphasises the meaning of the word (Ramstedt 1952, §107). E.g.: *adugusun* ‘animal’ < *adugun* ‘herd of horses’; *üresün* ‘seed, grain’ < *ür-e* ‘id.’; *nilbusun ~ nilmusun* ‘tears, mucus, spittle’ < *nilbu* ‘spittle’

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM+sUn

kökesün ‘Brennessel’ (KWb 237a); *küresün* ‘eine Pflanze (*giftig*); Süßholz’ (KWb 248a)

Kalm. +sn

köksn ‘Brennessel’ (KWb 237a); *kürsn* ‘eine Pflanze (*giftig*); Süßholz’ (KWb 248a)

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

MNT +sUn

časun ‘Schnee’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 26) [MNT 31]; *ča'alsun* ‘Papier’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 24) [MNT 203]

Leiden +sUn

časun ‘Schnee’ (Poppe 1928, p. 1271)

Houa-yi yi-yu +sUn

časun ‘Schnee’ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 10); *ča'alsun* ‘Papier’ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 303)

Muq. +sUn

časun ‘sneg’ (Poppe 1938, p. 131a); *čālsun* ‘bumaga’ (Poppe 1938, p. 131b)

Istanbul +sUn

časun ‘neige’ (Ligeti 1962b, p. 24)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +sU

času ‘snow’ (Kara 1990, p. 287)

LM +sUn

časun ‘snow’ (Lessing 166b); *čağasu(n)* ~ *čağalsun* ‘pisčaja bumaga, list’ (Kowalewski 2084b)

Khal. +s(An)

cas(an) ‘sneg’ (Luw. 606a); *cās(an)* ‘bumaga; razg. bumažnye den’gi’ (Luw. 598b)

Bur. +hAn

sahan ‘sneg’ (BurRS 387b); cf. *Nižneudin. sa'an* (Rassadin 1999, p. 98); *sārhan* ‘bumaga’ (BurRS 378b); *xür'hen* ‘počva’ (BurRS 628a)

Dagur +s

čas ‘sneg’ (Poppe 1930, p. 100a); *č'ās* ‘bumaga’ (Poppe 1930, p. 100a)

Ord. +sU

Džasu ‘neige’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 189b); *tš'āsu* ‘papier, feuille de papier’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 696b)

Kalm. +sn

tsasn ‘Schnee’ (KWb 423a); *tsāsn* ‘Papier’ (KWb 424a)

Mngr. +Dze /+se

tš'iāDze ‘papier’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 441); *tš'iäse* ‘niege’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 444)

Durbut +t

s'āt ‘bumaga’; *sat* ‘sneg’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 153b)

Üdzsüm. +s(U)

času ‘sneg’; *čās* ‘bumaga’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 153b)

Širongol +dzy/ +sy

čaldzy ‘papier’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 441); *časy* ‘niege’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 444)

3.2.1.20. LM +tAn

Function: To form collective nouns, the plural of words (GWM §139). We may add to this definition that words formed with this suffix denote only human groups. The only exception is the word *amitan* ‘living being, animal’. Originally, this suffix was the plural form of the suffix *+tAi*, which later became an independent suffix, therefore, it may also denote singular forms. E.g.: *erdemten* ‘learned person(s), scholar(s)’ < *erdem* ‘knowledge, learning; science’; *oyutan* ‘intelligent ones; student(s); intelligentsia’ < *oyun* ‘intellect, mind, intelligence; wisdom’; *amitan* ‘animal’ < *amin* ‘life’; *gemten* ‘the guilty or indicted one(s)’ < *gem* ‘defect; disease, ailment’; Bur. *moriton* ‘konnica’ < *morin* ‘lošad’

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

LM +tAn

čagantan ‘polit. white Russians’ (Lessing 158b); *ulağantan* ‘tört. a vörösök’ [red Russians (*political*)] (Kara 1998, p. 490a); **qaratan* ‘bad, evil people’ (B.Kh.)

Khal. +tAn

cagāntan ‘belogvardeec, belogvardejcy’ (Luw. 601b); *ulāntan* ‘polit. krasnye’ (Luw. 451a)

Bur. +tAn

sagāntan ‘belye, belogvardejščina’ (BurRS 382a); *ulāntan* ‘krasnye’ (BurRS 467a); *xaratan* ‘zlye, kovarnye’ (BurRS 552b)

3.2.2. Suffixes forming adjectives

3.2.2.1. LM +čAr

Function: Diminutive suffix (GWM §113; Szabó 1943, §192; Dondukov 1964, p. 95; Čeremisov 1951, p. 831). E.g.: *bağačar* ‘ziemlich klein od. jung, etwas kleiner, jünger’ < *bağa* ‘klein, jung’; *torgānčar* ‘type of coarse silk’ < *torgān* ‘silk’; cf. Kalm. *büdütsr* ‘ziemlich grob, ganz dick, größer, dicker’ < *büdüñ* ‘grob, dick’ (Szabó 1943, §192); Bur. *xüitenser* ‘prohladnyj, holodnovatyj’ < *xüiten* ‘holodnyj’

LM +čAr

alağčar ‘etwas bunt, etwas weiß und dunkel’ (KWb 7b); *boročar* ‘greyish; brownish’ (Lessing 121b); **nogočar* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); *siračar* ‘ziemlich gelb, gelblich’ (KWb 351a); *qaračar* ‘blackish’ (GWM §113); *kürengčer* ‘etwas dunkelbraun, mit einer Schattierung von dunkelbraun od. dunkel-violett’ (KWb 248a); **ulağacačar* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +sXr

nogōsor ‘čut’ zelenovatyj’ (o pole vesnoj B.Kh.) (BurRS 329a); *xarasar* ‘černovatyj, temnovatyj’ (o brovjah B.Kh.) (BurRS 552b); *šasar* ‘želtyj’ (BXTT 163)

Khal. +cXr

borcor ‘serovatyj; bolee seryj, čem drugie’ (Luw. 78b)

Kalm. +(n)tsr

al^aktsr ‘etwas bunt, etwas weiß und dunkel’ (KWb 7b); *tsaqātsr ~ tsaqānts*r ‘ziemlich weiß’ (KWb 419b); *šarts^ar* ‘ziemlich gelb, gelblich’ (KWb 351a); *xar^atsr* ‘ziemlich schwarz, schwärzer’ (KWb 170b); *bor^atsr* ‘ziemlich grau, etwas grau, grauer (*als etwas anderes*)’ (KWb 52b); *ulānts*r ‘stark rotgefärbt, hellrot’ (KWb 448a); *kürmtsr* ‘etwas dunkelbraun, mit einer Schattierung von dunkelbraun od. dunkel-violett (*von Tuch, Papier, Wald in der Ferne u.a.*)’ (KWb 248a)

3.2.2.2. LM +či(n)

Function: NN (Dondukov 1964, p. 85). E.g.: *süjügči* ‘devout, pious, religious’ < *süjüg* ‘religious worship, faith, belief, piety’; Bur. *xatarša* ‘rysistyj (o kone)’ < *xatar* ‘taneč’; *tuhaša* ‘uslužlivyj’ < *tuha* ‘pomošč’; *őntegše* ‘obidčivyj’ < *őnteg* ‘obidčivost’, mnitel’nost’ (Sanžeev 1941, p. 114)

MNT +čin

borčin ‘greyish’: cf. *borčin sono* ‘Entenart’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 19) [MNT 200]

LM +čin

borčin ‘id.’: *borčin sono* ‘seryj slepen’; šeršen’’ (Kowalewski 1223a); *čagči* ‘whitish’: cf. *čagči čečeg* ‘čajnaja roza’ /Lat. Rosa chinensis/ (NT 89–90, p. 145)

Khal. +č

cagč ceceg ‘čajnaja roza’ /Lat. Rosa chinensis/ (NT 89–90, p. 145)

3.2.2.3 LM +dAi

Function: Diminutive suffix (Dondukov 1964, p. 89). E.g.: Bur. *halandai* ‘neostorožnyj, neakkuratnyj, nebrežnyj’ < *halan* ‘nerjašlivyj, neoprjatnyj’

LM +dAi

**noǵoǵadai* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); **ulaǵadai* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +dXi

nogōdoi ‘zelenen’kij’ (BurRS 328b); *ulādai* ‘krasnen’kij’ (BurRS 466a)

3.2.2.4. LM +KAi

Function: Diminutive suffix (Dondukov 1964, p. 84; Ramstedt 1952, §98; Orlovskaya 1961, p. 86). A compound suffix which consists of the NN +KA and NN +yi (Szabó 1943, §172; Hambis 1945, p. 7). E.g.: *maǵuqai* ‘ugly, nasty’ < *maǵu* ‘bad, evil’; *tusqai* ‘special, particular; independent’ < *tus* ‘afore-mentioned, specified or said’; *dangqai* ‘einfach, nicht doppelt, ungebildet’ < *dang* ‘nur, allein, einfach’

with colour names it forms a proper name:

MNT +KAi

Qaraqai toqura'an ‘dzsalair vitéz’ [Jalair valiant] (Ligeti 1962a, p. 224; Rachewiltz 1972, p. 3033) [MNT 120]

3.2.2.5. LM +KAn

Function: A very productive suffix which forms nouns designating diminutives, sometimes female beings (GWM §124; Ramstedt 1952, §99). E.g.: *inaǵqan* ‘ljubim’kij’ <*inaǵ* ‘ljubimyj’; *amtataqan* ‘vkusnen’kij’ <*amtatai* ‘vkusnyj’; *adaliqan* ‘soveršenno pohožij’ <*adali* ‘pohožij’; *ariǵuqan* ‘očen’ čistyj’ <*ariǵun* ‘čistyj, svjatoj’

LM+KAn

čaǵaqaqan ‘belovatyj, dovol’no belyj, beljavyj’ (Kowalewski 2084a); *čegeken* ‘somewhat white or light’ (Lessing 169b); *nogóqaqan* ‘dovol’no zelenyj, zelenovatyj’ (Kowalewski 680a); *kökeken* ‘sinevatyj, lazurevyj’ (Kowalewski 2627a); *qaraqan* ‘dovol’no černyj, černen’kij, černovatyj’ (Kowalewski 830b); *siraqan* ‘želtovatyj, dovol’no želtyj’ (Kowalewski 1520a); cf. *siraqan tas* ‘želtovatyj aist (*ptica, obitajuščaja v pole, kogda sozrevaet pšenica*)’ (NT 96–97, p. 21); *ulaǵaqaqan* ‘dovol’no krasnyj, krasnovatyj, krasnen’kij’ (Kowalewski 397a)

Khal. +xXn

cagáxan ‘belen’kij’ (Luw. 601b); *nogóxon* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); cf. *nogóxon nugas* ‘čirok-svistunok’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 245); *xarxan* ‘černen’kij’ (Luw. 517b); *xöököön* ‘bluish’ (B.Kh.); *xürexen* ‘brownish’ (B.Kh.); *šarxan* ‘yellowish’ (B.Kh.); cf. *šarxan tas* ‘želtovatyj aist’ (NT 96–97, p. 21); *uláxan* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.); *yagáxan* ‘pinkish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +xXn

boroxon ‘seren’kij, prosten’kij’ (BurRS 106b); *sagáxan* ‘belen’kij’ (BurRS 382a); *nogóxon* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); *xaraxan* ‘černen’kij’ (e.g.: *x. sai* ‘čaj bez moloka’; *x. ger* ‘počernevšij ot vremeni dom’ (BurRS 553b); *xüixexen* ‘si-nen’kij, goluben’kij (*o cvetah*); *blednen’kij* (*o lice*)’ (BurRS 637a); *xürixen* ‘brownish’ (B.Kh.); *šaraxan* ‘želten’kij (*o ptencike*)’ (BurRS 722a); *uláxan* ‘krasnen’kij (e.g.: *u. solxob* ‘10 rublej’); *rumjanen’kij* (e.g.: *u. n’ür* ‘rumjanoe ličiko rebenka’)’ (BurRS 467a); *yagáxan* ‘rozoven’kij’ (e.g.: *y. šarai* ‘rumjanoe ličiko’)’ (BurRS 795a)

Kalm. +kn / +x^an

tsegékn ‘sehr durchsichtig, hell, weiß’ (KWb 426a); *burx^an* ‘weise? braun? alt?: *burx^an zērd’ mörn*’ (KWb 62a)

Mngr. +xĀn

tš’iGáxān ‘un peu blanc, blanchâtre’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 447); *noGōnxān* ‘un peu vert, verdâtre’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 281); *xaraxān* ‘un peu noir, noirâtre’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159); *k’uGuoxān* ‘bleu foncé, bleuâtre’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 209); *širaxān* ‘un peu jaune, jaunâtre’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 398)

Aru-horč. +xAn

čagaxan ‘belen’kij’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 153a)

Gorlos +xAn

xarlāxan ‘černen’kij’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 140b)

3.2.2.6. LM +kir

Function: To form nouns designating an abundance of something (Dondukov 1964, p. 96; Sanžeev 1941, p. 115). E.g.: Bur. *modoxir* ‘neukljužij, nepovorotlivyj’ <*modon* ‘derevo’; *büdexir* ‘tusklovatyj’ <*büden* ‘vesnuški, temnovatye pjatna’

LM.+kir/ +gir

čakir ‘very white, light, snow white; white spots on finger nails or on the feathers of a bird’ (Lessing 162a): cf. *čakir bürgüd* ‘beloplečij orlan’ /Lat. *Hieraetus pelagicus/* (NT 96–97, p. 24); *čakir nuğusu* ‘beloglazyj nyrok’ (NT 96–97, p. 45)

Khal.+xir

caxir ‘id.’: cf. *caxir bürged* ‘id.’; *caxir bujirga* ‘v’jurok gornyj, v’jurok žemčužnyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 264); *caxir nugas* ‘beloglazyj nyrok’ (NT 96–97, p. 45)

Bur.+xir

saxir ‘belesyj; blednyj’; *saxir sagān* ‘belyj-pribelyj’ (BurRS 387a): cf. *saxir* ‘*Oka* kakaja-to vodoplavajuščaja ptica’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 191)

3.2.2.7. LM +liG

Function: To form nouns designating an abundance of something (GWM §127). E.g.: *dabusulığ* ‘salty’ <*dabusun* ‘salt’; *miqalığ* ‘corpulent’ <*miqa* ‘meat’; *bayalığ* ‘rich, riches’ <*bayan* ‘rich’

LM +liG

alağlığ ‘motley, many-coloured’: cf. *alağlığ čečeg* ‘minuarcija’ /Lat. *Minuartia L./* (NT 59–60, p. 35); *čağalığ* ‘whitish’: cf. *čağalığ gürğül* ‘belovatyj fazan’ /Lat. *Lophura whiteheadi/* (NT 96–97, p. 179)

Khal. +IXg

alaglig ‘pestrovatyj’: *alaglig ceceg* ‘id’: *tūlīn a. ceceg* ‘minuarcija arktičeska-ja’ /Lat. *Minuartia arctica Stev/*, *xawrīn a. ceceg* ‘minuarcija vesennjaja’ /Lat. *Minuartia verna L./*; *borlog* ‘serovatyj’: cf. *borlog dūč šuwū* ‘penočka-zar-nička’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 235); *cagālig* ‘belovatyj’: cf. *cagālig boljmor* ‘žavoronok belokrylyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 263), *cagālag gurgūl* ‘belovatyj fazan’ /Lat. *Lophura whiteheadi/* (NT 96–97, p. 179); *xarlag* ‘černovatyj’: cf. *xarlag čogčoxoi* ‘kamenka černaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 257), *xarlag galū* ‘kazarka černaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 256)

3.2.2.8. LM +mAG

Function: Diminutive suffix (Szabó 1943, §176). E.g.: *čelmeg* ‘klar (*Himmel, Tag*)’ <*čel* ‘hell, hellblau, hellgrün’

LM +mAG

qaramağ ‘blackish’: *qaramağ modun* ‘sibirische Zwergrüster, karagač’ (Kwb 170a)¹⁹

¹⁹ Cf. Turkic *qaramiq* ‘ulme’ (Kwb 170a).

Kalm. +mAG
xarmaG modn ‘id.’

3.2.2.9. LM+ngGUI

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colours (GWM §133; Dondukov 1964, p. 93). E.g.: *degerenggii* ‘supercilious, haughty, arrogant, conceited, presumptuous’ <*deger-e* ‘top, on top of, on, at, above’

MNT +ngKUi

qarangqui ‘black, dark’ (Rachewiltz 1972, p. 1831) [MNT 83]

Muq. +nGU

qaranǵu ‘mračnyj’ (Poppe 1938, p. 292b)

LM +ngGUI

boronggui ‘grey, dark; darkness’ (Lessing 122b); *qaranggui* ‘dark(ness); dusk’ (Lessing 935a); *siranggui* ‘yūmnī šaravtarxan öngö’ (Cewel 1966, p. 839a); cf. *siranggui biljūqai* ‘dubonos’ (*name of animal*) /Lat. Coccothraustes/ (NT 96–97, p. 196)

Khal. +nxUi

xaranxui ‘temnyj, mračnyj; nevežestvennyj, otstalyj’ (Luw. 514b); *šarangui* ‘yūmnī šaravtarxan öngö’ (Cewel 1966, p. 839a); cf. *šarangui byaljūxai* ‘dubonos’ /Lat. Coccothraustes/ (NT 96–97, p. 196)

Bur. +nxī

xaranxī ‘temnyj, mračnyj, bezradostnyj (*o dnjah*); temnyj, neblagovidnyj, po-dozritel’nyj (*o delah*); nevežestvennyj, otstalyj, nekul’turnyj’ (*o čeloveke, epo-he*) (BurRS 552a)

Dagur +ñGUI

xarañǵui ‘temnota’ (Poppe 1930, p. 97b)

Ord. +ñxui

šarañxī ‘jaunâtre (*chèvre*), blond (*cheveux*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a); *xa-rañgī* ‘obscur’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338b)

Kalm. +ñgū

borñgū ‘grau, graudunkel, Finsternis’ (KWb 52a); *bürñgū* ‘dunkel’ (KWb 69a); *šarñgū* ‘gelblich; das verblassende Licht, gelbliche Dämmerung’ (KWb 351a)

Mngr. +ñGu

xarañGu ‘obscurité, obscur, ignorant, stupide’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159)

3.2.2.10. LM +siG

Function: Diminutive suffix (Szabó 1943, §187; Dondukov 1964, p. 85; Čeremisov 1951, p. 839). E.g.: *baǵasiǵ* ‘little, smallish’ <*baǵa* ‘small in size or quantity, little’; Bur. *tomošog* ‘krupnovatyj’ <*tomo* ‘krupnyj’; *gašunšag* ‘gor’kovatyj’ <*gašun* ‘gor’-kij’

LM +siG

**borosiġ* ‘greyish’ (B.Kh.); **noġoġansiġ* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); **ulaġansiġ* ‘redish’ (B.Kh.); **sirasiġ* ‘yellowish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur.+šXg

borošog ‘serovatyj’ (BurRS 106b); *nogōnšog* ‘zelenovatyj’ (BurRS 329a); *ulānšag* ‘dovol’no krasnyj, krasnovatyj’ (BurRS 467a); *šarašag* ‘želtovatyj’ (BurRS 722a)

3.2.2.11. LM +tAi

Function: To form nouns designating possession, connection with, or containment in something (GWM §138). Originally, it denoted the feminine genus. Its masculine parallel is the suffix +tU. E.g. *moritai* ‘a woman who rides a horse’, *moritu* ‘a men who rides a horse’ (Hambis 1945, p. 1). Later the suffix changed its function, and today grammars refer to it as a case suffix, that is, the comitative case (Kullmann – Tserenpil 1996, p. 97). A parallel suffix in modern languages is the descendant of the suffix +tU. There is a stylistic difference between their usage. It sounds “better” to say Khal. *erdemt xün* than *erdemten xün* ‘talented, gifted’. E.g.: *qoruqaitai* ‘being enthusiastic about, having a craze for’ <*qoruqai* ‘insects and worms in general; also figuratively for craving or craze’; *omoġtai* ‘haughty, arrogant; hot tempered’ <*omoġ* ‘arrogance, haughtiness, conceit, pride; anger’; *asiġtai* ‘profitable, gainful’ <*asiġ* ‘profit, gain’; *düitei* ‘dexterous, apt’ <*düi* ‘skill, dexterity’; *arbatai* ‘ten years old’ <*arban* ‘ten’

MNT +tAi

altatai ‘goldgeschmückt’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 6) [MNT 252, 273]; *qara‘utai* ‘schwarz’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 60) [MNT 6, 100, 244]

Muq. +tu

čağātu ‘imejuščij beloe’ (Poppe 1938, p. 130b)

LM +tAi

noġoġantai ‘greenish’: cf. *aġulan-u noġoġan-tai biljūqai* ‘zelenaja ščurka’ /Lat. Merops superciliosus/ (*name of animal*); *qaratai* ~ *qartu* ‘zavistlivyj, nenavistlivyj, nedobroželatel’nyj’ (Kowalewski 833b); *siratai* a) ‘yellowish’: cf. *aġulan-u sira-tai biljūqai* ‘zolotistaja ščurka’ /Lat. Merops apiaster/ (*name of animal*) (NT 96–97, p. 65); b) ‘dühös, epés’ [furious, malicious] (Kara 1998, p. 703b)

Khal. +tAi

nogōntoi ‘zelenovatyj’: cf. *ūlnī nogōntoi byaljūxai* ‘zelenaja ščurka’; *xartai* ‘bizalmatlan, óvatos, gyanakvó; rosszindulatú, sötét szándékú’ [distrustful, cautious, suspicious, malicious, malevolent] (Kara 1998, p. 562b); *šartai* a) ‘želtovatyj, zolotistyj’: cf. *ūlnī šartai byaljūxai* ‘zolotistaja ščurka’ (NT 96–97, p. 65), b) ‘serdityj’ (Luw. 647a; Kara 1998, p. 703b)

Bur. +tAi

altetē ‘Nižneudin., Tunka golden’ (Castrén 1857, p. 88b); *xaratai* ‘zloj, imejuščij čto-libo černoe; dosadnyj, zavistlivyj; zlobnyj; kovarnyj; so značeniem očen’’: *x. untaxa* ‘spat’ v glubokom sne’ (BurRS 552b)

Ord. +tā

xara't'ā ‘ayant du noir, méchant; pernicieux, malintentionné’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338b); *šarga't'ā* ‘comprenant des chevaux isabelle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609b); *tš'agātā* ‘ayant une taie sur l’oeil’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 692a)

Kalm. +tē

šartē ‘krank (von Fürsten und Lamas); fett, dick (von Rindvieh)’ (KWb 351a)

Gorlos +tē

xartē ‘nedobryj, nedobroželatel’nyj’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 140b)

3.2.3. Suffixes forming verbs from colour names

3.2.3.1. LM ±bki-

Function: To form actions with a weak intensity, or repetitive actions, Intrans. (Dondukov 1964, p. 155; Sanžeev 1941, p. 186). E.g.: Bur. *en'ēbxi-* ‘posmeivat’sja, ulybat’sja’ <*en'ē-* ‘smejat’sja’; *zūbxi(l)-* ‘prikusit’, prikusyvat’’ <*zū-* ‘vzjat’ v zuby; *kusat’*, *kusat’sja’*; *horobxi(l)-* ‘posasyvat’’ <*horo-* ‘sosat’’

LM +bki-

**ulağabki-* ‘to blaze, flame; to glow’ (B.Kh.); **sirabki-*‘to be yellow, show up yellow’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +bxi-

ulābxi-‘pylat’, polyhat’: *ulābxisa tülide* ‘topit’ dokrasna’ (BurRS 456b); *śarabxi-* ‘polyhat’ želtym cvetom, želtet’(sja)’ (BurRS 721a)

3.2.3.2. LM +dA-/+tA-

Function: To express the use of the object designated by the primary word (GWM §242; §250). It is a suffix which is present in the Mongolian, Turkic and Tungus languages (Ramstedt 1952, §95). E.g.: *arakida-* ‘to drink wine’ <*araki(n)* ~ *ariki(n)* ‘alcoholic liquor made of *airaq* through distillation’; *būda-*‘to shoot with a firearm’<*bū* ‘gun, rifle, firearm’; *čabauda-* ‘to glue’<*čabau* ‘glue’; *kirte-* ‘to become dirty’<*kir* ‘dirt’; *očita-* ‘to sparkle’<*oči* ‘spark’; *tegermede-* ‘to grind in a mill’<*tegerm-e* ‘mill’; *urğada-* ‘to catch a horse with an *urğ-a*’<*urğ-a* ‘a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses’

MNT+dA-

hulada- ‘krasnet’ (Kozin 1941, p. 592) [MNT 214]

’Phags-pa +tA-

qarta- (Ligeti 1973, p. 186)

LM +tA-/+dA-

čağada- ‘to be too white; to be cleared up or exposed (*as a crime*)’ (Lessing 157a); *čayırda-* ‘to coat or plate with zinc’ <*čayır* ‘zinc’ (Lessing 161b); *čengkirte-* ‘to become bluish’ (Lessing 172b); *kürente-* ‘to become brown, dark brown, or dark red’ (Lessing 505a); *qarada-* ‘zavidovat’, nenavidet’, ne dobroželatel’stvovat’’ (Kowalewski 834a); *qaradu-* ‘černet’, počernet’ (*o kolas’jah ot solnca*)’ (Kowalewski 828a); *qarangguyida-* ‘to be too dark’ (Les-

sing 935a) ~ 'lišit'sja čuvstv, pamjati; obezpamjatet'; upast' v obmorok' (Kowalewski 830b) < *qaranggui* 'dark'; *ulağada-* 'to paint red' (Lessing 869b)

Khal. +dX-/+tA-

cagāda- 'okazyvat'sja belee čem nužno, byt' črezmerno belym; namazyvat' kipjačenym tarakom' (Luw. 600b); *cairda-* 'ocinkovyvat', pokryvat' cinkom' < *cair* 'cink' (Luw. 603a); *nogōdo-* 'okrašivat' v zelenyj cvet, delat' zelenym' (Luw. 269a); *ulāda-* 'delat' krasnym, okazyvat'sja krasnee čem nužno, byt' črezmerno krasnym' (Luw. 450b); *xarda-* 'revnovat', podozrevat', umet' podozrenue' (Luw. 515b); *xaranxuida-* 'stanovit'sja sliškom temnym, mračnym' (Luw. 514b); *xürende-* 'byt' sliškom koričnevym, delat' koričnevym' (Luw. 577b); *xürente-* 'stanovit'sja koričnevym; vygljadit' koričnevym (*izdali*)' (Luw. 577b)

Bur. +dX-/+tX-

bordī- 'byt' nevzračnym' (BurRS 105b); *sagāda-* 'belit', byt' črezmerno belym, okazyvat'sja belee čem nužno (*o materii odeždy*)' (BurRS 380b); *xarda-* 'klevetat', ogovarivat', zlostno obvinjat', nezasluženno černit', pozorit' (BurRS 555a); *xaranxida-* 'temnet' (*o nebe*), mračnet', omračnjat'sja (*o duše*), okazyvat'sja čeresčur temnym' (BurRS 552a); *xulganata-* 'Zakamna bolet' vospaleniem šejnyj želez' < *xulgana* 'mys' (Rassadin 1996, p. 205); *xüxedē-* 'okrašivat' v sinij cvet' (BurRS 636a); *ulabarta-* 'krasnet'sja (*o cvetah na pole*)' < *ulabar* 'krasnovatyj' (BurRS 467a); *saibarta-* 'serebrit'sja (*o vodopade*)' < *saibar* 'svetlyj' (BurRS 383a)

Ord. +d(X)-/ +t'a-

tš'agāDa- 'être maculé de blanc' (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *tš'agāD-* 'être éclairci, être tiré au clair; être éclairci' (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *ulāDa-* 'être teint de rouge' (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b); *ulawurt'a-* ~ *ulawurt'u-* 'être teint d'un reflet rougeâtre' (Mostaert 1941, p. 730a); *xaraDa-* 'causer un tort à quelqu'un par des manoeuvres cachées' (Mostaert 1941, p. 337b)

Kalm. +d^A-/+t^a-

xar^ad^a- 'zu schwarz sein; schwarze Gedanken haben, beneiden, geizig sein' (KWb 168b); *xarñūd^a-* 'zu finster sein, düstern, dämmern' (KWb 170a); *tsād^a-* 'weiß sein od. erscheinen' (KWb 425a); *ulāwrt^a-* 'gelbrot sein od. werden' (KWb 448b); *tsāñkrt^a-* ~ *tsañkrt^a-* 'weißlich werden, verbleichen, bleich aussehen' (KWb 425a); *kürñt^a-* 'dunkelbraun werden od. sein' (KWb 248a)

Mngr. +Di-

alaGDi- 'être ou devenir bigarré, se pommeler (*cheval*)' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 4); *BoroDi-* 'être ou devenir gris' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 28); *té'iGānDi-* 'être ou devenir blanc' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 448); *fulānDi-* 'être ou devenir rouge, rougir' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 105); *xaraDi-* 'être ou devenir noir, obscur' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159); *k^huGuoDi-* 'être ou devenir bleu, vert, noirâtre' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 209); *noGōnDi-* 'être ou devenir vert' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 281); *širaDi-* 'être ou devenir jaune' (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 398)

3.2.3.3. LM +IA-

Function: NV: To denote acquirement of a quality (GWM §245). E.g.: *ayaǵala-* ‘to put or pour into a cup or bowl’ < *ayaǵ-a(n)* ‘cup, bowl, eating-bowl’; *idegele-* ‘to eat’ < *idege(n)* ‘food, nourishment, provisions’; *qaǵaǵarla-* ‘to bridle a horse’ < *qaǵaǵar* ‘bridle’; *tamakila-* ‘to smoke tobacco’ < *tamaki(n) ~ tamaki* ‘tobacco’

MNT +IA-

hulal- ‘pokrasnet’ (Kozin 1941, p. 592) [MNT 204]

LM +IA-

borola- ‘to become grey or tanned; to look grey, yellowish-grey, brown; to insist’ (Lessing 122a); *čaǵala-* ‘to bleach, whiten, whitewash; to peel, take off the skin, clean; to clear up; to write neatly; to make a neat copy; to celebrate, feast; to wish someone a Happy New Year’ (Lessing 157b); *qarangguyila-* ‘to darken’ (Lessing 935a) < *qaranggui* ‘dark’; *qarala-* ‘černet’, *počernet*, *zapačkat’sja*’ (Kowalewski 834a); *sirala-* ‘to be(come) yellow’ (Lessing 715a)

Khal. +IX-

borlo- ‘seret’, *stanovit’sja serym, sizym*’ (Luw. 78a); *cagāla-* ‘byt’ v traure, provodit’ vstreču Novogo goda’ (Luw. 600b); *nogōlo-* ‘vpervye vesnoj pasti skot na trave’ (Luw. 269a); *šarla-* ‘želtet’ (*o trave*), *bolet’ želtuhoj*’ (Luw. 647a); *xaranxuila-* ‘zagoraživat’ svet, zatemnjat’ (*o soznanii*)’ (Luw. 514b); *xarla-* ‘černet’, *stanovit’sja černym, terpet’ neudaču*’ (Luw. 517a); *xarjla-* ‘ne zamerzat’ (*o vode zimoj*)’ < *xarj* ‘ne zamerzajuščaja zimoj voda’ (Luw. 516a)

Bur. +I-

borol- ‘stanovit’sja serym, sjeret’ (*o zemle na kotoroj taet sneg*)’ (BurRS 106a); *nogōl-* ‘pastis’ na zelenom lugu, est’ zelen’, travu’ (BurRS 328b); *sagāl-* ‘perepisivat’ nabelo ili načisto; očiščat’, obtesyvat’, okorjat’ (*o dereve, kartofele*); opravdyvat’; prazdnovat’ vstreču Novogo goda; osvjaščat’ pri šamanskem obrjade (*o skote*); pit’ moloko, est’ moločnye produkty, ugoščat’ moločoj piščej; jagnit’sja letom; stradat’ bessonicej’ (BurRS 381a); *šaral-* ~ *šarla-* ‘želtet’ (*o bumage, list’jah na drev’jah, pole*); iznurjat’sja, stradat’ izžogoj’ (BurRS 723a); *xaral-* ~ *xarla-* ‘temnet’, černet’ (*o nebe, o snege, kogda taet*); černet’, černet’sja, vidnet’sja temnoj massoj (*o tabune lošadej, stae ptic*); ploho čuvstvovat’ sebja; omračnjat’sja, prihodit’ v unynie’ (BurRS 556a); *xüril-* ‘seret’; zagoret’ (*o kože čeloveka*)’ (BurRS 626b)

Ord. +IX-

Borolo- ‘présenter un aspect gris, gris jaunâtre, brun, brunâtre, violet, pourpre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *šarala-* ‘devenir jaune, jaunir, avoir un aspect jaune’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 608b); *xarala-* ‘devenir noir; avoir l'estomac dérangé, p.ex. pour n'avoir plus mangé de la viande depuis longtemps ou à cause d'une indigestion, etc.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338a); *xarañgilala-* ‘obscurcir, interceper la lumière’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338b); *xargisla-* ‘gronder et montrer les dents (*chien*); se montrer brutal’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339b); *nogōlo-* ‘laisser pâturer dans les pâturages verts’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 495a); *tš’agāla-* ‘rendre blanc, enlever l'écorce, peler, décharner complètement, éclaircir, tirer au clair, passer le nouvel an (*dans les questions posées par politesse*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b)

Kalm. +l-

nogāl- ‘grünen; grün färben’ (KWB 278b); *bürk^ugl-* ‘dunkel, finster werden (der Tag), sich mit schwarzen Wolken bedecken (der Himmel)’ (KWB 68b); *borl-* ‘grau werden; nur ein wenig gekocht werden od. sein’ (KWB 52a); *xarl-* ‘schwarz werden; schwarz machen, schwärzen; argwöhnen’ (KWB 169b); *šarl-* ‘gelb werden, gelb sein’ (KWB 350b); *tsagāl-* ‘den ersten Monat des Jahres, das Neujahr feiern; weiß sein od. weiß machen (selten)’ (KWB 419a)

Mngr. +la-

xarla- ‘devenir noir, s’obscircir, prendre un air furieux, porter le deuil, avoir le vertige, tomber en syncope’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 163); *širla-* ‘devenir jaune, jaunir, mûrir’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 400)

Durbut +l-

xarl- ‘černet’(sja)’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 140b)

3.2.3.4. LM +rA-

Function: NV: To denote acquirement of a quality; Intrans. (GWM §246). According to Ramstedt, this is a Common-Altaic suffix (Ramstedt 1952, §98). E.g.: *kögsire-* ‘to become old’ < *kögsin* ‘old’; *nomuqara-* ~ *nomuğara-* ‘to be peaceful’ < *nomuqan* ‘peaceful, meek, gentle’; *uyara-* ‘to thaw; to become soft; to be deeply moved’ < *uyan* ‘soft, weak’; *ügeyire-* ‘to become poor’ < *ügei* ‘poor’

Muq. +rA-

kükere- ‘pozelenet’ (Poppe 1938, p. 220b)

LM +rA-

čağara- ‘to become white; to be exonerated; declared innocent; to gain experience, become accustomed to doing a thing’ (Lessing 158b); *noğogara-* ‘to turn green, look green’ (Lessing 161a); *kökere-* ‘to become blue or green (for vegetation)’ (Lessing 482b)

Khal. +rX-

cagāra- ‘stanovit’sja belym, belet’; dokazyvat’ svoju nevinovnost’, reabilitrovat’sja, opravdyvat’sja’ (Luw. 601b); *nogōro-* ‘zelenet’, priobretat’ zelenyj cvet; pokryvat’sja zelen’ju, travoj; okryvat’sja plesen’ju; opuhat’ ot p’janstva’ (Luw. 269b); *xöxrö-* ‘sinet’ (*o gubah*); *zelenet*’ (*o pole*)’ (Luw. 557a)

Bur. +r(A)-

nogōr- ‘pokryvat’sja zelen’ju, probivat’sja o molodyh pobegah, zelenet’; pokryvat’sja plesen’ju’ (BurRS 329a); *saira-* ‘Tunka stat’ kul’turnym, prosvetit’sja’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 190); *xüver-* ‘sinet’ (*o rukah ot holoda, lice ot usta-losti*); *zelenet*’ (*o poljah*); *blednet*’ (*o čeloveke*)’ (BurRS 636b)

Ord. +rX-

tš’agāra- ‘devenir manifeste, être éclairci, être tiré au clair (*p.ex. une affaire de vol, de meurtre, etc.*), par l’exercice acquérir de l’habileté à faire quelque chose, devenir expert en quelque chose, asquériser l’immunité contre une maladie’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 692a); *ulāra-* ‘avoir une couleur rouge, être rouge’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730b); *nogōro-* ‘devenir vert; avoir un aspect vert’ (Mos-

taert 1941, p. 495a); *Gȫx^kxörö-* ‘devenir bleu, bleuir, présenter un aspect bleu; devenir vert, verdir, être vert; être gris; être noirâtre; devenir livide’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269b); *xalⁱūra-* ‘avoir la couleur *xalⁱūn* (*voir ce mot*); être vert jaunâtre (*herbes qui commencent à pousser au printemps*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 329a)

Kalm. +r-

xōr- ‘weißlich werden, blaßgelb werden’ (KWb 192b); *kōkr-* ‘blau, bläulich werden, grün werden’ (KWb 237a); *nogār-* ‘grün werden, sich mit Gras bedecken (*die Erde*)’ (KWb 278b); *ulār-* ‘rot werden, sich röten’ (KWb 448a)

Mngr. +ro

k'uGuorō- ‘devenir bleu, vert, noirâtre, pâle (*visage*)’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 209); *noGorō-* ‘devenir vert, verdir, verdoyer’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 281)

Tümüt +r-

xüxür- ‘sinet’, zelenet’ (*pro moloduju travu*)’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 152a)

3.2.3.5. LM +rKA-

Function: NV: To denote the possession of something in abundance; Intrans. (GWM §247; Hambis 1945, p. 43). E.g.: *bayarqa-* ‘to be proud of one’s richness’ < *bayan* ‘rich’; *omorqa-* ‘to be proud’ < *omog* ‘pride’; *cilegerke-* ‘to be ill’ < *cilegen* ‘illness, ailment’; *ejerke-* ‘to impose one’s rule upon someone’ < *ejen* ‘master’

LM +rKA-

**qararqa-* ‘to bear malice’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +rXA-

xararxa- ‘zlobstvovat’; *Alari zavidovat*’ (BurRS 552a)

3.2.3.6. LM +si-

Function: NV: To express the attainment of a quality or condition; Trans. (GWM §248; Hambis 1945, p. 43). According to Ramstedt, there was a Common-Altaic +si- NV suffix which meant ‘derartig bzw. so sein, tun’, e.g. *miqasi-* ‘zum Fleisch werden’ < *miqan* ‘Fleisch’ (Ramstedt 1952, §79). E.g.: *aldarsi-* ‘to become illustrious, famous, known’ < *aldar* ‘fame, renown’; *urmasi-* ‘to cheer up; to become encouraged’ < *urm-a* ‘spiritual uplift, enthusiasm’; *sagurisi-* ‘to lead a sedentary life’ < *saguri* ‘seat’

LM +si-

qarasi- ‘nenavidet’, nedobroželatel’stvovat’’ (Kowalewski 833b)

Khal. +si-

xarši- ‘ne sootvetstvovat’, protivorečit’, byt’ protivnym’ (Luw. 518a) ~ ‘xar sanax, sejiglex, ül itgex; xarin šinjtei bolox’ (Cewel 1966, p. 668a)

Bur. +si-; +šA-

xarš- ‘byt’ žestokim’ (BurRS 556b); *ulagaša-* ‘mercat’ o čem-libo krasnom; to i delo vygladyvat’ iz-za čego-libo; krasnet’ (*ot smuščenija*), smuščat’sja’ (BurRS 467a)

3.2.3.7. LM +yi-

Function: NV; Intrans. (Ramstedt 1952, §70; Dondukov 1964, p. 151) It denotes status. E.g.: *alčayi-* ‘for the legs to be spread apart; to spread the legs apart’ < **alča*: cf. *alčaǵ-a* ‘crotch of legs, scissors’; *gójuyi-* ‘to be tail and thin, long and tight’ < **góju*: cf. *gójuǵur* ‘tail and thin’; *šobuyi-* ‘to have a pointed top’ < **šobu*: cf. *šobuǵur* ‘pointed, having a pointed top’

Muq. +i-

čai- ‘belet’ (Poppe 1938, p. 130b); *hulai-* ‘pokrasnet’ (Poppe 1938, p. 187a)

Istanbul +i-

(ödür) *čai-* ‘le jour vient à poindre’ (Ligeti 1962b, p. 23)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +yyi

čayyi- ‘the dawn is broken’ (Kara 1990, p. 288)

LM +yi-

čayi- ‘to become white, turn pale; to turn grey (*of hair*); to dawn, grow light’ (Lessing 160b); *čeyi-* ‘világlik, fehérlik; káprázik’ [show white, dazzle] (Kara 1998, p. 659b); *ulayi-* ‘to get red-hot, to become red, redder’ (Lessing 870a)

Khal. +i-

ulai- ‘krasnet’, stanovit’sja krasnym, rumjanim’ (Luw. 451b); *cai-* ‘belet’, stanovit’sja belym (*ob odežde*); blednet’ (*o cvete lica*); sedet’ (*o volosah*); svetat’, rassvetat’ (*na utrennej zare*)’ (Luw. 603a); *cí-* ‘világlik, fehérlik; káprázik’ [show white, dazzle] (Kara 1998, p. 659b)

Bur. +i-

sai- ‘belet’, stanovit’sja belym (*ob odežde*); blednet’ (*o cvete lica*); sedet’ (*o volosah*); svetat’, rassvetat’ (*na utrennej zare*)’ (BurRS 383b); *saibai-* ‘belet’, belet’sja’ (*o svadebnom plat'e nevesty B.Kh.*)’ (BurRS 383a); *sí-* ‘zap. sinet’ (*o nebe*)’ (BurRS 388b); *ulai-* ‘krasnet’ (*o krasnyh predmetah*), stanovit’sja krasnym, pokryvat’sja rumjancem, vspyhnut’, zardet’sja (*o lice*); zabrežít’; polyhat’, mercat’ (*o krasnom ogon'ke signala*); pylat’, polyhat’ (*ob ogne*); nakaljat’sja, raskaljat’sja (*o želete*) (BurRS 467b)

Ord. +ää-

tsčä- ‘être blanc’ (Mostaert 1941: 697b); *ulä-* ‘devenir rouge, rougir; être rouge; désirer vivement, convoiter; devenir furieux (*boeufs*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730a)

Mngr. +ī-/ +ē-

tš ī- ‘commencer à faire eur’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 441); *fuliē-* ‘devenir rouge, rougir’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 105)

Tümüt +i-

čai- ‘belet’, svetat’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 153a)

3.2.4. *Suffixes forming deverbal nouns*

3.2.4.1. LM (+yi)-ltA

Function: To form nouns designating process. This is a compound suffix in NV +*yi*- (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VN -*ltA* (GWM §163). E.g.: *qasulta* ‘subtraction’ <*qasu-* ‘to delete’; *bučalta* ‘return’ <*buča-* ‘to return’; *nemelte* ‘addition’ <*neme-* ‘to add’; *ergilte* ‘turn’ <*ergi-* ‘to turn’

LM (+yi)-ltA

**ulayulta* /Lat. Congestion/ (*B.Kh.*) <*ulayi-* ‘to get red-hot, to become red, redder’ (Lessing 870a)

Khal. (+i)-lt

ulailt ‘zastoj, priliv krovi; giperemija’ /Lat. Congestion/ (ET 41)

Bur. (+i)-ltA

ulailta ‘pokrasnenie koži’ (*B.Kh.*)

3.2.4.2. LM (+yi)-mA

Function: To form nouns designating fitness or possibility of an action. This is a compound suffix in NV +*yi*- (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VN -*mA* (GWM §165).²⁰ E.g.: *bütüme* ‘realisable, practicable’ <*bütü-* ‘to be[come] formed or fulfilled’; *gayiqama* ‘wonderful, astonishing’ <*gayiqa-* ‘to be astonished’; *bučaluma* ‘boiling, boiled’ <*bučal-* ‘to boil, boil over; to be at a boil’; *nuğurama* ‘sticky, thick’ <*nuğura-* ‘to become sticky, viscous’

LM (+yi)-mA

**čayima* ‘otdajuščij beliznoju’ (*B.Kh.*); *ulayima* ‘red, red-hot’ (Lessing 870b)

Bur. (+i)-mA

saima ‘otdajuščij beliznoju’: cf. *saima sahan* ‘belejuščij sneg’ (BurRS 383a)

Ord. (+ā)-mA

ulāma ‘devenu rouge (*par l'action du feu*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730b)

3.2.4.3. LM (+yi)-mAl

Function: To form nouns designating qualities. This is a compound suffix in NV +*yi*- (see under 3.2.3.7.), VN -*mAl* (GWM §168). According to Ramstedt, this compound suffix derived from the Common-Altaic VN -*m* suffix (Ramstedt 1952, §58). E.g.: *bičimel* ‘written’ <*biči-* ‘to write’; *darumal* ‘printed’ <*daru-* ‘to press, to print’; *nekemel* ‘woven’ <*neke-* ‘to weave’; *jirumal* ‘painted, multicolour’ <*jíru-* ‘to paint’

LM (+yi)-mAl

ulayimal ‘reddish’: cf. *ulayimal ködege* ‘krotkohvostaja gorlica’ (*name of animal*) (NT 96–97, p. 190), *ulayimal anggina* ‘angina katarral'naja’ (*name of disease*) (ANT 7)

²⁰ According to Ramstedt, this compound suffix derived from the VN -*m* suffix (Ramstedt 1952, §58).

Khal. (+i)-mAl

ulaimal ‘reddish’: cf. *ulaimal xödög* ‘krotkohvostaja gorlica’ (NT 96–97, p. 190), *ulaimal angin* ‘angina katarral’naja’ (ANT 7)

3.2.4.4. LM (+lA)-nggi

Function: NN: A compound suffix which consists of the NV *+lA-* (see under 3.2.3.3.) and VN *-nggi*. The suffix *-nggi* is productive in Kalmuck (Szabó 1943, §145) and Buriat (Sanžeev 1962, 120). E.g.: *qatanggi* ‘lean, meagre, emaciated, exhausted, spent’ <*qata-* ‘to dry, dry up’; *yadanggi* ‘indigent, poor, miserable’ <*yada-* ‘to have no strength or power’; Bur. *aingi* ‘puglivyj’ <*ai-*‘bojat’sja’; *uhatangi* ‘vlažnyj’ <*uhata-* ‘stanovit’sja vlažnym’

LM (+lA)-nggi

**qaralanggi* ‘darkened’ (B.Kh.); **siralandanggi* ‘yellowed; gone yellow’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. (+lA)-ngi

xarlangi ‘potemnevšij, počernevšij’ (BurRS 556a); *šarlangi* ‘poželtevšij (o list’jah)’ (BurRS 722b)

3.2.4.5. LM -nggir

Function: VN (Dondukov 1964, p. 92). E.g.: *yadanggir* ‘indigent, poor, miserable’ <*yada-* ‘to have no strength or power’; *qatanggir* ‘lean, meagre, emaciated’ <*qata-* ‘to dry, dry up’; Bur. *šatangir* ‘obgorelyj’ <*šata-* ‘goret’; *elengir* ‘potertyj, ponošennyj’ <*ele-* ‘iznašivat’sja’

LM -nggir

čangkir ‘belyj’: cf. *čangkir ġalaġu* ‘belyj gus’ /Lat. *Anser coeruleus*/ (NT 96–97, p. 19); *čengkir* ~ *čenggir* ‘light blue, bluish’ (Lessing 172b); *ulanggir* ‘reddish’ (Lessing 871b): cf. *ulanggir nidü* ‘nazvanie ryby v rode snjatkov’ (Kowalewski 394a)

Khal.-nxAr/ +ngir

canxir ‘belyj’: cf. *canxir galü* ‘belyj gus’ /Lat. *Anser coeruleus*/ (NT 96–97, p. 19); *cenxer* ‘svetlo-goluboj, svetlo-sinij, svetlo-lazurnyj’ (Luw. 621b); *ulançir* ‘reddish’ (Lessing 871b): cf. *ulānçir nüd* ‘zubastaja korjuška’ /Lat. *Osmerus eperlanus dentex*/ (NT 96–97, p. 127)

Bur.-nxir

senxir ‘svetlo-goluboj, svetlo-sinij (o more, nebe)’: cf. *senxir sagān ünegen* ‘goluboj pesec’ (BurRS 403b)

Kalm.-ñkr/ -ñgir

tsäñkr ‘weißlich, blaß, milchfarbig’ (KWb 425a); *ulñgir* ‘rot’: cf. *ulñgir nüdn* ‘rote Augen’ (KWb 449a)

Ord. -ñ^kixer/ -ñger

tš' inñ^kixer ~ *tš' iñger* ‘blanchâtre, bleu se rapprochant du blanc’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 707a)

3.2.4.6. LM (+yi)-r

Function: VN. This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VN *-r* (GWM §178). cf.: *amur* ‘rest, peace’ < *amu-* ‘to rest’; *belčir* ‘embouchure’ < *belči-* ‘inundate’

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

čayir ‘vistarija korotkokistevaja’ /Lat. *Wistaria brachybotrys*/ (NT 89–90, p. 117); č. modun ‘dikij trostnik, iz kotorogo delajut knutovišča’ (Kowalewski 2077a)

Khal. (+i)-r

cair ‘id.’

with colour names it forms the name of a metal:

LM (+yi)-r

čayir ‘zinc, tin’ (Lessing 161a)

Khal. (+i)-r

cair ‘cink’ (Luw. 603a)

Bur. (+i)-r

sair ‘alljuminium, cink’ (BurRS 383a)

Kalm. +r

tsär ‘Weißmetall, Zink’ (KWb 425b)

3.2.5. Suffixes forming deverbal verbs

3.2.5.1. LM (+yi)-bAljA- /-GAljA-

Function: To express lasting actions. This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VV *-bAljA-* (GWM §238). E.g.: MNT *sičabalju-* ‘kriechen’ (Hae-nisch 1939, p. 139) [MNT 21]; *anibalja-* ‘to twinkle’ < *ani-* ‘to close one’s eyes’; *inibelje-* ‘to laugh, to smile’ < *iniye-* ‘to laugh, chuckle’; *sanaǵalja-* ‘to reflect on’ < *sana-* ‘to think’

LM (+yi)-bAljA- /-GAljA-

čayibalja- ‘to appear white in the distance; to look whitish (*of distant objects*)’ (Lessing 160b); *ulabalja-* ‘krasnet’, byt’ krasnym; pokrasnet” (Kowalewski 397b)

Khal. (+i)-bAljA-/wAljA-

caiwalja- ‘kazat’sja belym, blesnut’ (*o rybe*)’ (Luw. 602b); *ulbalja-* ‘mel’kat’ (*o čem-libo krasnom*); krasnet’ i mlet’’ (Luw. 452b)

Ord. +wAldži-

ulawaldži- ~ *ulagalDži-* ~ *ulaga’tš-i-* ‘jeter des lueurs rouges’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b; 730a)

Kalm. +wAlz^A-/+GAljA

ul'ǵalz^a- ‘ein wenig erröten (*vor Scham*)’ (KWb 448b); *ul'walz^a-* ‘erröten (*vor Scham*)’ (KWb 449a)

3.2.5.2. LM (+yi)-GAnA-

Function: Repetitive action to express rhythmic motions. A compound suffix which consists of the NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VV *-GAnA-* (Kullmann – Tserenpil 1996, p. 135; Dondukov 1964, p. 136; see also under 3.2.1.7.). E.g.: *alčağana-* ‘to walk with legs apart, straddle’ < *alčayi-* ‘for the legs to be spread apart’; *bültegene-* ‘to stare’ < *bülteyi-* ‘to stare in terror’; *böndögene-* ‘for a round object to move’ < *böndöyi-* ‘to be rounded’; *darbiğana-* ‘to have a spicy or sharp taste’ < *darbi-* ‘to become joyfully excited at the sight of a noisy crowd’

LM (+yi)-GAnA-

**čayibağana-* ‘to shine, sparkle, to silver’ < **čayibayi-* ‘to show up white’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. (+i)-gAnA-

saibagana- ‘belet’sja, sverkat’, blestet’, serebrit’sja’ (BurRS 383a)

3.2.5.3. LM (+yi) ±tU-rA-

Function: A compound suffix which consists of the NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.), the verbal suffix *±tU-* and VV *-rA-*, meaning ‘to become something’. Trans. (Szabó 1943, §100). E.g.: *angtura-* ‘sich spalten, rissig werden’ < *ang* ‘Loch, Riß, Ritz, Spalt, Tal zwischen Bergen, Kluft’; *alangtura-* ‘verdutzt werden, nichts begreifen, nicht glauben können, zweifeln’ < *alang* ‘verwundert, zweifelnd, unentschlossen’

LM (+yi)-tU-rA-

ulayitura- ‘glühend machen, glühend sein’ (KWb 448b)

Kalm. -tr-

ulätr- ‘id.’

3.2.5.4. LM (+yi)-lGA-

Function: Causative: to make intransitive verbs transitive, transitive primary stems factitive (GWM §228; Ramstedt 1952, §85). This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VV *-lGA-*. E.g.: *saǵulgá-* ‘to set’ < *saǵu-* ‘to sit down’; *baǵulgá-* ‘to lower, to let down’ < *baǵu-* ‘to descend’; *kilge-* ‘to cause to do, to let do’ < *ki-* ‘to do’; *bayılǵa-* ‘to let be’ < *bayi-* ‘to be’

LM (+yi)-lGA-

ulayılǵa- ‘to make red or red-hot (*face*)’ (Lessing 870b) < *ulayi-* ‘to get red-hot, to become red, redder’ (Lessing 870b)

Khal. (+i)-lgA-

ulailga- ‘delat’ krasnym; pristydit’, zastavit’ pokrasnet’ (Luw. 451b)

Bur. (+i)-lgA-

ulailga- ‘delat’ krasnym, pokryvat’ rumjanami, rumjanit’ (*lico*); nakaljat’, ras-kaljat’ (*žezezo*); *peren.* zastavlјat’ krasnet’ kogo-libo’ (BurRS 467a)

Ord. (+å)-lgA-

ulälga- ‘chauffer au rouge, chauffer (*fer*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730a)

3.2.5.5. LM -ljA-

Function: Repetitive action: To express rhythmic motions; Intrans. (GWM §239; Kullmann – Tserenpil 1996, p. 135). E.g.: *nayigulja-* ‘to bob up and down’ <*nayigu-* ‘to swing’; *önggelje-* ‘to keep looking, to envy’ <*önggeyi-* ‘to encroach upon, to lean forward in order to see’; *bultalja-* ‘to keep sticking out’ <*bultayi-* ‘to stick out’

LM -ljA-

ulalja- ‘to look or flash red’ (Lessing 871a) <*ulayi-*

Khal. -ljA-

ulalja- ‘rdet’, krasnet’, plamenet’, sverkat’ (*ob ogne*); *peren.* pokryvat’sja rumjancem (*lico ot gneva*)’ (Luw. 452a)

Bur. -lzA-

ulalza- ‘rdet’, krasnet’ (*o znamenah, ob ognjah*)’ (BurRS 467b); *xüzelze-* ‘sinet’ (*o nebe*)’ (BurRS 636b)

Kalm. -lz^A-

ullz^a- ‘rot sein, sich röten, erröten’ (KWb 448b)

3.3. Suffixes with use restricted to colour names

3.3.1. Suffixes forming denomininal nouns

3.3.1.1. LM+bA

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

qarba ‘a kind of fresh-water fish (Ch. *sung-hua-yü* ‘the Songari river’s fish’)’ (Lessing 935b); ‘nazvanie kakoj-to rečnoj rybki’ (Kowalewski 845b)

Khal. +wĀ

xarwā ‘gol mörönd tördög, maš jijigxen bolōd örgön, xelber xaitagai adil negen jüil jagas’ (Cewel 1966, p. 663b)

Kalm. +wA

xarwa ‘eine Fischart (*junge Bleihe?*)’ (KWb 171a)

3.3.1.2. LM +bAs

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

ulabas (Sečenčogtu 1988, p. 406a)

Khal. +bAs

ulbas ‘vspyška ot krasnogo sveta, ognja’ (Luw. 452b); cf. Khal. *ulbas ulbas xix* ‘fel-felizzik (*fény, tűz*)’ [to glow] (Kara 1998, p. 491b)

3.3.1.3. LM+bUčAr

In Szabó’s opinion, this suffix forms adjectives from adjectives (Szabó 1943, §193), but in the Buriat language it forms nouns from adjectives.

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

**qarabučar* ‘eagle’ (B.Kh.); **sirabučar* ‘yellowish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +bsAr

xarabsar ‘orel’ (BurRS 550a)

Kalm. +wtsr

šarwtsr ‘gelblich’ (Szabó 1943, §193)

3.3.1.4. LM+čAGAi

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

MNT +čiKAI

qarčiqai ‘brauner Falke’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 61) [MNT 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31]

Leiden +čAKAI

qarčaqai ‘Falke’ (Poppe 1928, p. 63)

Nuzhatu-’l-kulūb +čIKA

qarčīqa ‘Faucon’ (Pelliot 1931, p. 571)

Houa-yi yi-yu +cihAi

xarcixai ‘Falke’ (Haenisch 1957, nr. 190)

Muq. +čIGAI

xarcīgai ‘jastreb’ (Poppe 1938, p. 406b)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +čA[i]KA

qarča[i]qa ‘Falco’ (Kara 1990, p. 316)

LM+čAGAi

qarčaǵa(i) ‘jastreb, lesnoj jastreb’ /Lat. Accipiter/: čaǵan q. ‘lun’, belyj lun’’ (Kowalewski 850a)

Khal. +cgAi /+cAgA

xarcgai ‘id.’ (Luw. 518a) ~ *xarcaga* [kite, hawk] (Kara 1998, p. 563a)

Bur. +sAgA(i)

xarsaga ‘id.’: bulžamūrai x. ‘perepeljatnik’, hoiršo x. ‘teterevyatnik’, xyüröss-gei x. ‘pustel’ga’ (BurRS 556a); cf. *xarcaga* ‘Selenga Falke, Habicht’ (Castrén 1857: 109b); xüxesegi ‘Bohan trjasoguzka’(BurRS 636b)

Kalm. +ts^AGA

xarts^aǵā ~ *xartsxā* ‘Habicht’ (KWb 170b)

3.3.1.5. LM+čU

Function: To form nouns designating groups (GWM §115).

with colour names it forms proper names:

MNT +čU

Kököčü ‘a beszütök táborában talált kisfiú, később ezredes; Szenggüm lovásza’ (Ligeti 1962a, p. 226) [MNT 119, 138, 180, 188, 202, 214, 243, 244]

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM+čU

kökečü ‘zimorodok’: *noğobir* k. ‘ošeijnikovyj zimorodok’; *qalığun* k. ‘senegal’skij zimorodok’, *köke* k. ‘goluboj zimorodok’ (NT 96–97, p. 65); *ulağaču* ‘nazvanie ljutogo, požirajuščego ljudej zverja, pohožego na volka s krasnoj golovoju, myšinnymi glazami, golosom svin’i, vodjaščegosja v uščel’jah gor’’ (NT 96–97, p. 224)

Khal. +č

xöxöč ‘zimorodok /Lat. Halsyon/’: *nogōwtor* x. ‘ošeijnikovyj zimorodok’, *xa-liun* x. ‘senegal’skij zimorodok’, *xöx* x. ‘sinij zimorodok’ (NT 96–97, p. 65); *ulagčū* ‘nazvanie ljutogo, požirajuščego ljudej zverja, pohožegona volka s krasnoj golovoju, myšinnymi glazami, golosom svin’i, vodjaščegosja v uščel’jah gor’’ (NT 96–97, p. 224)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM+čU

siraču ‘gamboge (*yellow pigment from wood*); rattan fruit; *Carcinia morilla*’ (Lessing 715a); cf. ‘dubovaja tolča, želtjak, kraska iz drevesnoj kory’ (Kowalewski 1522a); *kökečü čečeg* ‘*kommelina obyknovennaja*’ /Lat. *Commelina communis*/ (NT 89–90, p. 197)

Khal. +č /+c

xöxöč ceceg ‘*kommelina obyknovennaja*’ /Lat. *Commelina communis*/ (NT 89–90: 197); *šarc* ‘yaljarsan cars modnī dursnī dotōd dax’ šar öngin ed, ar’sig šar öngör budaxad xereglene; noxoin xušunī mod’ (Cewel 1966, p. 840b)

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

MNT +čU

qaraču ‘*einfaches Volk*’ (Haenisch 60) [MNT 111]

Houa-yi yi-yu +čU

xaraču ‘les gens du peuple, les gens du bas peuple’ (Lewicki 44)

LM+čU

boroču ‘ordinary man’ (GWM §115); *qaraču* ‘common people, commoner’ (Lessing 932b)

Khal. +c

xarc ‘*ist. prostoljudin*’ (Luw. 517b)

Ord. +ts’i

xara’tš’i (t’ādži biši k’ün) ‘quelqu’un qui n’est pas noble, roturier’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339a)

3.3.1.6. MNT+dU

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

quladu ‘koršun-myšelov’ (Kozin 1941, p. 597) [MNT 200]

3.3.1.7. LM+GAnči < +GAnA+či

This is a compound suffix in NN *+GAnA* (see under 3.2.1.7.) and NN *+či* (see under 3.2.1.2.)

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

**qulağanači* (B.Kh.): cf. Hung. *egerészölyv* [buzzard]

Bur. +gAnšA

xulgansha: ülen x. ‘filin domovoj (iz semejstva sov)’ (BurRS 600a)

3.3.1.8. LM+GA+GAsUn

This is a compound suffix in NN *+GA* and NN *+GAsUn* (GWM §151).

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

borgağusun ‘Mücke’ (KWb 52a) (or **borgoğusun*)

Bur. +gōhOn

borgōhon ‘zap. moška, moškara’ (BurRS 105b): cf. *borgōs* ‘Selenga gnat’ (B.Kh.)

Kalm. +gūsn

borgūsn ‘(große) Mücke’ (KWb 52a)

with colour names it forms names of plants:

**qarğagásun* ‘guelder rose, snowball-tree’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +gAhAn

xargāhan ‘kalina’ (BurRS 554a)

3.3.1.9. LM+Gčin

Function: To form nouns designating colours and names of female animals (GWM §120).

with colour names it forms names of animals:

MNT +qči(n)

alaqči qonin ‘pestraja ovca’ (Kozin 1941, p. 580) [MNT 124, 170]; *qaraqči* ‘schwarz’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 60) [MNT 170]; *qulaqčin* ‘mare (of same type)’ (Street 1957, p. 54; Rachewiltz 1972, 1929) [MNT 87]; *qongqoqci* ‘gelbe (braune) Schafe’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 66) [MNT 124]; *boroqčin* ‘junger Vogel’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 19) [MNT 3, 25]

Istanboul +qčin

qaraqčin ‘noir’ (Ligeti 1962b, p. 43)

LM +Gčin

(a) examples when this suffix denotes female animals:

alağčin ‘motley, variegated, parti-coloured, piebald (*applied to the colours of a female only*)’ (Lessing 27a); *boroğčin* ‘seraja, sivaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Kowalewski 1219b); *čabidağči(n)* ‘reddish-yellow with white tail and mane (*of a mare only*)’ (Lessing 155b); *kökeğčin* ‘goluboseraja (*o kobyle*)’ (Kowalewski 2628a); *ölögčin* ‘female (*mostly of carnivorous animals*), bitch’

(Lessing 634a); *qaligućči* ‘isabella mare’ (Lessing 919b); *qarağčin* ‘černaja, voronaja’ (Kowalewski 836b); *qulagči* ‘female form of the *qula*’ (Lessing 984a); *sirağčin* ‘želtaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Kowalewski 1522a); *sirğagčin* ‘dzerenova samka, sajga’ (Kowalewski 1529a); cf. ‘dikaja koza, stepnaja koza; solovaja kobyla’ (Kowalewski 1529b); *kürengčin* ‘černoburaja (*kobyila*)’ (Kowalewski 2637a)

(b) examples when the suffix denotes names of animals in general:

qarağčin ‘gornaja ovsjanka’ /Lat. Emberiza cia./: *qadan-u q.* ‘skalistaja ovsjanka’ /Lat. Emberiza buchanani/ (NT 96–97, p. 61), *q. doti* ‘bol’saja konjuga’ /Lat. Aethiopsar cristatellus/ ~ ‘ryzehvostyj černyj kakadu’ /Lat. Calyptorhynchus magnificus/ (NT 96–97, p. 47), *q. qariyačai* ‘skalistaja lastočka’ /Lat. Ptonoprogne rupestris/ ~ ‘gornaja lastočka’ /Lat. Riparia rupestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 61) ~ ‘černaja lastočka’ (Kowalewski 836b), *boro q.* ‘trjasoguzka’ /Lat. Motacilla chinensis/ (NT 96–97, p. 68)

Khal. +gči(n)

(a) *alagč* ‘pestraja, pegaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 28b); *borogč(in)* ‘seraja, sivaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 78a); *cagāgč(in)* ‘belaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 600b); *caw'dagč(in)* ‘igrenevaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 600a); *ölögčin* ‘samka plotojadnyh životnyh; suka’ (Luw. 319b); *šaragčin* ‘želtaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 646b); *šargagčin* ‘samka dzereny, antilopy’ (Luw. 646b); *ulāgč(in)* ‘krasnaja, ryžaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 450b); *uxāgč* ‘ryžaja, krasnaja, kauraja’ (Luw. 470a); *xaliugč* ‘bulanaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 504a); *xaragč(in)* ‘černaja (*o masti samok domašnih životnyh*)’ (Luw. 514a); *xöögčin* ‘seraja, sivaja (*o masti samok životnyh*)’ (Luw. 557a); *xulagč* ‘savrasaja (*o kobylice*)’ (Luw. 562b); *jērdegč* ‘ryžaja (*o masti kobylic*)’ (Luw. 215b)

(b) *xaragčin* ‘gornaja ovsjanka’ /Lat. Emberiza cia./: *xadni x.* ‘skalistaja ovsjanka’ /Lat. Emberiza buchanani/; *xarācāi* ‘skalistaja lastočka’ /Lat. Ptonoprogne rupestris/; ‘gornaja lastočka’ /Lat. Riparia rupestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 61), *bor x.* ‘trjasoguzka’ /Lat. Motacilla chinensis/ (NT 96–97, p. 68); *šaragč byaljūxai* ‘ivolga’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 267)

Bur. +gšXn

(a) *alagšan* ‘pestraja, pestruha, pegaja (*o masti samki životnyh*)’ (BurRS 39b); *borogšo(n)* ‘seraja (ili sivaja) kobyla’ (BurRS 106a); *sagāgša(n)* ‘belaja (*o masti samki*)’ (BurRS 380b); *sabidagšan* ‘igrenjaja kobylica’ (BurRS 379b); *ülegšen* ‘samka (*životnogo*)’ (BurRS 502a); *šaragša(n)* ‘želtaja, solovaja (*o masti samki*)’ (BurRS 721a); *šargagša(n)* ‘solovaja (*o masti kobylicy*)’ (BurRS 722b); *ulāgša(n)* ‘ryžaja (*o masti samki*)’ (BurRS 466a); *xaragša(n)* ‘karakovaja, voronaja mast’ lošadi, černaja (*o masti samki*)’ (BurRS 550b); *xulagša(n)* ‘savrasaja (*o kobylice*)’ (BurRS 599b); *zērdegšen* ‘ryžaja (*o masti kobylicy*)’ (BurRS 275b)

(b) *xaragšan*: *xonin x.* ‘*Oka* vodjanoj vorobej’ (BurRS 550b); *xuba x.* ‘*Khori* bessherstnaja belka osen’ju’ (BurRS 550b); *xunil x.* ‘*Oka., Zakamna* oljapka, vodjanoj vorobej’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 205)

Ord. +G'tš'i(n)

(a) examples when this suffix denotes female animals:

alaG'tš'i ‘ayant une robe noire ou brune ou d’une autre couleur avec de grandes taches blanches (*bestiaux femelles*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 12b); *BoroG'tš'i* ‘de couleur grise (*bestiaux femelles*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *BoroG'-tš'in* ‘la femelle du faisand, faicane’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *DžérDeG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *DžérDe* [robe de cheval: roux avec queue et crinière d’à peu près la même couleur]’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 192a); *ölöG'tš'in* ‘chienne; femelle (*se dit de certains animaux*); injure à l’adresse d’une femme ou d’une jeune fille; aussi mot de tendresse employé par les parents ou grands-parents pour désigner leur fille ou petite fille quand elles sont encore jeunes enfants’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 531b); *šargaG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *šarga* isabelle’; *šargaG'tš'in* ‘gazelle femelle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609b); *tš'agāG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *tš'agān* blanc’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *ulāG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *ulān*’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b); *Gö'kööG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *Gö'köö*’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269a); *xaraG'tš'i* ‘femenin de *xara*’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338a); *xulaG'tš'i* ‘féminin de *xula*’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 366a)

(b) names of clans:

tš'agāG'tš'in ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *ulāG'tš'in* ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b); *Gö'kööG'tš'in* ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269a)

Kalm. +ktšn

kür'ktšn ‘dunkelbraune (*Stute*)’ (KWb 247b); *xaraktšn* ‘schwarz’: *x. gūn* ‘schwarze Stute’ (KWb 169b); *öl'ktšn* ‘graugesprenkelt, graufarbig’; *šargaktšn* ‘weibliche Saiga-antilope; isabellfarbige Stute’ (KWb 350a); *šar'ktšn* ‘die Gelbe (*fem.*)’: *š. temēn* ‘eine gelbe Kamelkuh; *š. gūn* ‘gelbe Stute’ (KWb 350b); *tsagāktšn* ‘weiß (*von weiblichen Tieren*)’: *tsagāktšn gūn* ‘weiße Stute’ (KWb 419a)

Durbut +Kčin

šarakčin ‘dzeren bez rogov (*samka*)’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 157a)

Mngr. +GšD'ži

BoroGšD'ži ‘poule’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 29)

3.3.1.10. LM +gil

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

qargil ‘a tree with leaves resembling those of an apple-tree and dark reddish bark which is used as a decorative covering’ (Lessing 936b)

Khal. +gil

xargil ‘loh serebristyj’ /Lat. *Elaeagnus argentea* Purmnt/ (NT 89–90, p. 118)

Ord. +gil

xargil ‘nazvanie dereva, rastuščego na barhanah’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 140b); ‘nom d’un arbuste’ /Lat. *Rhamnus erythroxylon*/ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339b)

3.3.1.11. LM+giy-A

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

borgiy-a ‘friable soil with poor vegetation’ (Lessing 121a)

Khal. +giX

borgio ‘ryhlaja počva so skudnoj rastitel’nost’ju’ (Luw. 77b)

3.3.1.12. LM +(G)U

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

qarau ‘üszög (gomba) /Lat. Ustilaginales/’ [black-rust] (Kara 1998, p. 563a)

Khal.+Ü

xarū ‘golovnja hlebnaja’ (Luw. 517b; Kara 1998, p. 563a)

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

qarau ‘jégre szört föld útul’ [earth sprinkled on ice, serving as a road] (Kara 1998, p. 563a)

Khal.+Ü

xarū ‘zemlja, nasypannaja na doroge po l’du’ (Luw. 517b; Kara 1998, p. 563a)

3.3.1.13. LM+KA

Function: NN (Dondukov 1964, p. 27): e.g.: *alqa* ‘šag’ < *ala* ‘promežnost’

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

LM+KA

**qarqa* ‘rat’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +xA

xarxa ‘Selenga krysa’ (BurRS 557b)

3.3.1.14. LM+KAli

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

**qarqali* < **qaraqali* ‘thrush, blackbird’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +xAli

xarxali ‘zap. čekan (ptica iz semejstva drozdovyh)’: *nādaša* x. ‘čekan-pljasun’, *xara tolgoitoi* x. ‘čekan černogolovyj’, *xargin* x. ‘čekan-poputčik’ (BurRS 557b)

3.3.1.15. LM +ki

Function: In Mongolian languages there are many suffixes *+ki*. Poppe, in his paper on the nominal word formation of the Mongolian language, cites a suffix which forms adjectives with a local function (Poppe 1927, p. 108), e.g. *olanki(n)* ‘der größte Teil’ < *olan* ‘viel’. Hambis mentions in his grammar of the Written Mongolian that the suffix *+ki* also functions as a Nomen Agentis (Hambis 1945, p. 6), e.g.: *ayisi* ‘la craite’ < *ayisiki* ‘le sorcier, le magicien’. In my opinion, the following example shows

a third function of the *+ki* suffix, which is difficult to define because examples with this suffix are few. It may be the parallel of the Tungus *+ki* suffix, which forms names of animals and is quite common (cf. tung. *horoki* ~ *horo* ‘Waldhahn’; *turaki* ~ *tura* ‘Krähe’; *inaki* ~ *ina* ‘Hund’ (Ramstedt 1952, §100).

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

*borki*²¹ ‘staryj barsuk’ (Kowalewski 1223b)

Khal. +xi

borxi ‘staryj, vzroslyj barsuk; tarbagán’ (NT 96–97, p. 109)

3.3.1.16. LM+kirA

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

*qarkir-a*²² ‘grey grane’ (Lessing 940a); *köke q.* ‘žuravl’-krasavka’ /Lat. Anthropoides virgo/, *bičiqan q.* ‘seryj žuravl’ /Lat. Grus grus lilfordi/ (NT 96–97, p. 16)

Khal. +xirĀ

xarxirā ‘seryj žuravl’ /Lat. Grus grus/: *xöök x.* ‘žuravl’-krasavka’ /Lat. Anthro- poides virgo/, *byacxan x.* ‘seryj žuravl’ /Lat. Grus grus lilfordi/ (NT 96–97, p. 16)

Bur. +xirĀ

xarxirā ‘Oka, Zakamna caplja’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 202)

3.3.1.17. LM+KULAi /+KAIAl

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

čaqulai ~ *čaqalai* ‘sea gull’ (Lessing 167a); *mörön-ü č.* ‘sizaja čajka’ /Lat. Larus canus/, *dalai-yin č.* ‘morskaja čajka’ /Lat. Larus marinus/ (NT 96-97: 174)

Khal. +x1Ai

caxlai ‘čajka’ (Luw. 607a) ~ ‘zapadnosibirskaja sizaja čajka’ /Lat. Larus canus/ (NT 96–97, p. 33); *mörni c.* ‘sizaja čajka’ /Lat. Larus canus/, *dalain c.* ‘morskaja čajka’ /Lat. Larus marinus/ (NT 96–97, p. 174)

Bur. +x1Ali

saxali ‘čajka’: *dalain s.* ‘morskaja čajka’ (BurRS 386b)

Kalm. +xalA~xalĀ

tsaxalā ~ *tsaxalā* ‘irgendein Vogel: Reiher (?) Seeschwalbe (?)’ (KWb 420a)

²¹ Lessing gives the word *borki* ‘old badger’ Khal. *bor’x*. This Khalkha word is not found in modern dictionaries, instead they give the word, *burxi* ‘surok-samec’ (Luw. 88b). According to Kara, the written form of this word is *burki* (Kara 1998, p. 78a). Unfortunately, the data in Kowalewski’s dictionary cannot be transcribed precisely, therefore, the etymology of this word is uncertain.

²² A word with uncertain etymology. It is possible that it is not related to the colour name *qara*. Another possible etymon of this word is: **qarkira*+*G4*, cf. Khal. *xürxrē* ‘vodopad’ (Luw. 577b), which goes back to the form **kürkirege* cf. *kürkir-e* ‘waterfall, cascade, cataract’ (Lessing 506b).

Ord. +xAlā

Džaxalā ‘nom d’un oiseau aquatique; nom d’un oiseau qui prend des lièvres’
 (Mostaert 1941, p. 180a)

with colour names it forms names of diseases:

LM+KULAi

čaqulai ‘herpes, ringworm’ (Lessing 167a)

Khal. +x1Ai

caxlai ‘med. lišaj’ (Luw. 607a)

Bur. +xAlAi

saxalai ‘zatverdenie, ogrublenie koži ot obvetrivanija’ (BurRS 386b)

Kalm. +G^Alä

tsag^alä ‘Räude, rus.skotskij lišaj’ (KWb 419b)

Ord. +xAlā

Džaxalā ‘callosités qui se forment à différents endroits du corps de certains animaux et qui en font tomber les poils’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 180a)

3.3.1.18. LM +lGA(n)

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

*čaǵalǵa(n) ‘White month (Mongolian New Year’s feast)’ (B.Kh.); *qara-lǵa(n) ‘bad, foul weather’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +lgAn

sagālga(n) ‘prazdnik pervogo vesennego mesjaca’ (BurRS 380b); *xaralga(n)* ‘nenast’e, hmuraja, pasmurnaja pogoda’ (BurRS 551a)

3.3.1.19. LM+lin

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

čaǵalin ‘oreh vodjanoy’ /Lat. Trapa L./ (NT 89–90, p. 166)

Khal. +lin

cagālin ‘id.’: *c. galūn tawag* ‘hiazospermum moločnoscvetkovyj’ /Lat. Chiazo-spermum lactiflorum kar. et kir/ (NT 61, p. 92)

with colour names it forms the name of a stone:

LM+lin

noǵogálin ‘malachite’ (Lessing 588b)

Khal. +lin

nogōlin ‘mednaja zelen’ (*kraska i cvet*)’ (Luw. 269a)

Bur. +lin

nogōlin ‘malahit; mednaja zelen’ (*kraska i cvet*)’ (BurRS 328b)

3.3.1.20. LM +ljA

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

boroljá ‘növ. köves, kavicsos szárazpusztai, sivatagi fészkesvirágú nemzetség’
 /Lat. Ajania achilleoides/ [genus compositae on stony pebbly ground in the desert] (Kara 1998, p. 66b)

Khal. +lj

borolj ‘id.’

3.3.1.21. LM +ljAi

Function: To form names of plants from nouns denoting colours and other characteristics of objects (Poppe 1981, p. 387). E.g.: Bur. *malālzai* ‘cvetok sarany’ <*malān* ‘lysyj’

with colour names it forms names of plants:

LM +ljAi

čagáljai ‘margitvirág’ /Lat. Chrysanthemum/ [chrysanthemum] (Kara 1998, p. 651a); *ulaǵaljai* ‘a kind of lily’ /Lat. Lilium tenuifolium/ (Lessing 869b)

Khal. +ljAi/ +ljAi

cagáljai ‘margitvirág’ /Lat. Chrysanthemum/ (Kara 1998, p. 651a) ~ ‘nivjanik, popovnik’ /Lat. Leucanthemum DC/: *sibirin* c. ‘nivjanik sibirskij’ /Lat. Leucanthemum sibiricum DC/ (NT 59–60, p. 37); *yagáljai* ‘brajja’ /Lat. Braya Sternb. et Hoppe/: *yagān* y. ‘brajja rozovaja’ /Lat. Braya rosea Bge/ (NT 59–60, p. 12); *uláljai* ‘keskenylevelű liliom’ /Lat. Lilium tenuifolium/ [lily] (Kara 1998, p. 489a)

Bur. +lzái

ulālzai ‘raspustivšajasja sarana’ (BurRS 466a)

with colour names it forms names of animals:

LM +ljAi

**boroljai* ‘lark’ (B.Kh.); **noǵoǵaljai* ‘siskin’ (B.Kh.)

Khal. +ljOi

boroljoi ‘žavoronok polevoj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 235); *nogoljoi* ‘čiž’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 244)

3.3.1.22. LM +mAli

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

kürmeli ‘sedge, carex’ (Lessing 506b)

Khal.+mAl

xürmel ‘osoka’ (Luw. 577a)

Kalm. +ml

kürml ‘irgendeine Pflanze’ (KWb 248a)

3.3.1.23. LM +mAng

**siramang* ‘one whose face is clear or yellow and whose hair is blond’ (*B.Kh.*)
 Ord. +mAñ

šarman̄ ‘qui a le teint clair ou jaune et les cheveux tirant sur le blond, qui a le teint clair’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a)

Khal. +mAn

šarman xöxȫ ‘kukuška malaja, širokokrykaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 267)

3.3.1.24. MNT +mbAi

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

qarambai ‘osobaja poroda dikih černyh utok’ (Kozin 1941, p. 595) [MNT 200]

3.3.1.25. LM+ng

e.g.: *dalang* ‘holka lošadi’ < *dalu* ‘lopatka’

LM+ng

čang ‘Weißheit, weiße Farbe; Milchprodukte’ (KWb 421b)

Kalm. +ñ

tsañ ‘id.’

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

LM+ng

borong ‘dikaja koška’ (Kowalewski 1214b)

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

MNT +ng

ölen̄ ‘frisches Gras’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 122) [MNT 255]

Muq. +ng

öleng ‘trava’ (Poppe 1938, p. 275b)

LM +ng

öleng ‘soft grass, thick grass’ (Lessing 633b)

Khal. +ñ

ölöñ ‘osoka’: ö. saxal ‘lugovoj hvošč’ (Luw. 320a)

Bur. +ñ

üleñ ‘beskil’nica tonkocvetnaja’: ü. xyāg ‘vejnik Langsdorfa’, ü. übhen ‘osoka’ (BurRS 502b)

Kalm. +ñ

ölñ ‘saftiges Gras, Wiese’ (KWb 295a)

Ord. +ñ

ölöñ ‘herbes épaisses constituées par les feuilles du *Deresü* (*Lasiagrostis splendens*); nom d’endroit’: ulān ö. ‘nom d’une espèce de jonc’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 531b)

with colour names it forms names of natural phenomena:

LM +ng

čang ‘hoarfrost’ (Lessing 164a)

Khal. +ñ

cañ ‘izmoroz’, *inej*’ (Luw. 604a)

Bur. +ñ

señ ‘id.’ (BurRS 403a)

Kalm. +ñ

tsañ ‘Reif, Frost’ (KWb 421b)

3.3.1.26. LM +nUd

with colour names it forms names of animals:

qaranud ‘čepračnyj šakal’; *jegerdenüd* ‘ryžij volk’ (NT 96–97, p. 102); *si-ranud* ‘šakal’ (Kowalewski 1520a)

Khal. +nUd

šaranüd ‘šakal, krasnyj volk’ /Lat. Cuon alpinus/; *xaranüd* ‘čepračnyj šakal’ /Lat. Canis niger/; *jērdnūd* ‘ryžij volk’ /Lat. Canis mesomelas/ (NT 96–97, p. 102)

Kalm. +nūd

šar^anūD ‘die Gelben (ein Stamm od. Geschlecht unter den Kalmücken)’ (KWb 351a)

Ord. +nŪt

DžērDenūt ‘chevaux roux dont la queue et la crinière sont à peu près de la même couleur’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 192b)

with colour names it forms names of diseases:

LM +nUd

ulağanud ‘kor’ (Kowalewski 397a)

Khal. +nŪd

ulānūd ‘kanyaró’ [measles] (Kara 1998, p. 490a; ANT 57)

Ord. +nŪt

ulānūt ‘rougeole’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 729b)

Kalm. +nŪD

ulanūD ‘die Masern, Röteln’ (KWb 448a)

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

Ord. +nŪt

Boronūt ‘les gris (*chevaux*); nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 81b); *Gö^kxönūt* ‘gris; nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269b); *xaranūt* ‘noirs; nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 338b); *šaranūt* ‘nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a); *sarganūt* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609b); *tšagānūt* ‘id.’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 692a); *ulānūt* ‘roux (*boeufs*), rouans (*chevaux*); nom de clan’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 729b)

3.3.1.27. LM +kir+mA

This is a compound suffix in NN *+kir* (see under 3.3.2.5.) and NN *+mA*

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

čakirm-a ‘orchid’ (Lessing 162a) ← *čakirmağā (B.Kh.)

Khal.+xirmĀ

caxirmā ‘orhideja’ (Luw. 607a)

Ord. +^kxirmak

Dža ^kxirmak ‘iris ensata Thunb. (d’après Potanin)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 181a)

3.3.1.28. LM +rU

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

Zhiyuan Yiyu +r

hular ‘Tetraogallus’ (Kara 1990, p. 299)

LM +rU

ularu ‘gluhoj teterev’ (Kowalewski 401b) ~ ‘gornaja indejka’ /Lat. Tetraogallus/ ~ ‘kavkazskij teterev’ /Lat. Lyrurus mlokosiewiczi/: *altan nidüütü u.* ‘kol-čatyj fazan’ /Lat. Phasianus torquatus/ ~ ‘šalfejnyj teterev’ (NT 96–97, p. 36)

Khal. +r

ular ‘gornaja indejka’ /Lat. Tetraogallus/ (NT 96–97, p. 36): *altan nüdet u.* ‘id.’

3.3.1.29. LM +s

with colour names it forms the name of a metal:

LM +s

čas ‘weißes Messing, Weißmetall; Zink’ (KWb 423a)

Kalm. +s

tsas ‘id.’

3.3.1.30. LM +s+KAn

Function: NN. This is a compound suffix in NN *+s* and NN *+KAn* (see under 3.2.2.4.)

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

sirasqan j̄imis ‘oreh dumbejskij’ /Lat. Juglans manshurica Maxim./ (NT 89–90, p. 159)

Khal. +xAn

šarsxan j̄ims ‘xaw jagas met xawtgai xelbertei, xušganı idēn̄ adil amttai, jellež urgadag negen jüil j̄ims’ (Cewel 1966, p. 840a)

3.3.2. *Suffixes forming adjectives*

3.3.2.1. LM+bir, +bUr

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colours²³ (GWM §109)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +bi[r]

hulabi[r] ‘reddish yellow’ (Kara 1990, p. 299)

LM+bir, +bUr

čaǵabir ~ *čaǵabur* ‘belovatyj, dovol’no belyj, svetlyj, blednyj’ (Kowalewski 2084a); *čayibur* ‘belovatyj, blednyj (*svet, cvet*); svetlyj’: cf. *čayibur nogog-a* ‘kapusta’, *čayibur altan* ‘blednoe zoloto’ (Kowalewski 2075b); *nogobir* ‘izzelenena, zelenovatyj’: cf. *nogobir kökecü* ‘nazvanie nekotoroj ptički, sinica?’ (Kowalewski 680a); *nogobur* ‘temnozelenyj’ (Kowalewski 680a); *sirabir* ‘svetloželtyj’ (Kowalewski 1520b); cf. *sirabir čaǵčagai* ‘želtovatyj orel-berkut’ /Lat. Asquila chrysaetus japonica/ (NT 96–97, p. 169); *ulaǵabur* ‘krasnovatyj, malinovyj’: cf. *ulaǵabur modun* ‘nazvanie dereva iz roda maloroslyh dubov’ (Kowalewski 397a), *ulaǵabur* ‘padub gorodčatyj’ /Lat. Oex crenata Thunb./ (NT 89–90, p. 116); *ulabur* ~ *ulabir* ‘krasnovatyj, krasnejuščijsja’: cf. *ulabur argui* ‘petuški, cvetki’ /Lat. iris Sibirica/ (Kowalewski 397b), *ulabir sibaǵun* ‘krasnonogij ibis’ /Lat. Nipponia nippon/ (NT 96–97, p. 54); *qarabir* ‘izčerna, s černovatym otlivom, černogo losnjaščegosja cveta’ (Kowalewski 833a): cf. *qarabir sibaǵun* ‘al’pijskaja galka’ /Lat. Pyrrhocorax graculus/ (NT 96–97, p. 189); *kökebir* ‘sinevatyj, golubovatyj’ (Kowalewski 2625a); cf. *dalai-yin kökebir taǵtaǵ-a* ‘kamennyj (*skalistnyj*) golub’ /Lat. Columba rupestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 190); *yaǵabur* ‘rosy’ (Lessing 423a)

Khal. +wXr, +bXr

caiwar ‘belovatyj, svetlyj, blednyj’ (Luw. 602b): cf. *caiwar nogō* ‘kapusta kitajskaja’ /Lat. Brassica chinensis/ (NT 89–90, p. 21); *nogōwor* ‘zelenovatyj’ (Luw. 269a): cf. *nogōwor degli* ‘kvakva’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 244); *šarwir* ‘želtovatyj’ (Luw. 646b): cf. *šarwir cagcgai* ‘želtovatyj orel-berkut’ /Lat. Asquila chrysaetus japonica/ (NT 96–97, p. 169); *ulāwar* ‘krasnovatyj’ (Damdinsüren 1982, p. 232b): cf. *ulāwar xöndei* ‘belobrovnik’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 252), *ulāwar šuwū* ‘čečevica’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 252), *ulāwar* ‘padub gorodčatyj’ /Lat. Oex crenata Thunb./ (NT 89–90, p. 116); *ulbar* ‘krasnovatyj’ (Luw. 452b): cf. *ulbar šuwū* ‘krasnonogij ibis’ /Lat. Nipponia nippon/ (NT 96–97, p. 54); *ulbar gal sül* ‘gorihvostka krasnospinnaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 253); *ulbar argui* ‘čistec bajkal’skij’ /Lat. Stachys baicalensis Fisch./ (NT 89–90, p. 155); *xarwir* ‘černovatyj’: cf. *xarwir šuwū* ‘al’pijskaja galka’ /Lat. Pyrrhocorax graculus/ (NT 96–97, p. 189); *xöwxör* ‘sinevatyj’: cf. *xöwxör tagtā* ‘golub’ sisyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 260); *dalain xöwxör tagtā* ‘kamennyj (*skalistnyj*) golub’ /Lat. Columba rupestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 190);

²³ In Buriat this suffix also occurs in other semantic fields. E.g. *xüiteber* ‘xolodnovatyj’ < *xüiten* ‘xolodno, xolodnyj’; *alyabar* ‘slegka rezvyj, šalovlivyj’ < *alyā* ‘šalost’, šutka’; *hulabar* ‘slabovatyj’ < *hula* ‘slabyj’.

Bur. +bXr

nogōbor ‘zelenovatyj’ (BurRS 328b); *saibar* ‘svetlyj’ (BurRS 383a); *ulabar* ‘krasnovatyj’ (e.g. *u. haxal* ‘ryževataja boroda’) (BurRS 467a)

Ord. +wUr/+wOr

tšagāwur ‘blanchâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 692a); *ulawur* ‘rougeâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730a); *nogōwor* ‘verdâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 495a); *šarawur* ‘jaunâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a); *xarawur* ‘noirâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339a); *GÖ^kxö-wör* ‘bleuâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269b)

Kalm. +wr

xōwr ‘ziemlich blaßgelb, isabellfarbig’ (KWb 193a); *kökwr* ‘blauend, bläulich’ (KWb 237b); *noğāwr* ‘etwas grün; blaugrün’ (KWb 278b); *śar^awr* ‘gelblich, etwas gelbgefärbt’ (KWb 351b); *tsagāwr* ‘weißlich, ziemlich weiß, etwas weiß’ (KWb 419b); *tsāwr* ‘weißlich, bleich’ (KWb 425b); *ulāwr* ‘rötlich’ (KWb 448b)

3.3.2.2. LM +btUr

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colours (GWM §111; Dondukov 1964, p. 71).²⁴

Muq. +mtUr

hulāmtur bora (morin) ‘krasnovato-seryj (kon)’ (Poppe 1938, p. 187a)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +btU[r]

hulābtu[r] ‘reddish yellow’ (Kara 1990, p. 299)

LM +btUr

alabtur ‘plus ou moins bigarré’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 11b); *borobtur* ‘serovatyj, neskol’ko seryj’ (Kowalewski 1218b); *čaǵabtur* ‘belovatyj, belyj, blestjašcij’ (Kowalewski 2084a); cf. *čaǵabtur gićigen-e* ‘lapčatka belovataja’ /Lat. Potentilla dealbata Bge./ (NT 59–60, p. 30); *nogobtur* ‘svetlo-zelenyj’ (Kowalewski 680a); cf. *nogobtur kökecü* ‘ošeijnikovyj zimorodok’ /Lat. Halcyon pileata/ (NT 96–97, p. 65); *sirabtur* ‘izzelta belyj, želtovatyj’ (Kowalewski 1520b); cf. *sirabtur samja* ‘zolotistaja marmozetka’ /Lat. Calihrix chrysoleuca/ (NT 96–97, p. 106); *ulabtur* ‘krasnovatyj, svetlo-krasnyj’ (Kowalewski 398a); *qa-rabtur* ‘izčerna černovatyj, temnyj’ (Kowalewski 833a); *kökebtür* ‘s golubym otlivom, sinevatyj’ (Kowalewski 2625a); cf. *kökebtür boǵsurǵ-a* ‘rogatyj žavoronok’ /Lat. Eremophila alpestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 62), *kökebtür ǵubsiyaqai* ‘zaraziha sinevataja’ /Lat. Orobanche coerulescens Steph./ (NT 59–60, p. 21); *kürebütür* ‘smuglovatyj, nemnogo temno-rusyj (o čeloveke)’ (Kowalewski 2637a); *yaǵabtur* ‘pinkish’ (Lessing 423a); cf. *yaǵabtur urtu budarǵana* ‘rozovatoplodnaja soljanka’ /Lat. Salsola rosacea/ (NT 59–60, p. 52)

Khal. +wtXr

borowtor ‘serovatyj’ (Luw. 78a); *cagāwtar* ‘belovatyj’ (Luw. 600b); cf. *ca-gāwtar gićgene* ‘lapčatka belovataja’ /Lat. Potentilla dealbata Bge./ (NT 59–

²⁴ Cf.: Bur. *xalūbtar* ‘dostatočno žarkij’ < *xalūn* ‘gorjačij’; *gašūbtur* ‘neskol’ko gor’kova-tij’ < *gašūn* ‘gor’kij’.

60, p. 30); *nogōwтор* ‘zelenovatyj’ (Luw. 269a): cf. *nogōwтор xöököč* ‘ošejni-kovyj zimorodok’ /Lat. Halcyon pileata/ (NT 96–97, p. 65); *nogōwтор dūč šuwūn* ‘penočka zelenaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 244); *šarawtar* ‘želtovatyj’ (Luw. 646a): cf. *šarawtar samj* ‘zolotistaja marmozetka’ /Lat. Calihrix chrysoleuca/ (NT 96–97, p. 106); *ulāwtar* ‘krasnovatyj’ (Luw. 450b); *xarawtar* ‘černovatyj’ (Luw. 513b); *xöökötör* ‘sinevatyj’ (Luw. 557a): cf. *xöökötör bogširgo* ‘rogatyj žavoronok’ /Lat. Eremophila alpestris/ (NT 96–97, p. 62), *xöökötör guwšāxai* ‘zaraziha sinevataja’ /Lat. Orobanche coeruleascens Steph./ (NT 59–60, p. 21); *xürewter* ‘koričnevatyj’: cf. *xürewter tagtā* ‘golub’ buryj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 262); *yagāwtar* ‘rozovatyj’ (Luw. 690a): cf. *yagāwtar ürt budargana* ‘rozovatoplodnaja soljanka’ /Lat. Salsola rosacea/ (NT 59–60, p. 52)

Bur. +btXr, +ltXr

borobtor ‘serovatyj; dovol’no smuglyj, prostovatyj (*o čeloveke*)’ (BurRS 106a); *sagābtar* ‘belovatyj’ (BurRS 380b); *nogōbtor*: cf. *Bohan nogoltor* ‘ze-lenovatyj’ (BurRS 328b); *šarabtar* ‘želtovatyj, ryževatyj’ (*o cvetah*) (BurRS 721a); *ulābtar* ‘krasnovatyj’ (*o ne pospevšej klubnike B.Kh.*) (BurRS 465b); *xalyūbtar* ‘igrenij, igrenevyj’ (*o masti*) (BurRS 541a); *xarabtar* ‘temnovatyj, černovatyj’ (*o glazah, ne pospevših jagodah B.Kh.*) (BurRS 550a); *xaraltar* ~ *xaltar* ‘svetlo-gnedoj (*o lošadi*); s ryžemi polosami na nogah i morde (*o sobake, lisice*) (BurRS 539a); *xüxebter* ‘sinevatyj’ (*o ne pospevšej černike B.Kh.*) (BurRS 636a); *xüribter* ‘koričnevatyj’ (BurRS 626b); *yagābtar* ‘rozovatyj’ (BurRS 795a)

Ord. +B’t’Wr, +lt’Wr

alab’t’ur ‘plus ou moins bigarré’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 11b); *BoroB’t’or* ‘brunâtre’ ~ *Borolt’or* (Mostaert 1941, p. 81a); *tš’agāb’t’ur* ‘blanchâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *xaraB’t’ur* ~ *xaraB’t’ar* ‘noirâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 337b) ~ *xaralt’ur* (Mostaert 1941, p. 338a); *šaraB’t’ur* ‘jaunâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 608b); *Gö’kxöB’t’ör* ‘bleuâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 269a); *nogōB’t’or* ‘verdâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 495a); *ulaB’t’ur* ‘rougeâtre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 728b)

Kalm. +ptr

al”ptr ‘etwas bunt’ (KWb 8a); *bor”ptr* ‘graulich, etwas grau’ (KWb 52a); *tsa-ğāptr* ‘etwas weiß, weißlich, blaß’ (KWb 419b); *kök”ptr* ‘bläulich’ (KWb 237a); *nogāptr* ‘grünlich; hellgrün, schwach grün’ (KWb 278b); *xar”ptr* ‘schwarzlich’ (KWb 170a); *šar”ptr* ‘gelblich, hellgelb’ (KWb 351a); *ulāptr* ‘rötlich’ (KWb 448a): cf. *ul”ptr* ‘rötlich, sich rötend’ (KWb 449a)

Gorlos +ptur

xüxüptür ‘sinevatyj’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 152a)

3.3.2.3. LM +btUr+KAn

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colour: diminutive. This is a compound suffix in NN +btUr (see under 3.3.2.2.) and NN +KAn (see under 3.2.2.4.)

LM +btUr+KAn

čağabturqan ‘belovatyj, blednobelyj’ (Kowalewski 2084b); *noğobturqan* ‘svetlo-zelenovatyj’ (Kowalewski 680b); *sirabturqan* ‘želtovaten’kij, izželta belovatyj’ (Kowalewski 1520b); *ulabturqan* ‘izkrasna, krasnovaten’kij, rozovyj’ (Kowalewski 398a); *qarabturqan* ‘černovaten’kij, černovatyj’ (Kowalewski 833b); *kökebtürken* ‘neskol’ko sinij’ (Kowalewski 2625a)

Khal. +wtXr+xXn

borowtorxon ‘greyish’ (B.Kh.); *cagāwtarxan* ‘whitish’ (B.Kh.); *nogōwtorxon* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); *šarawtarxan* ‘yellowish’ (B.Kh.); *ulāwtarxan* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.); *xarawtarxan* ‘blackish’ (B.Kh.); *xököwtörxön* ‘bluish’ (B.Kh.); *xürewterxen* ‘brownish’ (B.Kh.); *yagāwtarxan* ‘pinkish’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +btXr+xXn

borobtorxon ‘greyish’ (B.Kh.); *sagābtarxan* ‘whitish’ (B.Kh.); *nogōbtorxon* ‘greenish’ (B.Kh.); *šarabtarxan* ‘želtovaten’kij’ (BurRS 721a); *ulābtarxan* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.); *xarabtarxan* ‘černovaten’kij’ (BurRS 550a); *xüxebterxen* ‘bluish’ (B.Kh.); *xüribterxen* ‘brownish’ (B.Kh.); *yagābtarxan* ‘pinkish’ (B.Kh.)

Kalm. +ptr+xAn

ulāptrxan ‘etwas rötlich’ (KWb 448a); *bor^optrxan* ‘etwas grau’ (KWb 52a)

3.3.2.4. LM +dŪ

čayibardū ‘belovatyj, blednovatyj’: cf. *čayibardū mogoi-yin idegen* ‘očitok blednovatyj’ /Lat. *Sedum pallescens* Freyn./ (NT 59–60, p. 41); *kürengdū* ‘barnás’ [brownish] (Kara 1998, p. 629a)

Khal. +dŪ

caowardū ‘belovatyj, blednovatyj’: cf. *caowardū mogoin idē* ‘očitok blednovatyj’ /Lat. *Sedum pallescens* Freyn./ (NT 59–60, p. 41); *xürendū* ‘koričnevatyj’ (*o pole posle vspaški, pahoty* B.Kh.) (Luw. 577b; Kara 1998, p. 629a)

3.3.2.5. LM +GA

MNT +KA

sirqa ‘gesprenkelt, meliert’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 142)

Muq. +GA

širǵa (morin) ‘solovaja (*lošad’*)’ (Poppe 1938, p. 336a)

LM +GA

sirǵa ‘light bay’ (Lessing 716b)

Khal. +gA

šarga ‘solovyj (*o masti*); palevyj (*o cvete*)’ (Luw. 646b): cf. *šarga xairūldai* ‘zaviruska blednaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 267); *šarga ergū bor* ‘kozodoj bulannyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 267)

Bur. +gA

šarga ‘solovyj (*o masti*); palevyj (*o cvete*); laskovyj (e.g.: *üdīn šarga naran* ‘poludennoe solnyško’)’ (BurRS 722a)

Ord. +gA

šarga ‘couleur isabelle (*robe de cheval*); cheval isabelle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609b)

Kalm. +gA

šarǵa ~ *šarxa* ‘gelblich, isabellfarbig; hellgelb’ (KWb 350a)

3.3.2.6. LM +GAI (> +GUI)

Zhiyuan Yiyu +KAI

širqal muri ‘horse of sand colour’ (Kara 1990, p. 323)

LM +GUI

sirǵal ~ *šargul* ‘bay (*colour of a horse*)’ (Lessing 717a); ‘lošad’ belaja s krasnovatymi krapinami’ (Kowalewski 1530a)

Khal. +gAI

šargal ‘cagānd ulāwtar šar xol’cson öngö’ (Cewel 1966, p. 839b); cf. *šargal ulān xurgan jasā* ‘mak oranžovo-krasnyj’ /Lat. Papaver rubroaurantiacum/ (NT 61, p. 56), *šargal balč šuwū* ‘ščurka zolotistaja’, *šargal siüwē cagān* ‘ržanka zolotistaja’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 267)

Bur. +gAI

šargal ‘solovyj, belesyj, palevyj (*o zolotistoj pšenice, belesyh resnicah glaz*)’ (BurRS 722b)

Dagur +GAI

šarǵal ‘solovyj’ (Poppe 1930, p. 101a)

Kalm. +GAI

šargal ‘gelb, strohfarben, isabellfarbig’ (KWb 350a); *šarxal* ‘strohfarben, gelblich’ (KWb 350b)

Ord. +gUI

šargul ‘robe de cheval: blanc avec yeux et sabots noirs, isabelle très pâle’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a)

3.3.2.7. LM +gis

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

qargis ‘viciousness, malice, cruelty, ferocity, brutality; tyrant, tyranny; reactionary’ (Lessing 936b)

Khal. +gis

xargis ‘žestokij, ljutyj, svirepyj, zloj; despotičnyj; reakcionnyj’ (Luw. 515b)

Bur. +xis

xarxis ‘reakcionnyj’ (BurRS 557b)

Ord. +gis

xargis ‘cruel, féroce, brutal, qui est sans compassion; malheur qui aurait dû arriver à un autre’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 339b)

3.3.2.8. LM +GU

MNT +'U

qara ‘u ‘schwarzer’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 60)

LM +GU

qaraǵu ‘fukar, fösvény’ [miserly, avaricious, mean, niggardly] (Kara 1998, p. 563a)

Khal. +Ū

xarū ‘skupoj’ (Luw. 517b)

Bur. +Ū

xarū ‘id.’ (BurRS 556b)

Ord. + Ū

xarū ‘force, vigueur’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 341a)

Kalm. + Ū

xarū ‘geizig, filzig, zu viel das Seinige hütend od. sparend; dunkel, verlöschen’ (KWb 171a)

3.3.2.9. LM +jili

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

sirajili modun ‘pueraria volosistaja’ /Lat. Pueraria hirsuta/ (NT 89–90, p. 179)

Khal. +jil

šarjil modon ‘id.’

3.3.2.10. LM +KAmAi

with colour names it forms the name of an animal:

qarqamai noǵosun ‘ptica, rod utki’ (Kowalewski 844a)

Khal. +xmAi

xarxmai nugas ‘mandarinka’ /Lat. Anas galericulata/ (NT 96–97, p. 43)

3.3.2.11. LM +ki-GAr

Function: NN: Compound suffix which consists of the NV *+kX-* and VN *-GAr* (Dondukov 1964, p. 74)²⁵

*čakiǵar ‘colourless’ (B.Kh.); čengkeger ‘light blue, bluish’ (Lessing 172a)

Bur.+xigXr

saxigar ‘bescvetno-belyj’: cf. s. *sagān* ‘belyj-prebelyj, belosnežnyj, oslepi-tel’noj belizny’ < *saxi-* ‘sijat’ (BurRS 387a); *senxiger* ‘svetlo-goluboj’ (BurRS 403b)

²⁵ Cf. *tabqaǵar* ‘flat-topped, flat’ < *tabqayi-* ‘to be flat’; *tebkeger* ‘quadrangular’ < *tebkeyi-* ‘to be(come) angular or square’; Bur. *lünxeger* ‘glubokij, ob’emistyj’ (*o posude, bocke*) < *lünx-* ‘byt’ ob’emistym i glubokim’.

3.3.2.12. LM +lbi

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colour (Dondukov 1964, p. 90).

**borolbi* ‘greyish’ (*B.Kh.*); **kökelbi* ‘bluish’ (*B.Kh.*)

Bur. +lbi /+l'bA

borolbi ‘*Tugnuj* slegka serovatyj’; *xüxelbi* ‘sinevatyj’ (Dondukov 1964, p. 90)
 ~ *xüxel'be* ‘sinevatyj, sizovatyj : x. *xüxed* ‘sinevatye soski u volčicy’, x. *tala*
 ‘bescvetnaja step’; *redko* serovatyj, seryj’ (BurRS 636b)

3.3.2.13. LM +lKAi

with colour names it denotes human characteristics:

čaǵalqai ‘jószándékú, jószívű, vajszívű’ [well-intentioned, warm-hearted, ten-
 der-hearted] (Kara 1998, p. 651a)

Khal. +lxAi

cagālxai ‘id.’

3.3.2.14. LM +lki+mA

**čaǵalkima* ‘whitish’ (*B.Kh.*)

Bur. +lximA

sagālxima ‘belejušcij, belyj’ (*o svežih ščepkah*) (BurRS 381a)

3.3.2.15. LM +mA+GAr

**qaramağar* ‘coarse’ (*B.Kh.*); **siramağar* ‘one whose face is clear or yellow
 and whose hair is blond’ (*B.Kh.*)

Bur. +mAgAr

xarmagar xorgoi ‘*Zakamna* grubaja ryhlaja parča’ (Rassadin 1996, p. 202)

Ord. +mAgAr

šarmagar ‘qui a le teint clair ou jaune et les cheveux tirant sur le blond; qui
 a le teint clair’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 610a)

3.3.2.16. LM +mAl

Function: To form nouns designating qualities.

MNT +mAl

siramat ‘gelb’: *s. altatan* ‘gelbgoldene’ (Haenisch 1939, p. 141)

LM +mAl

siramat ‘nemesfémmel befuttatott’ [plated with noble metal] (Kara 1998,
 p. 703b)

Khal. +mAl

šarmal ‘id.’

Bur. +mAl

šaramal ‘pozoločennyj’ (*o poželtevših osennih list'jah B.Kh.*) (BurRS 721b)

Ord. +mAl

šaramal ‘doré’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 609a)

3.3.2.17. LM +mdUG

kökemdiug ‘sinevatyj, lazurevyj’: cf. *kökemdiug modun* ‘kust ili stebel’ indigo’ (Kowalewski 2626b)

Khal. +mdOg

xöxömdög ‘sinevatyj’ (Luw. 557a): cf. *xöxömdög dört nugas* ‘sin’ga, černyj turpan’; *xöxömdög degli* ‘volček obyknovennyj’ (NT 78–79–80, p. 260)

3.3.2.18. LM +rA-l

Function: NN. A compound suffix which consists of the NV *+rA-* (see under 3.2.3.4.) and VN *-l* (GWM §159)

kökerel ‘sinee, goluboe, zelenoe’ (Kowalewski 2628a)

3.3.2.19. LM +sin

with colour names it forms the name of a plant:

altasin čečeg ‘donnik zolotistyj’ /Lat. Melilotus officinalis Lam./ (NT 89–90, p. 186)

Khal. +šin

ališin ceceg ‘id.’

3.3.2.20. LM +sUn

altasun ‘zolotistyj’: cf. *altasun čečeg* ‘hamamelicvet japonskij’ /Lat. Hamamelis japonica/ (NT 89–90, p. 188); *sirasun* ‘želtovatyj’: cf. *sirasun biljūqai* ‘želtobrjuhaja amerikanskaja slavka’ /Lat. Seiurus noveboracensis/ (NT 96–97, p. 198)

Khal. +sAn

altsan ‘zolotistyj’: cf. *altsan ceceg* ‘hamamelicvet japonskij’ /Lat. Hamamelis japonica/ (NT 89–90, p. 188); *širisan* ‘želtovatyj’: cf. *širisan byaljūxai* ‘želtobrjuhaja amerikanskaja slavka’ /Lat. Seiurus noveboracensis/ (NT 96–97, p. 198)

3.3.3. *Suffixes forming verbs from colour names*

3.3.3.1. LM *(+yi-)±lA-či-

Function: Unexpected action; Intrans. This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.), NV *±l(A)-* and VV **-či->* Bur. -šX- (Čeremisov 1951, p. 851)²⁶

**qaralači-* ‘to grow dark, become dark, to darken’ (B.Kh.); **ulayilači-* ‘to become red from malice’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +lAšA-

xarlaša- ‘potemnet’, počernet’ (BurRS 556a)

²⁶ Cf.: Bur. *xabdaša-* ‘bystro raspuhnut’ < *xabda-* ‘puhnut’; *untaša-* ‘bystro zasnut’, usnut’ < *unta-* ‘spat’.

Ord. +ltš‘i-

ulāltš ‘i- ‘être rouges de colére’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730b)

3.3.4. *Suffixes forming deverbal nouns*

3.3.4.1. LM +bAljA-GUr

Function: VN. This is a compound suffix in NV *+bAljA-* (see under 3.2.5.1.); and VN *-GUr* (GWM §155)²⁷

ulabaljağur ‘krasnyj, svežij, zdorovyj cvet (*lica*)’ (Kowalewski 397b): cf. *ulabaljağur čečeg* ‘kamelija sasanqua’ /Lat. Camellia sasanqua/ (NT 89–90, p. 193), *ulabaljağur moğoi-yin idegen* ‘očitok purpurnyj’ /Lat. Sedum purpureum L. Schult./ (NT 59–60, p. 41)

Khal. +ljūr

ulbaljūr ceceg ‘kamelija sasanqua’ /Lat. Camellia sasanqua/ (NT 89–90, p. 193), *ulbaljūr mogoin idē* ‘očitok purpurnyj’ /Lat. Sedum purpureum L. Schult./ (NT 59–60, p. 41)

3.3.4.2. LM +l-GUi

Function: VN. This is a compound suffix in NV *+l(A)-* (see under 3.2.3.3.) and VN *-GUi*.

**borolğui* ‘ash-grey’ (B.Kh.)

Bur. +lg̊i

borolgi ‘pepel’nyj (*o cvete*)’ (BurRS 106a)

3.3.4.3. LM (+yi)-bAGAr

Function: To form nouns designating slight shades of colour. This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VN *-bAGAr*.

čayibağar ‘belovatyj, blednyj’ (Kowalewski 2075a); **čeyibeger* ‘pale blue, sky-blue’ (B.Kh.); **ulabagar* ‘reddish’ (B.Kh.)

Khal. (+i)-wgAr

caiwgar ‘belovatyj, svetlyj’ (Luw. 602b)

Bur. (+i)-bAgAr

saibagar ‘belyj; svetlyj; belobrysyj, belesyj’ (BurRS 383a); *sibeger* ‘goluboj, sinij (*o glazah, nebe*); sivyj (*o masti*)’ (BurRS 388b); *ulbagar* ‘neskol’ko krasnovatyj (*o vekah*)’ (BurRS 468a)

3.3.4.4. LM (+yi)-dAm

Function: VN. This is a compound suffix in NV *+yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VN *-dAm*.

²⁷ Cf.: *qanagür* ‘lancet’ <*qana-* ‘to bleed someone’; *qaduğur* ‘sarłó; kasza’ [sickle, scythe] <*qadu-* ‘to mow’.

LM (+yi)-dAm

čayidam ‘vse moločnoe, kak to: slivki, smetana, maslo i pr.’ (Kowalewski 2067a); *čeyidem* ‘a kind of kumiss’ (Lessing 170b)

Khal. (+i)-dAm

c̄idem ‘voda s molokom’ (Luw. 607b)

Bur. (+i)-dAm

s̄idem ‘zabelennaja voda (*pit’e, upotrebljavšeesja v žarkoe vremja*)’ (BurRS 388b)

Kalm. (+i)-dm

tsādm ‘(*ein wenig*) Milch und (*viel*) Wasser als Getränk’ (KWb 425a); *t̄sidm* ~ *ts̄idm* ‘Gemisch von Wasser (*als Trunk*)’ (KWb 443a)

3.3.5. *Suffixes forming deverbal verbs*

3.3.5.1. LM +d-KA-

Function: Causative from +d(A)-

čagadqa- ‘to make white, whitewash; to bleach; to clear up; to prove somebody’s innocence, vindicate’ (Lessing 157b); *ulayidqa-* ‘to make red-hot; to make red, redder’ (Lessing 870b)

Khal. +t-gA-

cagātga- ‘reabilitirovat’, opravdyvat’’ (Luw. 601b); *ulaitga-* ‘nakalivat’sja dokrasna’ (Luw. 451b)

Ord. +d-xa-

tš ‘agāDxa- ‘éclaircir, tirer au clair’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 690b); *ulāDxa-* ‘rendre rouge, rougir au feu, chauffer (*fer*)’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 730a)

Mngr. +Da-Ga-

alaGDaGa- ‘rendre bigarré’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 4); *BoroDaGa-* ‘rendre gris’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 28); *tš ‘iGānDaGa-* ‘rendre blanc, blanchir’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 447); *fulānDaGa-* ‘rendre rouge, rougir’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 105); *xaraDaGa-* ‘rendre noir’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 159); *k̄uGuoDaGa-* ‘rendre bleu’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 209); *noGōnDaGa-* ‘rendre vert, du suivant’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 281); *širaDaGa-* ‘rendre jaune’ (Mostaert – De Smedt 1933, p. 398)

3.3.5.2. LM (+yi)-rA-

Function: Intrans. This is a compound suffix in NV +yi- (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VV -rA- (see under 3.2.3.4.).

čayira- ‘to become white; to fade; to become pale; to dawn’ (Lessing 161a); *ulayira-* ‘to turn red or look red; to go mad; to run amuck; to envy, become jealous or greedy; to be wroth; to become violent’ (Lessing 870b)

Khal. (+i)-rA-

caira- ‘belet’, *svetlet*, *blednet*’ (Luw. 603a); *ulaira-* ‘krasnet’, *vygljadit*’ *krasnym*’ (Luw. 451b)

Bur. (+i)-r(A)-

saira- ‘belet’, *belet’sja*; *stanovit’sja belym*, *priobretat’ belyj cvet koži* (*o novorozdennom*); *blednet’* (*o lice ot ispuga*); *svetlet’* (*o nebe, gorizonte*), *brezžit’*, *svetlet’* (*o zare*); *perestavat’ prekraščat’sja* (*o dožde*); *otlegat’* (*o serdce*); *opravdyvat’sja*’ (BurRS 383a); *ulair-* ‘*stanovit’sja krasnym, alet’* (*o fruktah B.Kh.*); *stanovit’sja v rjady krasnyh, revoljucionizirovat’sja*’ (BurRS 467b)

3.3.5.3. LM (+yi)-s-

Function: Intrans. This is a compound suffix in NV +*yi-* (see under 3.2.3.7.) and VV -*s-*.

LM (+yi)-s-

ulayis- ‘vörösen izzik; átforrósodik’ [to glow red-hot; to become very hot] (Kara 1998, p. 490b)

Khal. (+i)-s-

ulaisa- ‘nakaljat’sja dokrasna’ (Luw. 451b)

4. Words falsely connected with colour names

In the course of my research, I found many words which at the first sight appeared to be related to colour names, but closer analysis revealed that they were not. These are listed below for future reference:

boro:

Bur. *borbilō* (BurR 105a) < Russian ‘vorobej’

Bur. *borbogor* (BurRS 105b) ‘nevzračnyj; židen’kij, reden’kij (*o borode*) < *borboi-* ‘torčat’ vo vse storony, byt’ vsklokočennym’ (BurRS 105b)

Bur. *borxogor* (BurRS 107a) ‘nevzračnyj, zahudalyj; sognutuj, s’’eživšijsja’ < *bor-* *xoi-* ‘imet’ žalkij ili potrepannyj vid’ (BurRS 107a)

Khal. *bortogon ceceg* ‘mertenzija’ (NT 59–60, p. 34) < *bortogo* ‘malen’koe derevyannoe vedro; cilindr’ (Luw. 78b)

čaġan:

MNT Ča’adai aqa ‘uncle Ča’adai’ (Rachewiltz 1972, line 11119); cf. LM Čaġadai ‘Čagadai, Čingis-hanov syn’ (Kowalewski 2085a). This word was often connected with the colour name *čaġan*. This proper name was mentioned for the first time in MNT, which also contains a denial of this etymology. There are two words meaning ‘white’ in the text of MNT: *čaqa'an* and *čaqān*, but *ča'an*, from which the name *ča'adai* may be derived, is not included. There have been many attempts to trace the etymology of this word, but none of them is convincing.

LM *čayidam* ‘weiße Erde, Salzsee; du laitage’ (Ligeti 1935, p. 218). The word cannot be connected with the colour name *čagan*, since, according to Kara, it is a loan-word in *tshva'i 'dam* from the Tibetan language (Kara 1998, p. 653a). Cf. Khal. *caidam* ‘solončak, solončakovaja mestnost’ (Luw. 602b); Bur. *saidam* ‘solenyj (ili solončakoviy) vodoem; zabelennaja voda’ (BurRS 383a); Kalm. *tsädm* ‘weißlich (*Erde, Gegend, Salzsteppe*) (KWb 425a); Ord. *ts'ädam* ‘plaine humide à efflorescences de soude et où li croît du *Deresi*’ (Mostaert 1941, p. 698a).

ulağan:

LM *ulbugar* ~ *ulbağar* ‘soft, tender, weak, flabby, limp; flimsy; wilted’ (Lessing 872a); Khal. *ulbagar* ‘slabyj, vjalyj; nekrepkij, redkij (o tkani)’ (Luw. 452b); Kalm. *ulw'gar* (KWb 449a) < *ulbayi-* ‘to be[come] soft, weak, limp; to waste away’; *ulbara-* ‘to become soft, tired out, exhausted; to be cooked or stewed, be overcooked’ (Lessing 872b)

qara:

LM *qarbuğči ebesü* ‘feather grass’ /Lat. *Stipa sibirica*/ (Lessing 936a); Khal. *xarwagč övs* ‘kovyl’ (NT 89–90, p. 97) < *qarbu-* ‘to shoot (an arrow or fire-arms)’

Ibn Muh. *qarğa* ‘voron’ (Poppe 1938, p. 444b). Very likely an onomatopoetic word.
cf. Old Turkic *qarğa* ‘voron; vorona’ (DTS 426a)

Bur. *xarliu* (BurRS 556a) < Russian ‘*krajuha (hleba)*’

Bur. *xarşa* ‘plaha; doska’ (BurR 558a)

LM *qaram* ‘jealous; possessive, stingy, greedy’ (Lessing 934a); Khal. *xaram* (Luw. 514a); Bur. *xaram* (BurR 551b) < *qara-* ‘to look at, glance, watch’ (Lessing 932a); the suffix *-m* is a VN (GWM §164).

quva:

Bargu *xüalan* ‘goluboj kamen’, upotrebljaemyj v vide ukrašenija (*v pričeske*)’ (Rudnev 1911, p. 148a) < Chinese *huā* ‘cvetok, cvety’ (KitRS 260b), *lān* ‘sinij’ (KitRS 364a)

köke:

Bur. *xüixer* ‘sera’ (BurR 636b); Khal. *xüixer* (Luw. 580a); LM *kükür* ‘sulphur’ (Lessing 499a) < Pers. *gūgar* (Budaev 1992, p. 95)

Ibn Muh. *kögörçi* ‘golub’’ (Poppe 1938, p. 440b) < Old Turkic *kögürçgün* ‘pigeon, dove’ (ED 713b) < *kök* ‘a grey bird’

küreng:

Khal. *xiurd* ‘mol’; cf. LM *körid* ‘kožeed’ (NT 96–97, p. 153)

LM *küren-e* ‘skunk, polecat; weasel’ (Lessing 504b); Khal. *xürne* ‘horek’ (Luw. 577a); Kalm. *kürn* ‘Iltis’ (KWb 248a) < Old Turkic *küzen* ‘polecat’ (ED 761b).

Doerfer suggests that it may be a very early Mongolian loan-word in Turkic (TMEN 1, p. 328).

sira:

- LM *sirq-a* ‘wound; sore; injury’ (Lessing 719a); Khal. *šarx* ‘rana, jazva’ (Luw. 647a); Bur. *šarxa* ‘id.’ (BurRS 723a); Kalm *šarxa* ‘id.’ (KWb 350a)
- Khal. *šanxar nugas* ‘želtonosaja krjakva’ (NT 96–97, p. 42); cf. LM *šangqur* *ǵalaǵu* ‘a kind of goose’ < Chinese *ch'a-yen* (Lessing 752a)
- Bur. *šaramal* [*mjaxan*] ‘požarennoe, žarkoe’ (BurRS 721b) < *sira-* ‘to roast, broil, fry; to scorch, burn (*of the sun*); to gild’ (Lessing 714b)
- Bur. *šasar* ‘želtaja šapka (*golovnoj ubor lam*)’ (BurRS 733b); cf. LM *šaser* ‘yellow cap’ (Lessing 753a) < Tibetan *zhva ser*
- Bur. *šasargana* ‘oblepiha’ (*B.Kh.*- yellowish berry) (BurRS 734a); cf. LM *čačargána* ~ *čičargána* ~ *čačirgána* ‘Hippophae rhamnoides’ (Lessing 175b). The LM form of this word proves that it cannot be connected with *sira*.

5. Summary

In analysing word formation according to Mongolian colour names, I tried to present the rich variety of the suffixes that may be added to colour names. I found 49 suffixes that are used with colour names and other lexical groups, and 59 suffixes the use of which is restricted to colour names. This latter group is comprised of the following sub-groups:

1. 9 suffixes may be used with any colour name in any Mongolian language: **NN** +*čU*, +*Gčin*, +*ng*, +*nUd*, **NA** +*bir*+/*bUr*, +*btUr*, +*btUr+KAn*, **VV** +*d-KA*, (+*yi*)-*rA*-;
2. 14 suffixes may be used with only one colour name, in any language: **NN** +*bA*, +*gil*, +(G)*U*, +*kirA*, +*kULAi*, +*kir+mA*, +*rU*, **NA** +*GA*, +*GAl*, +*gis*, +*GU*, +*mAi*, **NV** (+*yi*)-*dAm*;
3. 15 suffixes occur in only one language with one or two colour names: **NN** +*bAs*, +*bUčAr*, +*čAGAi*, MNT +*dU*, +*GAnči*, +*KA*, +*KALi*, +*lGA(n)*, MNT +*mbAi*, **NA** +*ki-GAr*, +*lbi*, +*lki+mA*, +*rA-l*, **NV** (+*yi*)-*±lA-či*-, **VN** +*l-GUi*
4. 21 suffixes occur in one or two modern languages and LM with more than two colour names: **NN** +*GA+GAsUn*, +*giy-A*, +*ki*, +*lin*, +*ljA*, +*ljAi*, +*mAli*, +*mAng*, +*s*, +*s+KAn*, **NA** +*dŪ*, +*jili*, +*KAmAi*, +*lKAI*, +*mAGAr*, +*mdUG*, +*sin*, +*sUn*, **VN** +*bAljA-GUr*, (+*yi*)-*bAGAr*, **VV** (+*yi*)-*s*-.

The LM dictionaries were my source of data. However, not every word could be found in them, in which case, a reconstructed form is given. I found mostly words formed with suffixes added to basic colour names, which does not mean that other forms with object colour names do not exist in the colloquial language. The investigation concerning the Khalkha language was made relatively easy by the fact that there are many thematical dictionaries with special, rarely used words (NT). In the case of the other languages, no attempt has ever been made to compile such dictionaries.

Further research on this subject involves fieldwork, the collection of special terms used by various professions in the different Mongolian nations.

Although many words connected with colour names in the Siberian-Turkic languages are loan-words from Mongolian, their examination is beyond the scope of the present paper.

*

The results of my investigation prove that in the Mongolian language there is a group of suffixes that show special affinity to a semantic field of the lexicon, namely to colour names. At the same time, the analysis of this semantic field and the analysis of the function and occurrence of these suffixes reveal a difference in their productivity in the course of history. This difference in productivity makes research on the productivity of the language possible.

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