



**Modern Türklük
Araştırmaları Dergisi**

Cilt 3, Sayı 4 (Aralık 2006)

Mak. #55, ss. 36-65

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Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi

Çağdaş Türk Lehçeleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü

Middle Mongolian loan verbs as they appear in Karachay-Balkar

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ÖZET

Orta Mongolca Cengiz Han'ın başkentine uzak yakın çeşitli ulusların ana dilini etkileyerek Mongol imparatorluğunun her yerinde önemli bir rol oynadı. İmparatorluğun kuzey-batı kısımlarındaki İdil Kıpçaklarının dillerini de dikkat çekici bir şekilde etkiledi. Orta Mongolcanın etkisi, onüçüncü yüzyılın ortalarında Kafkasların kuzey eteklerinde yaşayan halkların dillerine de ulaştı. Karaçay-Balkarların dili Orta Mongolca alıntı sözcük bakımından ayrıntılı olarak henüz araştırılmamıştır. Yeni Karaçay sözlüklerinin neşri artık böyle bir araştırmayı mümkün kılmaktadır.

Bu makalede, Karaçay-Balkarların dillerinin tarihinde Orta Mongolcanın önemine ve aynı zamanda başka hiçbir yerde olmayıp da Karaçay-Balkarların dillerinde korunmuş Orta Mongolca unsurlar bakımından da Karaçay-Balkarcanın önemine dikkat çekilecektir.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER

Orta Mongolca, Karaçay-Balkar, alıntı sözcükler, alıntılamlar, Türk-Mongol dil temasları

ABSTRACT

Middle Mongolian played an important role in every part of the huge Mongol Empire influencing the mother tongue of various nations alike whether near or far from the capital of Genghis Khan. Even the Volga Kipchak languages – spoken at the north-westernmost edge of the Empire were considerably influenced. The languages of the people living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus were reached by the impact of the Middle-Mongolian around the mid thirteenth century. Karachay-Balkar has not been widely investigated from the point of view of Middle Mongolian loanwords. The publication of Karachay dictionaries made this study possible.

In this article, I want to underline the importance of Middle Mongolian in the history of

the Karachay-Balkar language and also to underscore the importance of the Karachay-Balkar in preserving Middle Mongolian elements not found elsewhere.

KEY WORDS

Middle Mongolian, Karaçay-Balkar, loanwords, borrowings, Turk-Mongol language contacts

Middle Mongolian played an important role in every part of the huge Mongol Empire influencing the mother tongue of various nations alike whether near or far from the capital of Genghis Khan. Even the Volga Kipchak languages – spoken at the north-westernmost edge of the Empire were considerably influenced. The languages of the people living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus were reached by the impact of the Middle Mongolian around the mid thirteenth century.

Karachay-Balkar has not been widely investigated from the point of view of Middle Mongolian loanwords. The publication of Karachay dictionaries¹ made this study possible. Earlier studies deal with the Middle Mongolian loanwords of the Korean (Pelliot 1930), Manchu (Ligeti 1960), Karaim (Zajączkowski 1960), Yakut (Kaluzynski 1961), Cuman (Poppe 1962), New-Persian (Doerfer 1963), the dialects of Afghanistan (Ligeti 1964), Chuvash (1971-72), Siberian Turkic (Rassadin 1973), Ottoman (Tuna 1973-75), Bashkir (Išberdin 1979), Noghay (Birtalan 1990), Tuva (Tatarincev 1998), Turkish (Schönig 2000) and Kazakh (Somfai Kara 2003) languages.

Written literature of the Karachay-Balkar people is rather scanty due to the fact that it is not a large ethnic group but on the contrary, it is a small one. According to British sources, in 1998 there was no more than a hundred and fifty thousands of Karachay. In 1989 Soviets estimated their number at 231.000. They themselves give 350.000 as their utmost number (Tavkul 2000). In Turkey there may be some 20-30 thousands of them (Balkan 2000:332). Therefore, Johanson, in his publication that came out in 2001 in Stockholm, qualified Karachay as an endangered language and at the same time underlined the importance of field-work research.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Hungarian researchers (Pröhle and Németh) set out to the Caucasus in order to learn from these people. A long silence in research ensued until the end of the twentieth century when J. Sipos carried out a field-work research among them in the Caucasus, and then in Turkey, with É. Csáki.

In Turkey too, there was a lack of interest until the research of U. Tavkul a Karachay native. He too did fieldwork in the Caucasus. It is highly desirable to continue the investigations into Karachay language studies before it is too late.

¹ Tenišev, É.R. – Süjünč, H.I. (eds) (1989) and Tavkul, U. (2000) – are the dictionaries I could mainly rely on.

The Karachays - deriving from a Kipchak tribal system - once lived in the westernmost steppe region, where major migrations took place throughout modern history. It is enough to mention the Huns, Avars and the Hungarians - many different peoples have moved westwards from here. For this reason, people living at the crossroads of the steppe started to withdraw into the slopes of higher hills.

The Karachay-Balkar language and culture has been strongly influenced by Ossetic and the neighbouring Ibero-Caucasian languages: Kabard, Chechen and Abkhaz. Not a written language previously, it was endowed in 1920 with a slightly modified Arabic alphabet, which was replaced in 1925 by the Latin alphabet. The first works were published in the following year: a collection of poetry by Umar Aliev and a Chrestomathy. Also in 1926 the first newspaper, *Karakhalk*, of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Region made its appearance at Nalchik. Finally, in 1938, the Cyrillic replaced the Latin alphabet.

In this article, I want to underline the importance of Middle Mongolian in the history of the Karachay-Balkar language and also to undercore the importance of the Karachay-Balkar in preserving Middle Mongolian elements not found elsewhere. Due to their slight occurrence or to the semantic value they carry, some Karachay words are not dealt with here to the same degree. This is partly because they are not represented the same way in the dictionaries and word-lists available. I can not give an exhaustive explanation for all of them.

Verbs are more rarely borrowed or copied than other parts of vocabulary, yet they stand for a stronger proof of the influence Middle Mongolian exerted on Karachay-Balkar. This is backed by the fact that the semantic field of a verb is not easily transmitted from a language to any other languages. We can not be sure of direct borrowings in all cases, since there are Caucasian, Volga-Kipchak or other Turkic languages that were also influenced by Middle Mongolian, not to speak of the non-Turkic languages.

Here after the Karachay and Balkar data follow the other Caucasian as well as Volga Turkic equivalents, then the Middle Turkic forms. The Mongolian part lists the relevant Written Mongolian and Modern Mongolian – mainly Khalkha words.

abiray 'otorite, nüfuz' (KrCh)², *abiray* 'avtoritet' (KrChT), *abiray* 'čest', avtoritet' (Kklp), *abra* 'hranit', sohranit', bereč' (Kar), *upra*- 'beréč', hranit' (Chuv), *aburla*- 'počitat', čit',

² We quote first the Karachay-Balkar data from Tavkul 2000 as (KrCh), from Tenišev 1989 as (KrChT) or from Pröhle as (KrChP). Then - still in the Turkic part - follow other Caucasian Turkic and some Volga Kipchak = VK data before Middle Turkic = MT. These are followed by the Written Mongolian WMo. forms and meanings quoted from Lessing 1960 as (L), Ligeti's Indices Verborum V. as (IV V), etc.. Most of the abbreviations are shown in the Bibliography.

počítanie' (Kum),

VK *abra-* 'id' (Bajazitova 1986:33),

MT *abra-* (m.) 'schützen, verteidigen, defendere' (Grønbech 1942:27), *abra-* 'abriter, protégé' (AmTr),

WMo. *abura-* 'to save, rescue, help, deliver, preserve life, to protect' (L 6),

M(iddle)Mo. *abura(n)* 'to save' (HpP), *abura-* 'helfen, retten' (MNT), *abura-* (IV V:10), *abura-* 'bereč, hranit' (Ščerbak1986:50)

Mod.Mo. *avrax* 'meggment, megszabadít, megvált' (Khal) [abura-]

We can not find the word in Old Turkic language while it is well represented in Written Mongolian. Poppe (1955:198) translated the verb *abura-* as 'in order to take' and gave the following explanation: ...'The suffix *-a* serves to form the dative in Written Mongolian. It occurs also as an element in various petrified suffixes, e.g. in the suffix of the converbium finale *-ra* in which the element *-r-* is the ending of a verbal noun. The stem of the word is *abu-*. The final vowel has faded away with times due to its position in the word, so the stem became *abra-* as it is reflected in later borrowings.

The word is well known in Volga-Kipchak languages as a verb, but it survived only as a noun derived from that verb in Karachay-Balkar language. The preservation of the second syllable shows that it is an early borrowing. In the latest etymological dictionary of Turkish the word is also considered to be of Mongolian origin *abra-* 'başar-' (Eren 1999:1). The diphthong in final position shows that this is not a Turkic word.

See also (Zajackowski 1960:297), (Csáki 1989:3), (Berta 1999:58).

aĵira- 'aynı-' (Krch), *adžyira-* (KazSK)

alĵa- 'yanılmak, şaşırmaq, tereddüt etmek' (Krch), *aldža-* 'sbivat'sja, terjat'sja, terjat' golovu, lišat'sja samoobladanija' (KrchT), *alža-* 'tomit'sja, majat'sja, mučit'sja, stradat' (Kum), *alžā-* 'to moan in pain' (KumR), *aldža-* 'stanovit'sja bezumnym, terjat' razum' (Kar), *alĵi-* 'id.' (Kaz, KazSK), *alĵi-* 'ošibit'sja, vzjat' ne to napravlenie' (Kyrq)

VK *aldži-* 'utomljat'sja, utomit'sja, obsessilevat', obsessilet' (Tat), *alyi-* 'utomljat'sja, iznurjat'sja, izmatyvav'sja' (Bashk)

WMo. *alĵa-*, *alĵiya-* 'to suffer, be unable to bear, to become tired, exhausted, weary, to be troubled' (L 34),

MMo. *alĵa-* 'behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein' (MNT5), *alĵa-*: *alĵaqu / yayu alĵaqu tal* (MoPr 2:233),

Mod.Mo. *aldza-* 'megtörök, megbán' (Khal), [alĵa-].

The word is not attested in Old Turkic texts, while we attest its several occurrences in Middle Mongolian. Professor Ligeti called my attention to its meaning in Preclassical Mongolian (= PrMo.): 'to be mistaken' instead of 'to get tired'. This is exactly what we find in Karachay-Balkar.

See also (Zajaczkowski 1960), (Kałuzynski 1961), (Csáki 1989).

algasa- 'zayıflamak, zayıf düşmek; ürkmek, şasırmak, sersemlemek' (Krch79), *algasa*- 'oslabet' (napr. ot bolezni); prijti v zamešatel'stvo, rasterjat'sja, orobet' (KrchT),

VK *algisa*- 'jilkeny, aškinu' (DStat), *algisa*- ~ *algis*- 'jilkenü, aškinu' (TatAr), *algäda*- 'därt iteü' (BashkD1), *algädi*- 'zabyvat'sja, uvlekat'sja; otvlekat'sja' (Bashk),

WMo. *alyasa*- 'to be distracted, confused, absentminded, inattentive; to be unstable; to be worried; to be concerned; to miss, skip' (L 31)

Mod.Mo. *alyasax* 'kihagy, elmúlaszt, kikerül; összezavarodik, zavarba jön' (Khal), [alyasa-].

It deserves attention that several synonyms of the verb meaning 'to be confused, to be mistaken, to be in trouble' were borrowed from Mongolian by Karachay-Balkar.

See also (Zajaczkowski 1960),

añaril- 'tereddüt etmek; anlamak, kavramak, idrak etmek' (Krch85), *añaril*- 'kolebat'sja, sklonjat'sja k čemu; ponjat', obratit' vnimanie' (KrchT67), *aňgar*- 'vnikat', starat'sja ponjat', ponimat' (Kyrg), *agğar*- 'észrevesz' (KazSK)

VK *aňar*- → *aňla*- 'ponimat', ponjat', soobražat', vosprinimat' (Tat), *aňgari*- → *aňla*- 'id' (Bashk),

MT *angla*- 'comprendre, mentionner, se souvenir d'une chose' (AChag), *ang*- 'se souvenir, mentionner' (AmTr),

WMo. *angqar*- 'to give attention to, observe, regard' (L 46),

Mod.Mo. *anxaarax* 'figyel, odafigyel, figyelemmel kísér vmit' (Khal), [angqar-],

aň- + -kar- Et.Sl. 13, 143, UW 262b Tu. aňla- < aň-. Krch: aň+kar+l

There are several words in Karachay-Balkar meaning 'to understand': *aňla*- 'empfinden, spüren, wittern, verstehen, begreifen' (BlkP), *ayir*- 'anlamak' (Krch101), *tani*- 'anlamak' (Krch376), *tüšün*- 'anlamak' (Krch414). The first of them goes back to the same Old Turkic stem as the above verb: *aň* 'intelligence'. The verb was formed only in Western Turkic with the denominal suffix *-la* (Erdal 1991:429).

The stem of the other verb is considered to be the result of some misreadings,

aŋ+qar- may have been an error (Erdal 1991:429, 742).

Yet there is a verb in Mongolian *aŋqar-* as seen above. We suppose it was borrowed by Karachay-Balkar from there – the same concerns the Volga Kipchak languages -, but here an additional Turkic suffix was added to the stem, with the help of which it was fitted into the system and so it served as the basis for further words. There are other words in Karachay meaning ‘to understand’, one of them is a loan: *aŋarıl-* with a Turkic suffix on the end. We think that the passive suffix of the Karachay-Balkar word concerns only the first meaning ‘to hesitate, to be in suspense’, while the rest of the meanings is active. The other Turkic verb also has an unusual extra vowel in Karachay: *angıla-* ‘to understand’ (Krch), also in *angılat-* ‘id’ (Krch).

Men az aytсам da, sen köb angıla. ‘Ben az söylesem de, sen çok anla.’ (Tavkul 2001:183)

See also (Csáki 1989:9, 10).

asıra- ‘himaye etmek, saklamak; beslemek; gömmek’ (Krch91), *asıra-* ‘hranit’, bereč čto; kormit’, rastit’, vospityvat’ kogo; otkramlivat’ kogo; horonit’, pogrebat’ kogo’ (KrchT83), *asıra-*, *asra-* ‘nähren, ernähren, erziehen, begraben’ (KrchP), *asra-* ‘nähren, ernähren, erhalten, begraben’ (BlkP), *asıra-* ‘1. himaye et-, sakla-; 2. besle-; 3. göm-; *asra-* ‘vykarmlivat’, vskarmlivat’; vyaščivat’ (Cr.Tat), *asıra-* ‘soderžat’, vospityvat’, vyaščyvat’, vskarmlivat’ (Kum), *asıra-* ‘stechen, betäuben’ (KumN), *asra-* ‘soderžat’ (Kar), *asra-* ‘besle-; nähren’ (Cr.Kar), *asıra-* ‘kormit’, vospityvat’, vskarmlivat’ (Kklp), *asıra-* ‘id.’ (Kaz), *asıra-* ‘vospityvat’; soderžat’, pitat’ (Kyrg)

VK *asra-* ‘vospityvat’, vospitat’, vskramlivat’, vskormit’, hranit’, bereč (Tat), *asıra-* = *asra-* ‘erziehen’ (TatB), *asra-* ‘rastit’, vospityvat’ rebenka’ (ST), *aθra-* ‘soderžat’, obespečivat’; vospitivat’, razvodit’ (Bashk),

Further Turkic data: *asıra-* ‘vospityvat’; soderžat’, pitat’ (Kyrg), *asıra-* ‘soderžat’ (Kaz), *usra-* ‘aufziehen, erziehen’ (ChuvP), *azyra-* ‘kormit’, pitat’, vospityvat’, priručat’ (Tuv)

MT *asıra-* ‘avoir, soin de, protéger’ (UHy131), *asıra-* ‘veerpflegen, versorgen, ernähren’ (UCiv241), *asra-* ‘to nourish, raise, bring up, to adopt’ (ARbg), *asra-* ‘observer, regarder, garder, conserver’ (AChag20), *asra-* ‘zu essen geben, ernähren’ (LCCG), *asratay* < *asra-* ‘skryvat’, *asrat-* ‘zastavit’, soderžat’, vospityvat’ (AChagB68), *isra-* ‘öriz, véd, pártfogol’ (AChagBL37), Budi44,45, Radl.I 546 *asrat-* ‘id’ (Zenker)

WMo. *asara-* ‘to be compassionate, to take care, nourish, raise, support somebody by charity’ (L 56),

MMo. *asara-* (IV V:33), *asara-* (MoPr 84), **asara-ul-* ‘to let save, keep; to permit to care for’ (HpP), *asara-* ‘to take care’ (SH), *asara-* (MA Poppe 1938:107), *asarba* ‘hranit’ (IMI)

Mod.Mo. *asrax* 'apol, oltalmaz, gondo'z' (Khal), [asara-].

The Mongolian word spread in the Chinggisid era, *-ra* is a deverbal verb forming intensifier suffix in Mongolian. It is to be found in several Turkic languages, and it was also borrowed into the Manju. Originally the word is of Turkic origin – see in OT *aša* 'to eat' (Clauson 1972:256) but was reborrowed with a Mongol marker. "The Mongolian word had become the term for the acceptance of non-relatives into the family in the Mongol epoch, and had spread as such" (Róna-Tas1975). The term is mainly used for those taking care of elderly or invalid people in present day Western-Mongolian dialects – as I learnt from my teacher Önörbayan a born Western Mongolian himself. We find the same meaning in certain Bashkir dialects: *aθirau inäy* 'atahi-inähe bulmağan kešenerj tärbiähendä torγan qarsiq' (BashkD2).

In Karachay the word was not united with the concept of the received or foster child: *émček bla asıra* 'kormit' grud'ju' (KrchT), *asırawlu* 'tutumlu, idareli' (Krch). From the same stem further words were formed in Karachay: *asıraw* 'hranenie, kormlenie' (KrchT), *asırawču* 'besleyici' where we notice the additional vowel (Tavkul 2000:20), *asırawlu*, *asırawsuz* etc.

Erke sabıynı asırağan küyün. 'Şımarık çoçuğa bakmak zordur.' (Tavkul 2001:123) *İt asırağanı böri tabmaz.* 'Köpeğin gömdüğünü kurt bulamaz.' (Tavkul 2001:141) *Tar karnında asırağan anam, keng üyünde de asırar.* 'Dar karnında bakan annem, geniş evinde de bakar.' (Tavkul 2001:211)

Doerfer collected all the necessary data in: TMEN 'ernähren' 20. Tü. < Mo., Alt., Tuv.: *azyra*-, Kar., Kyrg. *asra*-, Chuv. *usra*- 'soderžat'; kormit'; vospitvat', etc.

There are further remarks on the word in the following articles: (Ščerbak 1986:50) (Poppe 1962:334) (RTA 1982:76)(Csáki 1989:14) (Schönig 2000:65), (Tatarincev 2000:75).

bite- 'kapatmak', *bitel*- 'kapanmak, yaranın iyileşmesi' (Krch123), *bite*- 'zaveršat'sja, zakančivat'sja; umeret', skončat'sja; podohnut', past'; zakryvat', zakuporivat', zabivat' (KrchT), *bite*- ~ *bit*- 'endigen; spriessen, wachsen' (KrchP), *biti*- 'zaveršit' (RKaz),

VK *betä*- 'ozak vakit buyena tözälmi torgan jara' (TatAñ), *bötö*- 'končat'sja, zakančivat'sja' (Bashk),

WMo. *büte*- 'to be(come) covered, closed, stopped up; to close or heal (of a wound); to be stuffy, close (of air); to choke, suffocate, be asphyxiated' (L 151),

MMo. *bütü*- : *bütübei* (IV V:102), *bütü*- : *bütügsen* (MoPr 39), **büt'u-e* 'to complete, perform' (HpP),

Mod.Mo. *bütex* 'teljesül, megvalósul, sikerül' (Khal), [bütü-]

There is an Old Turkic verb *büt*- 'to become complete' (Clauson 1972:298), but in Karachay – just like in other cases - the verb has an additional vowel in final position

that reflects the so-called Mongolian stem final vocal.

bulju- ‘oyalanmak, gecikmek’ (Krch129), *buldžu-* ‘zabavljat’sja čem, korotat’ vremja; meškat’, medlit’ (KrchT), *boljal et-* ‘einen Termin bestimmen’ (KrchP), *bolzal* ‘Termin, Zeitpunkt, Frist’ (BlkP), *bolžaq* ‘Termin’ (NogR), *bolžal ~ božžal* ‘Termin, Frist’ (KumN), VK *bol’ya-* ‘naznačat’, ustanavlivat’ srok’ (Bashk)

Further Turkic data: *bolča-* ‘naznačat’ svidanie (vstreču), uslovlivat’sja o svidanii (vstreče) (Tuv), *boljo-* ‘predpolagat’, predpoložitel’no opredeljat’, zaranee opredeljat’ (Kyrg)

WMo. *bolja-* ~ *bolju-* ‘to agree on, to make an appointment, to determine beforehand, prearrange; to foresee, surmise, know beforehand’ (L 119)

MMo: *bolja-* : *boljabasu* (IV V:85),

Mod.Mo. *boldzox* ‘találkozó/találkozás idejéről megállapodik, időpontot megbeszél/kijelöl’ (Khal), [boljo-].

The verb was borrowed from the Mongolian separate from *boljal* ‘deadline, time agreed on in advance’, due to the difference in the first syllable vowel. There is another form of the same verb in Karachay *buljut-* ‘oyalamak’; *sözge ~ lafa tutmak* (Krch), but as in Balkar the noun is present with *-o-*: *boljal* ‘vade, müddet’ (Krch125). Parallel to the word *boran* ‘firtna’ (Krch126) we have the word *burgan cel* ‘kasırğa’, the first part of which was borrowed from Middle Mongolian. Similarly to *boljal* and *buljuuv* we find *-o-* and *-u-* as first syllable vowels.

See also (Csáki 1989:31), (Birtalan 1994:37), (Tatarincev 2000:243).

büldür- ‘dili dolaşmak, konuşamamak, kekelemek’ (Krch), *büldürgü* 1. karač. ‘skačkoobraznyj, neravnomernyj; krivoj; 2. *Tili ~ étedi* ‘u nego jazyk zapletaetsja’ (KrchT), *büldür-* ‘govorit’ nevnjatno’ (Kum), *büdüür-büdüür* ‘s nerovnostjami’ (Cr.Tat),

Other Turkic data: *büdré-* ‘to stumble; to take a false step, to make a mistake’ (Az), *büldür-* ‘portit’, koverkat’ (Kyrg), *büdüürü-* ‘2. spotykat’sja’ (Tuv),

MT *budur-* ‘başı aşağı gelmek, sernigun ol-’ (AChagŞS33),

WMo. *büdüürü-* ~ *büldürü-* ‘to stumble’ (L 144, 145),

Mod.Mo. *büdréx* ‘(meg)botlik átv. is, (el)botlik’ (Khal), [büdere-].

The word is not present in Old Turkic, while it has a big family in Mongolian. While the verb has two forms in Written Mongolian, there is only one form of it in Karachay. There are nouns in Kar.: *tilqaw* ‘zaika’, *tilpa* karač. redko ‘zaika’, *tiltya ~ tiltyappa* ‘zaika; nevnjatno govorjaščij’ (KrchT635), words that were formed from *til* ‘jazyk’ in different dialects (KrchT).

See also (Tuna 1973-75:286), (Sevortjan 1978:285), (Schönig 2000:77), (Tatarincev 2000:310).

čarčay- 'yorulmak' (Krch), *šarša-* 'elfarad' (KazSK),

čida- 'dayanmak, sabretmek, tahammül etmek' (Krch), *čida-* 'terpet', *vyderživat'*, *perenosit'* čto; *deržat'sja, sohranjat'sja'* (KrchT), *čida-* 'dulden, erdulden' (KrchP), *čida-* 'terpet', *vynosit', vyderživat'* (Cr.Tat), *čida-* 'to stand, take, bear, support' (KumR), *čida-* 'dulden' (KumN), *čida-* 'vyderživat', *vynosit'* (Kum), *čida-* 'terpet', *preterpevat', vyderživat'* (Kar), *čida-* *sabret-, geduldig sein'* (Cr.Kar), *šida-* 'terpet' (Kklp), *čida-* 'terpet', *vyderživat'* (Kyr), *šyda-* 'túr' (KazSK), *šida-* 'terpet' (RKaz), *čät* 'vyderživat', *vynosit'* (Chuv), *išät-* 'dulden, ertragen, aushalten' (ChuvPaa), *čada-* 'ne moč, ne byt' v *sostojanii'* (TuvT),

VK *čida-* 'terpet', *vyterpet'* (Tat), *siša-* 'terpet', *vyderživat', snosit'* (Bashk)

MT *čidayuči* 'le puissant' (UHy152), *čida-* 'to bear' (ARbg)³, *čida-* 'to bear' (ARbg692), *čida-* 'terpet', *perenosit'* (ATef), *čida-* 'terpet', *perenosit'* (AChagB177), *čida-* 'ausdauern' (AChagŠS43), *džida-* 'ertragen, widerstehen' (AChagŠS53), *čida-* 'supporter, patienter' (AChag302), *čida-*, *čida-* W.27, P.132, (Cl.1960:95), (MA Poppe 1938:132), *čidam* 'sabr, karar'; *čida-* 'yüke dayan-' (LO), *čida-* 's'efforcer, supporter, souffrir, persévérer' (AmTr),

WMo. *čida-* 'to be able, capable' (L 176), Kow. 2154, *čida-* 'moč, byt' v *sostojanii'*; *vyderživat'* (Ščerbak1986:51)

MMo. *čida-* : *čidaŋuɣu* (MoPr 138), *č'ida-* 'to be able' (HpP),

Mod.Mo. *čadax* 'tud (vmit csinálni), képes (vmit megtenni), megtehet vmit' (Khal), [čida-], *šada-* 'id.' (Bur)

There are several words that derived from this stem in Karachay: *čidam* 'sabr, dayanıklılık', *čidaw* 'sabr, tahammül', *čidawsuz* 'dayanılmaz' (Krch), *čidamlı* 'dayanıklı, mütahammil' (Karça-Koşay 1954:129). They are also present in Middle Turkic (AmTr pp.188-189).

In Mongolian the opposite of the verb *čida-* is *yada-*. That was also borrowed by many a Turkic languages but Karachay. Yet there are forms that derive from the latter verb: *džadaw* 'nevnoslivyj, neterpelivyj; ~ at 'iznežennyj kon'; ~ *adam* 'čelovek, ne perenosjaščij trudnostej' (KrchT). *Amanga katiin čidamaz.* 'Kötüye kadın (eş) dayanmaz.' (Tavkul 2001:43)

The so-called breaking of *i in Middle Mongolian had not taken place before the

³ In Nevâyi's work it means 'to stand, tolerate, endure' (Özönder 1996:111).

word was borrowed by Turkic peoples, because it is represented by *-i-* in most Turkic languages.

See also (Poppe 1955:38,107), (Zajaczkowski 1960), TMEN *čida-* 'können' 188, 996 Tu < Mo., (Róna-Tas 1982:88), (Csáki 1989:51), (Fedotov 1996:405), (Özönder 1996:111), (Schönig 2000:79).

čögele- 'çökmek' (Krch), *čögele-* 'prisesť; sest' na kortočki' (KrchT), *čöger-* 'untersinken' (KrchP), *čök-* 'osedat', opuskat'sja; prisedat' (na kortočki)' (Cr.Tat), *čök-* 'versinken, untergehen' (KumN), *juğun-* 'to squat' (KumR), *čögölö-* ~ *čögöölö-* 'stojat' na kolenjah' (Kyrg),

VK *čügele-* 'niederhocken' (TatB), *sügele-* 'prisedat', sadit'sja na kortočki; prisedanie' (Bashk)

WMo. *čögere-* 'to diminish in number, become rare or sparse' (L 201),

MMo. *čökere-* : *čökerekü* (IV V:123)

Mod.Mo. *cöölöx* 'csökkent, kevesbít vmit' (Khal), [čögele-].

The Mongolian word goes back to the stem WMo. *čögen* 'little, few; sparse, rare; insignificant' (L 201).

The intervocalic *-r-* becomes *-l-* in Karachay, or vica versa, like in the following examples: *talaavl* ~ *talaour* 'yağma' (Krch372), or in the place of the Turkish verb *kısalt-* we find *kışart-* in Karachay-Balkar, *kirit* stands for Turkish 'kilit' (Krch265).

In Kumyk there are examples for high and low vowel variants of the same word all over in the Caucasus: *juřt* ~ *juřt* etc. (KumR).

čubay- 'azalmak' (Krch), *šubalšubyr-* 'egymás után vonul' (KazSK)

demleš- 'aralarını açmak, kavga etmek, çekişmek, mücadele etmek' (Krch), *demleš-* 'grozit' kulakami; branit'sja' (KrchT), *demneš-* 'pomogat' drug drugu; prilagat' sovmetnye usilija' (TuvT)

VK *dimlä-* 'ugovarivat', uveščevat', uveščat', svatat'' (Bashk), *dimläp künder-* 'ugovorit'' (RTat), *demew* (Kaz)

WMo. *juřmele-* 'to chide, scold; to lecture, to accuse, blame, reproach' (L 1056),

Mo. *dzémléx* 'megró, fedd, dorgál, int vkit' (Khal), [juřmele-].

The initial *d-* in Old Turkic became *y-* in the eleventh century, therefore its presence as *d-* in Tatar, Bashkir and Karachay indicates that the word must be a loan.

The reciprocal suffix –š- in Karachay is a later development, was added to the loan verb only in its new surrounding.

dongqulda- 'şırl şırl akıtmak, şırıldatmak, yaygara koparmak' (Krch), *doŋqulda-* 'bulkat', gulko perelivat'sja (o židkosti)' (KrchT), *duqulda-* 'byt' (o serdce)' (Cr.Tat), *doŋkulda-* : *doŋkuldap töškö ur-* 'gromko bit' sebja v grud'' (Kyrg),

VK *doŋgoldau-* 'zvenet' čem, zvonit', vyzyvat' zvon' (Bashk)

WMO. *doŋγuduyul-* caus. of *doŋγud-* 'to make a sound, cry' (L 261),

Mod.Mo. *doŋγoduulax* 'megróni hagy v. készte' (Khal), [doŋγoduγul-].

Onomatopoeic words are rarely dealt with in linguistics, yet here we suspect the stem may go back to Mongolian *doŋ* 'kongó hang' (Khal). There are several verbs in WMO. *doŋγud-* 'to make a sound; to cry, sing, chatter', *doŋγuduyul-*, *doŋγus-*, *doŋsi-*, etc., showing that the word has a big family (L 261). I suspect that there are further such onomatopoeic loan verbs in Karachay that came from a Mongolian language: *šoŋqulda-* 'şırldamak' (Krch366). Further Turkic data with the same structure: *düŋküldö-* 'izdavat' gluhoj, otryvistyj zvuk (napr. o barabane)' (Kyrg), *diŋjilda-* 'zvenet', izdavat' brenčaščij, tren'kajuščij zvuk' (Kyrg), *oŋqulda-* '(o čeloveke) izdavat' neprijatnye zvuki' (Kyrg).

jadaw 'dayaniksız, canitez, sabırsız' (Krch134), *džadaw* 'karač. nevy noslivyj; neterpelivyj' (KrchT), *yada-* 'ustavat', utomljat'sja; byt' ustalym, utomlennym, iznurennyym; hudet'; oslabevat'; ploho sebja čuvstvovat'' (Kar), *žiidegen* 'iznurennyj' (RKklp), *jada-* 'počuvstvovat' otvraščenie; okazat'sja nesposobnym, nemoščnym' (Kyrg), *džada-* 'kimerül' (KazSK),

VK *yada-* 'arıqlan-, yödä-' (DStat),

MT *yada-* 'devenir faible, sans force' (AChag520), W.168, P.386 (Cl.1960:99), *yada-* 'nicht können' (UCiv299), *yada-* 'sıkl-, daral-' (Atalay 1945: 275), *yada-* m. 'ermüden' (Grønbech 1942:109), *yadowsuz* 'qui n'est pas fatigué, qui n'est pas las' (AmTr),

WMO. *yadayu* 'poor, needy, pauper' (L 422),

MMo. *yada-* : *yadabai* (IV V:506), *yadanğu* 'slabyj' (MA408), *yadauluqsan* 'impudent' (AKD204A2), *yada-* : *yadaŋu* (MoPr 168), Kow.2276, Mong. *ida-* 'to be tired, to be exhausted', Dag.

Mod.Mo. *yadax* 'nem tud (megtenni vmit) nem képes, kínlódik, küszködik' (Khal), [yada-], *yadangi* 'gyöngö, szegény, satnya' (Khal), *yadanam*, *yadanap* 'nicht können' (BurC), *jaDa-* 'ne pas pouvoir, etre impuissant' (Ord), *iDa-* 'to be exhausted' (Mngr).

Even though this is not a verb in Karachay the word has emerged from a verb

and since that verb is the opposite of *čida-* in Mongolian (see above), therefore we make here an exception again.

We can learn from Serruys that the verb *yada-* stands for the opposit of *čida-* in Mongolian, and it is most often proceeded by a converbium modale in the Secret History and Hua-i i-yü. It can appear with not modified verbs as well. The word was lent to the Manchu-Tungus languages: Sol. *yada-*, Man. *yada-* 'id'. Poppe (1962:7) reconstructed the second vowel of the verb as long: Mo. **yada-* 'to be unable, to be poor'.

As for Tatar, we have two different borrowings, the first of which is to be found in dialects cf. *yadau* dial.'yabik, hälese, yödäü' (TatAS3.622). It is a participle. The later borrowing seems to be *yödä-* 'nuždat'sja, obednjat', iznurjat'sja' (Tat193). The intervocalic *-d-* in Kipchak languages serves as a criterion of the Mongolian origin.

See also (Poppe 1955:107), (Zajaczkowski 1960), (Poppe 1962:335), TMEN 1403, (Csáki 1989:75), (Birtalan 1994:40), (Özönder 1996:153), (Schönig 2000:184, 2003:411).

jalga- 'eklemek' (Krch), *džalğa-* 'soedinjat' kogo-čto; scepljat', naraščivat', nadstavljat' čto' (KrchT), *yalğa-* 'uveličivat', prisoedinjat' (Kum), *žalğa-* 'soedinit' (RKkp), *jalga-* 'nadstavljat'; soedinjat' (Kyrq), *džalğa-* 'összeköt' (KazSK), *žalğa-* 'id.' (RKaz)

VK *yalğa-* 'soedinjat', soedinit', nadstavljat' (Tat), *yalğa-* 'prisoedinjat', soedinjat', scepljat', udlinjat', nadstavljat' (Bashk),

WMo. *jalğa-* 'to connect, join, splice; to continue, lengthen, add; to meet, border, adjoin' (L 1030),

MMo. *jalqamji* 'continuation' (HpP)

Mod.Mo. *džalğax* 'összeköt, összekapcsol, összeilleszt, hozzátold' (Khal), [jalğa-].

The word has a big family in Mongolian, while it has not in Turkic. There is an initial *ǰ-* in Karachay-Balkar to substitute the Mongolian initial *ǰ-*.

One can find further data on the Mongolian word in Poppe's article on *The primary long vowels in Mongolian*. See also (Poppe 1962:8), (Csáki 1989:72,78), (Schönig 2000:102).

ǰampay- ~ *ǰantay-* 'eğilmek; yatmak, uzanmak', *ǰantay* '2-10 Şubat arasında doğanların burcu' (Krch136), *džampay-* ~ *džantay-* 'naklonjat'sja, sklonjat'sja, oprokidyvat'sja' (KrchT), *džantay-* 'naklonjat'sja, perekašivat'sja; ležat', valjat'sja' (KrchT), *yantay-* 'sich auf die Ellbogen stützen, ein wenig ruhen' (KumN), *ǰampay-* 'razvalit'sja, razleč'sja; raspljuščit'sja', *ǰantay-* ~ *ǰantü-* 'pokosit'sja, pokrivot'sja' (Kyrq)

VK *yantay-* 'naklonjat'sja' (RTat),

WMo. *jangtai* 'having a certain habit or character; having a temper' (L 1036),

Mod.Mo. *dzantai* 'vmilyen viselkedésű, modorú, szokású' (Khal), [jangtai].

The stem of the Mongolian word is *jang* 'character, nature, disposition, temperament, custom, habit, conduct' (L 1034).

The instability of the Karachay-Balkar (and also that of the Kyrgyz) verb shows that it was borrowed into different dialects where it survives in different forms. There are quite different verbs in Karachay with the same meaning: *kingirilan-* 'to bend; curve, incline' (Krch259), *kiysay-* 'id' (Krch 263), *šeždele-* 'id' (Krch363) etc. we consider some of them as loan verbs.

ğasa- 'süslemek, yapmak, düzenlemek' (Krch), *ğasa-* 'ukrašat', delat', masterit' (KrchT), *ğasa-* 'machen' (KrchP), *yasa-* 'masterit', delat' (Kum), *yasa-* 'erschaffen, machen' (KumN), *yasa-* 'machen' (Cr.Kar), *yasa-* 'delat', izgotovljat' (Kar), *ğasa-* 'sdelat', ustroit', sotvorit' (Kyrg), *dğasa-* 'készít' (KazSK), *ğasma* 'sunı' (AzT)

VK *yasa-* 'id.' (Tat),

MT *yasa-* 'arranger' (UHy), *yasa-* 'hazırla-' (AHMA), *yasa-* 'hazırla-' (ARbg), *yasa-* 'düzelt-' (Atalay 1945:280), *yasal* 'saf, alay' (Özönder 1996:47), *yasa-* 'yap-, inşa, inşad et-' (AChagŞS101), *yasa* 'Gesetz, gesetzliche Ordnung, gesetzliche Strafe (cf. TMEN 1789)' (UCiv 301), *iasa-* 'arranger, construire, restaurer, réparer' (AmTr),

WMo. *ğasa-* 'to put in order, fix, repair, correct, make correction(s), to improve, to decorate, to castrate' (L 1039),

MMo. *ğasaul* (*un*) 'to have put in order' (HpP), *ğasa-* (MoPr1:143),

ModMo. *dzasax* 'javıt, ki(meg)javıt, meg/(ki)igazıt, rendbe tesz, elrendez vmit' (Khal), [ğasa-].

OT *yasa-* 'to construct, arrange, set in order' and the like is a Mongolian verb which did not appear in Turkish until late XIII or XIV. It is first noted in XIII (?) Tef 147. (Clauson 1972:974). As we see it in several occasions, there is no early document of the word.

(Poppe 1955:115), TMEN *ğasa-* 'organisieren' 1794 mo., (Schönig 2000:108).

ğergesine ğetdir- 'işi halletmek, işi düzgünce yapmak' (Krch149), *ğerge* ust. 'grjadki, grjada, rjad; čered' (Kum), *ğerge* 'rjad, stroj' (Kyrg),

MT *yergä* 'poočeredno' (AHŞF 518), *ierga*, *iergay* 'rangée, rang, ordre, règle' (AmTr),

WMo. *ğerge* 'class, rank, level, order, stage' (L 1045),

MMo. *ğerge* (MoPr 18),

Mod.Mo. *dzéreg* 'sor, rend, fok, fokozať' (Khal). [ğerge, derge].

Only the first part of the Karachay compound verb is a Mongolian loan.

(Schönig 2000:116), (Tuna 1973-75:288), TMEN *jerge* 'Ordnung' 161 tü. < mo.

juwulda- 'hızla gitmek, uçar gibi gitmek' (Krch), *džuwulda-* 'nestis', bystro bežat'; svistet', šumet' (KrchT), *džuwur-* bežat'; sp. *čap-* (Cr.Tat), *čuwulda-* 'kričat', stonat', šeptat' (Kar), *yügür-, žügür-, žuğur-, žuwar-* 'koş, laufen' (Cr.Kar), *juğür-* 'bežat', begat' (Kyrg)

WMo. *jubu-* 'to move bending down or crawling under' (L 1077),

Mod.Mo. *dzuwax* 'rejtve/rejtózködve kúszik, surran (fúben, súrúben vad)' (Khal), [juba-].

There are further forms of the word in Mongolian based on this stem, while it is a lonely word in Karachay-Balkar.

There is an OT word *yügür-* 'to run fast' (Clouston 1972:914) from which both the Crimean Karaim and Kyrgyz forms have derived.

erkelet- 'nazlandırmak, şımartmak' (Krch), *érkelen-* 'stat' izbalovannym, izbalovat'sja; iznežit'sja' (KrchT), *erkelet-* 'verzärteln, liebkosen' (KrchP), *erkelet-* / *erke kil-* 'balovat' (Rkkkp), *érkelet-* 'izbalovat', iznežit' (Kum), *erkele-* 'verzärteln' (KumN), *érkelet-* 'laskat' (Kyrg),

VK *irkälä-* 'nežit', laskat', prilaskat' (Tat), *irkälä-* 'verziehen, schmeicheln' (TatB), *irkälät-* 'laskat', nežit', balovat' (Bashk)

WMo. *erkele-* 'to use one's power; to be in charge of, manage, dominate; to display affection or love (toward parents); to play (of children)' (L 329), *erkelen-* (Poppe 1962:336),

Mod.Mo. *érxléx* 'kényeskedik, túl sokat megenged magának' (Khal), [erkele-].

The stem of the Mongolian word is *erke-* 'to raise, lift up; to offer, present; to offer as a sacrifice; to adopt a child, to nurse' (L 325). There is an adjective in Karachay *erke* 'şımarık, nazlı' (Krch), most probably a Middle Mongolian loanword. A verb was made of it with the help of a Turkic suffix: *erke-le-t-*. The final *-t-* is a Turkic causative suffix.

The utmost origin of the word may be OT *erk*, that was borrowed into Mongolian, but later it was handed over to Turkic languages with a marker, an additional final vowel.

See also (TMEN 65), (Schönig 2000:97).

irğay čabaq 'turna balığı' (Krch), *irğay čabaq* 'ščuka' (KrchT), *irğay* 'osetr' (Kum),

iržay- 'ulybat'sja' (Kum), *iržiy-* 'ulybat'sja, skalit' zuby' (Kklp), *irsay-*, *irsiy-*, *irfay-* 'osklabit'sja' (Kyrg), *iržiy-* 'oskalit' (zuby)' (Kaz), *iržiy-* 'ulybat'sja, grimasničat'' (Kklp) *iržanma-* 'grinsen, zur Unzeit lachen' (NogR), *irdžay-* 'uhmyl'jat'sja, usmehat'sja' (Cr.Tat), *irfiy-* 'id.' (Kaz),

VK *iržay-* 'skalit'sja, oskalit'sja, osklabit'sja, ščerit'sja, oščerivat'sja' (Tat), *iržay-* 'awizni zur ačip yäki urinsizğa yäm'sez itep kölü, elmaju' (TatAñ3), *iržay-* 'skalit'sja, oščerivat'sja' (Bashk),

WMo. *irjai-* 'for a row or group of small objects to move or appear; for teeth to show; to grin, sneer' (L 416),

MMo. *irfayi-* : *irfayisən* (IV V:211), *irjai-* 'smile' (MA198), *irja-* 'die Zähne fletschen' (Poppe 1927:99),

Mod. Mo. *yardzaix* 'elóvillan, kivillan, vicsorog' (Khal), [yarfayi-].

The verb is not present in Old Turkic texts. The first part of the compound word again is of Middle Mongolian origin. It was borrowed by Karachay-Balkars before the breaking of the *i*- had taken place. In several Turkic languages the intervocalic *-ž- ~ -j-* is a telling criterion of its being a loan – this was substituted by *-ğ-* in Karachay and Kumyk-, the same concerns the word final diphthong *-ay*. The Karachay compound word *irğay čabaq* is used to denote a special kind of a fish ('pike' *Esox lucius*) that is famous for its sharp teeth. The second half of the compound *čabaq* means 'fish' in general in Karachay (KrchT 718).

See also (Poppe 1927:106), (Csáki 1989:70).

qada- 'iğnele-, iğneyle tuttur-' (Krch), *qada-* 'stiskivat', *šžimat'*; *prikalyvat'* (KrchT), *qada-* 'vtykat' (Kklp), *qada-* 'vonzat', *vtykat'* (Kum), *qadaq* 'mih; Nagel' (Cr.Kar), *qada-* 'vonzit' (Bar.Tat), *qada-* 'vonzat', *vtykat'* (Kyrg),

VK *qada-* 'vtykat', *vonzat'*, *vsazivat'*; *kolot' ukalyvat'*, *vodružat'*, *stavit'* (Bashk),

MT *χada* 'Stange, dünnes Holz' (AChagŠS79), *qada-* 'rendre solide' (AChag395)⁴, *χadaχ* 'clou, broquette' (AmTr),

WMo. *qada-* 'to drive in, to nail' (L 902), Kow. 773,

MMo. *qada-* : *qadañu* (IV V236), *qadasun* 'peg' (AKD),

Mod.Mo. *xadax* 'szegel, szejegz, rászegel, rögzít, feltúz vmit' (Khal), [qadu-].

The word was considered by many as Mongolian in Turkic (see below). It must have been an early loanword for its intervocalic *-VdV-* became *-VzV-* in Turkish.

See also TMEN *qada-* 'festschlagen' 1435 tü. < mo. (Poppe 1962:337), (Özönder

⁴ In Nevâiy's dictionary the word means 'to pin' (Özönder 1996:120).

1996:120), (Tuna 1973-75:296), (Schönig 2000:148).

qantar- 'bağlamak' (Krch), *qantar*- 'oprokidyvat', perevertyvát' čto (vverh dnom); vylivat' (polnost'ju); privjazyvát' lošadej (golovami v raznye storony, zacepiv uzdu odnoj za luku sedla drugoj)' (KrchT), *qantarla*- 'privjazyvát' lošad', za cepiv povodza luku' (Kum), *qantarla*- 'in Fesseln schlagen' (KumN),

VK *qantar*- 'privjazat' lošad' za povod'ja, podnjav ili zakrutiv golovu; stavit' upitannuju lošad' na noč' v stojku bez korma i vody dlja sbrasyvanija vesa i zakalki' (Bashk), *qan̄tar*- 'vyvoračivat'; privjazyvát' lošad' sposobom kan̄targa; uderživat' ot čego-l., ne dopuskat' čego-l.' (Kyr̄g)

MT *kantar*- 'çeker gibi kas-' (LO 209), *kantarma* 'atın başını kanırıp almak için kısaca dizgin' (LO 209),

WMo. *qantar*- 'to tie the bridle of a horse to the saddle; to pull the reins tight' (L 930),

Mod.Mo. *xantrax*, *xantairax* 'feszesre húz, szorosra köt, jól odaerősít vmit vmihez' (Khal), [qantara-].

Though the word is not attested in Old Turkic – (Clauson 1972), Ligeti considered it to be of Turkic origin in Mongolian (Ligeti 1986:246).

See also (Schönig 2000:150) (Eren 1999:208).

qara- 'bakmak' (Krch), *qara*- 'smotret', gljadet'; uhaživat', sledit', prismatrivat' (KrchT), *qara*- 'bakmak, eslemek' (Karça – Koşay 1954:135), *qara*- 'sehen, schauen, bewachen, belauern' (KrchP), *qara*- 'schauen, anschauen, zuschauen, beobachten' (BlkP), *qara*- 'schauen, beobachten, bewachen, warten' (KumN), *qara*- ~ *ğara*- 'to look; to look around/about, to watch, to see (to sg.), to try, to attempt' (KumR), *qara*- (dial.) 'smotret' -> *baq*- (Cr.Tat), *qara*- 'bakmak; schauen' (Cr.Kar), *qaraš*- ~ *qaras*- 'helfen' (NogR), *qara*- 'smotret', gljadet'; osmatrivat'; obraščat' vñimanie; smotret' za kem-l., zaboťit'sja o kom-l.; ždat', ožidat' (Kyr̄g), *qara*- 'néz' (KazSK),

VK *kara*- blicken, schauen' (TatPaa), *qara*- 'schauen, besehen; versuchen' (TatB), *qara*- 'smotret', gljadet', pogljadet' (Bashk)

Further Turkic data: *kara*- II 'smotret', gljadet', osmatrivat', obraščat' vñimanie' (Kyr̄g),

WMo. *qara*- 'to look at, glance, watch, observe, to regard, consider, to look after, to face' (L 932),

MMo. *qara*- : *qaraĵu* (IV V:246)

Mod.Mo. *qarax* 'lát, néz vmit/vkit, tekint vmire, felügysel, vigyáz vmire/vkire' (Khal),

[qara-].

The synonym of the verb is *bakmak* 'to look at' in most Turkic languages, while in Karachay it means only 'to feed, to take great care'. *Anasına karab kızın al.* 'Anasına bakıp kızını al.' (Tavkul 2001:46).

OT *kara-* 'to look at' exactly syn. w. *bak-*. This common Mongolian verb, noted as early as XIII (Haenisch 60) is first noted in Tu. in Çağ., San.268r 21. S.i.a.m.l.g. (Clauson 1972:645). See also TMEN 1445, (Róna-Tas 1982:111).

qubul- 'kendini beğenmek, kasılmak, utanmak, sıkılmak' (Krch), *qubyl-* 'megváltozik' (KazSK),

qura- 'düzenlemek, tertiplemek, kurmak' (Krch), *qura-* 'összegyűjt' (KazSK)

MMo.

küise- 'özmek, arzu etmek, hasret kalmak' (Krch288), *küise-* 'očen' hotet' čego; očen' želat' (napr. kogo-l. videt'; toskovat' po komu-čemu' (KrchT), *küise-* 'wünschen, wollen' (KrchP), *kus-* 'nadoest'; ispytyvat' skuku → bez- '(Cr.Tat), *küise-* 'stratno želat', hotet' (Kklp), *küisän-* 'to complain, express discontent/dissatisfaction/displeasure' (Az)

VK *köθä-* 'želat', hotet' (Bashk)

MT *küsä-* 'želat', žaždat' (AHŠF 646), *küsä-* 'to desire, wish' (AKor), *küise-* 'arzu et-' (AHou),

WMo. *küise-* 'to wish, desire, long for, crave, to be inclined to, to strive after, to beg' (L 508),

MMo. *küise(gčinu)* 'to desire' (HpP), *küise-* (MoPr1:57), Mo. *güse-* 'to desire' (Poppe 1955:140),

Mod.Mo. *xüséx* 'kiván, óhajt, kér vmit' (Khal), [küise-].

Erdal (1991:528) states that the word is not attested as such in Old Turkic, yet there is a verb *küise-* 'to wish, desire, long for' like that in (Clauson 1972:749)

See also (Poppe 1962:336), (Schönig 2000:132).

mahta- 'övmek, methetmek' (Krch291), *maxta-* 'hvalit', voshvaljat' kogo-čto; proslavljat' kogo-čto' (KrchT), *maχt'a-* 'loben' (KrchP), *mahta-* 'loben, rühmen, preisen' (BlkP), *maqta-* 'hvalit', voshvaljat' (Kum), *maqta-* 'to praise' (KumR), *makta-* 'loben, schmeicheln' (KumN), *maqta-* 'hvalit' (Cr.Tat), *maqta-* 'rühmen, loben' (Cr.Kar), *maqta-*,

maqla-, *mah'la-* 'hvalit' (Kklp), *maqta-* 'hvalit' (RKaz),

VK *makta-* 'hvalit', *pohvalit'* (Tat), *maqta-* 'hvalit', *voshvalit'*, *rashvalivat'* (Bashk), *maqta-* 'hvalit' (Bar.Tat),

Further Turkic data: *maqta-* 'hvalit' (Kaz),

MT *makta-* P233, K1998 (Cl1960:98), *makta-* 'öv-, öğüşle-, methet-' (Atalay 1945: 216), CC *maktarmen* 234.

WMO. *maqta-* 'to praise, eulogize, laud, glorify' (L 520),

MMo. *may'ta-* : *may'tan* (MoPr. 108)

Mod.Mo. *maytax* 'dicsér, megdicsér, magasztal' (Khal), [may'ta-].

It is considered to be a Mongolian loan in Cuman by Poppe (Poppe 1962:336), in Karaim (Zajaczkowski 1960:300), in Yakut (Kaluzyński 1961:73). Due to the initial *m-* we can take it for a Mongolian loan in Karachay-Balkar as well as in Volga Kipchak languages. *Mahtangan iynek čelegine boyar.* (Tavkul 2001:14), *Adamni tašada sökme, tuvrada mahtama.* 'Adamı gizlice çekıştırme, açıkça övme.' (Tavkul 2001:26). *Akilli atın mahtar, teli katınıın mahtar.* 'Akıllı atını över, deli karısını över.' (Tavkul 2001: 28) *Aman amanı mahtar.* 'Kötü kötüyü över' (Tavkul 2001:35)

See also (Ščerbak 1986:51), (Csáki 1989:106), (Birtalan 1994:42), (Schönig 2000:134).

ongay- 'iyileşmek, daha iyi olmak; şanslı olmak' (Krch309), *oŋar-* 'richten, lenken' (KumN),

oŋg 'right' (KumR), *iŋay* ~ *uŋay* 'geschickt, gelegen, bequem' (TatB), *iŋgay* ~ *oŋtoy* 'blagoprijatnye, obstoatel'stva' (Kyrg)

WMO. *oŋyai-* ~ *oŋyui-* 'to become wide open, open up, form an opening or a gap; to gape' (L 613),

Mod.Mo. *oŋyoix* 'kinyılık, kitáruł, felnyılık' (Khal), [oŋyoyi-]

Erdal (1991:669) suggests the following: *oŋul-* ~ *oŋar-* perhaps come from a verb *oŋ-* 'to be in good order, thrive, prosper'; attested only from the XIVth century on.

We consider the stem to be Mongolian. *oŋg +ya(i)-*.

ongla- 'yenmek, mağlup etmek, üstün gelmek, haktan gelmek' (Krch309), *oŋla-* 'pobeždat', *osilivat'*, *odolevat' kogo-čto'* (KrchT), *oŋal-* 'şifa bulmak; gesund werden' (Cr.Kar), *oŋ* 'recht' (KrchP), *oŋ* 'recht, dexter' (BlkP),

WMO. *oŋyula-* 'to consecrate, dedicate to the tutelary deities; to bury' (L613),

Mod.Mo. *oŋyolox* 'bálványként tisztel; szellemeknek szentel vmit' (Khal), [oŋyola-]

There are two words in Karachay with the same form of *oŋ* I. 'pravyj' and II. 1.

‘mošč, sila, vozmožnost’, sposobnost’ (čto-l. delat’) 2. ‘pol’za, vygoda; vezenie, udača’ (KrchT). The first of them is present in the Old Turkic dictionary (Clauson 1972: 166), while the latter is not. It belongs to the terminology of secret ability, unforeseen success, etc. This can be considered as the stem of the above verb.

öñele- ‘güçenmek, yadırgamak, benimsememek’ (Krch)⁵, *öñele*- ‘ne priznavat’ (svoego detenyša), otkazyvat’sja (ot svoego detenyša); obizhat’sja, dut’sja na kogo’ (KrchT), *öñkile*-, *öñköle*- ‘brykat’sja (o lošadi)’ (Kklp), *öñjö* ‘ein anderer’ (KumN),

VK *üñer*- ‘sich verändern, sich umgerächen’ (TatB)

MT *öñär*- ‘popravljat’, ispravljat’ (AHŠF II 194),

WMo. *öñgere*- ‘to pass by’ (L 638),

Mod.Mo. *öñgöröx* ‘elmúlik, múlik, áthalad v. elhalad vmi mellett, elhúny, meghal’ (Khal), [öñgere-]

Here again we find an *-l-* in Karachay substituting the Mongolian *-r-* as it happens in other cases (see above). We consider the word to belong to the vocabulary of Mongolian horse-breeding.

ös- ‘büyümek, gelişmek’ (Krch)⁶, *ös*- ‘rasti; vospityvat’sja’ (KrchT), *ös*- ‘wachsen, gedeihen, zunehmen’ (KrchP), *ös*- ‘wachsen, gedeihen’ (BlkP), *ös*- ‘rasti, vyrastat’, podrastat’ (Kum), *ös*- ‘to grow’; *örjup ös*- ‘to prosper’ (KumR), *ös*- ‘erwachsen’ (KumN), *ös*- ‘rasti’ (Cr.Tat), *ös*- ‘rasti, vyraščivat’ (Kklp), *ös*- > *üs*- ‘büyü-; wachsen’ (Cr.Kar), *ös*- ‘nó’ (KazSK), *üs*- ‘nóni, növekedni, tenyészni; wachsen, gedeihen’ (ChuvP 196),

VK *üö*- ‘rasti, razvivat’sja’ (Bashk), *üs*- ‘wachsen, gedeihen’ (TatB), *ös*- ‘vyrastat’ (Bar.Tat), *ös*- rasti, vyrastat’ (Kar)

MT *ös*- ‘to grow’ (ARbg), *ös*- ‘savur-’ (Atalay 1945:227), *ös*- ‘binaya veya ağaca çıkmak, tırmanmak’ (AKav), *ös*- ‘wachsen, zunehmen’ (LCC), *ös*- ‘wachsen’ (Č)

WMo. *ös*- ‘to grow, multiply, to increase’ (L 645),

MMo. *ös*- : *öskü* (MoPr153)

Mod.Mo. *ösöx* ‘növekszik, növekedik, gyarapszik, gyarapodik, tenyészik’ (Khal), [ös-].

OT, alt., turkm., Written Mo. *ös*- ‘rasti, omnožat’sja’ (Ščerbak 1986:51)

Aman terek butagina öser. ‘Kötü ağacın dalları büyür.’ (Tavkul 2001:42). *Maralni balası ağaçda öser.* ‘Geyiğ’in yavrusu ormanda büyür.’ (Tavkul 2001:183)

⁵ In a Karachay book on animal husbandry we find the following: ‘(animal) to regard her own young as a stranger, not to consider one’s own’.

⁶ In the same book there is another meaning as well: ‘çoğal-’ (Karça – Koşay 1954:139). The word is also documented in Noghay: *ös*- ‘rasti, žit’ (Milyh 1949:288).

The initial vowel of the Mongolian word is considered to be long (Poppe 1962:18).
(Poppe 1955:122).

sandıraqla- 'uykuda sayıklamak, saçmalamak' (KrCh), *sandıra-* ~ *sandırakla-* 'bredit' (vo vremja bolezni); boltat', nesti čepuhu; pustoslovit' (KrChT), *sandra-* 'faseln, phantasieren' (KrChP), *sandıraqla-* ~ *sandraqla-* 'bredit' (Kar), *sandıraqla-* 'bredit' (Kum), *sandıraqla-* 'bredit' nesti čepuhu' (Cr.Tat), *sandra-* 'korkudan bağırmaq' (Cr.Kar), *sandıraqla-* 'bredit' (Kar),

VK *θandıra-* 'sudačit' (Bashk.dial.II), *sandırakta-* 'boltat' zrja, gorodit' čuš'', molot' vzdor' (Kyrg),

MT *sandıraqla-* M.-T. (Cl.1960:99),

WMo. *sandura-* 'to be in disorder, confusion, disarray; to be in a hurry; to bustle, be excited, to be embarrassed, to be panicky' (L 671),

Mo. *sandrax* 'össze/megzavarodik, összekuszálódik, kapkod, fejét veszti, idegeskedik' (Khal), [sandura-].

The structure of the word itself calls our attention to think of its being a loan.

siljira- 'süzülmek, kaymak, kaçmak, yakayı sıyırmak, sokulmak, dalıvermek' (KrCh), *sıldžıra-* 'uvilivat', uskol'zat'; jurknut' (KrChT),

WMo. *siljira-* 'to scald; to become very soft from overcooking' (L 709),

Mod.Mo. *šaldzrax* 'puhára fő, szétfő' (Khal), [šiljara-].

The structure of the word does not seem to be Turkic.

There are several words in Karachay that derive from this verb above, e.g.: *siljiraš-*, *siljirat-*, *siljiraw* (KrCh).

tarkay- 'suyun azalması, suların kuruyup çekilmesi; azalmak, eksilmek, tükenmek, bitmek, kurumak' (KrCh379), *tarqay-* 'melet' (o reke), spadat'; umen'sat'sja, ubavljat'sja; shlynut'; slabet', utračivat'sja (o pamjati)' (KrChT), *tarqay-* 'abnehmen, fallen' (BlkP), *tarqal-* 'spadat', umen'sat'sja; rasseivat'sja' (Kum), *tarkal-* 'sich zerstreuen' (KumN), *tarqa-* 'rashodit'sja, razbredat'sja; rasprostranjat'sja, rasseivat'sja' (Cr.Tat), *tarka-* 'razojtis', rassejat'sja' (Kyrg.), *tarqa-* 'rassejat'sja' (RKklp), *tarqan-* 'sich zerstreuen' (NogR),

VK *tarqal-* 'zerstreut werden, sich verbreiten, sich erweitern' (TatB)

MT *tarqa-* 'to disband' (ARbg), *tarqa-* 'rashodit'sja, rasseivat'sja' (AChagB149), *tarqa-*, *tarqaš-*, *tarqal-* 'être dispersé, séparé, dénoué, affligé' (AChag197), *tarkal* 'dağıtma

(kalabalığı), (ordunun) çözülmesi, gevşemesi' (Özönder 1996:46) *tarχaži* 'kendi memleketinden diyer bir memlekete geçmiş olan kabile' (AChagŞS183),

WMo. *tarqa*- 'to scatter, spread, be dispersed' (L 782),

MMo. *tarqa(qsan)* to scatter, disperse' (HpP), *tarqa*- (MoPr1:70),

Mod.Mo. *tarxax* 'szétszóródik, elszóródik, szétterül, szétoszlik, eloszlik, szétterjed' (Khal), [tarqa-].

The loan takes place in a compound verb as well in Karachay: *awruğani tarkay-* 'ağrısı geç-' (Krch 96). *Bara tursa, suw da tarkayadi.* 'Gide gide ırmak da kurur.' (Tavkul 2001:71)

See also (Birtalan 1994:43).

tašay- 'gözden kaybolmak, sıvışmak, gizlenmek, yok olmak, ortadan kaybolmak' (Krch), *tašay-* 'gömül-' (Karça – Koşay 1954:143), *tašay-* ~ *tašal-* 'skryvat'sja, iscezat' (KrchT), *tas-* 'überschwemmen' (NogR),

VK *tašala-* 'ukryvat', zaščičat' (Bashk),

WMo. *tasijala-* 'to fence off, partition off, to separate, to take cover, hide behind something, to interrupt' (L 783),

Mod.Mo. *tašaarax* '(meg)téved, hibázik, eltéveszt, elvét,/elhibáz vmit' (Khal), [tasiyara-].

tavus- 'bitirmek, tüketmek; zayıf düşürmek, kuvvetten düşürmek' (Krch), *tausul-* 'sich endigen, zu Ende sein, verschwinden' (KrchP), *ta'us-* 'beendigen, verzehren, fertig werden mit' (BlkP), *tiiös-* 'beendigen' (NogR),

Further Turkic data: *tavys-* 'befejez' (KazSK), *taus-* 'končatsja' (RKaz),

WMo. *dayus-* 'to end, finish, lapse; to become accomplished' (L 220),

MMo. *dayus-* : *dayusqui* (IV V:128)

There are other words in Karachay-Balkar with similar meaning: *bitdir-* 'to end' (Krch123), *boša-* 'id' (Krch126), but they are of Turkic origin. OT –

tenter- boydan boya dolaşmak, gezmek; dökmek, boşaltmak' (Krch), *tentire-* 'csavarog' (KazSK),

*tohta*⁷ 'durmak, dinmek, kesilmek, ara vermek, yerleşmek'⁸ (Krch402), *tohta-*

⁷ The verb is also used by Turkmen living on the northern slopes of the Caucasus: *toqta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja' (Baskakov 1949:181).

'ostanavlivat'sja, stojat', ždat', zatihat', stihat', prekraščat'sja, perestavat'; brosat' (KrchT), *t'oxta* 'stehen bleiben, aufhören' (KrchP), *toxta* 'stehen, bleiben, beharren, aufhören' (BlkP), *toqta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, ždat', oždat' (Kum), *toqta* 'to wait, stop' (KumR), *toxta* 'warten' (KumN), *toqta* 'ostanovit'sja, prekratit'sja, perestavat', perestat' (Cr.Tat), *toqta* 'ostanavlivat'sja' (Kklp), *toqta* 'durmak; stehen bleiben' (Cr.Kar), *toqta* 'id.' (Nog), *toqta* 'megáll' (KazSK), *toqta* 'ostanovit'sja' (RKaz), *toxta* 'to calm, to quiet/settle down; to reach (the place), to arrive' (Az), *täxta* 'ždat', podoždat', pogodit', povremenit', ostanovit'sja, vozderživat'sja; perestat' (ChuvF),

VK *tuqta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, ostanovit'sja' (Tat), *tuqta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, vremenno raspologat'sja' (Bashk), *tutqa* 'ostanovit'sja' (BashkD2), *tohta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, vstavat', perestavat', prekraščat'sja, utverždat'sja, prebyvat', stojat', delat' ostanovku' (Kar),

Further Turkic data: *tokto* 'ostanavlivat'sja, prekraščat'sja, zaderživat'sja' (Kyrq), *toqta* 'ostanovit'sja' (Bar.Tat), *toqta* 'ostanovit'sja' (Kaz),

MT *toqta* 'to remain in its place' (ARbg), *toqta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, otdyhat' (AChagB160), *toqta*, *toqtaš* 'trouver le repos, demeurer fixe, être solide' (AChag238), Zenker 224, *tok/xta*, *tohta* - W.150, *tokta* - P.351 (Cl.1960:96), *tokta* 'sakla-, beklet-, ala koy-' (AChagŠS192), *tokta* 'sabit kil-/ol-' (Atalay 1945:260), *tokta* 'durup dinlen-' (LO 382), CC *tohtarme* 228, *toxta* '(s)établiir, se fixer, séjourner, durer' (AmTr),

WMo. *togta* 'to stop, rest, become immobil' (L 815), *toyta* 'ostanavlivat'sja, prekraščat'sja' (Ščerbak1986:51),

Mod.Mo. *toytox* 'kialakul, létrejön, megállapodik, megszilárdul, megáll' (Khal), [toyta-].

**toqta* '(pri)ostanavlivat'sja' (Tenišev 2001:695)

Mo. *toyta* 'to stop, establish himself', Mmo (SH) *toyta*-, Dag. *Torta*-, Urd. *Dogto*-, Bur. *togto*-, Kalm. *tokto*-

Bir sabda tohtamagan baltača. 'Bir sapta durmayan balta gibi.' (Tavkul 2001:83)
Tohtagan suw iyis eter. 'Durgun su kokar.' (Tavkul 2001:224)

See also (Poppe 1955:104), (Zajaczkowski 1960), TMEN 141, (Csáki 1989:148), (Birtalan 1994:43), (Schönig 2000:180).

töle 'ödemek' (Krch406), *töle* 'platit', oplačivat' čto; pogašat' čto' (KrchT), *tüle* ~ *tölö* 'zahlen, bezahlen, vergelten' (BlkP), *töle* 'to pay, compensate' (KumR), *töle* 'fizet, zahlen' (KumN), *töle* 'uplatit', zaplatit' (Kklp), *tüle* 'ödemek; zahlen, bezahlen' (Cr.Kar), *töle* 'platit' (Kum), *töle* 'platit' (RKaz), Karaim: *töle* 'to pay' (Jankowski 1997:76),

⁸ The verb entered into special expressions like: *duva tohtat* 'cenazenin gömülmesinden sonra üç gün boyunca her sabah mezara gidip dua edilmesine son vermek' (Krch188).

VK *tülä-* 'bezahlen' (TatB), *tülä-* 'platit', uplačivat', vyplačivat', oplačivat' (Bashk), *töle-* 'platit', otplatit' (Kar), *töle-* 'platit' (RKaz), *tölö-* 'platit', vyplačivat' (Kyrg)

MT *töle-* 'indemniser, restituter' (UhyS 202), *tölä-* 'échanger, permuter' (PdC 242), *töl-* 'borcunu öde-' (Atalay 1945: 262), *tola-* 'payer, payer de retour, récompenser' (AmTr),

WMo. *tölü-* 'to compensate, pay off, recompensate' (L 833),

Mod.Mo. *tölö-* '(meg/ki/be)fizet vmit, fizet vmiért' (Khal), [tölö-].

Ord. *t'ölö-* 'indemniser; dédommager; dédommager en donnant un objet de même nature; rendre la pareille' (Most II.673)

The origin of the word is debated. Clauson wrote the following: 'OT. *tölä-* 'to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)' almost certainly a loan-word from *tölö-* (Kow)' (Cl. 1972:492). According to Erdal (1991:425) OT *tölä-* 'to repay a loan; to lamb', the word could be of Turkic origin, but the meaning 'to pay' evolved in Mongolian. This is what we find in Caucasian Turkic languages.

Just like in Volga-Kipchak languages the final Mongolian *-ü* is replaced by *-e* in Karachay-Balkar. There are further nouns and adjectives formed from the above word, e.g. *tölev* 'payment', *tölevsüz* 'gratis, for nothing' (Krch). *Aman koyçu janiından koy töler*. 'Kötü çoban canından koyun öder.' (Tavkul 2001:41).

See also (Poppe 1962:339), TMEN 980, (Ščerbak1986:51), (Csáki1989:153), (Birtalan 1994:43).

On criteria

First the criteria had to be made clear on the basis of what we can consider a word as Western Middle Mongolian loanword in Karachay-Balkar.

-The word is not present in Old Turkic texts whatsoever, or if it was borrowed by Old Mongolian from Old Turkic and later reborrowed by any of the Turkic languages then it should bear Mongolian marker(s).

- There is a *d-* in the Karachay word.

- There is an original initial *m-* or *n-* in the Karachay word, presuming that it is not a secondary consonant formed under the influence of a nasal sound in the following syllable of the same word.

- There is an additional final vowel in the Karachay word.

- Middle Mongolian *ġ* and *č* are preserved in Karachay-Balkar.

- Middle Mongolian diphthong is preserved in word final position.

- There is a Mongol word forming suffix on the Karachay word – as enlisted in Poppe (1955:299-300).

- There are Karachay words of Mongolian origin that were borrowed and fitted to the vocabulary by adding a final Turkic suffix.

- Criterion of semantics

- Criterion of etymology (if there is no Turkic etymology of the word but instead it has a Mongolian one).

- Compound words (there are Karachay compounds the first or second half of what is of Mongolian origin: *ĵergesine ĵetdir-*, *irĵay čabaq*, etc.)

- Criterion of synonyms (there are more than one words with the same meaning in Karachay among which there is only one of Turkic origin: *büte-* || *tavus-* || *alĵa-*, *algasa-*, etc.)

Conclusion

Middle Mongolian exerted a vehement influence on the whole area that was conquered by the Mongols. There are loan-words that intruded into a lot of languages like *qarawul*, *baĵana* etc., but we can also find rare words preserved only in one or a few languages in a smaller area *arawan*, *borbay*, etc. The loans were involved in the language history of the Karachay-Balkars, and after they took root in the system they started to grow newer branches and gradually became part of the host language. The difference of the Mongolian and Karachay words tell us about the language history of both languages. Centuries have passed since yet we can list the loans according to the Mongolian marks they bear. The bunch of these loans attests the character of the condition in which the words were borrowed. They tell us how deep these contacts were, as the fields of semantics line up. Apart from the common 'Altaic' heritage there is a much greater proportion of Western Middle Mongolian words in the Caucasian Turkic languages that is preserved and somehow escaped notice until now. The results of the study of Middle Mongolian loan-words in Karachay-Balkar can be useful even valid sometimes for those of other Caucasian Turkic languages.

We can find Middle Mongolian phenomena that were preserved in Karachay-Balkar (e.g. diphthongs in word final position, the instability of *ï ~ i* in Mongolian words, breaking of **i*, etc).

Poppe commented Räsänen's research in Turkmenian as very useful regarding primary long vowels in Mongolian, we justly think that the same concerns Karachay-Balkar.

Though we have not completed the thorough analyzis of this language we can attest the preservation of primary long vowels e.g. in the following cases: *ĵavorun*, *ĵavorun kalak* 'shoulder blade' (Krch145), *ĵavum*, *ĵavun* 'rain' (Krch145), *ĵuvuklaš-* 'to approach' (Krch161), *ĵuvumĵu* 'the clothes of the deceased given to the person

washing her' (Krch 161), *juwurgan* 'quilt' (Krch161), *jiyirgen-* 'to feel disgust' (Krch155) etc.

As for chronology we can state that borrowings took place before the *si-* > *ši-* development took place in Middle Mongolian, for we find no *š-* in Karachay-Balkar among the Mongolian loanwords.

Open syllables can fall out from Mongolian, yet they are preserved in the borrowing languages: *ab(u)ra-*, *as(a)ra-*, *čab(i)dur*, etc.

Affricates are represented in Karachay-Balkar either with *ǰ* or with *č*.

Since we have not found any instances of initial Mongolian *χ-* we can assume, that the process *Mo. q-, k- > χ-* is a later process than the borrowings.

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Yazı bilgisi :

Alındığı tarih: 5 Eylül 2006

Yayına kabul edildiđi tarih: 30 Ekim 2006

E-yayın tarihi: 30 Aralık 2006

Çıktı sayfa sayısı: 30

Kaynak sayısı: 126