

Middle-Mongolian Loan-Words in
Volga-Kipchak Languages

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Szeged
1989



Introduction

The sudden rise of the huge Chingisid Empire brought about an immense influence on the occupied territories. This influence was many sided : political, cultural, social, linguistic etc. . . The swells of the Mongol-storm reached the Volga-Kipchak area around 1237.

The great Middle-Mongolian impact on the Tatar and Bashkir languages could not have been effective around the end of the 14th century, yet we can not exclude the possibility of borrowing words from the Mongolian by them till the total disintegration of the Golden Horde.

In his book entitled on with Turkish and Mongolian Studies Sir G. Clauson writes the following: "... there is a much greater proportion of Mongolian loan words in most mediaeval and modern Turkish languages, but more particularly those in the north-eastern group /the languages of southern Siberia, including Tuva/, the north central group /Kazax and Kirgiz/ and in Qagatay than had hitherto been suspected....the existence of this massive volume of Mongolian intruders seems somehow to have escaped notice, or, if noticed, to have been regarded by those who accept the Altaic theory as evidence of a common "Altaic" heritage in both language groups..." /op.cit. p.XI./.

The reconstruction of the Middle-Mongolian language has not yet been fully completed. After the thorough study of the written sources, the elaboration of the Middle-Mongolian loan-words in the languages of the subdued territories might be a mean of advance.

Studies deal with the Middle-Mongolian loan-words of the Korean¹, Manchu², Karaim³, Yakut⁴, Cuman⁵, new-Persian⁶, Chuvash⁷, Siberian Turkic⁸, Osmanli⁹, Bashkir¹⁰ languages. Investigating the influence of the Mongolian languages exerted on the Turkic languages of the Mongol epoch Professor Lajos Ligeti reached to the following conclusion¹¹: the more to the West or North to the central territory of the Mongols the Turkic languages were lent Mongolian words, the less is the number of direct borrowings. He considered these words to have been transmitted by another language in the majority of cases.

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The Middle-Mongolian loanwords of Bashkir, Balkar, Kumuck, Kazan Tatar, Osmanli and Crimean Tatar were reckoned among this type. He also added that it could not have been different with those MMo. loan-words of the Chuvash.

Both Räsänen¹², Poppe¹³, and A. Róna-Tas¹⁴ stated that some MMo. loan-words in Chuvash are of Tatar mediation which is indicated by their phonetic or semantic development. In his study on Mongolian elements in Tatar, Paseev¹⁵ does not separate the early Mongolian loan-words in Tatar from those of the Mo. era, instead, he enlists some notes concerning historical, lexical, etymological problems. Burganova¹⁶ found some words of Mo. origin among the terms of Tatar plant-names, Ahmetjanov¹⁷ among the Tatar terms for relatives, Aznagulov¹⁸ among the Bashkir ones.

As a result of his previous study on the Mongolian loan-words of the Tatar language Ahmetjanov came to the conclusion that there are about one hundred of them, the majority of which can also be found in other Turkic languages. There are a few among them that can be only traced in Tatar, and there are a few ones that survives only in dialects. Some of them was mediated further to the Chuvash by the Tatar.¹⁹

Kiekbaev²⁰ investigated the origin of the vocabulary of the Bashkir language. He found out that certain MMo. loan-words appear only in some isolated dialects of Tatar and Bashkir. He took them for loan-words being borrowed from each-other.

In his article mentioned above, Poppe divides the MMo loan-words of Tatar transmission in Chuvash into two different chronological groups. To do this, he set the criterium of Chuvash a > u closing process, that made him possible to cut down the earlier layer²¹. According to this, narat could belong to the newer MMo loan-words transmitted by the Tatar, for the word is adopted with a in Chuvash.

Having read these earlier works the question arose in me, whether or not there was a direct borrowing from the MMo. in the case of the Volga-Kipchak languages. If yes, what was the direction of it? With the generous and highly esteemed help of my professors A. Róna-Tas and Gy. Kara I tried to find and choose the best possible criteria with the help of which I could find a great deal of MMo. loan-words in VK languages, among which I discuss 118 here.

The criteria

1. Phonetic criteria

- d- /supposing that the word is not of Oghuz origin/
 e.g.: MMo. delbege → VK dilbege
 MMo. dönen → VK dünän
- d-, /provided that it has not become voiced secondarily from an earlier -t- /
 e.g.: MMo. guda → VK qoda
 MMo. gudug → VK koḍik
- m- /if it has not developed secondarily from a b- or r- before nasal consonants/
 e.g.: MMo. mata- → VK mata-
 MMo. mültüre- → VK mölderä-
- n- /it can not stand either for an initial in Turcic languages/
 e.g.: MMo. niḡ → VK nig
 MMo. noḡta → VK nukta
- ḡ-, -ḡ- are to be found in loan-words only,
 e.g.: MMo. baḡa → VK baḡa
 MMo. oḡa → VK ulḡa

Disyllables, "plus vocals", the presence of -o-, -ö-, -i-, -ü- -u- in non-first syllables, if the other criteria also stand for the word's MMo. origin.

- e.g.: MMo. kömegei → VK kümägäy
 MMo. čöregei → VK sürägäy

2. Morphologic criteria

If there is an entirely unknown suffix added to a word in VK, and it does not occur elsewhere in the same languages - while on the other hand it is generally used in MMo, - we take the words formed by the help of this kind of suffixes for MMo loans in VK languages.

- e.g.: MMo. qara + -ḡai → VK qaraḡay
 MMo. döne/n/+ḡin → VK dünäḡen
 MMo. nara/sun/+d → VK narat

3. The criterium of etymology

If a root and its derivatives are present in MMo. and we have only a derivative of it in VK languages, while the stem and the suffixes are lacking, we can take it for a MMo. loan-word in VK.

e.g.: MMo. dönejŋ → VK dünäžen
MMo. todqa'ul → VK totkavil

4. Semantical criterium

If a word has a wide field of meanings in MMo., while its orderly adequate in VK has only a very special meaning - it is probably a MMo. loan-word there.

e.g.: MMo. čaŋan 'white' → VK čaŋan 'mapple-tree'
MMo. čečen 'wise, sage, intelligent, prudent' →
VK čäčän 'popular story-teller in olden days, poet
who could improvise'

5. The criterium of synonyms

If there are two or more different words in VK to denote the same thing, and only one of them is used in MMo. then it is probably a MMo. loan in VK.

e.g.: VK aŋŋar-, aŋla- 'to understand'
MMo. angxar- 'id.'
VK barmaqča, irqača, ečmək, biyäläy 'mittens'
MMo. begelei

6. The criterium of the history of culture

There are common terms in VK languages and in MMo. used in the terminology of falconry, horse-breeding, affiliated relatives, social life etc.. Due to the fact that these words are the terms of a specially developed Mongolian falconry, horse-breeding etc. differing from those of other nations, we consider them as MMo. loan-words in VK languages.

e.g.: MMo. baŋa 'brother-in-law' → VK baŋa
MMo. älči 'gaming bone' → VK älče
MMo. dönen '3-4 years old stallion' → VK dünän

Conclusions regarding Tatar and Bashkir
phonetics

On the basis of the Middle-Mongolian loan-words discussed in my work, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. By the 16th century the VK vowels became closed, the MMo loan-words took part in this process.
2. MMo. a is reflected by a VK labial a in initial position, or in the first syllable, except for some dialects where there remained the illabial a and there the reflection is ä. It is equally possible, that they took part in the VK a > ä process.
3. The nearer we go to the word final the stronger the reduction of the vowels is. Besides the overwhelming majority of cases, when a is the reflection, we have both i and y in VK reflecting MMo. a.
4. MMo. o is reflected by i in most cases, but we find ä and u as well, both in Tatar and Bashkir.
5. MMo. i is reflected by ä in VK. i and o are the reflections when there was a shift from the word's original palatal nature into a velar one - due to a -ŋ-, or -ŋ- inside the word in question.
6. MMo. u is reflected by y in most cases, yet we have ö in two cases in Tatar.
7. MMo. ü became ö in four cases in VK, but in most cases it is reflected by u.
8. MMo. y is reflected by ö in VK.
9. MMo. ü is reflected by ö, therefore we can justly say, that the closed vowels became reduced ones.
10. MMo. diphthongs are reflected by ay, ey both in word-inner and word-final position.
11. MMo. č is reflected by č in Tatar and by s in Bashkir in the majority of the cases. In fact the former tends to be pronounced rather as a spirant than an affricate.
12. MMo. ǰ is replaced by ɟ in most cases in VK.²²
13. n behaves rather strange in Bashkir. It can disappear /by way of a metathesis/ from the initial position, and can enter without any reason.²³ The same concerns m.²⁴

Notes

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Middle-Mongolian loan-words in Volga-Kipchak languages

1. Terms of relation

1. VK. absin /TatDS/ 'sister-in-laws MMo. abisun
avisin /DStat./ calling each other'
abisin /ST/
aphin /BashkT/
äbehenä /BashkD/
2. VK. baĵa /TatRS, TatB/ 'brother-in-law, MMo. baĵa
baĉa /PTatD/ husband of the
baĵa /BashkRS/ wife's sister'
baĵay /BashkD2/
3. VK. birän /TatDS/ 'addressing sy. near MMo. berigen
to one's heart'
4. VK. qoda /TatRS, DS/ 'affiliated MMo. quda
kuda /TatC/ relatives'
keda /PTatD/
qoda /BashkD1/
5. VK. nagas /BashkK/ 'collateral MMo. nagaĉa
naĵasi /BashkRS/ relatives'
6. VK. yauĉi /TatRS/ 'father-in-law, MMo. ĵauĉi
ĵauĉi /PTatD/ mother-in-law,
ĵauci /MishK/ matchmaker'
yausi /BashkRS/

2. Parts of the body. Illness.

1. VK. ankau /TatRS, AS/ 'hard palate' MMo. angkagu
anĉau /BashkRS/
2. VK. ĉir /TatRS/ 'illness' MMo. ĉer
sir /BashkRS/
3. VK. ĉiray /TatRS, B/ 'face' MMo. ĉirai
ĉaraj /PTatD/
siray /BashkRS/
4. VK. kabirga /TatRS, B/ 'rib' MMo. caburĉa
kaburga /TatN/
kaburga /PBashk./
5. VK. kümägäy /BashkRS/ 'Adam's apple' MMo. kömegei
kümüy /zoolBashk./
6. VK. manĉay /TatRS/ 'forehead' MMo. manĉlai
manlay /TatJ/
manlay /BashkD2/
manalay /BashkD2/

7. VK. möçä /DStat./ 'stature, body' MMo. möçe
möçä /ST/
mösä /BashkRS/
8. VK. selägäy /TatB/ 'saliva' MMo. silükei
9. VK. suqır /TatRS, B/ 'blind' MMo. soqur
sukur /TatN/
huqır /BashkRS/
10. VK. takım /TatAS/ 'the hollow behind' MMo. taqım
tařım /DStat./ 'the knee joint'
taqım /BashkRS/
11. VK. tanlay /DStat./ 'soft palate' MMo. tanglai
tanray /TatDS/
tanlay /BashkRS/

3. Animals. Parts of their body.

1. VK. ařunä /TatDS/ 'loon, partridge' MMo. ařuna
ařuun /TatT/
ařuna /BashkRS/
2. VK. ätälge /TatRS/ 'falcon' MMo. itelgü
ätälge /BashkRS/
3. VK. büdänä /TatRS/ 'quail' MMo. bödene
büdänä /BashkRS/
4. VK. bütäkä /TatRS/ 'crop of birds' MMo. betege
büteke /TatN/
bütägä /BashkRS/
5. VK. čuräkäy /TatRS/ 'wild duck, loon' MMo. čöregei
coragei /DStat./
sürägäy /BashkRS/
surayay /BashkD2/
6. VK. har /BashkRS/ 'hawk, a bird of prey' MMo. sar
7. VK. haralyın /BashkRS/ 'snipe' MMo. saraljin
saralyın /BashkD1/
8. VK. karčiga /TatRS, B/ 'hawk, falcon' MMo. garčiga
karčäga /PTatD/
qarsıga /BashkRS/
karsaga /BashkK/
9. VK. kavırsın /TatRS/ 'bird's feather' MMo. qagurasun
kawarsən /PTatD/
qauırsın /ST/
qauırhın /BashkRS/
10. VK. kurtay /DStat./ 'heath-grouse' MMo. qur
qor /İşberdin86/
11. VK. seläüsen /TatRS, B/ 'lynx' MMo. sileüsün
seläü /BashkD1/
heläüsen /Aznagulov75/
12. VK. sögä /zoolBashk./ 'a kind of a fish' MMo. šügärlig
sügä, čügä /Bashk./

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| 13. VK. | <u>suyer</u> /TatRS/
<u>huyir</u> /BashkRS/ | 'capercaillie' | MMo. <u>soyir</u> |
| 14. VK. | <u>şonkar</u> /TatRS/
<u>şunqar</u> /PBashk/ | 'falcon' | MMo. <u>şonkor</u> |
| 15. VK. | <u>toycon</u> /BashkRS/
<u>tuiçun</u> /PBashk./ | 'gerfalcon' | MMo. <u>toiçun</u> |

4. Horse-breeding.

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|---------|---|---|----------------------|
| 1. VK. | <u>böldörkä</u> /TatDS/
<u>möldörmä</u> /PTatD/
<u>büldürgö</u> /TatR/
<u>müldergä</u> /BashkRS/ | 'loop on a whip handle' | MMo. <u>büldürge</u> |
| 2. VK. | <u>burli</u> /TatRS, B/
<u>buril</u> /BashkRS/ | 'grey /horse/' | MMo. <u>bural</u> |
| 3. VK. | <u>bürtä</u> /TatRS/
<u>bürtä</u> /BashkRS/ | 'dark chestnut /horse/' | MMo. <u>börtü</u> |
| 4. VK. | <u>çaptar</u> /TatRS/
<u>çabdar</u> /GTat./
<u>çaptarlı</u> /TatDS/
<u>sabtar</u> /BashkK/ | 'yellow /horse/' | MMo. <u>çabidur</u> |
| 5. VK. | <u>çilbir</u> /TatRS/
<u>çelber</u> /TatB/
<u>çalbar</u> /MishK/
<u>silbir</u> /BashkRS/ | 'chain' | MMo. <u>çilbur</u> |
| 6. VK. | <u>dilbege</u> /TatRS/
<u>dilbegä</u> /TatB/
<u>tilbügä</u> /GTat./
<u>dilbugä</u> /PBashk./ | 'reins' | MMo. <u>delbege</u> |
| 7. VK. | <u>dünän</u> /BashkRS/
<u>dunän</u> /PBashk./ | '3-4 years old stallion' | MMo. <u>dönen</u> |
| 8. VK. | <u>dünäžen</u> /BashkRS/ | 'mare, that has completed her third year' | MMo. <u>dönejin</u> |
| 9. VK. | <u>qonan</u> /BashkRS/ | 'three years old male animal' | MMo. <u>çunan</u> |
| 10. VK. | <u>konaçin</u> /DStat./
<u>qonaçin</u> /BashkRS/ | 'three years old female animal' | MMo. <u>çunaçin</u> |
| 11. VK. | <u>körän</u> /TatRS/
<u>körän</u> /BashkRS/ | 'brown /horse/' | MMo. <u>küren</u> |
| 12. VK. | <u>nukta</u> /TatRS, B/
<u>nuqta</u> /BashkRS/
<u>nuqit</u> /BashkDL/ | 'halter' | MMo. <u>noçta</u> |
| 13. VK. | <u>tasma</u> /TatRS, B/
<u>taşma</u> /BashkRS/ | 'leather strip' | MMo. <u>tasma</u> |
| 14. VK. | <u>tugim</u> /BashkRS/
<u>tukim</u> /TatAS/ | 'saddle-cloth' | MMo. <u>tocum</u> |

5. Plants.

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| 1. VK. <u>alisin</u> /TatDS/
<u>alzin</u> /ST/ | 'second crop' | MMo. <u>alisun</u> |
| 2. VK. <u>arča</u> /TatRS/ | 'juniper' | MMo. <u>arča</u> |
| 3. VK. <u>bülbe</u> /TatRS/ | 'tuber, root' | MMo. <u>bölbē</u> |
| 4. VK. <u>dülänä</u> /TatRS/
<u>tulana</u> /GTat./
<u>dunala</u> /BashkRS/ | 'hawthorn' | MMo. <u>dolana</u> |
| 5. VK. <u>čaran</u> /TatRS/
<u>sačan</u> /BashkK/ | 'mapple-tree' | MMo. <u>čagān</u> |
| 6. VK. <u>karagay</u> /TatRS/
<u>qaragay</u> /BashkRS/ | 'larch-tree' | MMo. <u>qaragai</u> |
| 7. VK. <u>muyil</u> /TatDS/
<u>muyel</u> /TatRS/
<u>muyil</u> /BashkRS/ | 'bird-cherry' | MMo. <u>moyil</u> |
| 8. VK. <u>narat</u> /TatRS/
<u>narat</u> /PBashk./ | 'pine-tree' | MMo. <u>narad</u> < <u>narasun</u> |
| 9. VK. <u>ori</u> /TatRS/
<u>oro</u> /BashkRS/ | 'burr on a tree' | MMo. <u>ur</u> |
| 10. VK. <u>sarana</u> /TatRS/
<u>harina</u> /BashkRS/ | 'lily' | MMo. <u>sarana</u> |
| 11. VK. <u>solo</u> /TatRS/
<u>holo</u> /BashkRS/ | 'oat' | MMo. <u>suli</u> |

6. Terminology of the household.

Dwelling. Food. Tools etc.

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| 1. VK. <u>äfernä</u> /BashkRS/ | 'bow made of horn' | MMo. <u>adarana</u> |
| 2. VK. <u>äzegäy</u> /TatDS/
<u>äcegäy</u> /DStat./
<u>äzekäy</u> /BashkRS/ | 'sweet cheese' | MMo. <u>äzegei</u> |
| 3. VK. <u>bagana</u> /TatRS, B/
<u>bačana</u> /BashkRS/ | 'pillar, pole' | MMo. <u>bagana</u> |
| 4. VK. <u>biyäläy</u> /TatRS/
<u>bejäläj</u> /TatB/
<u>biyalay</u> /TatH/
<u>meyäläy</u> /DStat./
<u>beyäläy</u> /BashkRS/ | 'mittens' | MMo. <u>begelei</u> |
| 5. VK. <u>busaga</u> /TatRS/
<u>posafa</u> /BarTat./ | 'threshold' | MMo. <u>bosafa</u> |
| 6. VK. <u>čuäčäy</u> /BarTat./
<u>cüäčäy</u> | 'small cup' | MMo. <u>*čö'üče</u> |
| 7. VK. <u>düngäläk</u> /TatDS/
<u>düngäläk</u> /BashkRS/ | 'enclosure' | MMo. <u>dönggö</u> |
| 8. VK. <u>qabtırfa</u> /BashkK/
<u>qaptırfa</u> /PBashk/ | 'purse' | MMo. <u>qabtırfa</u> |
| 9. VK. <u>kayči</u> /TatRS, B/
<u>kači</u> /TatJ/ | 'scissors' | MMo. <u>gaiči</u> |

10. VK.	<u>kodik</u> /TatRS/	'well'	MMo. <u>gudug</u>
	<u>kutuk</u> /TatC/		
	<u>qodog</u> /BashkRS/		
11. VK.	<u>karaltı</u> /TatRS/	'group of buildings'	MMo. <u>quralta</u>
12. VK.	<u>qunalqa</u> /BashkD2/	'shelter for the night'	MMo. <u>qonalta</u>
13. VK.	<u>malaqay</u> /TatDS/	'cap'	MMo. <u>malaqai</u>
	<u>malaxay</u> /BashkD2/		
14. VK.	<u>mantu</u> /TatB/	'steamed meat balls'	MMo. <u>mantu</u>
15. VK.	<u>ongi</u> /TatRS/	'socket on the axehandle'	MMo. <u>onggi</u>
	<u>honfo</u> /BashkD1/		
16. VK.	<u>sagaydak</u> /TatAS/	'quiver'	MMo. <u>saxadaq</u>
	<u>sadak</u> /TatRS/		
17. VK.	<u>Şibaga</u> /TatB/	'dice, lot'	MMo. <u>Şibaga</u>
	<u>Sobaga</u> /TatRS/		
18. VK.	<u>älçe</u> /TatAS/	'aming bone'	MMo. <u>alči</u>
19. VK.	<u>tirmä</u> /PBashk./	'a section of lattice'	MMo. <u>terme</u>

7. Social life.

1. VK.	<u>bulyal</u> /BashkD2/	'term, date'	MMo. <u>boljal</u>
2. VK.	<u>batır</u> /TatRS/	'valiant'	MMo. <u>batur</u>
3. VK.	<u>Çäçän</u> /TatRS/	'story teller'	MMo. <u>čočen, sečen</u>
	<u>säsän</u> /BashkRS/		
4. VK.	<u>dim</u> /TatRS/	'suggestion'	MMo. <u>dem</u>
5. VK.	<u>dimçe</u> /TatRS/	'suitor'	MMo. <u>dençi</u>
	<u>dimse</u> /BashkK/		
6. VK.	<u>yasaul</u> /TatRS/	'military officer'	MMo. <u>jasaul</u>
	<u>yesaul</u> /TatAS/		
7. VK.	<u>karavıl</u> /TatRS/	'guard, watch'	MMo. <u>gara'ul</u>
	<u>garavıl</u> /BashkK/		
8. VK.	<u>karı</u> /TatRS/	'objection'	MMo. <u>gari'u</u>
	<u>gariu</u> /BashkRS/		
9. VK.	<u>pärçän</u> /D3Tat./	'a good marksman'	MMo. <u>mergen</u>
10. VK.	<u>nügär</u> /D3Tat./	'companion, friend'	MMo. <u>nökör</u>
	<u>nügör</u> /TatAS/		
11. VK.	<u>sıy</u> /TatRS/	'feast'	MMo. <u>sui</u>
	<u>hiy</u> /BashkRS/		
12. VK.	<u>sıltau</u> /TatRS/	'cause, excuse'	MMo. <u>siltaq</u>
	<u>hıltau</u> /BashkRS/		
13. VK.	<u>şuk</u> /TatRS/	'joker, joke'	MMo. <u>şog</u>

14. VK. totkavil /TatAS/ 'outdoor-guard' MMo. todqa'ul
 15. VK. ulja /TatAS/ 'booty' MMo. olja

8. Topography.

1. VK. ölkä /TatRS/ 'area' MMo. ölke
 2. VK. uba /TatAS/ 'stone heap' MMo. obä
 3. VK. uram /TatRS/ 'street' MMo. oram

9. Weather and other phenomena of nature.

1. VK. buran /TatRS, B/ 'snow-storm' MMo. borān
 2. VK. kirpak /TatRS/ 'powdery-snow' MMo. qirmaq
 qirpaq /BashkK/
 3. VK. öyür /BashkRS/ 'flood after snow-melting' MMo. üyer
 eyür /BashkDl/
 4. VK. salkin /TatRS/ 'cold weather' MMo. salkin
 5. VK. uran /Bashk./ 'echo' MMo. urān

10. Substances.

1. VK. lay /TatDS/ 'mud, clay' MMo. lai
 2. VK. selte /TatB/ 'alkali' MMo. siltü

11. Qualities.

1. VK. alıs /BashkK/ 'distance, distant' MMo. alus
 2. VK. bolançır /TatDS/ 'dim' MMo. bulançır
 bölängert /BashkRS/
 3. VK. çibär /TatRS/ 'nice, good' MMo. çeber
 sibär /BashkRS/
 4. VK. irkä /TatRS/ 'self-willed' MMo. erke
 5. VK. kinät, kinättän /TatRS/ 'all of a sudden' MMo. genete
 6. VK. mäseküy /BashkDl/ 'sharp' MMo. mesese
 7. VK. mokit /TatRS/ 'blunt' MMo. mocadaq
 mokiy /TatDS/
 8. VK. nik /TatRS/ 'solid' MMo. niş
 9. VK. tapkır /TatRS/ 'manifold, double' MMo. dabxur
 10. VK. ugata /Tat./ 'in particular' MMo. oçota
 uğata /BashkDl/

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 11. VK. <u>usal</u> /TatAS/ | 'evil-minded' | MMo. <u>osal</u> |
| 12. VK. <u>sirkek</u> /TatB/ | 'watchful' | MMo. <u>sergeg</u> |
| 13. VK. <u>tintak</u> /TatRS/ | 'foolish' | MMo. <u>teneg</u> |
12. Activities.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. VK. <u>abra-</u> /TatDS/
<u>ara-</u> | 'to save, rescue' | MMo. <u>abra-</u> |
| 2. VK. <u>alji-</u> /TatT/
<u>alja-</u> /TatB/
<u>alyi-</u> /BashkRS/ | 'to get tired' | MMo. <u>alja-</u> |
| 3. VK. <u>anjar-</u> /TatRS/ | 'to understand' | MMo. <u>angxar-</u> |
| 4. VK. <u>anki-</u> /TatN/
<u>ankil-</u> /TatDS/ | 'to emit an odor' | MMo. <u>angkil-</u> |
| 5. VK. <u>arči-</u> /TatT/
<u>ärce-</u> /TatB/
<u>ärse-</u> /BashkD2/ | 'to clean' | MMo. <u>arči-</u> |
| 6. VK. <u>asra-</u> /TatRS/
<u>asira-</u> /TatB/
<u>asira-</u> /BashkRS/ | 'to protect' | MMo. <u>asara-</u> |
| 7. VK. <u>berket-</u> /TatRS/ | 'to strengthen' | MMo. <u>berket-</u> |
| 8. VK. <u>biljira-</u> /TatRS/
<u>bäljira-</u> /TatA/
<u>miljira-</u> /TatDS/ | 'to soften' | MMo. <u>bilčara-</u> |
| 9. VK. <u>biltäy-</u> /TatRS/
<u>biltäyi-</u> /BashkRS/ | 'to become swollen' | MMo. <u>iltei-</u> |
| 10. VK. <u>čida-</u> /TatRS/
<u>sida-</u> /BashkRS/ | 'to endure' | MMo. <u>čida-</u> |
| 11. VK. <u>döneg-</u> /TatRS/
<u>dönögö-</u> /BashkRS/ | 'to suffer' | MMo. <u>dönögö-</u> |
| 12. VK. <u>iržay-</u> /TatRS/ | 'to show bare one's teeth' | MMo. <u>iržayi-</u> |
| 13. VK. <u>ilja-</u> /DSTat./
<u>olja-</u> /ST/ | 'to separate' | MMo. <u>ilga-</u> |
| 14. VK. <u>irkälä-</u> /TatDS/ | 'to display affection' | MMo. <u>erkele-</u> |
| 15. VK. <u>yada-</u> /TatDS/
<u>yadi-</u> /BashkD2/ | 'to be exhausted' | MMo. <u>jada-</u> |
| 16. VK. <u>yalga-</u> /TatRS/
<u>yalja-</u> /BashkD1/ | 'to unite' | MMo. <u>jalga-</u> |
| 17. VK. <u>yödä-</u> /TatRS/
<u>jödä-</u> /TatDS/ | 'to be in need' | MMo. <u>jüde-</u> |
| 18. VK. <u>küše-</u> /TatRS/ | 'to harden from cold' | MMo. <u>kösi-</u> |

19. VK. makta- /TatRS, B/ 'to praise' NMo. maqta-
maqta- /BashkRS/
20. VK. mata- /TatN/ 'to trouble, disturb' NMo. mata-
21. VK. mölderä- /TatRS/ 'to pour all over' NMo. mültüre-
möldörä- /BashkRS/
22. VK. oçora- /TatB/ 'to come across sy.' NMo. učira-
očra- /TatRS/
učira- /BarTat./
osora- /BashkI/
23. VK. tukta- /TatRS/ 'to stop' NMo. toŋta-
tutqa- /BashkOl/
24. VK. tülä- /TatRS, B/ 'to pay' NMo. tölü-

VK. abisin "sister-in-laws calling each other" < MMO. abisun

Tatar data:

absin "kilendäslär" , "snošennicy, ženy dvuh brat'ev" / TatDS 17./ -
"daughter-in-laws" , "partners or wives of two brothers"

avisin "kilendäs" , "kilendäslär üzärä berber nä avisin yäki abizin
dilär. Gomumän bütän keşelär dä kilendäslärne abizinnar dip
söylilär." /DStat. 9./ - "daughter-in-law" , "daughter-in-laws
among themselves call each other avisin or abizin. In general
all the others also call daughter -in-laws abizinnar."

abisin "kilendäs, irläre bertuyan bulğan hatinnar üzara abisin bulalar",
"ženy rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu" /ST 97./

Bashkir data:

aphin "the wives of brothers" /BashkT 15./

aphin-äze "snohi i svekrov'" - "daughter -in-law and mothers-in-law"
/BashkD2. 28./

Maksjutova gives another meaning of the word: ... qäädin äsähenä, tuğan
äbehenä keyäü birgän küldäk ...when translating it this way: "platja
dlja materä i tėti nevesty, podarennye ženihom" /Maksjutova 75. 57./

Kipchak data:

abisin "nevestka; žena staršego brata po otnošeniju k žene mladšego
brata", abisin - ažin "ženy rodstvennikov po otnošeniju drug k drugu"
/Kaz.11./ - "bride; wife of the elder brother addressing that of the
younger brother", wives of relatives addressing each other".

abisin "nevestka /žena odnogo brata po otnošeniju k žene drugogo/",
abisin - ažin "ženy rodstvennikov /po otnošeniju drug k drugu/"
/Krk1pRS 16./ - id.

abisin "snošenica /žena brata ili rodstvennika po otnošeniju k žene
drugogo brata ili rodstvennika/

abisin - ažin "ženy rodstvennikov po otnošeniju drug k drugu"/KirRS 19./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

abisin "défectueux; plus petit, d'un âge tendre, enfant petit d'un
animal quelconque" /PdC 2./

Other Turkic data:

Both Radloff and Räsänen gave a Teleut datum: abizin "Frau des ältere-
ren Bruders des Mannes"/R.1. 630., RVEW 2./

Written Mongolian data:

- abisun "nevestka, snoha" /Golst.I.18./ - "bride, daughter-in-law"
abisun-a^Yjin "nevestki /tak nazivajut drug druga žena bratev/ snohi"
/Golst.I.18./ - "brides /addressing each other the wives of
brothers,/ daughters-in-law"
abisun "id.", abisun-a^Yjin "belle-fille, femme du fils" /Kow.I.43./
abisun "the wife of an elder brother in relation to the wife of a
younger brother" /L 4./
abisun a^Yjin "des Mannes Brudersweib" /Schmidt 4./

Ordos data:

- awis = awisun
awisun "les femmes d'un même mari l'une par rapport à l'autre; nom
dont se désignent l'une l'autre les femmes d'un même mari et
qu'elles se donnent mutuellement; ami, collègue...= mo.abisun"
/Ord.37b./
awisun aD^Yzin "id."

Other Mongolian data:

- ab'han "nevestka /žena odnogo brata v otnošenii ženy drugogo brata/
sr. beri, bergen /BurjRS 27./
awisan "a^Xin e^Xner" , "dүүгийн exnerijn awisan bolno"
awisan a^Yzin "ax дүү xoyorin exner xarilean biye biyesijg iinxүү
дуудна" /Cév.18./
awisan "termin rodstva - žena staršego brata po otnošeniju k žene
mladšego brata , nevestka" /KhRS 21./
awsu, äwsu "Schwägerin, die Frau des Bruders des Mannes" /KWb.2o./

The word is not represented in Old Turkic texts but we have ample data from Written Mongolian. Ramstedt cut the word into two parts: abi being the stem and -sun the suffix. -sun is a wide-spread denominal and deverbal suffix of nomens in Mongolian without any significant meaning /cf. Toppe: Die Nominalstambildungssuffixe im Mongolischen/. I. Gyarmati suggests the word a Mongolian etymology: ab- "to take" > *abi- "sy. or g. that was taken" being the variant of abu- "id.". While there is a strict difference in meaning between awisan and a^Yzin in Mongolian: cf. av'san /KhRS 21./ see above, and a^Yzin "termin rodstva: žena mladšego brata po otnošeniju k žene staršego brata, nevestka" KhRS 26./ It can mean both younger or older sister/daughter/-in-law with or without a^Yzin in Turkic languages.

. VK. abra- "to save, rescue, nurse" < Mo. abra-

Tatar data:

abra- "zasisat', verteidigen, schützen" /TatR₁ 633./

abra- "kotkaru, saklau", Allā abrađi inde. /TatDS 17./ - "to save, help, Allah has saved us already."

abra- "id.", Koday ūze abrasın inde. /Bajazitova 86. 33./ - "Now let God itself save you!"

Bashkir data:

abra- "vospityvat', vyhaživat'" /BashKK 4./ - "bring up, nurture, cure, heal", bala abra- "vospityvat' ditja" - "bring up a child"

Kipchak data:

abra- "južn. /o ljudjah/ byt' vo množestve" /KirgRS 19./ - "South. /about people/ to be in large numbers, mass"

abra- "hranit', ochranjat', beréc', oberegat', ... /KarRS 38./ - "to save, care, look after, defend, preserve, protect"

Early Kipchak data:

abra- "schützen, verteidigen, defendere" /CC 27./

Chuvash data:

upra- "beréc', hranit', zaščiščot', ochranjat'" /ChuvS 514./ - "to save, defend, preserve"

upra- "id." /ChuvRS 457./

upra- "védni, védelmezni, oltalmazni - schützen, beschützen, beschirmen" /PChuv. 193./

Other Turkic data:

abira, abiribin uw.= abra "erretten, erlösen" /Böht. 6./

abrā-, abirā- "helfen, retten" /MEJ 41,70,83,108./

abra-, abira- "id." /MEZ 74./

Middle Mongolian data:

abura- : aburabai /AQJU 10./

abura/n/ "to save" /HpP/

abura- "secourir, sauver" /LHY 20./

abura- "helfen, retten" /MNT 2./

abura- : aburayad /MonPr. 82./

abura- : aburayad, aburayuyu, aburan, aburacu /SMI 79./

Written Mongolian data:

abura- "spasat', sohranjat', zaščiscat'" /Kow₁ 46./ - "save, rescue, preserve, maintain, uphold, defend, protect"

abura- "to save, rescue, help, deliver, preserve life, to protect" /L 6./

abura- "spasat'" /Pozdn. 3./ - "to save"

abura- "erhalten, schützen, sohranjat', zaščiscat'" /Schmidt 4./

Ordos datum:

awura- "sauver" /Ord.

Other Mongolian data:

avra- "spasat', izbavljat', vyzvoljat', vyručat'" /KhRS 2o./ - "to save, free, deliver, help out, rescue"

avra- "id." /Cév. 17./

We could not find the word in Old Turkic language while it is well spread in Written Mongolian. Böhtlingk called our attention to Klaproth's comment "vgl. abira und Coman. abramen defendo" /Klaproth 1828. p.149./. According to Sevortjan "glagol abra- i ego modifikacii preimuščestvenno v tjurkskikh jazykah Altaja i Sibiri, otčasti v kypčakskikh jazykah, iz kotoryh - a imenno tatarskogo - on vošel v Čuvašskij." /SevEST 59./ He considers the word of Mongolian origin in Turkic languages, as Räsänen did in his dictionary /RVEW 2./. Poppe considered it of Mongolian origin too in Cuman /Poppe 962. p. 134./. He translated the word abura "in order to take" /IMCS 198./ 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 /e.g. amur "rest" from amu- "to rest"/ cf. Mo. yabura "in order to go", üjere "in order to see"."

Róna-Tas considers the word of Middle-Mongolian origin in Chuvash /cf. KEJCS/ and also in Tatar /cf. The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loan Word in Chuvash/.

The stem of the word must be abu- that is present in several words in Mongolian e.g. aburad, aburisan, abulaga, abun, and it had the suffix -ra /see above/. The vowel -u- must have faded away from the loaner Mongolian dialect due to its position in the word.

3. Vk. alis "far" < Mo. alus "further"

Tatar data:

alis "daleko". "yerak" /TatDS 37./ - "far, far away, distance"

alis "yerak" /OSTat. 15./

alis "dial. yerak ĵir, yerak urin" /TatAS 54./ - "far off land, remote place"

alis "yerak", alissin "yeraksin" /OT 101./ - "you are far away"

Bashkir data:

alis "dalëkij, daleko" /BashkRS 39./ - "far, distant, remote"

alis "daleko, dalekij" /BashkK 12./

alis "distant, remote", alısca "for a long distance", alıslıq "distance" /BashkT 10./

Kipchak data:

alis "dal'nij", "nerodnoj" /Kaz. 31./ - "far, distant, not native"

alis "daleko, dal'", aliskı "dalëkij, dal'nyj" /KirgRS 54./ - "far, firmness, remote, distant"

alis "dal', dalëkij, dal'nij" /Krk1pRS 41./

alis "dalekij" /Nog. 435./

alis I Kir. Sag., vergl. alis /Jak./ aussergewöhnlich I "dalekij, udalennyj, dal' - weit, entfernt, die Entfernung" alıstan kö-rünödü /Kir./ "éto iz daleka vidno - es ist von weitem zu sehen" /R I. 379./

Early Kipchak datum:

alis "dalekij, daleko" /F 44./

Other Turkic data:

alis "dalëkij, dal'nyj, daleko" /TkmRS 43./

olus ~ alys "ausserordentlich, sehr, mehr" /MEJ 16./

Middle Mongolian datum:

alus "hinüber, jenseits" /MNT 6./

Written Mongolian data:

alus "črez /goru, reku, lošad'.../, mimo" /Kow 78./ - "over /the mountain, the river, the horse/, by"

alas "čerez" /Pozdn. 6./ alus, alas "id." /Pozdn. 7./

alus "über /einen Fluss oder Berg/, črez" /Schmidt 12b./

Ordos datum:

alus "au delà, au loin" /Ord. 18a./

Other Mongolian data:

alut I sic I "über" /BurC 88./

als "dal', vdali, dalëkij, dal'nij" /KhRS 32./

als "in einiger entfernung, fern, /mit Gen./ über, auf der anderen
seite" /KWb. 8./

This word can not be found in Old Turkish but can be found in Middle Mongolian. It was lent to certain Kipchak and Siberian Turkic languages by a Middle Mongolian dialect.

The second vowel of the word makes us suppose that it had been borrowed by the Kipchak languages previous to the -u- > -i- development in Tatar and Bashkir.

The Buriat datum is due either to a misprint or to a misreading. According to Rassadin the literary Buriat language preserved the final -s in this word similarly to many other cases. /cf. Rassadin 84./ Both Räsänen and Sevortjan took the word for Mongolian /RVEW 17./, /SevEST 147./.

4. VK. alisin "second crop" < MMo. alisun

Tatar data:

alisin → alsin "otava", "molodaja porosl', podnjavšajasja u kornej sozrevših hlebov" /TatDS 36./ - "second crop", "young sprout that has grown at the root of ripe cereals"

utau → alsin "čapkannan soñ ikenče kat üskän ülän, kurpi" /TatDS 458./ - "grass that has grown for the second time after mowing"

alsun "otprysk, otrasl" /TatJ 15./ - "sprout, bud, shoot"

alzın "kurpi, otava" /ST 100./



Kipchak data:

alisin "otava", "vshody /ozimoj pšenicy/" /KirgRS 54./ - "second crop", "sprout of autumn wheat"

alisin "otava/otawa" /KarRPS 67./

Written Mongolian data:

alisun ~ alisu "des pois fauches" < ali "grain" /Kow.I.77./

alisun "Erbsenstroh", "gorohovina" /Schmidt 12b./

alisun "goroh skošennyj so stručkami" /Golst. 33./

Other Mongolian datum:

älsn "Schale /der Früchte/, Spreu" /KWb. 22./

Both alsin and utau are loanwords in Tatar dialects, the former may be of Mongolian origin while the latter is of Russian. It is a well debated word /cf. A. Róna-Tas: The Altaic theory and the history of a Middle Mongolian loan word in Chuvash .208./ the latest study on it was offered by I. Gyarmati /cf.AOH 38./.

We have kaju in Chuvash meaning as much as "sarju, új termés lekaszált réten v. learatott szántóföldön", "grummet, der neue gras- od. strohwuchs auf einer gemähten wiese od. auf einem abgeernteten acker" /PChuv. 55./. Russadin quoted a synonym in his study on the history of the Buriat language: lit.Bur.: henze, Stp. M.: kenje "otava".

We also have to consider that the word has practically died out of Modern Mongolian languages.

5. VK. aljĭ- "to get tired, exhausted" < MMo. alja-

Tatar data:

alj- "utomljat'sja, utomit'sja, obessilevat', obessilet'" /TatRS 35./ - "to get tired, enfeeble, weaken, enervate"

alja- "kimerülni, kiéltni magát/ sich entkräften, sich ableben" /TätB 13./

aljĭ- "id." /TatT 64./

aljĭra- → alj- "tilmerü" /TatDS 37./ - "to suffer pain, struggle"

alj- "aru häldän tayu, bik yaligu" /DStat. 16./ - "to get tired, lose one's strength, get exhausted"

"Kičä hava kizu buldĭ, at aljĭdĭ." - "It was so hot yesterday, that the horse got exhausted."

alj- "id." /TatAS₁ 55./

Bashkir data:

alyi- "iznurjat'sja, iznurit'sja, utomljat'sja, utomit'sja",
"obaldet', pomutit'sja" /Bashk RS 36./ - "to get worn out,
become an idiot, become unbalanced"

alži- → alyi- "iznurjat'sja, obaldet'" /BashkDl 20./

Kipchak data:

alži- "ošibit'sja, vzjat' ne to napravlenie", "vyžit' iz uma",
"boltat' vzdor" /KirgRS 50./ - "to make a mistake, change
one's direction, to become senile, babble"

aldža- "stanovit'sja bezumnym / szaléc" /KarRPS 64./ - "to get mad"

Middle Mongolian data:

alja- "behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein" /MNT 5./

alja-: aljaqu /yaŋu aljaa... a/ /Monr2 233./

Written Mongolian data:

alja-, alčiya- "byt' utomlenu, udručenu, pritti v ustalost', izne-
mož", "être fatigué, épuisé, accablé, se laisser se fatiguer,
devenir faible, s'affaiblir" /Kow. 93./

alja-, alčiya- "to suffer, be unable to bear, to become tired,
exhausted, weary, to be troubled" /L 34./

alčiya- "ermüdet seyn, erschöpft seyn", "byt' utomlenu, istoščenu"
/Schmidt 130./

Other Mongolian data:

alža- "utomljat'sja, pereutomljat'sja" /BurRS /

al's'e- "skučat', toskovat'" Mong. alčiya- Poppe 1930. /DagP 68./ -
"be bored, feel dull, be sad"

aljaa- "ustavat', utomljat'sja, iznemogat', ustalost', utomlenie"
/KhRS 31./ - "to get tired, tiredness, weariness"

The word can not be found in Old Turkic texts while we have ample data in Old Mongolian texts. Professor Ligeti called my attention to the fact that in preclassical Mongolian the word meant as much as "to be mistaken" instead of "to get tired". Kałuzynski considered the word of Mongolian origin in Yakut /cf. MEJ 61./, Zajaczkowski in Karaim /cf. MEKS/.

The correspondence seems clear and we can suppose it to be a Mongolian loan-word in Volga-Kipchak languages. The original consonant -j- was not preserved in Tatar words, while we find -j- in alji-. We have both -y- and -z- in Bashkir to substitute the Mongolian -j-. As for vocals the Mongolian -i- - due to the initial a- - was taken over as -i- in VK, though we also find alja- in Christian Tatar dialects /cf. Bajazitova 86. 185./

7. VK. anjar- "to understand" < MMo. angqar-

Tatar data:

anjar- → anla- "ponimat', ponjat', soobražat', vosprinimat'" /TatRS 50./ - "to grasp, comprehend"
añjar- "megérteni, átlátni / verstehen, einsehen" /TatB 5./
anjar-/angar- "anlau, töšenü" /TatDS 61./ - "to solve, grasp"
anjar- "anlau", "Anjardınmı, min ni ättem." /DSTat. 26./ -
 "Do you understand what I have said?"
anjar- "id." /TatAS₁ 101./
anjar- "id." /ST 101./, angar- → anjar- /ST 102./
anjar- "id." /Bajazitova 86. 130./

Bashkir data:

anjarı- "id." /BashkD1 22./
anga- → angarı- "anlau", "urazumet'" /BashkD2 27./ - "grasp"

Kipchak data:

anjar- "ponimat', dogodat'sja'" /Kaz. 61./ - "to find out, grasp"
anjar- "ponimat', vnikat', dogadyvat'sja" /Krk1pRS 44./ - "to understand, penetrate into"

Other Turkic data:

anjar- "id." /R₁ 187./, /RVEW 20./

Written Mongolian data:

angqar- "to give attention to, observe, regard" /L 46./
angxara- "prinimat' vo vnimanie", "vnikat'" /Pozdn. 2./ - "to take into consideration, penetrate into"
angqar- "wissen, vernehmen, kentniss nehmen", "znat', vnjat', uznat'" /Schmidt 2c./ - "to know, listen to, learn"

Ordos datum:

anxāra- = an^kxāra- "observer quelque chose, faire attention à quelque chose" /Ord. 26a./

Other Mongolian datum:

anqar- "leicht auffassen" /KWb. 12./

There are two words in VK languages meaning "to understand". Both go back to the same Old Turkic stem: an "intelligence". The word anla- was formed with a denominal suffix -la /cf. és + -lä- "to make", fiker + -lä- "to imagine" etc./. The other one: anqar- was borrowed from the Mongolian, the suffix -qara is a Mongolian attribute. The Turkic word was compared with Mongolian by Radlov.

8. VK. ankau "hard palate" < Mo. angkagu

Tatar data:

ankau "nēbo, nēbnyj" /TatRS 50:/ - "palate, roof of mouth"

añkau "szájpadlás / gaumen" /TatB 5./

ankau "aviz küšliginñ öske stenası" /TatAS₁ 101./ - "the upper part of the cavity of the mouth"

angkau "nēbo" /AKRTat. 92./

Bashkir data:

anqau "id." /BashkRS 43./,

anqau "id!" /BashkDl 22./

anqau "nēbo tverdoe" /zoolbashk. 116./ - "hard palate"

Kipchak datum:

angigiy "razinja, rotozej" /KirgRS 59./ - "open-mouthed, gazing" < Mo. angqani "id."

Mongolian datum:

an "loch, riss, ritze, spalt", anga "spalt, riss" /KWb. 11./

The word is not represented in Old Turcic, Ramstedt and Räsänen took it for Mongolian. It must be a derivation of the Mongolian verb angka- "to be open". It got a deverbil suffix -gu- /cf. Poppe, N.: Die Nominalstambildungssuffixe im Mon./.

Sevortjan offered another etymology /cf. SevEST 157./ that I consider wrong.

The Kirgiz word given above, must go back to the same stem.

9. VK. arča "juniper" < MMo. arča

Tatar data:

arča "arca /drevovidnyj mozzlevel'nik/" /TatRS 41./ - "/a tree shaped/ juniper"

arča "bot. artiš" /TatAS 74./ - "juniper"

arča "možžlevel'nik" /AKRTat. 80./

Kipchak datum:

arša II. "bot. možžlevel'nik" /Krk1pRS 53./

Chuvash datum:

orča "možžlevel'noe derevo" /Zol. 21./ - "juniper tree"

Other Turkic data:

arčın "možžlevel'nik" /RAltS 301./

arča "bot. arča", "drevovidnyj možžlevel'nik" /UzbRS 40./

arča "id." /RVEW 24./

Middle Mongolian data:

arči "možžlevel'nik" /MA 104./

arča "Cypresse" /MNT 8./

arča "génévrier" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

arča "veres, mozzlevel'nik obyknovenyj, genévrier /arbrisseau/"
in: gonin a. "iuniperus communis" /Kow. 161./

arča "juniper" /L./

arča "kiparis" /Pozdn. 14./

arča "id." /Golst. 1. 68./

Ordos datum:

arš^ca "juniperus chinensis" /Ord. 30a./

Other Mongolian data:

arča "Wacholder" /KWb. 15./

arc "bot. mozzewel'nik sibirskij" /KhRS 44./

arc < st. kalm. arca "id." /Nom. 289./

arc " /zu unterscheiden von aarc!!/ = Wacholder: *Juniperus sabina* auch: *xon'arc* = Schaf-wacholder. Wird unter der Yuan - Dynastie in China /1280-1368/ zum Symbol des mongolischen Herrschers /s. Rock "A Nakhi - English encyclopedic dictionary", Rom 1963. S. 184./ I *Juniperinae* I /ParMon. 51./

There are two words in Tatar for "juniper": artiš /TatRS 40./ and arča. The first of them goes back to an OT artuč /DTS 57./. The second seems to be a loan-word from Mongolian, i.e. according to Doerfer, it might be of ultimate Turkic origin also /TMEN₂ 28./, but this case it was re-borrowed from the Mongolian.

Räsänen gives the list of the Siberian and Kipchak Turkic languages that have also borrowed the word from Mongolian. He regards Mongolian arča to be a derivative of arigun "rein" being related to Turkic artuč "Wacholder". /RVEW 24./

Sevortjan regards arča to be a derived form from ard "raznovidnost' kiparisa" - "a kind of a cypress" with the suffix -ča that serves as a suffix of similarity and diminutive.

Oruzbaeva gives a datum in her article on place names of Mongolian origin in Kirgiz: Arča-Davan, where the second part of the compound is the Mo. word davaa/n/ "gornyj pereval" /KhRS 137./ - "mountain pass". /cf. Oruzbaeva, B.O.: O kirgizskih i mongol'skih leksičeskikh paralleljah po toponimike./

10. VK. arči-> ärče- "to clean" < MMo. arči-

Tatar data:

arču → ärču "čistit', očiščat', očistit', vykorčëvyvat', občistit', ograbit', /TatRS 732./ - "cleanse, clean, clear up, destroy root and branch"

ärče- "tisztítani, eltakarítani / reinigen, putzen, aufräumen" /TatB 16./

érče- "čistit'" /TatJ 18./ arči- "čistit'" /TatJ 7./

arči- "čistit', očiščat'" /TatT 22./

arču 1. → aču 1. "čistartu, utau, yolku, jleštiru" /TatDS 49./ - "clean, tear out, uproot, remove, clear away"

arčä- "reinigen" /PTatD 7./

ärčü "id." /TatAS₃ 685./ "Bu gaybätčelär kesälärne ärčilär, lăkin űzläre "čibăr". " G. Kamal. - "These gossiping people are clearing up their pockets, nevertheless they /consider themselves/ čibăr ". i.e. clean, immaculate

Bashkir data:

ärse- "id." /BashkRS 700./

ärse "očiščat' /ot skorlupy/" /BashkK 22./ - "peel /off the skin/"

ärse- "čistit', ubrat'" /BashkD2 323./ - "clean, remove, harvest"

ärčü "čistit" zap. bašk. - "western Bashk.", ärseü "id." bašk.lit.

- "Standard Bashk." /Maksjutova 81. 30./

Kipchak data:

arši- "čistit', očiščat'" /Krk1pRS 53./

arši "čistit'" /Nog. 235./

Other Turkic data:

arči- "obdirat' /šeluhu/, očiščat' /ot šeluhi/" /UzbRS 40./ -
"peel off, clean"

arčiir "čistit'" /RALts 838./

Middle Mongolian data:

arči- : arčiĵu /AQĴU 31./

arčiba altan "očistil zolota" /MA 104./ - "cleaned the gold"

arči- "wischen" /MNT 8./

Written Mongolian data:

arči- "čistit', otbirat', essuyer, nettoyer" /Kow./

arči- "to wipe, clean" /L/

arči- "očistit', vyteret', obtirat', stirat', utirat'" /Pozdn. 14./
- "to clean off, dry, rub oneself down "

arči- "abwischen, reinigen, stirat', očiščat'" /Schmidt 16c./

Ordos datum:

arts^{vc}i "essuyer, nettoyer" /Ord. 30a./

Other Mongolian data:

arči- " čistit', očiščat'" /KhRS 45./

arša- "čistit'" /BurRS/

The word occurs already in the Codex Cumanicus: arčilarmen "ich scheyde" /CCK 136./, we find it also in the Vocabularium cumanicolatinum: arčilarmen "decortico" /CCK 250./.

Groenbech considers it to be of Mongolian origin: arčila- "einen Streit beilegen" /CC/.

It must be related to the aforementioned word arča.

The Old Turkic word ariŋ "clean" becomes aru according to the rules in Kipchak languages /cf. are "sanctus, purus" /CCK 250.//.

We do not know a -ča denominal suffix making verb in Turkic languages, but we can find it in Mongolian. The stem being the Mongolian *ar /ar ᠠᠷ = eremdeg? /AQJU 28.//.

We find further derivatives of it in Mo.: arčimal, arčiŋur etc. Ramstedt considered the word arči- of Mo. origin, so did Räsänen /RVEW 24./ and Clauson.

Doerfer takes it for Turkic /TMEN₂ 448./ nevertheless his earliest datum is Chag. / i.e. not earlier than the Mongol-era/.

We have both palatal and velar forms of the verb in VK languages.

"This form of palatalization is detectable in certain Kipchak languages /Tatar, Bashkir/ today." /cf. L.Ligeti: Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus/

11. VK. asara- "to protect" < MMo. asara-

Tatar data:

asra- "vospityvat', vospitat', vskramlivat', vskormit', hranit', bereč'" /TatRS 42./ - "bring up, nurture, raise, guard"

asıra- = asra- "fölnevelni / erziehen" /TatB 7.,8./

asra- "saklamak, muhafaza etmek, beslemek, terbiye etmek" /TatN 33./ - "keep, hide, take care, nourish, domesticate" "Sin at asray mısın?" - "senin atın var mı?, at tutuyor musun?" /TatN 33./ - "Do you have a horse? Do you breed horses?"

asra- "äyberne ozak vakit ber häldä totu" /TatDS 50./ - "to keep something for a long time in the same condition"

asra- "yäsäu, tamak tuydıru, kön kürü" /DStat. 19./ - "to live, to fill one's stomach, to live on sg."

asra- "rastit', vospityvat' rebenka" /ST 104./ - "to bring up a child"

Bashkir data:

- aśira- "soderžat', razvodit'" /BashkRS 56./ - "to support, breed"
aśira- "to breed" /BashkT 19./
aśira- : aśirau bala "alip aśirağan bala" /BashkD1 26./ - "to
bring up an adopted child"
aśirau inäy "atahi - inähe bulmağan keşeneñ tärbiähendä torğan
qarsiq" /BashkD2 32./ - "gammer supported by a mother-
less, fatherless person"

Kipchak data:

- asira- "soderžat', kormit', bala asira- "vospytivat' rebenka"
/ Kaz. 44./
asira- "id." /Krk1pRS 57./
asira- "id." /NogRS 51./
asra- "soderžat', hodowac" KarRPS 81./

Early Kipchak data:

- asra- "rastit', vyraščivat'" /F. 75./ - "to bring up a child"
asra-, -r "zu essen geben" /CC/
asar- "pependo (sic!)" /CCK 43./
asra-, asara- W.9. , P.107. /Sangl. Ind.V.95./

Chuvash data:

- osra- "bereč, vospityvat'" /Zol. 21./
usra- "nevelni, aufziehen, erziehen" /PChuv. 194./,
usrav : u.-ivêl "fogadott fiú, pflegesohn" /PChuv. 195./

Other Turkic data:

- asra- "soderžat'" /Uzb. 59./
asra- "bereč, hranit'" /UzbRS 42./

Middle Mongolian data:

- asara- /AQJÜ 33./
asarba "hranil" /IMI/ - "saved"
asaraba önečini "okazal sirote popečenie" /MA 107./ - "he took
care of the orphans"
asarayul- "to let save, keep, to permit to care for" /HpP 119./
asara- "protéger, aider" /LHY/
asara- "besorgen, in Obhut nehmen" /MNT 9./
asara- "bemitleiden, erziehen" /LP/
asara- : asaraqu bui /Mon. Pr. 12./

asara-: asara^ʸsan, asara^ʸju /SMI 79./

Written Mongolian data:

asara- "miloserdovat', prizret', vospitat', spasti..., avoir pitié, compatir, avoir soin, élever..." /Kow. 54./

asara- "to take care, raise, foster, nourish" /L./

asara- "vospityvat', prizrevat'" /Pozdn. 4./

asara- "verpflegen, erziehen, prizret', vospitat'" /Schmidt 21a./

Ordos datum:

asara- "protéger, soigner, traiter avec sollicitude, sauver, servir quelqu'un (domestique)" /Ord. 32b./

Other Mongolian data:

asra- "uha^ʸivat', zabotit'sja, opekát'" /KhRS 46./ - "to nurse, tend, care for, protect sy, patronize sy"

asr- "beschützen, erziehen" /KWb. 16./

asar- "prinosit', ro^ʸžat'" /BurRS/ - "bear a child, give birth to"

The stem of the word is the Turkic aša- "est', kušat'" /DTS 62./, to what the -ra deverbial verb forming intensifier suffix was added in the Mongolian languages. It was re-borrowed in this new form asara- by several Turkic languages /cf. RVEW 29./, such as by Manchu languages : Solon asar- "id.", Man. asara- "id." /MT 136./. It is a Mongolian loan-word in Cuman /cf. Poppe, N.: Die Mongolischen Lehnwörter im Kommanischen/, in Karaim /cf. MEKS/, in Chuvash /KEJCS/. As Róna-Tas stated "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 (see in detail Róna-Tas 1975)."

The term is mainly used for those taking care of elderly or invalid people in present day Western-Mongolian dialects - as I learnt from Önörbayan. We find the same meaning in certain Bashk. dialects /see above BashkD2 /, while it was also extended to the terminology of animal-breeding : "Sigiz siyir asrama, simiz siyir asra." /KTA 63./ - "Don't breed eight cows, breed a fat one!"

12. VK. äðernä "bow made of horn" < MMo. adarana < *adirana

Bashkir data:

äðernä "ist. luk (osobo iskusnogo prigotovlenija, iz takogo luka streljal märgän "snajper i bogatyr")" /BashkRS 693./ - "bow (made with special skill, this kind of bow was used by the märgän "valiant, good shooter")"

äðrenäya "luk iz roga" /BashkK 21./ - "bow made of horn"

äðrinä "ein Bogen mit gespannter Sehne" /RVEW 36./

äðernä "luk, sdelannyj iz roga" /BashkD2/ - "bow made of horn"

Written Mongolian datum:

adarana "gromadnyj, bogatyrskij luk', (kakie, govorjat, byvali vstarinu)" /Pozdn. 6./ - "a dreadful enormous bow (that used to be met with in olden times - as they say)"

Other Mongolian data:

adrn "tolstyj konéc strely (kotoryj upiraetsja v tetivu), bogatyrskij luk" /KalmRS 28./ - "the thick end of the arrow laying on the stirr of the bow, bow belonging to the gallant"

ad^arana "das dicke ende des pfeiles, das an die sehne gelegt wird" /KWb. 2./

There was a well detectable tendency of palatalization in VK languages. The open ä often occurs in Persian, Mongolian, Russian etc. loanwords as a continuation of the former a. On the other hand we know, that the phoneme e is regularly closed in the first syllable of the Kipchak languages, while it is open in the other syllables. We find the phenomenon of metathesis in some of the Bashkir data. All these make it most probable that the word äðernä was borrowed by the Bashkir from the Mongolian and not vice-versa. If this kind of a bow was used by the mergen only, this might serve as an additional proof of its being a Mongolian term of fighting, or hunting. Rudenko tells us about the bows used by the Bashkirs the following: "Luki upotrebljavšiesja baškirami dlja ohoty, byli dvuh tipov: prostye /yan/ i složnye /äðernä/. Imelis' strely i s ostrymi kostjanyimi nakonečnikami. Baškirskij boevoj luk äðernä neskol'ko otličalsja ot ohotnič'ego yäyä. On vseгда skleivalsja iz dvuh plastin raznorodnogo dereva, s vnutrennej storony dlja pročnosti i uprugosti v nem byvali podkleeny po vsej dline rogovye plastiny, a snaruži dlja predohranenija ot syrosti on okleivalsja berestoj. Luk étot byl nebol'-

šoj, metr dlinnoj, dovol'no sil'no izognutyj, s otognutymi kon-
cami, očen' élastičnyj...." /Rudenko 55. 73./

13. VK. ätälge "falcon" < MMo. itelgü

Tatar data:

ätälge "balaban (vid bol'šogo sokola)" /TatRS 733./ - "hawk, a
kind of a big falcon"

itelge "szabda sólyom, schachtfalke (falco lanarius)" /TatB 23./

ätälge "zool. zur börketneñ ber töre" /TatAS₃ 687./ - "zool. a
kind of the big golden-eagle"

Bashkir data:

ätälge "krečet (sámka)" /BashkRS 702./ - "(female)hawk"

ätälge "krečet'" /BashkK 22./

ätälge → šonqar /zoolBashk. 153./ qara šonqar → qara ätälge "kre-
čet norvežskij" /zoolBashk. 133./ - "Norwegian kind of hawk"

Kipchak datum:

itelgi "sokol, pustel'ga (rod jastreba)" /Kaz. 200./ - "falcon,
crimson windhover (from the family of the sparrow-hawk)"

Early Kipchak data:

itälgi "espèce le faucon" /PdC 94./

itelgü "faucon épervier, Falke, Sperber" /Z 141./

Other Turkic data:

itälgi = itälgi "ohotnič'ja ptica - eine Art Jagdvogel" /R₁ 1502./

itolgi "zool. balobán" /UzbRS 185./

Middle Mongolian data:

itelgü "krečet" /IMI 404./

itelgü : erdem-tü sayin itelgü /MonPr₂ 368./

itelgü "id." /WU-Ti 4532./

Written Mongolian data:

itelgü "gyrfalcon" /L 418./, "Lanner falcon" /L 1204./

itilgi "balaban (ptica samka)" /Pozdn. 24./

itelgü "der Geierfalke, krečet" /Schmidt 41a./

itelge, itelgü "zajcelov, krečet, balaban" /Golst.₁ 125./

Ordos datum:

e^ct^celge šiwū "id."

Other Mongolian data:

itlγa, itlγan "ein raubvogel, geierfalke?, (weiblicher) würgfalke"
/KWb. 211./

itélgé šonhor "falco cherrug" = "faucon sacré" /VAM 123./

itlg "kreč^čet" /Nom. 43./

Both Doerfer /TMEN_{IV} 530./ and Räsänen /RVEW 175./ takes the word for Mongolian in Turkic languages /see all further data there/. Sidikov called our attention to the Mo. word ite, itü "kind of a bird of prey" /Sidikov 83. 52./

Nominhanov collected the old Kalmuk data of the word, and listed the Turkic languages that had borrowed it. We find the word with open ä- in the first and the secon syllables both in Bashkir and Tatar languages.

14. VK. äžegäy, äzgäy "red curds, dry cheese" < MMo. ejegei

Tatar data:

äžegäy, äzgäy "kort, kizil éremček" /TatDS 540./ - "red curds, made in a special way"

äcegäy "kizil éremček", "-Söt éretep, éremčektän äcegäy kaynatarımma tigän item. (Söt éretep, ak éremčektän kizil éremček kaynatırmınmı digän idem.)" /DStat. 253./ - "red kind of curds", "-Let me boil the milk and make some red curds from cheese, I said to myself. (I told myself to prepare some red curds from white curds that were made of boiled milk.)"

äcegäy "éremček, tvorog" /ST 232./

Bashkir data:

äžekäy "qıdıl äžekäy", "dosuha vyvarennyj tvorog, čut' pripravlennyj maslom i saharnym peskom", eläk äžekäye "jagoda" /BashkRS 694./ - "red curds", "cottage cheese, cooked to dry, a little bit flavoured by oil and granulated sugar", "kind of a marmelade made of berries"

äžekäy "varen'e" /BashkG. 52./ - "jam"

äžekäy "1. éremsekkä šäkär qušip qaynatip jakalʔan ašamlıq"
"2. er elägen höttä qaynatip äđerlängän ašamlıq"
"3. varen'e" /BashkD1 294./ - "1. A kind of a food that
is made of curds with some sugar being boiled until dry.
2. A kind of a food, boiled sour milk is used to it.
3. jam "

äžekäy "bal yäki šäkär qušip qidartılʔan éremek, vid kušan'ja,
prigotovlennyj iz tvoroga s medom" /BashkD2 320./ - "a
kind of a food, being made of curd with some honey or
sugar added to it"

äžekaj ~ äžegäj ~ äzekäj ~ äzegäj "krasnyj tvorog, kušan'e iz
tvoroga s maslom i sladostjami" /Isberdin 79. 22./

äžekäy "prigotovljalsja sledujuščim sposobom: k gotovomu katik
pribavljalos moloko, i smes éta kipjatilas' v kotle na
medlennom ogne dosuha, polučalas' svežim (ne toplenym)
molokom i podavalas' k čaju. Zagatovljalsja vprok, na
zimu." /Rudenko 55. 129./ - "it was made the following
way: in order to make it katik (a kind of a cheese, made
of boiled milk) was added to milk and this mixture was
boiled in a cooking-pot until it got dried on a medium
fire. Then fresh milk was added to it and it was used
up with tea. It was reserved for winter."

Kipchak datum:

ežegey "osobyj sort syra" /Kaz. 137./ - "a special kind of
cheese"

Other Turkic data:

iä žägäi, iä žigäi "smetana, tvorog" /Pek. 891./ - "sour cream,
curd"

iäžägäi "Quark" /MEJ 29./

Written Mongolian data:

egejegei, ējegei "syr iz oveč'jago moloka, frommage fait du
lait de brebis" /Kow₁ 234./

egejegei [= ējegei] "curds, cottage cheese" /L 299./

egejegei "geronnener saurer Rahm, davon gebackene Kuchen oder
Käse; smetana, syr ili pirožki iz smetany" /Schmidt 26a./

Ordos datum:

ēDžigī = ēDem Mo. Kow. egeĵegei, eĵegei "fromage fait de lait de brebis" /Ord. 229b./

Other Mongolian data:

ééžgéj "slivki ot syrogo moloka" /BurjRS 781./ - "sweat cream made of unboiled milk"

ēDžgī "a sort of dried curd, (in Dariganga not the same as ēDmeG in Ordos)" /Darig. 157./

ēz'gē "Schafmilch mit boz^o od. boz^o aus Schafmilch, Käse aus geronnener Schafmilch" /KWb. 131./

ééžgij "tvorog" /Sidikov 83. 61./

ééžgij "tvorog" /KhRS 684./

éžigej "osobyj sort tvorožnogo syra iz kipjačennogo oveč'ego ili koz'ego moloka", "varennij tvorog" /Sidikov 84. 69./ - "a special kind of curded-cheese made of the un-boiled milk of sheep, lamb, or goat", "boiled curdled milk"

The stem of the word must be the Mo. ege- "to become warm in the sun". We find the word in Mongolian both in the form of egede- and egeĵe-. Both of the suffixes -de and -ĵe serve as deverbal verbum suffixes. The final suffix -gei makes a nomen from the verb. It goes back to an older -kei form.

The fact that we find it in the Yakut as well, supports our belief in its being a pre 17th century loan-word from the Mongolian. It was borrowed in the 'Mo. era by certain Turkic languages of a certain area in Southern Siberia: Tuv. ééžegey, Hak. éčĵey, Alt. ejegey, Kirg. ézigey /cf. Sidikov 83., 84./. Cincius suggests that the word goes back to the Mo. edem, edemeg, egedem and it was borrowed by the Manchu-Tungus languages as well, in the shape of ēžemuŋ "tvorog" /Cincius₂ 439./. I consider this a mistake, we should separate ežemuŋ from egežegei.

Räsänen considers it of Mo. origin in Hak. and Yak. languages.

According to the appreciated verbal information of Prof. A. Temir äžegäy is made of sour milk on low flame. It gradually becomes sweet and turns reddish-brown. Its water boils away, and

is served dry. Tatars acquired this skill from the Bashkirs. I am also indebted to my Mongolian teacher Mr Önörbajan for the following: ModMo. éézgij ~ ēdzgī, Oir. ēdzgē is a popular delicacy among Western Mongolian people. It is made of the milk of any mammals straight after delivery, while milk is the sweetest and very thick. It is boiled until dry. It is put in the sun-shine in the shape of small cakes. There it gets very dry, therefore it keeps good over years.

15. VK. bagana "pillar, pole" < MMo. bagana

Tatar data:

bagana "stolb, ustoj, kolonna, stolbéc, kolónka" /TatRS 51./
- "pillar, stay, column, billet, log"

bařana "oszlop, cölöp, säule, pfahl" /TatB 151./

bagán' "stolb" /TatG/, bagana "id." /TatPR./

bagana "stolbéc" /TatH/, /AKRTat. 197./

bagana "toprağı kazarak dikilmiř kalın direk", uram baganası
/TatN 139./ - "a thick pole forced into the soil"

bagana "stolb", quř bařanası, oyoq bařanası /TatDS 63./

bagana "id." /TatAS 106./

bařana "stolb" /BarTat. 133./

čijim bařanası "telegraf baganası" /Bajazitova 86. 129./

bagana bāyrāme "prazdnik stolba" kogda ispolnjaetsja odin
god so dnja smerti čeloveka, na ego mogili stavili
stolb. Étot obrjad sobljudalsja ran'še u krjašen d.
Sarapala Al'met'evskogo r-na. Kak pokazyvajut arhiv-
nye dannye i po rasskazam starikov, v étoj derevne
krjašenami sčitalis' i otatarivšiesja čuvaši. Dannyj
obrdjad sobljudaljsja i v sosednih čuvařskih derevnjah."

Bashkir data:

bařana "stolb, ustoj (opora mosta) kolonka" /BashkRS 68./-
- "pillar, pier, small column"

bařana "czölöp, oszlop, kútágas" /BashkP 231./ - "stake,
pillar, pile, sweep of a well"

bařana "column, pillar, pole" /BashkT 32./

bařana → bagán "stolb dlja lazan'ja vo vremja sabantuja"
- "a column on which competitors climb in the course
of the plough -festival"

bařana -> mařana "kol" /BashkD2 165./ - "stake, post"
bařan ~ bařana "vysokij stolb dlja lazanija vo vremja saban-
tuja" /Miržanova 79. 186./

Kipchak data:

bařana "stolb, stojka, podporka" /Kaz. 82./ - "column, pillar,
stand, platform, base, main beam"
bařana "czölöp, ok, alap, Pfahl, Ursache, Grund" /AKB 99./
bařana "stolb, šest v jurte, kolonna, stolbec, kolonka, opora,
oplot, tupica" /KarRPS 95./ - "pole in the tent, stay,
pillar, bastion"
bařana "Stütze, Säule" /KarK 163./
bařana "stolb, podporka, podstavka, balka" /Nog. 237./ - "co-
lumn, pillar, carrier, beam"
bařana "Stütze, Säule" /MEKS 3./

Other Turkic data:

bagana "Pfahl" /Böht. 126./
bagana "stolb, podporka, kolonna, svája, opóra" /Tuv. 82./ -
"stake, pile, post, pole"

Written Mongolian data:

bařana "pierre ou barre de bois sur laquelle on attache les
tentes, pilier, colonne" /Kow.1056b./
bařana "stolb', kolonna" /Pozdn. 117./ - "column, pillar"
bařana "die Säule, der Pfeiler, stolb, kolonna" /Schmidt 98a/

Other Mongolian data:

bagana "stolb, kolonna, podporka, podstavka, drevko, na ko-
toroe opiraetsja jurta, palatka" bařanin oroĵ /KhRS 53./
- "column, stand, platform, pole in the tent, on which
it rests"
bařana D, bařan ~ bařanⁿ U "colonne, poteau" /Oir. 128./

bagana "Pfeiler aus Holz (mod), die dem tonoo und damit dem ganzen gër den rechten Halt geben wird" /Par.Mon.157./
baḡān ~ baḡān "id." /Vladimircov 29. 228./
baḡana "opornyj steržen' (ustanavlivaetsja v jurte), stolb, kolonna, podporka" /Sidikov 83. 55./- "supporter pole (set in a tent)"

Ordos datum:

bagana "chevron, piquet pour attacher des animaux" /Ord./

The word is wide-spread in Mongolian spoken areas. It is well represented in Written Mongolian while we can not find it in Old or Middle Turkic sources. It went through to Manchu and also to some Finno-Ugrian languages /cf. Ewenki baḡana, Man. baxana /MT 101./, poxana /ČLČ 178.//.

The contraction of the -aḡa- syllable did not take place in Mongolian due to the articulation of the first vowel /cf. Poppe 62. 4./.

The meaning of the word has got newer shades. It is a wide-spread and living word in the Volga-Kipchak territory. The stakes holding the electric wires are also called bagana. Zajaczkowski considered the word of Mongolian origin in Karaim, Kazah, Karakalpak, Nogay languages, Clauson agreed with this in his etymological dictionary /see there p.316./. Räsänen considered it of Mo. origin too in Cheremiss, but there must have been a Chuvash mediation, as he added.

16. VK. batir "brave" < Mo. bātur

Tatar data:

batir "geroj, bogatyr, silač, molodec, smélyj, hrabryj" /TatRS 61./ - "heroic, valiant, strong man, a fine figured man, gallant"

batir "kurikmaučanlık, kiyulık, köçlelek, uyganlık sıyfatları belän tanılğan şahes" /TatAS₁ 134./ - "a valiant being known for his intrepidity, fearlessness, courage and bravery"

Early Kipchak datum:

bagat i.e. bagatur "probus, integer" /CCK 299./

Other Turkic datum:

botir "hrábryj, otvažnyj, batyr" /UzbRS 82./ - "valiant, fearless, brave"

Written Mongolian datum:

baɣatur : baɣatur čiči... törögsen-tür-iyen /AQJÜ 39./

Other Mongolian datum:

baatar "bogatyr', geroj, vitjaz', bogatyrskij, gerojčeskij, mužestvennyj, hrabryj, doblestnyj" /KhRS 52./ - "well-built man, valiant, brave, heroical, manful, daring"

The word was borrowed from the Mongolian after the contraction had been completed in the first syllable, i. e. in the late Middle Mongolian period. Then it spread in a huge area ruled by the Mongols and penetrated into several languages.

17. VK. baĵa "brother - in - law" < MMo. baĵa

Tatar data:

baĵa "svojak" /TatRS 64./ - "brother-in-law"

baĵa "sógor (feleségem nővérének férje), schwager (mann der frauenschwester)" /TatB 152./

paĵa s. baĵa "Schwager" /TatC 124./

baça "svojak" /TatG/, baĵa "svojak" /PTatD/

baça "iki kız kardeşlerle evlenmiş olanlar bir-birine baçadırlar" /TatN 132./ - "the ones who has got married with two sisters are baça to each-other"

baz'a, baz'i "baja", "svojak" /TatDS 64./

baz'a "baĵa", "Bertugan kızlarga öylängän ike yäki berničä ir üzara berbersenä baz'a bulalar." /DStat. 27./ - "The men or married husbands of two blood-sisters are baz'a to each-other."

Bashkir data:

baĵa "svojak" /BashkRS 69./

baĵa "svojak", "ike ayakti baĵa tatıu, dürt ayakti kăzä tatıu družni (živut) - o dvuh nogah svojaki, o četyreh nogah kôzi (pogov.)" /BashkK 23./

bažay "svojak" /BashkD2./

Kipchak data:

baža "svojak" /Kaz. 62./

badžanaq ~ bacanak "svojak (o muž'jah rodných sestěr v otnoše-nii drug k drugu)" /KarRPS 96./- "brother-in-law
(husbands of born sisters calling each others)"

baža "svojak" /Krk1pRS 76./

Chuvash datum:

badža, bazya "svojak" /Zol./

pužana "sógor (feleségem nővérének férje)" /PChuv.110./ < *bacanaq

Other Turkic data:

baža "svojak" /TkmRS 66./

baža "svojak (muž sestry ženy)" /TuvRS 83./- "husband of the
wife's sister"

boža "svojak" /UzbRS 78./

Middle Mongolian data:

baža "svojak" /MA 402./, baža "le maris de sœurs" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

baža "svojak, zjat', beaux-frères, personnes qui out épousé
les deux soeurs" /Kow. 1082./

baža "husbands of sisters" /H/

bača "svojak" /Pozdn. 120./

baža "der Schwager, der Frauen-Schwester-Mann, zjat'" /Schmidt
104a./- "son- or brother-in-law"

Ordos datum:

BaDžā "les maris de sœurs" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

baza, baža "Schwager" /BurjC 167./

baža "muz'ja rodných sester" /DagP 69./

baža "Schwager" /KWb. 37./

baz "svojak" /Nom. 38./

badža, baza "svojaki, svojak" /Sidikov 83. 36./

Due to the -ɣ- sound in the middle of the word, we consider it a loan-word in the VK. languages. It seems to belong to the terminology of affiliated relatives many of which was borrowed from the MMo. languages. It is most probable that it was adopted in Vk. languages via Chaghatai mediation. We have no criterium in hand to prove it, but we know that Eastern Turkic languages/koine played a major role in the course of evolution of the VK. languages. In any case the word baɣa "svojak" existed in Chaghatai as well /cf. MA-P II./.

The word became into general use in Volga Finno-Ugrian languages, due to Chuvash mediation. Räsänen writes that we can find it also in Mordvine, Vogul, Ostyak and Votjak in the shape of pada "id." /ČLC 180./.

Bazilxan writes about its being a loan-word in Kazakh from the Mongolian /cf. Bibliogr./.

We can learn it from Pokrovskaja that the word baza can be used for males and females in singular and plural in the same shape in Buriat. /cf. Bibliogr./

18. VK. berket- "to strengthen" < MMo. berket-

Tatar data:

berket- "zakrepljat', zakrepiť, utverždat', utverdit'" /TatRS 67./- "to make fast, fix, fasten, reinforce, to stabilize, consolidate"

berket- "närsägä dä bulsa kadaklap, čänčäp, kadap ... yullar belän nigitu" /TatAS₁ 153./- "to make anything fast by the way of driving it into sg., or sticking it into sg."

Bashkir data:

berkätä- "id." /BashkDl 39./

Middle Mongolian datum:

berket- "to become strong" /MA/

The word is definitely of Turkic origin in the Mongolian, berkit- "ukrepljat', hvatat'" /DTS 96./- "to fasten, hold". It seems to be re-borrowed in the VK. languages, for we find there an -e- instead of a closed -i- that should be found. This makes us presume, that the word is a loan.

19. VK. biyäläy "mittens" < MMo. begelei

Tatar data:

biyäläy "rukavicy, varežki" /TatRS 75./- "mittens, gloves"
kün biyäläy "mittens made of leather", éčke biyäläy
"mittens"
bejäläj "ujjatlan kesztyű, fausthandschuh" /TatB/
biyäläy "rukavicy" /TatG/- "gloves"
mêlei "Handschuh" /TatC 129./
biyäläy "váreški" /TatJ 27./
biyalay "rukavica" /TatH/
içsiz biyeley "eldiven, yani deri eldiven" /TatN 61./- "gloves
without a lining i.e. gloves made of leather"
biyali "rukavica", pialeý "id." /GTat./
meyäläy "biyaläy" /DStat. 131./, ırkača "kün biyäläy" /DStat.
235./, éčmäk "éčke biyäläy" /DStat. 238./
bijäli "varežka" /PTatD 11./
mägäläy "rukavicy" /Bartat. 164./
yečmäk "yomşak biyäläy" /ST 111./- "soft mittens"
yarfaq "tiş biyäläy" /ST 119./- "external or top gloves"
miyäli "biyäläy", "rukavicy" /ST 166./
Biyeley içinden yudruk kürsete. "Eldiven içinden yumruk göste-
riyor." /KTA 88./- "Fist is shown from the gloves."

Bashkir data:

beyäläy "rukavicy, varežki" /BashkRS 38./
biyäläy "id." /BashkK 34./

Kipchak datum:

méeley /cf. Oruzbaeva in Bibliogr./

Other Turkic data:

meeley "varežki" /RaltS 43./
Pis adaj pir inde čurtapčalar. - Melejdegi xol. "Five dogs
live in one cave - The hand in the glove. /Tietze 62./

Written Mongolian data:

begelei "glove/s/, mitten/s/" /L/
bili "rukavicy, vareški" /Pozdn. 124./
begelei "der Handschuh, perčatka" /Schmidt 104c./

Other Mongolian data:

bêlê, bêlei "Handschuh" /BurC 168./

begelei "fausthandschuh" /KWb. 44./

begelei "gloves", begeleici "glovemaker" /Krue. 67./

beelä <Old. Kalm. beelee "rukavicy, varežki" /Nom. 126./

bèelii "eine Art Handschuhe, Fausthandschuhe" /ParMon. 167./

béelij "varežka, perčatka" /Sidikov 83. 57./

begelei "rukavicy" /Rassadin 80. 28./

begelei "id." /Todaeva 85. 18./

The word behli or bähli is a loan in Chaghatai from the Mongolian. In Middle Mongolian we find the forms begelei and be'elei /VI /. Radloff, Ramstedt and Ligeti trace the Chaghatai datum back to the same Mo. form that was lent to VK languages.

We may not consider it to be of Turkic origin either in Tatar or in Bashkir for the word contains more than two syllables. It is widely spread in Mongolian languages /cf. Nom./.

Räsänen considers it to be of Mo. origin in Siberian Turkic languages, in Uigur and Kazan Tatar. It is not only the number of the syllables but also the meaning of the VK word that perfectly corresponds to that of the Mo. equivalent.

We can assume a Mo. beyeley that was handed over to VK languages. In the course of the contraction - that was going on with the -VgV-, -V₁V- type of syllables - there might be a phase at least in certain dialects /e.g. West Middle Mongolian see Pozdn./ where the -g- was dropped out, while in VK an unorganic -y- was inserted instead in order to preserve and indicate the original Mo. length.

20. VK. biljira- "soften" < MMo. bilčara-

Tatar data:

biljira- "mjaknut', razmjaknut', razmokat', drjabnut', sniknut'" /TatRS 88./ - "grow soft, soften, become soak, become loose"

bäljërä- "nik jebüdän ütä yomšaklanıp yäki jäelep-taralıp kitü /törle äyberlär turında/, ~ mäljërä- /TatAS₁ 208./ - "to become soak or extend the size from a heavy rain /in connection with different things/

mäljira- ~ biljira- ~ mäljërä- "razmjaknut', raskisnut'" /TatDS 310./ - "to become soft, turn sour"

Other Turkic datum:

bilčilla- "hljupat'" /UzbRS 72./ - "to become sludgy"

Written Mongolian datum:

bilčara- /bjalcrax "to become crushed, pulverized or squashed" /L. 104./

The word seems to be a loan in Tat. due to its length and also to the -j- in the second syllable. It is telling too, that we find open -ä- in the first syllable.

We have other examples when the initial b- is substituted in loanwords by m- in VK languages.

21. VK. bolanğır "dim" < MMö. bulanggir/tai/

Tatar datum:

bolanğır "tonik, tömsä, bolgančik" /TatDS 91./ - "turbid, muddy, dim, cloudy, gloomy, dull"

Bashkir data:

bölänğert "tusklyj /o lučah sveta/" /BashkRS 112./ - "faint, weak, pale /about light/"

bölängert --> bolartqı /BashkD1 49./

Bolartqı gön. - "A gloomy day."

bolanğır "bölängert", Bolanğır kön. /BashkD2 50./

Middle Mongolian datum

bulanğır bolba usun "voda stala mutnoj" /MA 125./ - "the water became turbid"

Written Mongolian data:

bulunggir, bulanggir "mutnost', nečistata" /Kow. 1190./ - "darkness, uncleanness"

bulunggir --> bulanggir /L 136./

bulanggirtai "turbid, muddy, dirty, depraved, corrupt" /L 133./

bulanggir "trübe, schlammig, mutnyj, ilovatyj" /Schmidt 112b./

Ordos datum:

Bulangirt'ä --> Bulingirt'ä "qui contient des saletés, trouble /liquide/" /Ord. 95./

Other Mongolian data:

buluner, bulaner, bulanir "Schmutz" /BurjC 170./
bulingartaa "troublé /eau, liquide/, oir. bulunggir, bulanggir /Kara 1959. 131./
bulngir, bul'ngir "schmutzig, unrein, trüb" /KWb. 60./
bulingar "mut" /KhRS 86./ - "dregs of a liquid"

The word is not present in OT, but even so it can be reborrowed from the Mo., where it can be a Turkish loan. It is suspicious, that it has more than two syllables, and we have data from the Bashkir with palatal vowels as well. The word final -t can be a remnant of the Mo. -tai.

22. VK. buljal "term" < MMo. boljal

Tatar data:

bulčal "id." /ČLČ 184./
moldax "Termin" /TatC 129./

Bashkir data:

bulya- "tuy vaqitın bildäläü" /BashkD1 51./ - "to determine the time of the wedding"
bulyal "vaqit, srok" /BashkD2 56./ - "time, termin"
bulyal quyiu "tuy vaqitın bildäläü", "opredelenie sroka svad'-by" /Maksjutova 75. 34./

Kipchak datum:

božžal "határidő, Termin, Frist" /NKB 103./

Chuvash data:

pälčav, pil'čav "okončatel'nyj ugovor o sroke, o dne svad'by" /Ašm.lo. 10./ - "final agreement on the termin and the day of the wedding"
pälčav "ugovor o dne svad'by" /ChuvS 277./
pël'Džav "die von der braut für den bräutigam verfertigten oder gekauften geschenke, welche schon vor der hochzeit von dem vater und dem jüngeren bruder /od. der jüngeren schwester/ des bräutigams abgeholt werden, wobei zugleich der tag der hochzeit endgültig festgesetzt wird..." /PChuv. 99./

Other Turkic data:

molčak "srok'" /AltV/

for further data see Räsänen /RVEW 79./

Middle Mongolian data:

bolja- : boljabasu: boljabasu ber bida učiraquy-a berke /AQJÜ 85./

boljal "srok'" /MA 120./

boljal "Verabredung" < bolja- "/e. Termin/ verabreden, bestimmen"
/MNT 19./

boljal : boljal ülü qojidan /kem boljal/ /MonPr₂ 306./

Written Mongolian data:

bulčaga, bolčoga, bulčiga "opredelennyj srok, termin, sbornoe mesto, sborišče, termin, temps prefix, temps fixe, rendez-vous" /Kow./

bolja-, bolju- > boljuŋ-a/n/ "stipulation, agreement, appointed time" /L/

boljō, boljoŋ "srok'" /Pozdn. 130./

bolčar, bolčaga "der Termin, die Frist, srok', die Bedingung, Verabredung, der Termin, uslovie, ugovor', srok'"
/Schmidt 115a./

Ordos datum:

Boldžō "endroit convenu, rendez-vous, date fixe " /Ord./ ->
boljaŋa

Other Mongolian data:

bolzoo/n/ " dogovorënnost; uslovie, ugovór /o sróke i méste/"
- "agreement /on time and place/", bolzol "uslovie"
/KhRS 74./

bolzār, bolzōg "Frist, Sammelplatz" /KWb. 51./

bolzor "srok'" /BurRS/

bolzg, bolza < bolzog, bolzoo "srok'" /Nom. 297./

boljaŋa "uslovie, ogovor" /Todaeva 85. 18./

The stem of the word is the Mo. verb bolja-. The derivatives are numerous and well represented in Mo. languages old and new alike.

It was handed over to the VK languages in two different forms.

One was bol^ŷaj that took part in a development in Tatar, it became bol^ŷau > then bol^ŷaw. This was the stage when it was handed over to Chuvash and some Volga Finno-Ugrian languages. The other one was bol^ŷal, and this one is still used in Bashkir. The -ŷ- in the second syllable has developed into -y-, but this was a secondary development. The first vocal of the word -o- took part in the closing process.

As for the Chuvash borrowings see KEJCS.

It was borrowed from the Mo. into different Siberian Turkic languages and went through to Manchu Tungus as well /cf. MT 101./.

23. WK. buran "snow storm" < MMo. borān

Tatar data:

buran "burán, metél, metélica, v' juga" /TatRS 84./ - "snow storm, blizzard"

buran "téli zivatar, hóförgeteg, wintersturm, schneegestöber" /TatB 166./

boran "Wirbelwind" /TatC 127./

buran "v' juga" /TatH/

buran, buragan "kar kasırgası, yağmur ve kum kasırgasına da buran denir" /TatN 160./ - "whirlwind with snow, the whirlwind with rain and sand is also called buran"

buran, buran-kızan /TatDS 97./

buran "Schneesturm" /PTatD 12./

buran "id." Bu yel kişlar bik buran. /TatAS₁ 192./ - "Winter is full of snow-storms this year."

boran, puran "buran" /BarTat./

Bashkir data:

buran "metel'" /BashkRS 120./ - "snow-storm"

buran "metel, v' juga" /BashkK 38./

buran "metel" /BashkD2 /

Kipchak data:

boroon "snow storm" /Kirghiz Manual 108./

boran "burja, v' juga, metél, sil'nyj vétér" /NogRS 84./ - "snow storm, blizzard, strong wind"

boran "Sturm, Orkan, Wirbelsturm" /KCG 126./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data

buran "terebra" /CCK 303./

boraxan "wirbelwind, sturm" /Z/

Other Turkic data:

porogon "metel, buran, v' juga" /AltV 265./

boran "buran, metel, burja" /AzRS 32./, buraŋan "smerč, vihr', vodovorot" /AzRS 35./ - "whirlwind, storm, whirlpool"

Middle Mongolian datum:

boro'on = boro'an "Schneesturm" /MNT 19./

Written Mongolian data:

boruŋan "dožd', pluie" /Kow./, borogan "id." /Golst.₂ 264./

boruŋan "rain" /L/, boro "seryj, sivyj, dožd'" /Pozdn. 131./

boruŋan "der Regen, dožd'" /Schmidt 115b./

Ordos datum:

Borōn -- boruŋan "pluie" /Ord. 81./

Other Mongolian data:

borugan, borān "unwetter, sturm mit regen od. schnee" /KWb.51./

boran "id." /Nom. 276./

boruŋa "rain, storm" /Krue. 69./

boroo/n/ "dožd'" /KhRS 78./

Though we find the word in Chaghatai with 3 syllables /cf. bo-raŋan /Z/ /, it spread with two syllables in the Volga-district. We have one datum in Nasiri's dictionary that is inconsistent with this /cf. TatN/, but it can also be an older borrowing. Otherwise it is clear that it was a late loan in the VK languages.

Doerfer considers it to be of Mongolian origin in the VK languages /cf. TMEN₁ 219./. Räsänen enlisted the Turkic languages that use this word, or even lent it further /cf. RVEW 80./. Dobrodomov offered a Russian etymology, that might fail.

24. VK. burli "grey" < MMo. būral

Tatar data:

burli "čalyj, kauryj" burli at "lošad' čaloj másti" /TatRS 85./
- "apple grey, apple-grey coloured horse"

būrul, būral "hellgrau, von gemischtem Haar" /TatC 171./

burli "fehéres, szürkés, graulich" /TatB 166./

burli "kara yäki kizil östendä börték-börték ak yonnari bul-
gan /gadättä at turinda/" /TatAS₁ 193./ - "in general
it is used for horses/black or red haired with some
white curls or spots in it"

burli yeltkä "golubaja čern'" /ST/ - "dove-grey"

turi burli "gnedo-čalyj" /TatRS 558./ - "apple-grey"

Bashkir data:

buril "čalyj /o masti lošadi/" /BashkRS 121./ - "grey /about
the colour of a horse/"

buril, buril at "čalaja lošad'" /BashkK 39./

Kipchak data:

buril "čalyj /o masti lošadi/", kara buril "temnočalyj"
/Kaz. lol./ - "grey, dark-grey"

Chaghatai datum:

būrul "čal, sedoj" /MA 127./ - "grey hair of animals or
people"

Chuvash data:

purlă, păvărłă "čalyj" /Ašm.₉ 307./

purlă "serovatyj, čalyj, bulanyj /o masti lošadi/" /ChuvS 315./
- "grey, flea-bitten grey /horse/"

păvărłă "buryj, čalyj" /ChuvS 276./

purlă "szürkés, sárgásszürke, gräulich, gelbgrau" /PChuv.108./

Other Turkic datum:

burul "von gemischtem Haare /von Pferden/" /Böht. 143./

Middle Mongolian datum:

būrul "sedoj" /MA/

Written Mongolian datum:

buγural, buγurul "grey" /L/

buɣural morin "der Rothschimmel, čalaja lošad'" /Schmidt 111c./

Other Mongolian data:

bûrul, bûral "hellgrau, von gemischtem Haar" /BurjC 171./

bûral, bûral "gris /cheveux/, chenu" /Oir. 131./

bûrl "weisshaarig /von menschen/, weissmähmig /von pferden/"
/Kwb./

buural "sediná, sedoj, čályj" /KhRS 91./ - "grey hair, grey
fur"

The word is borrowed with its original long Mo. vowel, and is also transmitted with it /cf. Tat. burli > Chuv. pəvərli /, even if it is not indicated in writing, we have to assume it.

Besides the Volga region it was also borrowed by the Yakut and several Siberian Turkic languages /cf. pûrul "čályj - mit gemischtem Haare /von Pferden/" /Radl. IV 1366./.

25.VK. busaga "threshold" < MMo. bosaɣa

Tatar data:

busaga "porog /dveri/", busaga töšerü "obivat' porogi"
/TatRS 85./ - "threshold /of a door/, to wear away
the threshold"

busaɣa "küszöb, schwelle" /TatB 166./

busaɣa "eşik" = kapi ve pencere gibi nesnelerin alt kısmının temas ettiği ağaç" /TatN 167./ - "threshold,
the wooden contact at the lower side of doors and
windows"

busaga "porog" /TatDS 97./

busaɣa "tupsa, täräzä, işek tupsası" /DStat. 39./ - "door-
sill, window, door-hinge"

posaɣa "porog" /BarTat. 177./

Bashkir data:

busaga "porog u dveri" /BashkK 39./ - "threshold of a door"

busaɣa "porog" /BashkD2 /

Kipchak data:

bosaɣa "porog" /Kaz. 99./

bosaɣa "porog, dvernaja rama" /Krk1pRS 115./ - "threshold,
door-case"

bosaga "porog, dvernaja koróbka" /NogRS 85./ - "door-frame"

basaga, bosaɣa "porog" /KarRPS 105, 132./

bosaŋa "Türschwelle" /KCG 126./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

bosaŋa "seuil de la porte" /PdC 170./

bosaŋa, bosoŋa bos/soŋa /Sangl. Ind. V. 95./

Chuvash data:

pusaxa "porog, stremja" /Ašm.₁₀ 8./ - "threshold, stirrup"

pusaxa "strémja, porog, stupén'ka" /ChuvS 316./ - "stair-step, threshold, stirrup"

Other Turkic data:

posogo "porog" /AltV 266./

mosoŋo "Schwelle" /Böht. 149./

bosaga "porog" /TkmRS 111./

büsaŋa "porog /dvernoj/" /ÜzbRS 97./

Middle Mongolian data:

bosoqa "seuil de porte" /LHy 18./

bosaŋa : bosaŋ[a] /MonPR₂ 364./

bosoqa "Türschwelle, Türauslass" /MNT 20./

Written Mongolian data:

bosuŋa, bosaŋa "porog v dverjah', le seuil d'une porte"
/Kow. 1173a./

bosuŋ-a "doorsill, threshold" /L/

bosoŋa "die Türschwelle, porog dverej" /Schmidt 119b./

Ordos datum:

Bošogo "seuil de porte" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

bohogo, bocogo "Schwelle" /BurjC 169./

basārgā --> bosuŋa "porog" /DagP 70./

bosxa "porog /dveri kalmyckoj kibitki/" /KalmRS 112./ - "threshold /door of a nomadic tent/"

bosgo "porog /u dveri/" /KhRS 78./

bosgo "Schwelle, Unteres Querstück des Türrahmens" : totgo
"Oberschwelle" /ParMon. 156./

bosaga "Türschwelle" /Kwb. 52./

The stem of the word is the Mo. verb bos- "to stand up" /cf. bos- : bos- : ai köbegün bos bos /AQJÜ 85./. The word bosoga or bosuga derived from this verb with the help of a deverbal suffix /cf. Sidikov83 26., Róna-Tas: The Altaic Theory...82./. According to Vladimircov, the vowel of the second syllable should be read as -u- due to a reduction of vowels in non-first-syllables that occurred in MMo. in the 13th-14th centuries /cf. Vladimircov29 312-13./ Though the same author called our attention to an interesting phenomenon: " ... bosufa "porog" ~ bošufa v mong. pis'm v celom rjade slov nabljudajutsja čeredovanija s i š " /cf. above p.227./, still we don't have any example of the word being borrowed with -š-. Poppe showed in one of his articles that the word went through to Ewenki as well: bohogo "a mountain slope never illuminated by sun beams" /cf. Poppe59 271./

The originally Mo. word bosógo is used in place-names in Kirgiz: Bosogo-Ak-Taš /cf. Oruzbaeva 463./

Zajaczkowski considers the word of Mo. origin in Karaim /cf. MEKS 298./. Róna-Tas states the same for Chuvash /see above/. Doerfer takes it for a Mo. loan in several Turkic languages /TMEN 227./. We can find a wide range of these languages /cf. Sidikov83 54., RVEW 81./.

Nasirî erroneously considered the word of Persian origin in Tat.: "busaga : aslında farsça busegâh : öpme yeri demektir ve tarihî bir tabirdir. Eski İran şahlarının dergâhına giren adam sarayın busaga'sını /eşığını/ öpmek adet idi...."

/TatN 168./ - "originally Persian busegâh meaning the place of the kissing - being a historical expression, for it was a custom in the Dervish convent of the Old Iranian Shah's to kiss the busaga /threshold/ of the serai for anyone entering it..."

There is a synonym of the word in Bashkir : tupfa "porog, dvernaia petlja" /BashkK 217./, tubsa "küszöb" /PBashk 267./

26. VK. büdänä "quail" < MMo. bödene

Tatar data:

büdänä "pérepel, perepelka" /TatRS 94./ - "quail, hen-quail"

büdänä "bertörle keçkenä koş" /DSTat. 38./ - "a kind of a little bird"

büdänä "Wachtel" /TatR_{IV} 1899./

büdänä "Wachtel" /PTatD/

butana "perepelka" /GTat./

büdänä → bitbildik "perepel" : Ike auči auga čikkannar. Ikesenä öč ürdäk, ber büdänä atkannar. /TatAS₁ 219./ -
"quail, Two huntsmen go out to hunt. Both of them shoots three ducks and one quail."

"taw bujənda büdänä

balalarina sülänä" /Paasonen, H.: Tat. Lieder. SUS 19/2./ -

"Die Wachtel am abhang des berges
spricht mit ihrem jungen."

Bashkir data:

büdänä "pérepel" /BashkRS 124./

büdänä "búbos banka" /PBashk./ - "hoopoe"

büdänä "perepel" /BashkK 35./

büdänä → bitbildiq "perepel, perepelka", büdänä qarsıqahı
"jastreb - perepeljatnik" /ZoolBashk. 120./ - "quail,
sparrow-hawk"

Kipchak data:

bödene "pérepel, perepelka" /Krk1pRS 116./

bo'do'no "perepelka" /Nog. 238./

bedene "perepelka" /KarRPS 147./

b'edña "Turteltaube, Wachtel" /MEKS 298./

bödönö "id." /KirgRS/

bödene "Wachtel" /CrimTat. 239./

"Bödeneden korkkan tarı ekmez" /DKT 35./ - "The one
who is afraid of a quail will not spread the grains."

bödene "fürj, Wachtel" /NKB 103./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

bödenä "caille" /PdC 164./

büdene, büdüne /Sangl. Ind. V. 95./

bädänä "/wahrsch. bödänä zu lesen/ fürj, Wachtel" /TGA 305./

Chuvash data:

putene "perepel, perepelka" /Ašm.₁₀ 44./

pušana, pošana "id." /Ašm.₁₀ 54./

podené "perepel-ka" /Zol. 49./

putene "pérepel" /ChuvS 320./

podén "caille" /Klaproth1828 243./



puDEnE "fürj, Wachtel" /PChuv. llo./

Other Turkic data:

pödine, pödüne, pödünö "perepelka" /AltV 267./

Middle Mongolian data:

bödänä "caille" /LHY I7./

bödene "id." /VI 21./

bödene "Wachtel" /LP/

Written Mongolian data:

bödöne "perepelka, caille /tetrao coturnix/" /Kow. 123o./

bödüne "id." /Golst./

bödüne "quail" /L/

bödönö "perepelka" /Pozdn. 131./

bödöne "die Wachtel, perepelka" /Schmidt 124a/

Ordos datum:

BöDönö "caille" /Ord. 84./

Other Mongolian data:

bödänä "Wachtel" /KWb. 54./

büdüne "quail" /Krue. 71./

bödn "perepelka" /Nom. 43./

bödnö "zool. perepelka" /KARS 8o./

büdene "id." /BurRS/

It must be a loanword in the Tatar due to the intervocalic -ä- that is preserved. The word bödene superseded the original Turkish word bıldırčın in many dialects, /cf. TMEN₁ 218./ went through to the Persian and also to West Siberian Turkic. Later it was transmitted further to the Vogul, Votyak /cf. Voty. bödönö "Coturnix dactylisonans, perepel" /Izv. Obšč.₃₋₅ 252.//, or to Cheremis.

27. VK. böldörkä "loop on a whip handle" < MMo. büldürge

Tatar data:

böldörkä "petlja na knutovišče knuta" /TatDS 1o8./ - "loop on a whip-handle"

möldörmä "petlja, kotoroj nagajka nadevaetsja na ruku" /PTatD 32./ - "loop that fixes the whip to the arm"

büldürgö "petlja" /TatR/

böldörkä ~ böldörmä "kulga kiyär öčen cibirkî sabîna berketel-
gän elmäk" /TatDS 108./ - "a loop fixed on a whip-
handle in order to put it on the arm"

möldörkä ~ böldörkä "id." /TatDS 316./

mölderikä ~ bölderikä "id." /DStat. 138./

böldermä "dial. kulga kiyu öčen ĵaylangan élmäk /čibirkî sa-
bînda/" /TatAS₁ 215./ - "loop that is fitted /to the
whip-handle/ in order to fix it to the arm"

Bashkir data:

böldörgä "temljak" /BashkRS 112./ - "pompon decorating the
sword"

müldergä "temljak /dlja nadevaniju na ruku/" /BashkRS 394./ -
"loop decoration that helps to fix it to the arm"

möldörgä ~ böldörgä ~ möldörkä "id." /BashkD1 158./

möldörmä ~ böldörgä "temljäk" /BashkD2 173./

Kipchak data:

büldirge "petlja na rukojatke nagajki" /Kaz. 110./

büldirge "pétlja u rukojatki knuta, ili nagájki dlja nakidy-
vanija na ruku" /Krk1pRS 127./ - "loop on a whip-
handle or whip that is laid on the arm"

Chaghatai datum

büldürgä, bildürgä "id." /MA/

Chuvash data:

pältärkä /pıldirga/ "verevočka ili remešok na rukojatke na-
gajki ili pletki" /Ašm.₁₀ 110./ - "string or strap
on a whip-handle or on a riding-whip"

pältärkä "remešok na rukojatke nagajki ili pleti dlja ode-
vanija ruki" /ChuvS 277./ - "a little strap on a
whip handle or on a lash in order to fasten it to
the arm"

pâldârğa "ostornyél végén levő szíj- vagy zsinórhurok, mely-
be a kezét beleillesztik? riemen- oder schnur-
schlinge am peitschen-ende" /PChuv. 99./

Written Mongolian data:

- bögeldürge "remennaja petelka u nagajki, cordou qu'on attache au bout d'on fouet pour le tenir à la main" /Kow./
bögeldürge "loop on a whip handle" /L/
bögöldörge "/bög/ die Schlinge, das Knopfloch, petlja, petlica" /Schmidt 12oc./

Ordos datum:

- bügüldürge "la petite lanière formant anneau qui est au bout du manche d'un fouet /on introduit la main dans l'anneau pour tenir le fouet étant à cheval/" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

- bügelderger "podveja /remen' ot sedla ohvatyvajuščij grud' lo-šadi/, petlja /u ošejnika teljonka na knutoviščedlja nadevanija na ruku/" /BurRS/ - "strap hanging off the saddle spanning the chest of the horse, loop at the calf-collar that was fixed to the whip-handle and one could put it on his arm"
bögöldörgö "pétlja u ručki knutá, nagájki" /KhRS 79./ - "loop on a whip handle"

Räsänen /RVEW 92./ and Róna-Tas /cf. Róna-Tas82 86./ takes it for Mongolian. Rassadin links it to the terminology of Shamanism /cf. Yak. belderge, beldirge "verevka iz beloĵ konskoĵ grivy" /Rassadin 80. 68./ - "cord made of the mane of a white horse", Yak. belderge "verevka iz beloĵ konskoĵ grivy, upotrebljaemaja dlja perevjazyvanija čaš i kovšej vo vremja ijsyaka sr. bur. bohansk šam." - "string, made of the mane of a white horse, it was used to tie round the scoops and the cups in the course of ijsyaka cf. Bur. bohansk Sham."/

28. VK. bülbe "tuber, root" < bölbē

Tatar data:

- bülbe "bot. klubn', klubnevoj" /TatRS 95./ - "tuber, tuberous"
bülbe -> alma "kalhuz baqčasinnan bülbene mičkägä tutirip alip kiläbez" /TatDS llo./ - "we are going to bring apples in barrel from the garden of the co-operative"
bülbe "üsemlek tamiriniñ ĵir astındağı nık yuanaep bültäygän

itlăč öleše" /TatAS₁ 219./ - "fleshy part of the root of a plant, well thickened under the ground"

Bashkir data:

bülbe "kluben" /BashkRS 124./

bülmä → sindek "id." /BashkDl 53./

Kipchak datum:

bul'ba "kartofel'" /KarRPS 140./

Mongolian datum:

bölvē "blase, wasserblase" /KWb. 56./

The VK data seem to go back to a Mo. bölbō which is now a plant-name. This might be the origin of the Yak. verb: bölböpüj, mölböpüj "sguščat'sja" /cf. RVEW 84./.

The Mongolian word bömbügen "ball, pellet used for crossbows, bomb, globe, sphere, globular, spherical" /L 127./ will take us nearer to the etymology.

29. VK. bürtä "dark chestnut" < Mo. börtü

Tatar data:

bürtä "muhortyj /o masti lošadi/", bürtä at "muhortaja lošad'" /TatRS 96./ - "horse-colour"

bürtä "dial. sargilt yäki aksil tapları bulğan turı töstäge /at turında/" , bürtä biyä /TatAS₁ 222./ - "chestnut colour /for horses/ on which one can find yellowish, whitish patches"

Bashkir data:

bürtä "karakovyj /o masti lošadi/" /BashkRS 126./ - "dark-chestnut /horse-colour/"

bürtä /at/ "golubaja lošad'" /PBashk./ - "greyish horse"

bürtä "belyj, sivyj v jablokah" /Rudenko55 106./ - "whitish apple-grey"

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai datum:

börtä "cheval de charge" /PdC 165./

Middle Mongolian datum:

borte "blaugrau, blass" /MNT 19./

Written Mongolian data:

börtü "brindled with spots, mottled, spickled, grey" /L/
börtü "getigert, gefleckt, die Winterfarbe des Balges mehrerer Thiere, kraplenyj, zimnij cvet škury mnogih zverej" /Schmidt 124a./

As we can learn it from Ščerbak /see Bibliogr./ the word is also known in Manchu " bürtä "belaja losad'" /Chin.-Uig. WB, 16./ /u Ju. Klaprota, po-vidimomu, netočnyj perevod: bör "svetlo-seryj", sr. man'č. bürtu kara "temno-voronaja lo-šad'"/, /Šč. 61. 86./

I heard it from my Mo. teacher Önörbajan, that the word is also used in WMo. dialects to indicate faded minor objects when we try to distinguish them from a great distance.

30. VK. bütäkä "crop of birds" < MMo. betege < bötege

Tatar data:

bütäkä "želudok ževatel'nyj u ptic" /TatRS 96./ - "crop of birds"
büteke "böbrek, küçük adama da büteke derler" /TatN 160./ - "kidney, little men are also called büteke"
betägä nokr. bütäkä "želudok u pticy" /TatDS 82./ - "crop of birds"
bütäkä "košlarnıñ aškazanı" /TatA₁ 223./ - "crop of birds"

Bashkir data:

bütägä "bot. mjatlik kistovidnyj, želudok ževatel'nyj /u ptic/" /BashkRS 126./ - "bot. a plant with a racemose flower, crop of birds"
bütäkä → biđrätäü, pütäkä "zob /u ptic/" /BashkD2 59./

Kipchak datum:

böteke "anat. pócka, želudok pticy" /Krk1pRS 118./ - "kidney, crop of birds"

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

bötägä, bötegä "estomac, poche des oiseaux" /PdC 162./
peteke, böteke /Sangl.Ind. V. 95./
böteke : bötekesini tuldurđi ta'uq "kurica napolnila svoj zob" /MA 123./ - "the hen has filled up its crop"

Chuvash data:

puteke /puďägä/ "zob u pticy" puteke "počki u barana i ovcy
/parnyj organ/" /Ašm.₁₀ 44./ - "crop of birds, kidney
of lambs and ewes"

Other Turkic datum:

bötögö "Vogelmagen" /Böht. 135./

Written Mongolian data:

betege "pticij zob, gésier des oiseaux" /Kow. 1113./

betege/n/ "crop of birds" /L/

betege "der Kropf der Vögel, zob u ptic" /Schmidt 106b./

Ordos datum:

Be^ct^cege "nom d'une maladie d'estomac" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

bütege "id." /BurRS 126./

betege "Vogelkropf" /KWb. 43./

beteg "pticij zob" /KhRS 101./

It is most probable that we should assume a MMo. bötögö or bötege form that was borrowed to the VK. We have -ö- in the first syllable both in Chaghatai and in Yakut /cf. RVEW 84. and MEJ 133./ /cf. Bur./

31. VK. čagan "mapple-tree" < MMo. čagān "white"

Tatar data:

čagan "klën", ak čagan "berëza" /TatRS 627./ - "maple-tree,
birch-tree"

čagan afač "klen" /GTat./

čagan "klën" /TatDS/

čagan "öränge agači" /DStat. 212./ - "maple-tree"

čagan "öränge, ak kaen" /TatAS₃ 398./ - "mapple-tree, birch-tree"

Bashkir data:

saγan "klën" /BashkK 189./

saγan "jávorfä" /PBashk. 260./

saγan "klën" /BotBashk. 111./

Middle Mongolian data:

čaxān bora morin "belo-seryj kon'" /MA 130./ - "apple-grey horse"
čaxa'an, čaxan, čahan "weiss, Schimmel, weiss" /LNT 25./

Written Mongolian data:

čaxan "belyj" /Pozd . 240./ - "white"
čaxan " weiss, die weisse Farbe, belyj, belyj cvet" /Schmidt 317b./

Other Mongolian data:

cagaan "bélyj" /KhRS 600./ - "white"
tsaxān "weiss" /Kwb. 419./

The word is of Mo. origin without any doubt. It went through into the Yakut language as well /cf. čaxān "glänzend, strahlend" /MEJ 134./ . On its Mo. origin see Doerfer /EMEN 177./ .

However its meaning in VK is different, still we take its Mo. origin for sure. Perhaps first the word was used in VK together with ač, while its original meaning was in use. Later as it gradually faded away čaxan was enough to name the same tree. We can find other synonyms in Tatar for it: öränge, and ak kaen see above.

32. VK. čaptar "yellow horse with white mane and tail" <
MMo. čabidur

Tatar data:

čaptar "igrenevyj, igrenyj" /TatRS 631./ - "
čaptar "sárga ló, fuchs pferd" /TatB 90./
čabdar at "igrenyj" /GTat./
čaptar "Yalı hām koyrıǵı čal bulgan aksıl jırān /at töse turında/." /TatAS₃ 409./ - "whitish reddish horse with grey mane and tail"
čaptarlı → čuptarlı /TatDS 475./
čaptarlı : čaptarlı alyapqıč /TatDS 475./ - "apron made of a figured cloth"

Bashkir data:

sabtar "igrenij" /BashkK 189./, saptar "id." /BashkRS/
saptar "sárga ló" /PBashk. 260./ - "yellow horse"
saptar "savrasyj" - masti lošadej /Rudenko55 106./ - "horse-colour"

Kipchak data:

šabdar "igrenij, igrenevyj /mast' lošadi/" /Kaz. 385./

šabdar "igrenevyj /o masti lošadi/" /Krk1pRS 717./

Chuvash data:

tšuptar "ló színéről mondják, bulanyj, fakó, falb /pferde/"
/PChuv. 189./ < Tatar

čuptar : čuptar /laša/ "igrenevaja lošad'" /Eg.Et. 327./

Middle Mongolian datum:

čabdar morin "igrenevyj kon'" /MA 129./

Written Mongolian data:

cabidar "id." /Golst. III. 247./

čabidur morin "ryžečalaja , igrenjaja lošad', cheval gris
mêlê de poils roux, aleza à crinière blanche"
/Kow.

čabidar "reddish-yellow with white mane and tail" /L/

čabidar "igrenij" /Pozdn. 24o./

čabidur morin "der Schweissfuchs, ryžečalaja lošad'" /Schmidt 316b/

Ordos datum:

tš'awidar "robe de cheval: alezan à crinière et queue
blanches" /Ord. 697./

Other Mongolian data:

sabeder, cabedar "Fuchs mit weisser Mähne und weissem
Schweif" /BurjC 158. 164./

tsewdür, tsew^üdür "cheval brun à crinière blanche" /Oir. 164./

cav'dar "igrenevyj /o masti samca lošadi/" /KhRS 60o./

sabidar "igrenij" /BurRS/

čabidur "mit weisser mähne und weissem schweif" /KWb./

Vladimircov wrote the etymology of this word in his Sravnitel'-naja grammatika... /cf. Vladimircov29 277./. It was also lent to the Manchu-Tunguz languages /cf. Cinc.MT₂ 375., MT 101./, and to Siberian Turkic ones as well /cf. RVIEW 94./. It spread in the Volga - region /cf. Róna-Tas82 88./ with the same meaning. In certain languages we find a secondary š- /cf. Róna-Tas : On the history of the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian affricates/.

33. VK. čibär "nice, good" < MMO. čeber

Tatar data:

čibär "krasivyj, horošenkij" /TatRS 635./ - "beautiful, kind-hearted"

cibär "hübsch, nett, schön" /PTatD 13./

čibär 2. "äybät, yahši harakterli" /TatDS 482./ - "honest, glorious with a good character"

čibär "yahši, äybät" /DStat. 216./ - "kindly, charitable"

čibär "čirae söykemle, yagimli bulgan, yöze matur bulgan" /TatAS₃ 423./ - "being gentle with an attractive, nice face"

čibär "güzel, schön" /MishK 248./

Bashkir data:

sibär "krasivyj /tol'ko po otnošeniju k čeloveku/" /BashkRS 469./ - "nice /in connection with people/"

Kipchak data:

šeber "id." /Kaz. 398./

čebyar "milyj, prijatnyj" /KarRPS 626./ - "kind-hearted, pleasant", čéber → čäber "id.", čébér → čeber "id." /KarRPS 639./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

čeber kisi "homo purus" /CCK 282./

čeber "nett, anständig" /CC 74./

čebarla- "czyścić, oczyszczać, nettoyer, purifier, épurér" /DAK 183./

Chuvash data:

tšiBer "jó, jól, illedelmes, gut, anständig" /PChuv.187./

čiper "krasivyj" /Zol.102./

Other Turkic datum:

säbär /Pl.säbärdär/ "rein, sauber" /Böht. 158./

säbär "id." /MEJ 110./

Middle Mongolian datum:

čeber "krasnorečivo" /MA/

Written Mongolian data:

Čeber "čistyj, oprjatnyj, nezapjatnannyj, bezporočnyj, voz-
deržnyj, pur, propre, net, sans tâche, sans défaut, absti-
nent, modéré" /Kow./

Čeber "clean, pure, neat, immaculate" /L/

Čeber "čistyj, oprjatnyj, neporočnyj" /Pozdn. 244./ - "neat,
clean, immaculate"

Čeber "rein, sauber, appetitlich, mässig, čistyj, oprjatnyj,
primančivyy, umerennyj" /Schmidt 321b./

Ordos datum:

tš'iwēr "propre, pur, chaste, qui n'est pas souillé, immacu-
lé, net" /Ord. 710a./

Other Mongol data:

cibir "rein" /BurjC 164./ "Selenga-Buryat"

seber "čistyj" /BurRS/

tsewr "reinlich, sauber" tsewrkn ger "ein reinliches haus"
/KWb. 428./

tsewür, tseür "net, pur" /Oir. 164./

cevr "čistyj" /KalmRS 629./

cévéř "čistyj, krasnyj, bezupréčnyj" /KhRS 619./

Grønbech /cf. Komanisches Wb. 74./ and Poppe /cf. Poppe962 335./
considered the word of Mo. origin, as well as Kalužynsky /cf.
ME. 110./ and Zajaczkowski /MEKS 298./.

It is wide spread in the Volga - region, went through into the
Chuvash from the Tatar, and further into Finno-Ugrian langua-
ges /cf. R-RT 33./. As we can learn it from Bajazitova it is
also used in addressing : čibär tütey ~ čibär jingey "obrašče-
nie rodstvennikov nevesty k posaženoj materi /bukv. "krasivaja
tetka/" /cf. Bajazitova86 142./

34. VK. čäčän, säsän "minstrel" < MMo. čečen "wise"

Tatar data:

čäčän "skazitel', narodnyj pevec, improvizator" /TatRS 650./ -
"story-teller, minstrel, improviser"

čäčän → čičän "boringi halik šagiyre, šagiyr'improvizator, nä-
fis süz ostası" /TatAS₃ 473./ - "popular story-teller in
olden days, poet who could improvise, master in nice
words"

Bashkir data:

- säsän "improvizator, skazitel', nahodčivyy v sloväh, óstro-slóv" /BashkRS 496./ - "tale-teller, inventive in terms of idioms, shrilly"
säsän "nahodčivyy v slovah'" /BashkK 191./
säsän "id." /FBashk./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

- çeçen, seçen /Sangl. Ind. V. 95./

Other Turkic data:

- čečan "iskusnyj, umélyj, lóvkij" /UzbRS 519./ - "clever, well versed, competent, crafty"
sähän "Erzählung" /LEJ 106./

Middle Mongolian data:

- sečen : sečen bilig-den küčüten köbegüd činu /AQJÜ 382./
seč'en qa.an "Sechen Khan, Khubilai" /HpP 136./
čečen "umnyj" /IMI 434./ - "wise"
sečen "klug" /MNT 133./
sečed pl. : sečed sayid /MonPr.154./
sečen : Sečen qaγān /MonPr. 116./

Written Mongolian data:

- sečen = čečen "wise, sage, intelligent, prudent" /L 680./
čičin "mudrost', razsuditel'nost', mudryj, mudrec'" /Pozdn.244./
- "wisdom, prudence, wise, intelligent"
sečen "weise, klug, erfahren, pünktlich, mudryj, umnyj, opyt-nyj, točnyj" /Schmidt 351c./

Ordos data:

- Dži'tš'in = se'tš'in "sage, intelligent, qui a beaucoup d'esprit", mergen Dži'tš'i k'w'n "personne sage et intelligente" /Ord. 205a./

Other Mongolian data:

- cecen "klug" /BurjC 164./
Dzets'en "wise" /Darig. 156./
tsetsn "scharfsinnig, scharfsinn, weisheit" /KWb. 428./
cécen "weise, klug" /ParMon. 143./
cécén "mudryj, umnyj, smešlěnnij" /KhRS 623./

The word is considered to be Mongolian by Doerfer /cf. TMEN 207./, it was also borrowed by the Ewenki and Manchu languages /cf. MT 51./ - as a confirmation of Cincius /cf. Cincius MT₂ 422./.

Both in Tatar and Bashkir we have synonyms for the word:

ĵiruci, ĵiruči, ĵirči /TatDS 580./

aġin "narodnyj pevec-poét v Kazahstane, Kirgizii" /BashkRS 32./

The difference in the meaning of the VK and Mo. data is easy to explain. The ones who were able to recite the old ballads and epic poems, or to improvise stories using cunning words were simply considered wise.

35. VK. čida- "to endure" < Mo. čida- "to be able to"

Tatar data:

čida- "terpet', vyterpet'" /TatRS 645./ - "to wear out, endure"

čida- "eltürni, kitartani, gedulden" /TatB 94./

čida- "terpet', preterpevat', vyterpevat', sterpet', snosit', snesti velikodušno" /TatT 458./ - "to bear, stand, endure, wear out with generosity"

čada- "ertragen" /PTatD 14./

čida- "avırlıklarnı, kienliklarnı küñelsezleklärne h.b.ş. zarlanmıyça hām bernärsägä bireşmiçä kiçerü, baştan ütkärü, tüzü" /TatAS₃ 456./ - "to be able to bear out or survive any kind of a hardship, sorrow or apathy without a murmur"

Bashkir datum:

sıda- "terpet', snosit'" /BashkK 197./

sıda- "id." /BashkRS 490./

Kipchak data:

čida- "to endure, support, to put up with" /Kirghiz Man. 148./

šida- "terpet', perenosit'" /Kaz. 399./

čida- "türni, dulden" /NKB 107./

šida- "vyderživat' čto l., terpet', perenosit'" /Krk1pRS 746./ - "to endure sg., to stand, survive"

čida- "id." /KarRPS 636./, čyda- "ausharren, geduldig sein, aushalten, leiden" /KarK 179./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

čida- "usiłowac, s'efforcer, supporter, souffrir, persévérer" /DAK 188./

cida-, gida- /Sangl. Ind. V. 95./

čida- "supporter, patienter" /PdC 302./

Chuvash data:

tšot- "tūrni, kitartani, elbírni, dūlden, ertragen, aushalten" /PChuv. 186./

čät- "id." /ChuvS/

Other Turkic data:

čida- "snosit', vyterpet', moč'" /AltV 436./

čida- "vyderživat', vynosit', perenosit', snosit', terpet', dolgo služiti'" /UzbRS 520./

čida- "vyderživat', vynosit'..." /TkmRS 743./

sata- ~ syta- "können, vermögen" /MEJ 22./,

sata, satibin "verstehen, vermögen, mit dem Gerund. fut. od. mit dem Acc. des Nom. fut. mit einem entsprechenden Possessiv" /Böht. 153./

Middle Mongolian data:

čida-: čidabasu : ʃarun čidabasu ber /AQJU 114./

čida [ju] conv. imperf. "to be able" /HpP 122./

čida- "pouvoir, être en état" /LHY/

čida- "mog'" /MA 132./, čida- "id." /IMI 434./

čida- "können" /MNT 27./, čida- : čidaqu /MonPr 27./

čida- : čidaba /SMI 81./

Written Mongolian data:

čida- "moč', imet', vozmožnost', byt' v sostojanii, pouvoir, être en état de, posséder le pouvoir, savoir" /Kow.2154./

čida- "id." /L 177./

čida- "moč', byt' v sostojanii..." /Pozdn. 247./

čida- "können, vermögen, die Macht haben..." /Schmidt 329c./

Ordos datum:

tš'ida- "avoir le talent de, savoir, être en état de..." /Ord.7oob./

Other Mongolian data:

čida- "können, vermögen" /KWb. 436./

čida- : cidagci "puissant, vainqueur" /SoyK 31./

šada- "moč', byt' v sostojanii, umét'" /BurRS/

čada- "moč', ... " /KhRS 626./

The Mongolian verb has been carefully studied by a number of Mongolists. The bibliography of the best studies can be found in Doerfer's TMEN /cf. 188., 996./

As we can learn it from Poppe the breaking of the vowel -i- in general started in the XIIIth century and the words in question occurred in the sources of that time exclusively or mostly with the vowel -i- /cf. Poppe 56 48./.

It is most likely that the word was borrowed by the Tatar both with -i- > -i- and -a- > -ä- in two different periods. We have examples of further derivations of the former, that was borrowed with -i- /cf. čidam "steady, stubborn" /TatRS 645./, čidamsız "unstable" /TatRS 645./ etc./.

Both čida- and mede- means a kind of an ability, while yada- stands for "disability". All three are Mo. loan-words in VK languages. čida- expresses a kind of an ability, a capacity of the body or the person in question ie. a physical ability, and mede- expresses the mental ability.

36. VK. čilbir "chain" < MMo. čilbur

Tatar data:

čilbir "cep', cepočka" /TatRS 645./ - "chain, little chain"

čelber, čilbir "lānc, lāncocška, kette, kleine kette" /TatB 93./

câlbâr "kleine kette" /PTatD/

čilbr' "cep'" /TatJ 102./

čilbir → yaqa "čilbir bulayï kömäštän, kaptırıp" /TatDS 496./
- "silver chains fastened to each other"

činjir "čilbir, zinjir" /DStat. 220./

čilbir "ozinča, tügäräk, yäki başka törle metall bojralarnı ber-bersenä kiderep yasalgan bau" /TatAS₃ 457./ -
"a kind of a rope that was made by stitching long, round or pther shaped metal chains to each other"

câlbâr "zincir, kette" /MishK 248./

Bashkir data:

silbir "cepočka" /BashkRS 490./

silbir "cep' dlja lošadi iz lošadinyh volos'" /BashkK 198./ -

"rope for horses made of horsehair"

silbır "igra v krug" /BashkD2/ - "ring-a-ring-o'-roses"

silbırlı qaptırma "...Gorazdo čašče oni [baškirkı] nadevali na šuju ožerel'e ili vernee ošejnik iz polosy barhata, zastegivajuščejsja speredı serebrjanoj prjažkoj" /Rudenko55 181./ - ... "More often they [Bashkir women] wore a necklace on their neck, or more probable a collar made of a stripe of velvet. It was done up in the front with a silver clip"-->silbırlı qaptırma

Kipchak data:

Šilbır "dlinnyj povod" /Kaz. 399./ - "long rein"

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

Čilbur "chaıne d'argent qu'on attache au-dessus du nez du cheval comme ornement" /PdC 309./

čilbur, čilbur /Sangl. Ind. V. 95./

Chuvash data:

Čilber "povod u uzdy" /Zol./ - "rein at the lunging-rein"

tšılBär "kötöfék, kantár, halfterriemen" /PChuv. 181./

Middle Mongolian data:

Čilbur "Trensenriemen, Halfterriemen" /MNT 27./

Čilbur = Čilbūr "rènes d'une bride" /LHY/

Čulbur "čumbur" /MA Pril2 403./

Čulbur /VI 25./

Written Mongolian data:

Čilbuγur, Čulbuγur "povoda, nedouzdok', čumbur, le licou, licol pour les chevaux" /Kow. 2166./

Čilbugur "long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle" /L 182./

Čulbuγur "das Lenkseil, der Riemen oder Strick am Zaum zum anbinden oder herumführen des Pferdes, povod, remen ili verevka, privjazıvaemyja dlja voždenija lošadi" /Schmidt 333c/

Ordos datum:

tšulbūr "longe" /Ord. 718b./

Other Mongolian data:

- [čulbugur] tsulwūr "leitriemen, leitrügel /ausser den zügeln binden die kalm. einen langen riemen links am gebiss an/ " /Kwb. 433./
- culbuur "povod, čembur" /KhRS 615./, šilbüür "knot, bič", šilbe
culbuur "Kandarenzügel" /Parlon.62./ /KhRS 651./
- čolbūr "povod'ja" /Todaeva85 85./
- tsulbur, tsulwur, tsülwūr, tsolwur "longe" /Oir. 165./

The two syllable -uɣ- had developed into > -ū- in MMo. before the word was borrowed by the VK languages. There it took part in the closing process, in the course of what it developed into a reduced vowel -i-, -ə-.

The etymology of the word is a discussed and debated question. Poppe offers a *^včirbuɣur form that had developed into >čilbuɣur /cf. Poppe56 45./ . The word is widely spread both in Mo. and in Tu. languages /cf. RVV 108., TAN 309., Tekin31 128./ . It is a Mo. loan-word in Manchu as well /cf. Solon šilbur, Man. čilburi /LT 137./ /. In an article "The development of farming at Turkic people" Eren writes, that the word čilbir, cilbir /~ cilbir/ "rope attached to the halter" is considered to be of Mo. origin in Anatolian dialects /cf. present day Turkish čilbir "leading rein" /Redh. 252a./ /.

The first occurrence of the word in Tu. texts was in Chaghatai.

In his article called "Mongolian words in Osman Turkish" Tuna considers čil the stem of the Mo. word. He also added that this might be related to the Ewenki word dil "head" /cf. Tuna75 289./ . Tekin considered it impossible. In his study /cf. "Notes on Some Altaic Harnessing Terms"/ he wrote, that the "Mo. čilbur / čilbuɣur is a deverbal noun of instrument in -ɣur / -gür ... " The verbal root or stem is related to Mo. čiliyi- "to lengthen, become long, stretch out" - as he considered.

37. VK. čir "illness" < MMo. čer

Tatar data:

čir "hvor', hvoróba, bolézn', nedug'" /TatRS 636./ - "sickness, illness, disease"

čir "kór, betegség, krankheit" /TatB 96./, sirkau "beteg, betegség, krank, krankheit" /TatB 138./
çir "hastalık, hasta" suvuk çir "soğuk hastalık" /TatN 290./
- "illness, ill, a cold, chill"
çir : üs-çir "Fallsucht", cir "krankheit" /PTatD 14./
čirgä oloŋu → čirgä sabisu "avırurğa sabisu" /TatDS 327./ -
"to get ill"
hasta "aviru, čir" /DStat. 79./, /TatAS₁ 13./
čir "Organizmda normal' tereklek éščänlegenen bozılui"
/TatAS₃ 429./ - "The out-of-order activity of normal
life-functions in the organism."

Bashkir data:

sir "bolézn', hvor'" /BashkRS 472./ - "illness, sickness"
sir "id." /BashkK 194./, /PBashk. 262./
sir "čirej, bol'noj, kišečnaja opuhol' - u životnyh"
/BashkD2 209./ - "sick, ill, tumour in the bowel of
animals"
sir "id." /BashkD1 184./

Kipchak data:

šer "pečal, toska, ugnetennoe sostojanie" /Kaz. 395./ -
"sorrow, grief, have the blues"
šer "id." /Krk1pRS 734./

Early Kipchak datum:

čerli "macer" /CCK 282./

Chuvash data:

čir "bol', bolezni', nedug" /Zol. 103./
tšir "betegség, krankheit" /PChuv. 187./

Other Turkic data:

čär "Narbe, Schwiele" /MEJ 135./

Middle Mongolian data:

čer "gnoj" /MA 132./ - "purulent ulcer"

Written Mongolian data:

čer-e "das Geschwür, die Beule" /Schmidt 288c./
čer "phlegm, sputum, mucus" /L 172./

Other Mongolian data:

cér "mokróta" /KhRS 622./ - "phlegm"

tser "schleim in der gurgel, speichel, kränklicher zustand"
/Hb.427./

ser "id." /BurRS/

This is a kind of an illness one may cause himself for his old age by smoking a lot. However animals can catch it also, in Western Mo. dialects.

The first occurrence of the word seems to be in Middle Kipchak /cf. CCK/, in Turkic. Räsänen gives a list of the languages that have čer, or čir for the same meaning /RVEW 105./.

38. VK. čiray "face" < MMo. čirai

Tatar data:

čiray "oblik, lico, fizionomija" /TatRS 647./ - "face, physiognomy"

čiray "arcvonás, kinézés" /TatB 95./ - "feature of face, appearance"

seräi, sérai "Gesicht" /TatC 121./

çiray "yüz" /TatN 279./ - "face"

čiray "rumjanec, kraska v lic, vid, krasota lica, milovidnost'"
/TatT 462./ - "blush, flush on the face, appearance, beauty of the face, charm"

čeräysis "yamsez" /TatDS 481./ - "without any beauty"

čəraj "Gesicht" /PTatD 14./ , čiray "id." /ST 108./

čiray "kešedäge éčke hälnen çagılışı bularak yöz" /TatAS₃ 461./ - "face reflecting the inner condition of the human being"

Bashkir data:

siray "vyraženie lica" /BashkRS 491./ - "facial expression"

siray "vid, lico" /BashkK 198./

Kipchak data:

širay "čerty lica, vid, oblik" /Kaz. 400./

čiray "lico, vid, oblik, twarz, oblicze..." /KarRPS 637./

širai "das Gesicht, das Antlitz" /Kaz.-Mo. 84./

širay "čerty lica" /Krk1pRS 750./ - "lineaments"

čiray "Gesicht, Aussehen" /KCG 169./

čaraj ~ čəraj "Gesicht, Antlitz" /MEKS 298./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

čyraj "Gesicht, Porträt" /CC 79./

čiray "vultus" /CCK 282./

čirai "face, visage, forme" /PdC 303./

Other Turkic data:

čiray "naružnost', čerty lica" /AltV 440./ - "appearance"

čiray "appearance" /GT 7./

sirai "Gesicht" /Böht. 163./

čiraylı, čiraysız "krásivyj, nekrásivyj" /TkmRS 747./

širay "lico, lik, oblik, fizionomija, vid" /TuvRS 590./

čiray "lico" /Kolesnikova75 59./

Middle Mongolian data:

čirai : öngge čirai /A, JU 121./

čirai : čirai-tur /MonPr. 28./

čirai /SMI 81,87./

čirai "visage, face, figure" /LHY/

čirai "Farbe, Aussehen, Miene" /LMT 28./

čirai /MA 135./

Written Mongolian data:

čirai "lice, obličie, cvet' lica, visage, face, figure" /Kow./

čirai "face" /L 191./

čirai "lico" /Pozdn. 250./

čirai "das Gesicht, Antlitz, 'lice, lik" /Schmidt 329a./

Ordos datum:

tš'arā "visage, figure, mine, teint du visage, apparence"
/Ord. 695./

Other Mongolian data:

šarai, čarai, šeräi, sârai, čarai, "Gesicht" /BurjC 138, 139,
142./

čirā "Gesicht /des Menschen/" /KWb. 441./

tsarā, tširē "visage, face" /Oir. 164./

čirai "Geschicht, Facies" /ParMon. 75./

caray "lico, fizionomija, lik, oblik" /KhRS 604./

The original Tu. word for "face" has developed into yöz
/TatRS 193./ in Tat. Apart from that we have a synonym for

the same idea, čiray /see above/. The latter is a Mo. loan-word. It is widely spread in Sib. Tu. languages and we don't have a criterium to prove that it was a straight loan from the Mo.

39. VK. čüäčäy "small cup" < *čö'üče

Tatar data:

čüäčäy "čaška" /BarTat./ - "small cup"

cüäcäy "činayak čokiri" /DStat. 211./ - "kind of a cup"

Ber cüäcäy su éctem. - "I drank a cup of water."

Other Turkic data:

čögöčök, čögöčöh 2. "malen'kaja /v rod rjumki, no-pomén'-še/ posudinka, upotrebljaemaja šamanom pri žertvoprinošenii /vsego ih byvaet devjat'/ - "a rather small bowl /in the shape of a brandy-glass, but smaller than that/ that was used by the shaman before the sacrifice /there used to be nine of them altogether/" /Pek.₃ 3662./

Chaghatai datum:

sifāl čögüček "glinjanaja čaška" /MA 322./ - "cup made of clay"

Middle Mongolian data:

čögeče : čögečeber : čögečebér dügüren usun /Monr₂ 238./

Written Mongolian data:

čögüče "small cup, small goblet /for oil, sacrificial grain etc./" /L 201./

čögüčö "glubokaja i širokaja čaška" /Pozdn. 251./

čögüče "eine kleine Trinkschale, nebol'shaja čaša dlja pit'ja, čaška" /Schmidt 335c./

Ordos datum:

tš'ögö'tš'i "tasse" /Ord. 714b./

Other Mongolian data:

cögc, cögüce "kleine Tasse, kleiner Becher /wird eine "Butterlampe" im lamaistischen Tempel damit bezeichnet/" /ParMon. 143./

tsöktš^ö "hölzerne trinkschale" /KWb. 432./

cögüce → siŋaŋ cögüce "porcelain cup" /Krue. 76./

cöge "rel. čaška /dlja masla, žertvennyh zëren i t.d./" /KhRS 612./
Due to its phonetical-form this must be a loan-word in VK.

We have to assume a Mo. čöüčei form that was borrowed even if we don't have its document in hand. There is a phenomenon we can often observe in LMo. words: -V in final position is often replaced by a -D /cf. -e ~ -ei/.

The word is well known in Mo. languages but we have only a few data from the Tu. languages.

40. VK. čüräkäy "loon" < LMo. čöregei

Tatar data:

čüräkäy : cüräkäy ürdäk "nyrok /vid dikoj utki/" /TatRS 652./
"dipper /kind of a wild duck/"

çürekey ürdäk "kalkuyruk" /TatN 87./ - "pintail duck, zool.
Anas acuta"

čürägäy : č.-ürdäk "Taucherente" /PTatD 15./

čüräč "čüräkäy, nyrok - raznovidnost' dikoj utki" /TatDS 509./

čörgi ürdäk "vak ürdäk töre" /TatDS 559./ - "kind of a small
duck"

coragay 2. "ürdäkneŋ ber töre, kečkenä genä ürdäk" /DStat.209./
- "a certain kind of duck, small duck"

čüräkäy "ürdäklär sem' jaliginnan in kečkenä ürdäk, kečkenä
gäüdäle, zur bulmagan" /TatAS₃ 481./ - "the smallest
duck in the family of ducks, with a small body, it
is difficult to find"

čüräkäy → cörägäy "čüräkäy ürdäk" /ST 220./

Bashkir data:

sürägäy : sürägäy öyräk "čirok" /BashkRS 487./ - "duck"

sebəkaj, sobokaj "vadkacsafaj" /PBashk./ - "wild-duck' sort"

surägäy "kis tarka kacsafaj /nagyon sebes röptű/" /PBashk./
- "/very swift flying/ small-colourful kind of ducks"

surayay "dikaja utka" /BashkD2/ - "wild duck"

serekäy, serkey → seräkäy, serägäy "sürägäy öyräk" /BashkD1
181, 182./

surayay → sörägäy "vaq öyräk" /BashkD1 191, 189./ - "small
duck"

märženkäy öyräk → sürägäy öyräk /BashkD1 162./

sörägäy "čirok" /ZoolBashk. 142./ - "duck"
nädek suqış sörägäy "čirok uzkonosyj" /ZoolBashk. 138./ -
"wild duck with strait snout"

Kipchak data:

šürögöi "id." /KirgRS/
šüreney "čirok /utka/" /Krk1pRS 745./

Other Turkic data:

čörköi "rod utki" /Pek.₃ 3673./
čökköi, čärkäi "id." /Pek.₃ 3673./
čyrkyi ~ čurkui ~ čörköi "Krickente" /MEJ 88./
čüräkäi [Tel.] "rod' utki, die Kriekente" /R₃ 2194./

Written Mongolian data:

čürükü nuγusu /WU-TI 4156./
čürügü noγusun "polevoj čirok, la sarcella corumune /anas querquedula/" /Kow.₃ 2231./
čürügü --> nuγusun /L 210./
čürügü nuγusun "kind of wild duck, teal" /L 595./
čörökö noγosun "die Knäkente, Bergente /anas querquedula/, čirok" /Schmidt 336b./

Other Mongolian data:

curxui "Knäkente /Anas querquedula/" /BurC 165./
širkê, šürköi, šurküi "id." /BurC 139./
čörk, [čörke] "zool. čirok" /KalmRS 656./
šörgö (nuγ^usq) "eine entenart : krickente, čirok" /KWb. 366./

The word can be found also in Koibal and Karagass /cf. sirgei, sirhei "Knäkente /Anas querquedula/" /TatC 122.// as well as in P.S. Pallas's Zoographia /cf. sirgei urdak "Anas crecca" /KPZ 63.//. These data confirm our belief, that this word spread only in a certain area. The word is not represented in Old Turkic, but it can be found in Teleut, Sor and Kazakh languages. They have borrowed the word from Mongolian as Räsänen points it out in his Etym. Dict. /cf. RVEW 121./. Kałužynski gives more data in his work /cf. MEJ/. It seems to be a Mongolian loan-word in Yakut and Tuvinian languages. Its presence is evident in VK too, let me give an example from the Tatar folk-lore:

"Čürägä-j-ürdäk külgä čunar
külnän asäl tašäna."

"Die taucherente taucht ins wasser
auf den edelstein in dem see hinab." /cf. Paasonen, H.: Tat.
Lieder. SUS 19/2 67./

The initial s-in Bashkir is a clear criterion of its being a loan-word. Same is the case with the word-final diphthong -äy. It is typical with Mo. word-final -a/-e to alternate with -ai/-ei. Its reflection is -ay/-ey in VK languages. The word belongs to a rich semantical group, there are several other bird's names of Mongolian origin in VK languages.

41.. VK. dilbege "reins" < Mo. delbege

Tatar data:

dilbege "vožža" /TatRS 130./ - "rein"

dilbegä, dilbügä, tilbügä "fűkszár, gyeplő" /TatB/ - "rein"

dilbägä "Lenkseil" /PTatD/

kajš dilbägä "Riemenzügel" /PTatD/

tilbügä "vožži" /GTat./ - "reins"

til'bigä, dil'bügä "vožža" /TatČ./

delbigä → dilbegä "vožža" /TatDS 125./

dilbegä i. "Yikkän atni idarä itä torgan ozin nečkä bau, kayeš yäki brezent tasma /yögängä totaštirila/"
/TatAS₁ 302./ - "long thick rope, strap or a ribbon made of tarpaulin /attached to the bridle/ for the direction of horses put to a carriage"

..."Gali abziy dilbegäne nık totkan ide." /TatAS₁ 303./ - "Uncle Ali was holding his reins very fast."

dilb[ə]gä "vožži" /TatJ 67./

dilbegä "vožži" /TatT 536./

Bashkir data:

dilbegä "vožža" /BashkRS 167./

dilbugä "gyeplő" /BashkP/

dilbägä "vožži" /BashkK 69./

Early Kipchak data:

tel-buğa "Leitseil" /CC/

telbuğa "funis ductorius" /CCK 229./

Chuvash data:

telgebe "vožži" /Zol. 81./

tilxEBE, tilGEBE "gyeplő, lenkseil" /PChuv. 168./

tilkepe, tilxepe, kilkepe "id." /Ašm. 22./

Middle Mongolian datum:

delbeget "Zügel, Leine" /Pl. delbeger/" /MNT/

Written Mongolian datum:

delbeg "rein" /L/

Other Mongolian datum:

délbég "vožži" /KhRS 167./

The word is of Mongolian origin in the VK languages, it can be best seen from the initial d-. It belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping, that was deeply influenced by the Mongols. Räsänen takes the word for Mo. origin in certain languages /cf. RVEN 471./

The etymology offered by Egorov /cf. Etim. slov./ was refused by Róna-Tas /cf. Róna-Tas82 90./.

Tekin offers another etymology, that should be refused as well. He says, that "Mo. delbeg / delbegen is morphologically related to Mo. dele-/deli-/tele-/teli- "to stretch" /cf. Tekin81 28./.

42. VK. dim "suggestion" < MMo. dem "help"

Tatar data:

dim "ugovarivanie, uveščevanie" /TatRS 130./ - "agreement, warning"

dim "javaslat, rábeszélés", "das zuraten, zuredé" /TatB 129./

dim "öndäü, izget" /TatAS₁ 303./ - "call, invitation, command"

dim -> zim /TatAS₁ 303./

Bashkir data:

dim "ugovarivanie" /BashkRS 167./ - "agreement"

dim "sovet, ugovarivanie, uveščanie" /BashkK 69./

Chuvash data:

tim "želanie, stremlenie, vlečenie..." /Eg. ES/ - "wish, ambition, effort..."

tim "pobuždenie, stremlenie" /Zol. 81./ - "stimulation, ambition"

Middle Mongolian datum:

dem /SMI 82./

Written Mongolian data:

dem "aid, help, assistance" /L/

dem "die Hilfe, Unterstützung, pomošč, vspomoženie, podkreplenie" /Schmidt 276b./

Other Mongolian data:

dem "Hilfe, Unterstützung" /KWb. 87./

dém "sposób déjstvija, uménie" /KhRS 168./ - "resource of the action, capacity"

Ordos datum:

dem "aide" /Ord. 138b./

43. VK. dimče "suitor" < MMo. demči "business man"

Tatar data:

dimče "sovetnik, svat, svaha" /TatRS 130./ - "messenger, suitor"

dimče "javasló, leánykérő, aurater, brautwerber" /TatB 129./

dimläüci, dimči "svat, svatunja" /TatT 538./

dimtče "id." /Dajazitova86 199./

dimci, dimči "takdim edici" /MishK 249./ - "go between"

Bashkir data:

dimse "sovetnik" /BashkK/ - "messenger"

dimdäs "qıdđın iptäštäre arahınan dimse" /aksjutova75 34./ - "suitor from the girl-friends of the bride"

Written Mongolian datum:

demči "business manager /a lama/ in a monastery" /L/

Ordos datum:

DemDži "prêter aide, aider, donner une aide en argent ou en nature" /Ord. 138./

Other Mongolian data:

demči "helper, beistand" /KWb./

démč "ist. nadziratel', smotritel' /monastyrja/" /KhRS 169./ -
"superintendent, supervisor"

The original meaning "subsidiary force" has developed into different ones in the Mongolian. It belongs to the terminology of marriage almost exclusively in VK languages.

The initial d- in Tatar and Bashkir indicates that the word must be a loan.

It would be hard to separate the two aforementioned words: dim, dimči. Still it is possible that the latter developed parallel in VK and Mongolian.

44. VK. dömeg- "pass away" < MMo. dömögö-

Tatar data:

dömeg- "izdyhat', podyhat'" /TatRS 142./ - "to die, suffer"

dömeg- "ülü, hälak bulu" /TatAS₁ 322./ - "to die, perish"

Bashkir data:

dömögö- "izdyhat', izdóhnut', sdyhat', sdóhnut'" /BashkRS 171./
- "to breath one's last, to kick the bucket"

Written Mongolian data:

dömü- "to be barely able to make a living, eke out a miserable existence, live in poverty" /L 267./

dömö- "sich kümmerlich durchbringen oder emähren, etwas schwach angreifen, s trudom sniskivat' sebja propitanie, slabo za čto prinjat'sja" /Schmidt 284c./

Other Mongolian data:

dömö- "vlačit' žalkoe suščestvovanie, žit' kóe-kak" /KhRS 155./
- "to be scarcely able to keep body and soul together, live from hand to mouth"

dömü- "knapp sein, mit mühe durchkommen od. hinreichen" /KWb. 98./

dömü- "gagner son pain" /Darig. 154./

Because of the initial d- do we suspect the Mongolian origin of the word in Tatar and Bashkir languages. It is lacking in Old Turkic texts, but I could not find it either in Middle Mongolian.

45. VK. dünän "3-4 years old stallion" < MMO. dönen

Bashkir data:

dünän "trëxgodovalyj žerebec" /BashkRS 173./ - "three years old stallion"

dünén "četyrehletnij žerebec", dünén üged "četyrehletnyj byk", dünén baytal "četyrehletnjaja nežerebaja koby-la" /Isberdin86. 22./ - "four years old stallion, four years old bull, four years old not pregnant mare"

dunän "négyéves mén" /PBashk. 237./ - "four years old stallion"

Kipchak data:

dönen "samec-trëhletka /o skote/" /Kaz. 133./ - "three years old /of cattle/"

dönön "ovca po četvertomu godu žizni" /Sidikov83 25./ - "female sheep before her four years old age"

dönen "samec-trëhletka /o skote/" /Krk1pRS 177./

Early Kipchak datum:

dünen "samec - četyrehletka /o skote/" /K 109./ - "four years old /of cattle/"

Other Turkic data:

dönön "lošad' treh-četyreh let" /AltV/

tönön, dönön "losad' četyreh let" /Tuv RS/

Middle Mongolian data:

dönen üker "četyrehletnyj byk" /MA 143./

dönen "četyrehletnij" /MA Pril.2 403./ - "four years old"

Written Mongolian data:

dön-e/n/ "n. and adj. four-year-old male animal /bull, camel or elephant/, four-year-old male child/obs./" /L 267./

dönön "voznrast 4-h let" /Pozdn. 221./ - "four-year-old age"

dönen "vierjährig /Masc./, četyrehgodovalyj" /Schmidt 284b./

Ordos datum:

Dönö "âge de quatre ans /chameaux/, Dönön t^cemē "chameau de quatre ans" /Ord. 156a./

Other Mongolian data:

dönö "Četyrēngodovalyj byk" /KhRS 155./

dönö = dönön /temee/ "4 jährig masc. Kamel, 4 jährig masc. Rind" /ParMon. 66,67./

dönün "agé de quatre ans /cheval ou boeuf/" /Cir. 134./

döng "vierjährig /vom vieh/, der vierte tag im monat" /Kwb. 99./

The stem of the Mongolian word is a development from the word dörben "four" /cf. AQJÜ 142./. The word dönen is only used with masculin animals before the age of four. In Bashkir it must be a Mo. loan-word due to the initial d- and also to the semantic group, it also belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping. We can find the word in Russian /cf. dunan "trehletnij kirgizskij baran" /Fasler₁ 553./, and in Manchu as well.

46. VK. dünäžen "mare, that has completed her 3rd year"

< Mo. dönežin

Bashkir data:

dünäžen "trehgodovalaja kobyla" /BashkRS 173./ - "mare, that has completed her 3rd year"

dünäžen baytal "ös yäše tulıp dürtkä siqqan beyä" /Bashkol/ - "mare, that has completed her 3rd and turned her 4th year"

Kipchak data:

do'no'žin "korova do 4 let, kobyla do 4 let" /Nog. 241./ - "cow till 4 year-old, mare till 4 year-old"

dönežin "samka-trehletka /o skote/ " /Kaz. 133./ - "three year-old female /of animals/"

dönežin "id." /Krk1pRS 177./

Written Mongolian data:

dönežin "Četyrehletnjaja" /Golst.₃ 168./ - "four-year-old female"

döneži/n/ "n. and adj. four-year-old female animal /cow, camel, elephant/, four-year-old girl /obs./" /L 267./

dönĵin "cetyrehletnjaja" /Pozdn. 221./ - "four-year-old female"

döneĵin "vierjährig /Femin./, četyrehgodovalaja" /Schmidt 284b./

Ordos datum:

DönöDži "âgée de quatre ans /chamelle/, DönöDžin t^cemē "chamelle de quatre ans" /Ord. 156a./

Other Mongolian data:

döndžn "vierjährige /fem./" /KWb. 98./

dönž "četyrëhgodovalyj /o korove, verbljude/" /KhRS 155./ -
"four-year-old /of cow, camel/"

dünjén "id." /BurRS/

döndžin "âgée de quatre ans /jument ou vache/" /Oir. 134./

dönž, dönĵiin temee "4 jährig fem. Kamel, 4 jährig fem. Rind"
/ParMon. 66, 67./

This is the female pair of the word dönen. In most Mongolian languages döneĵin is used not only with horses, but with other animals as well, in their 3 to 4 year-old ages.

Benzing gives other examples of the Mo. suffix -nĵn after numerals /cf. Benzing85 98./.

The word in Bashkir is a Mo. loan-word due to the initial d-, the semantics of the word and to the Mo. suffix.

47. VK. dülänä "hawthorn" < MMo. dolana < dolořana

Tatar data:

dülänä "bojaryšnik" /TatRS 143./ - "may"

dülänä "bot. agač yäki kuak törläreneñ bersennän bulgan
čänečkele üsemlek" /TatAS₁ 325./ - "kind of a stinging
plant from the family of trees or bushes"

tulana "bojarka, bojaryšnik" /GTat./

dulana "kamir ařači, kamir ařaciniñ ĵimeše" /TatDS 128./ -
"hawthorn, hip"

yabiřqan → tulana "dülänä, kamirlık" /ST 117./

Bashkir data:

dunala "bojaryšnik" /BashkRS 172./

dunala → ənəle /BashkDl 64./

dunala "id." /botBashk. 86./

řadi dunala "bojaryšnik obyknovenyj" /botBashk. 90./ -
"simple hawthorn"

Other Turkic data:

tulana Tob. "bojarka" - "crataegus sanguinea" /R₃ 1468./

doloton "Weissdorn" /Röht. 116./

doloŷono ~ doloŷono ~ dolokuna "Hagedorn, Weissdorn" /MEJ 79./
tolononin agaži "bojaryšnik" /RAltS 35./

Written Mongolian data:

dolaŷana, doluŷana "Hawthorne" /L/

Other Mongolian data:

dolōgono "id." /BurRS/

dolānb, dolān^b "ein strauk: hagedorn, weissdorn /crataegus
cuneata ?/" /Kwb. 94./

The word is of Mo. origin in VK languages due to the initial d- and the denominal suffix -ŷana /cf. MEJ 78./ it can not be explained otherwise. Poppe writes the following: "The words ending in -ŷana, -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 ..."/cf. On some suffixes of plant names in Mongolian. ZAS 1982. 382./. The stem of the word is the Mo. dola/n/ "seven".

There is ample literature on it /cf. TMEN 189., MEJ 79, SevEST 269., Dmitrieva75 138./. Sevortjan /see above/ and Benzing /cf. Zum tschuwaschischen Worte šālan "Heckenrose" UAJb. XXIV. 1952. 143-4./ take it for Persian. We consider it also a Mo. loan in Persian. See also Doerfer TMEN₄ 315-6.

48. VK. har "hawk" < MMo. sar

Bashkir data:

har "zool. saryč" /BashkRS 621./ - "hawk, buzzard"

hardar "saryči" /zoolBashk. 149./ - "hawks"

har "id." /Išberdin86 23./

Early Kipchak data:

sar "vultur" /CCK 129./

sar "milan" /PdC 334./

Written Mongolian data:

sar "id." /WU-TI 4135./

sar "a bird of prey, falcon, eagle" /L 674./

sar "der grosse Mäusefänger /eine Geierart/, bol'šoj myšlov
/rod koršuna/" /Schmidt 343b./

Ordos datum:

sar "buse" /Ord. 561a./

Other Mongolian data:

sar 2. "zool. lun'" /KhRS 350./ - "hawk, goshawk"

sar 1. sar šowūn "ein vogel: milan" /Kwb 313a./

sar "buteo" /VAM 123./

The word belongs to the field of ornithology, many of the names occurring here are of Mo. origin in VK languages. It must be an early loan for the initial s- took part in the s-> h- development.

49. VK. haralyin "snipe" < MMo. saraljin

Bashkir data:

haralyin "bekás" /BashkRS 622./ - " snipe"

haralyin "id." /zoolBashk. 149./

haralyin ~ saralyin ~ saraldin /BashkD1 177./

haralyin ~ haraljin "bekas" /Išberdin86 24./

Other Mongolian data:

šarāldžn "bekassine /vogel/" /Kwb. 349./

saraalžin "zool. vál'dšnep" /KhRS 350./

The Mo. word was borrowed after the breaking of the -i- into the Bashkir, where we find both h-and s- in initial position. The ending is also a telling one: this suffix -lji/n/ occurs in Mo. It "forms names of plants and animals the characteristic features of which are denoted by the nominal stem concerned" . /see Poppe op.cit. 386./

50. VK. iržay- "show bare one's teeth" < MMo. irjayi-

Tatar data:

iržay- "skalit'sja, oskalit'sja, osklabit'sja, ščerit'sja, oščerivat'sja, oščerit'sja" /TatRS 673./ - "to grin, smirk, smile derisively, show bare one's teeth"

iržiq "nekrasivo ulybajuščijsja čelovek" /TatDS 527./ - "somebody smiling not nicely"

iržay- "avizni zur ačip yäki urinsizga yäm'sez itep kölü, elmaju" /TatAS₃ 548./ - "laughing or smiling and opening one's mouth too wide or having done some nasty things out of place"

Bashkir data:

iržayı- "skalit'sja, pokazyvat', pokazat' oskál" /BashkRS 672./
- "smile derisively, show bare one's teeth"

iržayı- "id." /BashkDl 285./

Kipchak data:

iržiy- "oskalit' /zuby/" /Kaz. 4o8./ - "show bare /one's teeth/"

iržiy- "ulybat'sja, grimasničat'" /KrkIprRS 759./ - "to smile, show grimace"

irzay- "ulybat'sja, usmehat'sja" /KarRS 651./ - "to begin to smile, grin"

Early Kipchak datum:

ircay-, arcay-, ircay- "id." /Sangl. Ind. V. 94./

Other Turkic data:

ircai "hervortreten /von den knochen bei abgemagertem körper/, klaffen, sich öffnen /von einer wunde/" /Böht. 32./

aržai- "die Zähne zeigen, grinsen" /MEJ 115./

iržai- "id." /MEJ 115./

Middle Mongolian data:

irjayı- : irjayıfsan : irjayıfsan mürgü sidüten /AQJÜ 211./

irjai- "smile" /MA 198./

Written Mongolian data:

irjai- "for a row or group of small objects to move or appear, for teeth to show, to grin, sneer" /L 416./

irjayı- "aufsperrn, die Zähne blöcken, razinut' rot, skalit' zuby" /Schmidt 4ob./

Ordos datum:

irdžā- "montrer les dents" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

yarzay- "obnažat, rjad čego l." /KhRS 695./

irzä- , irzē- "die zähne zeigen, lächeln, grinsen, die zähne fletschen, drohen" /KWb. 210./

jarzä- "grinsen, die zahne zeigen, offen sein, so dass das innere sichtbar ist." /KWb. 216./

The word is not represented in OT, we take it for a loan in VK. This is further supported by the -z-, and the diphthong -ai at the end of the verb.

It is widely spread in Mo. texts from various era. We find it in MMo. as well. For all these we take the word for a MMo. loan in Bashkir and Tatar languages.

51. VK. ilʃa- "separate" < MMo. ilga-

Tatar data:

ilʃa- "saylap, aerip alu" /DStat. 234./ - "to choose, select"

ilʃa- --> olʃa- "sayla-" /ST 172./ - "choose"

ilʃa- "vybirat'" /BarTat. 198./ - "choose"

Early Kipchak data:

ilgä-, ilǵa- /Sangl. Ind. V. 94./

Other Turkic data:

ilʃa- [Tel. Alt. Leb. Bar.] "vybirat', aussuchen auswählen" /R₁ 1376./

ilʃa- "auswählen, auslesen" /MEJ'22./

Middle Mongolian data:

ilqa- "auswählen" /MNT 81./

ilʃa-: ilʃaʃči /MonPr₂ 183./

Written Mongolian datum:

ilʃa- "separate, assort, clasify, analyze" /L 406./

Ordos datum:

ilga- "séparer, trier, distinguer, discerner, traïter différemment, traïter partialement" /Ord. 382b./

Other Mongolian data:

jalga- "različat', otličat'" /KhRS 692./ - "recognise, distinguish"

jalʃa- "to part, to separate" /Darig. 165./

jalgä- "različat', vybirat', razbirat'" /DagP 81./ - "recognize, distinguish, choose"

ilyv- "die besseren auswählen, für sich herausnehmen" /KWb. 206./

The word is considered to be of Mo. origin in different languages /cf. Doerfer : TMEN 70., MT 137./. It arouse the interest of a number of linguists the outcome of which is abundant literature /cf. Ramstedt: Das schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart..., Vladimircov: Sravnitel'naja grammatika..., Poppe: The primary long vowels..., Ligeti Al 260., MEJ 20. etc./.

We can learn of an interesting phenomenon from the Christian Tatar dialect spoken in Čistopol:

- in the place of the initial u-, ü- one can find o-, i-, e- or
 - in the place of the initial labials ö-, o- we often find i-, e-
- /cf. Bajazitova86 40./.

52. VK. irkä "petted" < MMo. erke

Tatar data:

irkä "iznéžennyj, balóvannyj, izbalóvannyj" /TatRS 174./ - "soft, enervate, effeminate man"

irkä "zart" /TatC 83./

irke "nazli, şimarık" /TatN 120./ - "coquettish, petted, spoiled /child/"

"irke kayda cüler anda" /TatN 120./ - "Wherever there is a petted, there is a foolish at the same time"

irkä "söelüne, nazlauni, irkäläüne yarata torgan, artık irkäläüdän užıngan, köysez, nazli, söekle, yaratkan keşe /gadättä kız/" /TatAS₁ 410./ - "brought up on a way of adoration, devotion, be haughty as a result of being spoiled adored, petted person /girls in general/"

irkä tay "yaratunıkötep, sırpalanıp yörü torgan keşe" /TatAS₁ 410./ - "longing for fondness, sy. walking on a fawnish way"

irkätäy "köysez, kapriznyj" /ST 114./ - "unpleasant, capricious"

irkä "kényes" /TatB 26./ - "delicate, sensitive, critical"

irkäce → "irkä", "iznežennyj, neženka" /TatDS 149./ - "being spoiled, mollusc, weakling"

köškö "irkä, nazli, neženka" /TatDS 277./

Bashkir data:

irkä "izbalovannyj" /BashkRS 212./ - "beloved, petted"

irkä "izbalovannyj, svoevo'lnik" /BashkK 78./ - "petted,
self-willed"

irkäm " Balanı irkäläp äyteü hüdä." /BashkDl 74./ - "pampering word told to a child"

Middle Mongolian data:

erke: erke omoŋ /MonPr.₂ 33./

erke "Macht, Majestät" /MNT 45./

erke /AQJU 170./

Written Mongolian data:

erke "self-willed, capricious, spoiled /of children/" /L/

erke "die Macht, das Vermögen, der Wille" /Schmidt 31c./

Ordos datum:

erke "inclinations naturelles, mollesse, délicat esse"
/Ord. 246b./

Other Mongolian datum:

erkə "freiheit, wille, willkür, macht" /KWb. 125./

The word irkä is a Mo. loan-word of Tu. origin in VK languages,
/cf. erk "sil, volja" /DTS 179./.

Doerfer enlisted it among the Turkic words of Mo. origin /cf.
TMEN 65./.

53. VK. irkälä- "pamper" < MMo. erkele-

Tatar data:

irkälä- "néžit', laskat', prilaskat'" /TatRS 174./ - "to
pamper, fondle, caress, pet"

irkälä- "kényeztetni, hízelegni, verziehen, schmeicheln"
/TatB 26./

irkele- "okşamak, beslemek" /TatN 120./ - "to caress with
the hand, to stroke, pat, fondle"

irkälä- "id." /DStat. 41./, /TatAS₁ 411./

Bashkir data:

irkälä- "laskat', prilaskat', oblaskat', prigolubit'" /BashkRS 213./ - "call by a pet name, fondle"

irkälä- "balovat'" /BashkK 78./ - "to spoil /a child/"

irkälä- "id." /PBashk. 244./

Middle Mongolian data:

erkile- : erkileged: kičigen yabuqu-yi erkileged /MonFr.2 33./

erkele- "liebkosen, spielen"

Written Mongolian datum:

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./

Ordos data:

erxele- = er^kxile- "se traïter délicatement" /Ord. 246b./

Other Mongolian datum:

érhle- 2. "laskat'sja, lástit'sja, igrat' /o detjah/" /KhRS 679./ - "to flatter, fawn, play/about children/"

The word has derived from the previous one /cf. 53. Mo. erke> 54. erkele-/. Poppe made it clear that the word was also lent to the Cuman language /cf. Poppe 1962 336./, and that it has no connection to erke "Kraft, Macht".

We can see further data in A. Berta's Ph. D. thesis /cf. MHDK 58./.

54. VK. yada- to be exhausted" < MMo. jada-

Tatar data:

qirtiy → yadau "Qirtiy at belän yıraq barıp bulmıy!" /TatDS 220./ - "It is not possible to go for a long distance on a horse that is exhausted."

näljek → yadau /TatDS 322./

yaz- 2. "lišat'sja, lišit'sja čego l., shodit', sojti /s uma/, terjat', poterjat' čto l." /TatRS 701./ - "deprive, divest of sg., to go out of one's mind, to lose sg."

yaz- 4. "v roli vspomogatel'nogo glagola oboznačacet, čto dejstvie, vyražennoe osnovnym glagolom, edva ne proizošlo, sootv. "čut'-čut', edva ne..., čut' bylo ne..." " /TatRS 701./ - "as an auxiliary it means that the

action expressed by the main verb was almost carried out"

Bashkir data:

yadı- "raspravit'" /BashkD2 82./ - "to get even with sy."

yada- "id." /BashkD1 78./

Kipchak data:

jada- "ermüden, sich plagen" /MEKS 299./

Other Turkic data:

žadā- "krafttloss werden" /MEJ 50./

yada- "ustavat', utomljat'" /TkmRS 806./ - "to get tired,
to get exhausted"

Middle Mongolian data:

yada- : yadabai : ar^yadan yadabai da /AQJU 506./

yada- : yada^yju : qo^yolai yada^yju /MonPr. 168./

yadan^yju "slabyj" /IMI 408./ - "weak"

yadaqsan "ne mogšij" /MA 386./ - "unable"

Ordos datum:

jada- "ne pas puvoir, être impuissant" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

yada- "ne moč', ne umet', ne byt' v sostojanii" /KhR^u 690./ -
"to be unable, can not, to be unable to do sg."

jadanam jadanap "nicht können" /BurjC 137./

jadna "ne pas pouvoir" /Oir. 146./

We can learn from Serruys that the verb yada- stands for the opposite of čida- in Mongolian, and "is most often preceeded by a converbum modale in SH, Hua-i i-yü". It can appear with not modified verbs as well.

The word was lent to the Manchu-Tung. languages /cf. Sol. yada-, Man. yada- "id." /MT 82./ /.

As for Tatar, we have two different borrowings, the first of which is to be found in dialects /cf. yadau dial. "yabik, häl-sez, yödäü" /TatAS₃ 622./ - "thin, puny, sickly, bad, exhausted, weak, feeble, faint, helpless, impotent, powerless"/. Instead a verbal form it is a participle. The later borrowing seems

55. VK. yödä- "to be in need" < Mo. ǰüde- "to be tired"

Tatar data:

yödä- "nuždat'sja, obednjat', iznurjat'sja, iznurit'sja"
/TatRS 193./ - "to be in need of sg., impoverish, to
get worn out"

jödä- "bajban lenni, szorongani, elképedni, bedrängt, ängst-
lich sein" /TatB 87./

ǰödä- "yödä-" : ǰödäügä čiqqan "bik nık yabıkkın" /TatDS
583./ - "to get tired, exhausted, lose much weight"

zödä- → jödä- /PTatD 47./

ǰöda: ǰöda bulu "aerilu, mährüm kalu" /TatAS₃ 814./ - "to
part, separate, be deprived of"

yödä-, yüdä- "iznemogat'" /BarTat./

Chuvash datum:

ǰüDE- "vénségtől botorrá, butává válni, szellemileg elgyen-
gülni, geistig altersschwach werden" /PChuv. 32./

Written Mongolian data:

ǰüde- "to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pres-
sure" /L 1082./

ǰüde- "sich ängstigen, über seinen Zustand verzweifeln, bez-
pokoit'sja, trevožit'sja, otčajavat'sja" /Schmidt 315b./

Ordos datum:

DžüDü voir s.v. jaDü- /Ord. 223b./

Other Mongolian data:

züdhe- "id." /BurRS/

züd^ü- "überanstrengt sein, erschöpft sein, müde sein, mager
sein" /KWb. 483./

züdé- → züdré- "iznurjat'sja, iznemogat'" /KhRS 209./

Räsänen takes the word for Mo. origin in Tu. languages /cf.
RVEW 212./. We can find the word as a loan both in y- and ǰ-
dialects in Tatar.

It would be interesting to find the links between Mo. yada- ~
ǰüde-. As Serruys calls our attention to the synonyms yada- ||
alda- "to lose, to escape" /see his article mentioned above/,
so does Bálint in his Tatar dictionary /cf. alǰa- : jödäb kal-
"megzavarodni, elképedni, verwirrt, verblüfft werden"/.

55. VK. yalga- "to unite" < MMo. yalga-

Tatar data:

yalga- "soedinjat', soedinit', nadstavljat'" /TatRS 706./ -
"to join, combine, bring together, add sg. to sg."

yalga- "Mindi dä bulsa yul belän äyberlärne yäki anıñ ki-
säklären ber-bersenä berketü, kuşu, totaştıru"
/TatAS₃ 633./ - "To bring together, to combine, to
join the parts of different things, or the whole
things whatever it may be."

Bashkir datum:

yalga- "terkä-" /BashkDl 79./ - "to unite"

Other Turkic datum:

salga- "id." /Pek./

Middle Mongolian datum:

yalga- : yalgaba tündü "prisoedinilsja k nemu" /MA 200./ -
"joined him"

Ordos datum:

Džalga- "allonger au moyen d'une allonge, ajouter une
allonge, unir deux bouts, lier diverses parties
les unes aux autres" /Ord. 182b./

There is a synonym in Tatar for "to unite", it is "berläş-"
/cf. TatRS 68./ and this is the original Turkish word, while
yalga- is a Mongolian loan-word.

One can find further data on the Mo. word in Poppe's article
on "The Primary Long Vowels in Mo. /cf. Poppe62 8./.

56. VK. kinät, kinättän "all of a sudden" < MMo. genete

Tatar data:

kinät, kinättän "vdrug, vnezapno" /TatRS 257./ - "sudden,
unexpected, abrupt"

kinät, kinätten "hirtelen, rögtön, egyszerre, plötzlich"
/TatB 56./

ki'nät "Hič kötmägändä, iskärmästän, kisäktän, kapıl"
/TatAS₂ 101./ - "Absolutely unexpected, precipi-
tous, sudden",

"Yaz köne ide, kič ide, kinät ällä ni buldı:...." -
"It was a summer day, it was late and all of a

sudden what happened? - I don't know."
kinäktän, kinättän "vdrug" /ST 134./ - "sudden"

Bashkir datum:

kinät "vdrug, vnezapno, neožidanno, skoropostižno, zapal'čiv-
vyj" /BashkRS 261./ - "all of a sudden, unexpected, ab-
rupt, precipitous"

Early Kipchak data:

kenete "plötzlich" /CC 138./
kenetä "similis" /CCK 233./

Middle Mongolian data:

genete "plötzlich, unerwartet" /MNT 49./
genete "vnezapno" /MA 170./ - "sudden"
genedte : genedte seriĵü /AQJU 194./

Written Mongolian data:

genedte "suddenly, unexpectedly, by chance" /L/-
genedte "plötzlich, unerwartet, vnezapno, nečajanno" /Schmidt
197a./

Other Mongolian data:

gent, gented "vdrug, neožidanno" /KhRS 133./ - "suddenly, all
at once"
gend^Ck^Cel "vnezapno" /DagP 74./
gened "plötzlich, unerwartet" /KWb. 133./

Ordos datum:

GeneDt^Ce "tout-à-coup, subit" /Ord./

The Mo. word derives from the verb gened- "to be surprised" /cf.
Poppe76 473./. It was borrowed by a number of Turkic languages
/cf. keneten "vnezapno" /NogRS 247./, Räsänen enlists them in
his Etymological Dict. /RVEW 252./

Instead of the Mo. initial g- we find k- in the Tu. languages.
For further data see also Zajaczkowski's article on Mo. loan-
words in Karaim /cf. MEKS 299./.

57. VK. yauči "suitor" < MMo. ĵafuči

Tatar data:

yauči, yauči hatin "svat', svaha" /TatRS 719./ - "suitor,
lady matchmaker"

Yauči "heiratsvermittler" /TTatD/

baš koda - "yauči, dimče - kiz sorarga kilüče" /DTat. 30./ -
"main suitor - suitor, go between - the one who came
to propose marriage to a girl/in the name of the
bride-groom/"

yauči "Yegetkä kiz dimläp yörüče." /TatAS₃ 658./ - "The one
who came to the young man proposing a girl."

jauci, Žauši "kiz görücü, Brautschauerin, Heiratsvermittlerin"
/MishK 252./ - "suitor, mediator"

Žauči "svat, svaha" /Matvejev896 318./

Bashkir data:

yausi "svat, svaha" /BashkRS 728./ - "male or female suitor"

yausi "svatun, svatunja" /BashkK 95./

Chuvash data:

yevče "svatun/-ja, svodnik/-ca" /Ašm.₄ 264./ - "male or female
suitor, mediator"

yevče "id." /ChuvS/

JEV, DZE "lánykérő, násznagy, heiratsvermittler" /PChuv. 24./

Written Mongolian data:

Yajuči "svat", svodnik, possednik, faiseur de marriage, ma-
rieur, marieuse, entremetteur, entremetteuse" /Kow./

Yajuči "matchmaker, go-between" /L 1024./

Yajuči "der Freiwerber, Kuppler, svat, svodnik" /Schmidt 295c./

Ordos datum:

Džü' ts'i "entremetteur de marriage" /Ord./

Other Mongolian

zuuχ "svat, svodnik, posrédnik" /KhRS 208./

The word has a Mo. etymology. According to A. Róna-Tas, it goes
back to the Mo. word *yaju : Yapura "middle place, in between"
/cf. AQJÜ 216./, a nomen actoris suffix was added to it : Yaju
+ -či , /cf. KEJCS 126./.

Räsänen denotes the Chuvash word with Tatar origin. He also gives
further data in his Etymological Dict. /cf. RVEW 176./.

Egorov offers another etymology, "Proishodit ot él, il "narod,
plemennoj sojuz" /cf. Eg.ÉŠČ 60./ , we can not accept it for
phonetical reasons.

In a study about the marriage customs and ceremonies of the Christian Tatars living in the province of Ufa, Matveev writes the following: "...priglašajut Žauči - svata ili svahu i pošylajut ih k roditeljam nevesty. V Žauči priglašajetsja inogda odin iz rodstvennikov ženiha..." /cf. Matveev 318./.

58. VK. kabirga "rib, side, flank" < MMo. qaburğa

Tatar data:

kabirga "anat. rebro , geom. rebro, kosogor, sklon" /TatRS 201./

- "anat. rib, geom. rib, hill-side, edge"

kabirga, kaburga "oldalborda, rippe" /TatB 44./

kabrga "rebro" /TatJ 84./ - "rib"

qabirğa -> yaqa "the edge of sg." /TatDS 186./

kabirga "id." /TatAS₂ 13./

qabirğa "rebro" /BarTat./ - "rib"

kabirga : kaburga, yan: müsellesin yanı, kaburga kemigi, dağ kaburgası /TatN 402./ - "rib, side, the side of a triangle, the bone of the rib, ridge of a hill"

Ati ulu, kabirgasi kuru. "Adı büyük ama kaburgaları zayıf." /KTA 86./ - "His fame is great, but the ribs are weak"

Bashkir data:

kaburga "borda" /BashkP 249./ - "rib"

qabirğa "kosogor" /BashkD2/ - "slope"

Kipchak data:

k'avirg'a "rebro" /NogRS 249./ - "rib"

qabirğa "rebro, stena" /Kaz. 419./ - "rib, wall"

kaburğa "oldal, lejtő, Seite, Abhang" /NKB 127./

Early Kipchak data:

chaburcha "costa" /CCK 112./

qaburğa "borda, Rippe" /TGA 316./

xabirğa "rebro, côte" /DAK 438./

qaburqa "Rippe" /CC 188./

Other Turkic data:

qabirğa "id." /Böht. 79./

kaburga "rib, ribs" /Redh. 574./

Middle Mongolian data:

qabirγa : karkata neretü amidu-yin qabirγ- a /AQJÜ 235./
qabirqa, qabirgar "Rippe/n/" /MNT 54./
qabirqa "Rippe" /LP/
qabirxa "côte" /LHY₁ 24./
qabirγa čaγān morin "yanī aq at" /MA 285./ - "horse, the side
of which is white"

Written Mongolian data:

qabirga "rebra verhnaja, perednjaja, les cotes supérieures,
de devant" /Kow. 755./
qabirγ-a/n/ "rib, side, flank" /L/
qabirga "verhnija, bolee dlinnyja rebra, bok" /Pozdn. 76./
qabirga "die Seite, bok" /Schmidt 128c./

Other Mongolian data:

γavirga/n/ "rebro, bok, bokovaja čast'"
γab'irg "rebro" /DagP 96./
γāwryγo "die Seite, Rippen" /KWb. 179./
qabirga "ribs" /Krue. 110./

Ordos datum:

γawirga "coté, flanc, bord" /Ord./

Doerfer considered the word of Mo. origin in several Tu. languages and also in Iranian /cf. TMEN '392./. Räsänen offers a Mo. etymology /cf. RVEW 216./ that we can not accept. The earliest Tu. datum could be the one in Codex Cumanicus.

Bazilxan called our attention to a Kaz. datum: qabirγa "rebra u grudiny". It is most probable that the word originally belonged to the terminology of horse-keeping, and later its meaning got widen.

Poppe's etymology is clear and acceptable, *qabisun "side" /cf. IMCS 27./ could be the stem of the word, the ending -rqai/ -rkei is a compound nomen-suffix.

59. VK. kayč'i "scissors" < MMo. qaič'i

Tatar data:

kayč'i "nožnicy" /TatRS 213./ - "scissors"
kajč'i "olló" /TatB 40./ - "scissors"
kač'i "nožnicy" /TatJ 82./

kayçı "kumaş kesmekte kullanılan maruf alettir, makas"
/TatN 420./ - "a well-known tool in cutting textiles"

qaiči "nožnicy" /TatG/

kaitsch "Scheere" /TatVH 392./

qanči "kayči" /TatDS 191./ - "scissors"

kajči → kacâ, kačâ "makas, Schere" /MishK 252./

qayči "baş häm imän barmak öçen baldak siman totqalı qara-qarşı ike piçaqtan torğan, urtadan totaştırılğan kisü qoralı..." /TatAS₂ 27./ - "a tool for cutting consisting of two opposite knives fitted together at the middle, the hands of which are ring-shaped for the thumb and forefinger"

qayci "nožnici" /BarTat./

Bashkir data:

qaysi "nožnicy" /BashkRS/

qaysi "nožnicy" /BashkK 113./

Kipchak data:

kajči "olló, Schere" /NKB 127./

qayši "nožnicy" /Kaz. 424./

qayši "nožnicy, protivorečivyj" /KrkIprS 357./ - "scissors, contradictory, opposing"

Chuvash data:

xacâ "nožnicy" /ChuvS 539./

xaj, Džâ "olló, schere" /PChuv. 33./

chaitŋch "Schere" /ChuvVH 392./

Middle Mongolian data:

qaiči "nožnicy" /MA 406./

qaiči "ciseaux" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

qaiči "nožnicy, ciseaux" /Kow. 711./

qaiči/n/ "scissors, pincers" /L/

qaiči "nožnicy" /Pozdn. 73./

qaiči "die Schere, nožnicy" /Schmidt 126b./

Ordos datum:

xä'tš'i "ciseaux" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

xai'č' "nožnicy" /DagP 96./
xajč/in/ "id." /KhRS 501./
gaici "shears, scissors" /Krue 112./
xäts "ciseaux" /Oir. 143./
xaiči/n/ "Handschiere" /ParMon. 158./
xae'tš "shears" /Darig. 161./
xätsi "die Schere" /KWb. 180./

The word is considered to be of Iranian origin by Egorov, but Doerfer makes it clear that it is a Mo. loan there just like in several Tu. languages /cf. TMEN 448./. About its Mo. etymology we can read in Róna-Tas's article /gayi- "to cut" /KEJCS 130.//. The word is of Mo. origin also in Chaghatai /cf. gaiči "id." /MA Pril. II./ /.

The vowel of the second /open/ syllable had dropped out in the transfer Mo. dialect before it was handed over to the VK languages.

For further data see Räsänen's dictionary /RVEW 221./, and Sidikov's studies /Sidikov83, 84./.

60. VK. kančiŷa "leather stripe attached to the saddle" <
MMo. ganjuga

Tatar data:

qandžufa "toroka, remni u sedla, kotorymi privjazyvajut k sedlu legkuju klad', dič' i pr." /Bud.₂ 27./ -
"leather thongs at the saddle by the help of which load, burden, game-bag, etc. is tied up to the saddle"
kančiŷa bau "äyber bäläü öčen, iyärgä tašilgan bau" /DStat 76./ - "thong attached to the pad, in order to tie up the burden with"
qanciŷa, qanzıŷa, qančiŷa bau "podpruga, toroka, privjaz u sedla" /BarTat. 151./ - "saddle-strap, halter of the horse at the saddle"

Bashkir data:

qan'yafa "toroka" /BashkRS 321./
qanjafa "toroka" /İšberdin79 23./

Written Mongolian data:

ganzug-a/n/ "thongs attached to a saddle for tying an object"
/L 350./

ganžaga "toroka /u sedla/" /Pozdn. 106./
ganzuga "toroka" /Golst.² 160./

Other Mongolian data:

ganžuga "Sattelriemen /an denen etwas festgebunden wird/"
 /KWb. 143./
ganzaga "toroka" /KhRS 111./
ganzaga "Riemen" /ParMon. 63./

The word is still in use in Western Mo. dialects. There it stands for a very thin and rather long rope made of leather. With the help of it smaller things can be fitted to the saddle.

It belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping. For further data see the following works : /Nom. 232., Rassadin80 29., Sidikov83 126., RVEW 231./.

61. VK. kaptirga "purse" < MMo. qabtirga

Bashkir data:

qabtirga "nosinnyj baškirami na pojas, kožanyj mešoček"
 /BashkK 109./ - "little leather purse hanging on the belt, worn by the Bashkirs"
qaptirga "/nyeregkápán lógó/ vadásztarisznya" /PBashk 250./
 - "satchel for hunters /hanging on the saddle-bow/"
kaptirga. "uzkij /vsego 2-3 cm širinoj/ remennyj pojas, sravnitel'no korotkij /1.2-1.3 m/, s vytisnennym na ego naružnoj poverhnosti uzorom, s krjučkoobraznoj prjažkoj na odnom konce i dyročkami na drugom. U pravogo boka na étom remne vseгда byla privešena bol'saja prjamougol'naja kožanaja suma - kaptirga ili kalta - bylo rasprostraneno sredi jugo-zapadnyh baškir, i vostočnye ščiteli ego tatarskim..." /Rudenko55 169./ - "...narrow leather belt /2-3 cm wide/, comparatively short /1.2-1.3 m/. There were pressed on ornaments on its outer side, an artful, figurative clap on one end and holes on the other. There has always been hung up a big, right-angled leather purse on the right side of this belt, a - kaptirga or kalta . It was popular among the South-Western Bashkirs and the Easterns took it for Tatar."

qaptırxa "qalta" /Bashkd1 125./ - "purse"

Early Kipchak datum:

qaptırxa, xaptırxa "rodzaj torby, espèce de sac" /DAK 448./

Middle Mongolian datum:

qabturxa oqtalba qulaǵai "vor vyrezal karman" /MA 285./ -
"the thief cut out the sack"

Written Mongolian datum:

qabtaǵa "der Beutel, die Tasche, košelek, karman"
/Schmidt 129b./

Ordos datum:

GaB' t'arga "sachet, bourse qu'on porte suspendue à la
ceinture au côté gauche et dans laquelle on
met le tabac et la pipe" /Ord.282b./

Other Mongolian data:

xavtga "košeläk" /KhRS 494./

xaptryp "beutel, tasche" /KWb. 157./

qabtaǵa "bag, pouch" /Krue. 110./

The word is a Mo. loan in different Tu. languages as Doerfer points it out /cf. TMEN 262./. It was also borrowed to Manchu Tungus languages /cf. Ew. kapturğa, Sol. xapturğa, Man. xab-taxa /MT 39./ /.

Räsänen gives further data in his Dict. /cf. RVEW 234./

62. VK. karačay "kind of a bird" < LMo. qaraačai

Tatar data:

karačaj "bizonyos madár, ein gewisser Vogel" /TatB 45./

Written Mongolian data:

uran gariyačai "die Hausschwalbe, domovaja lastočka"
/Schmidt 54c./

gariyačai "die Schwalbe" /Schmidt 140b./

qaratai "lastočka" /Pozdn. 87./ - "swallow"

gariyačai "id." /Kow. 843a./

Other Mongolian data:

xarätsä "schwalbe" /KWb. 168./

xaraacaj "lástočka" /KhRS 513./

xaraacaj "hirunda daurica"="hirondelle rousseline" /VAM 122./

The word can not be found in Old Turkic texts, whereas we can find it in Written Mongolian.

The word final Mo. -ai diphthong is reflected by a Tatar -ay as we might expect.

The vowel of the second syllable had been contracted in the Mo.

/cf. qariya- > qarā- / before it was borrowed by the Tatar.

63. VK. karagay "larch-tree" < MMo. qaragai

Tatar data:

karagay "listvennica", karagay urmanı "listvenničnyj les"
/TatRS 228./ - "larch-tree, larch-forest"

qaraŋay "id." /TatT 83./

qaraŋay "sosna" /GTat./ - "Scotch fir"

karagay "čirši, narat" /DSTat. 77./ - "spruce fir, Scotch fir"

tet aŋac "karagay" /ST 200./ - "larch-tree"

qaraŋay "narat" /TatDS 193./ - "Scotch fir"

karagay "2. narat, čirši" /TatAS₂ 51./

qaraŋay "kedr" /BarTat./

Bashkir data:

qaraŋay "sosna" /BashkRS/ - "Scotch fir"

qaraŋay "id." /BashkK 124./

xarŋai, qaraŋay "lucfenyő, erdei fenyő" /PBashk./

qaraŋay "sosna" /botBashk. 102./

qaraŋay eme "tubirsiq" /BashkDl 126./ - "pine-cone"

qaraŋay qunıdı "smoljovka" /zoolBashk. 133./ - "insect of the fir"

Kipchak data:

qaraŋay "fenyő, Fichte" qaraŋay taxa "fenyődeszka, Fichtenbrett"
/NKB 129./

qaraŋay "sosna" /Kaz. 435./ - "Scotch fir"

k'arag'ay "sosna" /NogRS 250./

qaraŋay "id." /Krk1pRS/

Written Mongolian data:

qarŋai "listvennica, larix /pinus larix/" /Kow. 844./

qarŋai "larch tree" /L 936./

qarŋai "der Kiefernbaum oder eine Gattung desselben, die im
Herbste die Nadeln verliert" /Schmidt 142a./

xarŋai "listvennica" /Golst.₂ 102./

qarŋai "sosna, listvennica" /Pozdn. 88./

Other Mongolian data:

xargai "sibirskaja listvennica" /KhRS 515./

xarḡā, qaragai "Tanne, Lärche" /KWb. 169./

xarḡäe, xarḡā "espèce du pin, pin aux feuilles caduques"
/Oir. 142./

qarḡai "Larch" /Krue. 114./

The word is considered to be a Mo. loan in some Turkic languages by Doerfer /cf. TMEN 406./. Its first occurrence in Tu. is Chaghatai /cf. PdC 398./.

The ending -gai is a Mo. nomen-suffix after the stem qara-. It is interesting to mention, that some suffixes of plant names in Mongolian occur as suffixes forming names of animals as well. Therefore we take the word karagay "kür ürdägenen kara kauriylä ber töre" /TatAS₂ 51./ - "black coverfeathered meadow-duck" also a Mo. loan in Tatar. It occurs also as a place-name /cf. Karagay /TatRS 792./ /. For further data see RVEW 235., and Dmitrieva75 134.

There is another word in Tatar built up of the same stem with the help of another Mo. suffix /cf. kargana "Linsenbaum" /TatC 91./. -gana is a suffix that forms "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" /cf. Poppe, N.: On some suffixes of plant names.../.

64. VK. karavil "guard, watch" < MMo. qara'ul

Tatar data:

karavil "karaul, ohrána, straža" /TatRS 228./ - "guard, watch"

karauil, karaul "örizet, wache" /TatB 45./

karavil "korallä dežurlik" /TatAS₂ 50./ - "orderly watch"

karawâl "Wache" /PTatD 25./

karawil : tawik karawili /TatDS 23o./

karavil "koralli dežurlik, kizü, sakta toru" /TatAS₂ 5o./ -
"armed official on duty, inspection, stand on guard"

qarawil aġaç "mičnenj tür yägi počmagi buena utirtilgan aġaç
bagana" /DStat./ - "wooden stand at the fore cor-
ner or in the direction of the corner of the oven"

Bashkir datum:

qarauil "straža, storož" /BashkK 124./

Kipchak data:

qarauil "haraul, ohrana, muška, price1" /Kaz. 435./ - "keeper,
guard, foresight of rifle, aiming"

qarauil "id." /KrklpRS 379./

qaraul "ör, Wächter", qaraul et- "örködni, wachen" /NKB 129./

Chaghatai datum:

karaul "straža, karaul" /Bud.₂ 48./

Chuvash data:

xural "id." /ChuvS/

xural : xural târ- "ört állani, wache stehen", xural'za "ör, test-
ör, wächter, wache" /PChuv. 51./

Other Turkic datum:

xaraal "karaul" /TuvRS 469./

Middle Mongolian data:

qara'ul "Späher, Patronille" /MNT 6o./

qari'ul "faire revenir" /LHY/

qara'ul "storož" /MA/

Written Mongolian data:

qaraful "karaul, piket, straža, nadzor, sentinelle, garde,
piquet, corps-de garde" /Kow. 832./

qarayul "watch, guard" /L/

Other Mongolian data:

xaruul "karaul, dozór, straža, ohrána" /KhRS 517./ - "watch,
guard, picket"

xarül "Grenzwache, Pickett" /KWb. 171./

xaröl "karaul" /DagP 97./

The word is a major military term of the Mongolian era, it was borrowed by a lot of languages /cf. TMEN 399., RVEW 235., Egorov Et. 304., Róna-Tas82 110./.

The stem of the word is the Mo. verb qara- "to watch", while -ful is a deverbal nomen suffix.

65. VK. karčiga "hawk, falcon" < MMo. garčifa

Tatar data:

karčiga "jastreb" /TatRS 237./ - "hawk"

karčifa "ölyv, bussard /accipiter, astur/" /TatB 46./

karčiga "jastreb" /TatJ 88./

garčifa "jastreb" /GTat./

karčifa, garčifa "Habicht" /PTatD 25./

garčifa "jastreb" /TatT 81./

karčigan "karčiga" /TatDS 232./

karčiga "urta zurliktagi, käre tomšikli häm ozin tirnakli ert-kič koš" /TatAS₂ 64./ - "a medium sized bird of prey with a curved beak and long talons"

Bashkir data:

garsifa "jastreb" /BashkRS 327./

karsaga "jastreb", karsaga söy "ohotit'sja s jastrebami" /BashkK 126./ - "hawk, to hunt with goshawks"

garsifa "ölyv" /PBashk. 251./ - "hawk"

garsaga höyäge /BashkDl 129./ - "hunting with goshawks"

garsifa "jastreb" /zoolBashk. 134./

Kipchak data:

garšifa "jastreb" /Kaz. 437./

garšifa "jastreb" /Krk1pRS 381./

karčifa "sólyom, Falke" /NKB 129./

Early Kipchak and Chaghatai data:

garčyfa, garčafa "Habicht" /CC 194./

garčafa "accipiter" /CCK 180./

garčifa "jastreb" /Bud.₂ 9./

Chuvash data:

xurčka, xorčka "jastreb" /Ašm.₁₆ 236./

khortchka "vantour" /Klaproth1828 243./

hurčka "jastreb" /Eg.Et. 309./

Middle Mongolian data:

qarčiqai "jastreb" /MA 406./
qarčaqai "Falke" /LP/
qarčiqai "browner Falke" /MNT 61./
qarčiqai "faucon" /LHY I 7./

Written Mongolian data:

qarčaqai "jastreb, lesnoj jastreb, vantour /falco palumbarius/"
 /Kow. 850./
qarčaqai "falcon, hawk" /L/
qarčiqai "jastreb" /Pozdn. 89./
qarčaqai "der Habicht, jastreb /malenkij/" /Schmidt 142b./
xarcagaj "jastreb" /Golst. 2 104./

Ordos datum:

Gartsagā "autour" /Ord./

Other Mongol data:

hartsa^aγā "Habicht" /KWb 170./
karsaga, xarcarga "Habicht" /BurC/
xartsaG "faucon" /Oir. 142./
üleg xarcaga "accipiter gentilis = vantour des palombes"
 /VAM 123./
xarcx "jastreb" /Nom. 43./
xarcgaj "jastreb" /KhRS 518./

The word is an OTu loan in Mo. as Doerfer considers : OT qartiqa > OMo. qartiqa + an -i was added to it on the analogy of a number of animal names in Mongolian. After the -ti > -či development in Mongolian, the word gained its new form: qarčiqai, and this was reborrowed with or without the final -i.

Grønbech signed qarčiqai as of Mo. origin already in CC.

The word reached the Chuvash by Tatar transmission as we can learn it from Róna-Tas and Poppe /cf. Róna-Tas82 111., Poppe: On Chuvash-Mo. linguistic contacts/.

We can find the word in two different forms in Pallas's Zoographia : chartzigan B 36 "fere omnis gentis, Accipiter Astur" /KPZ 62./, kartscheja B 36 "fere omnis gentes, Accipiter Astur" /KPZ 63./.

66. VK. karū "objection" < LMo. qari'u

Tatar data:

karu "vozraženie" /TatRS 236./ - "objection"

qaru "javap" /TatDS 195./ - "answer"

karu "karšilik, awir häl, kienlik" /TatAS₂ 64./ - "opposition, difficult setting, hardship"

Bashkir data:

qariu "zato" /BashkRS/ - "however, on the other hand"

qariu "zamena, voznagraždenie" /BashkK 127./ - "substitution, equivalent"

qariu "äyrät" /BashkDl 129./ - "daring, courage"

Middle Mongolian data:

qari'u "zurück, /in/ Vergeltung, in Antwort" /MNT 62./

qariyu : qariyu inu...jrlf ilölegei /MonPr.2 316./

qari'ün "otvet" /IMI 437./

qari'u "otvet" /MA 294./

Written Mongolian data:

qariyu "obratno, nazad : vozvjat', vozvraščenie, vozvratnyj, obratnyj, vozvraščajuščesja : otvet, vozraženie, vozmezdie, de retour : action de retourner, de renvoyer, de restituer, de retour, rétrograde, ce qui revient : réponse, réplique, récompense, rétribution" /Kow. 838./

qariyu "answer, response, return" /L/

qariyu "vozvraščat'sja, opadat' /ob opuholi, naryve i pr./" /Pozdn. 88./

qariyu "zurück, wieder zurück, das Wiederkehrende, die Erwiederung, obratno, nazad, vozvraščajuščesja, otvet" /Schmidt 140c./

Ordos datum:

xarū "réponse, ce qu'on donne en retour de quelque chose qu'on a reçu, rétribution" /Ord. 341./

Other Mongolian data:

härū "antwort, bezahlung" /KWb. 178./

xar'i- "vozvraščat'sja" /DagP 97./

Presumably the word belonged to the Mo. military terminology, unexpected raids, bloody reprisals were called a qarū. The

word is of Mongolian origin in Iranian and in several Turkic languages. It derives from the Mongolian verb garu- "to return" according to Doerfer /cf. TMEN 380./.

In his study on the historical vocabulary of Yakut, Klimovič pointed out, that many of the Mongolian - Yakut parallels can also be traced in Chuvash /cf. Bibliogr./. He considers both Chuv. kurav "otvet, otklik" and Yak. xoruy "otvet, vozmezdie" of Mo. origin. The word was also borrowed by Manchu : karu /MT 118./.

We can learn it from Benzing also, how double-syllables developed in Kalmuck : ".ifu > oir. .iu /.iyu /in der Stammsilbe/ -iu in nichtersten Silben/. Klm. ū /in ersten Silben/ ~ ü /in nichtersten Silben/. moL garifu > klm. xürü "Antwort" = oir. xariu /cf. Benzing85 60./

67. VK. kavirsin "bird's feather" < Mo. *qayurasun

Tatar data:

kavirsin "mahovye pér'ja /kryl'ev pticy/" koyrik kavirsinnari
"rulevye pér'ja" /TatRS 202./ - "all the feathers
/the wings of a bird/, tail wings"

kawêrsân "/Flügel-/ Feder" /PTatD 26./

qawir "kavirsin" /TatDS 186./

kavirsin "kauriy /košniŋ/", kanatniŋ kavirsini töskän /DStat. 71./
- "feather /of a bird/, The feathers of the wing have
fallen out."

kavirsin "koš kanatindagi ére kauriy" /TatAS₂ 14./ - "the big
feathers in the wing of a bird"

qavirsin "kauriy, pero" /ST 150./ - "feather"

Bashkir data:

qauirhin "pero /ptič'e/" /BashkRS 332./ - "feathers /of a bird/"

qauirhin "pero" /zoolBashk. 133./

qauirhin "operénie" /zoolBashk. 133./ - "plumage"

qauirsín ~ qauirhin "pero /ptič'e/" /Aznagulov75 11./

Early Kipchak datum:

qavursin "Federkiel" /CC 197./

Other Turkic datum:

goorasun "Feder" /Böht. 69./

Written Mongolian datum:

goorasun "der Federkiel, das Stroh, der Strohalm, pero, soloma, solominka" /Schmidt 2o2a./

The word has an ancient and huge family, its roots go back to the OTu. gab → gap "sosud, meh" /OTS 42o./. There is a great number of derivatives of it. It seems that OMo. borrowed the word, added its suffixes and later lent it back to the VK languages.

68. VK. kīrpak "powdery snow" < LMo. qir/a/maq

Tatar data:

kīrpak : kīrpak kar "poroša, pėrvyj sneg" /TatRS 312./ - "powdery snow, first snow"

qīrpaq "yuka gina bulip, tōškān berenče kar yāki agarip tōškān kīrau, vak kar" /TatDS 22o./ - "rather thin layer of new fallen snow, or strong surface frost in spring or autumn, very little snow"

kīrpak "vak vak bōrtekle /kar, kar bōrtege turında/" /TatAS₂ 228./ - "very small flakes /in connection with snow/"

Bashkir dat.:

qīrpaq "sneg' tol'ko čto vypavšij osen'ju" /BashkK 165./ - "new fallen snow in autumn"

qīrpiq : qirpiq qar "tāüge qar" /BashkDl 147./ - "fresh first snow"

Other Turkic datum:

kyramai ~ kyramax "Neuschnee, Spurschnee" /MEJ 88./

Written Mongolian data:

hirmagla- "idēt sneg, poroša /pri svete solnca/" /Golst.₃ 444./ - "powdery snow is snowing /in sunshine/"

kīramax "new-fallen snow, first snow" /L/

kīramag časun "ein geringer schwacher Schneefall" /Schmidt 157a./

Ordos datum:

k'irmak "petite neige qui parvient à peine à couvrir le sol" /Ord. /

Other Mongolian data:

- xjarmag "poróša" /KhRS 597./ - "powdery snow"
kirmag "der erste, feine schnee" /KWb. 232./
kirmg "poroša" /Nom. 280./

Though we have phonetical problems here, we can't avoid thinking that the two words must be related.

Ramstedt signed the words in his dictionary as ones belonging together /cf. KWb. 232./. Poppe wrote that the Yakut kīrpax "grain, particles" is a Mo. loan from < kirmag .

69. VK. kitat "Chinese silk" < MMo. kitat "China, Chinese"

Tatar data:

- kitat "parča, kitajskij šelk" /TatRS 315./ - "piece of a Chinese silk"
kitat "nankin seljemszövet, seidenstoff" /TatB 52./
kitat "materiä iseme /boringi/" /DStat. 109./ - "name of a cloth /old/"
qitat "kiymätle materiä, parča, yuka yäšel materiä, gadi kara materiä" /TatDS 222./ - "valuable brocade cloth, thick green cloth, simple black cloth"
kitat "boringi vakitta kitajdan kertelä torgan tigiz efäk tukima" /TatAS₂ 240./ - "heavy silk cloth, that was let in from China in olden times"

Bashkir datum:

- qitat "glazét, parča, parčëvyj" /BashkRS 363./ - "silk, brocade"

Middle Mongolian datum:

- Qitad : Qitad-un /MonPr. 146./
kitat "les Chinois" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

- kitad "China, Chinese" /L/
kitad "der Chinese, der Slave, kitaec, nevol'nik" /Schmidt 158b./

Ordos datum:

- Gi't'at "Chinois" /Ord. 267./

Other Mongolian data:

katat "Chinese" /BurC 129./

kitəD "China, Chinese" /KWB. 233./

k'itat, k'idat "Chinesische" /Parlon./

xjataD "kitáec, kitajánka, kitajskij" /KhRS 597./

The word is of Mo. origin in the VK languages. There is a Mo. plural-suffix -d at the end of the word. It became voiceless in VK.

Though the meaning of k'itat in VK is not exactly the same as in Mo. the problem is surmountable.

For further data see Räsänen's Dictionary /cf. RVIEW 268./.

70. VK. koda "affiliated relative" < Mo. guda

Tatar data:

koda "kum, svat /otec i rodstvenniki ženiha po otnošeniju k roditeljam i rodstvennikam nevesty/" /TatRS 267./ - "father / mother-in-law, /father and relatives of the bride-groom addressed by the parents and relatives of the bride/" koda ĵibärü "svátat'"asking of hand in marriage" → yauči ĵibärü

kodača "a nő és férj nővérei egymás irányában, komaasszony, schwestern der frau und des mannes /gegenseitig, gevatterin" /TatB 59./

goda "svat", godaŋi "svaha" /TatDS 199./

kuda "Freiwerber" /TatC 99./

arĵiš goda "töp koda" /Bajazitova86 130./ - "the most important person among the -in-laws, /in general the father of the bride or bride-groom/"

keda "Brautwerber" /PTatD/

kuta "svat" /GTat./

kodaj "birader, hemşire, Bruder, Schwester" /MishK 253./

koda "Öylänäse eget yaginnan kiz yaučilarga, käläš sorarga bargan ir keše, ir yauči!" /TatAS₂ 124./ - "a man, a mediator man going to the lady mediator in order to find a bride, being sent from the side of a young man who is about to get married."

koda "svat'" /AKRTat. 180./

Bashkir data:

qoda : qoda gileü "qıd' yausılay kileü" /BashkD1 132./ - "to
come to a girl with a marriage proposal"

qoda "svat" /Rudenko55 259./

qodafay "svat'ja" /BashkD2/

Kipchak data:

k'uda "svat" /NogRS 252./

quda "iä." /KazRS/

quda "iä." /Krk1pRS 406./

Early Kipchak datum:

xuda "druhna, družba, swatka, swat, demoiselle d'honneur,
courtisière de mariage" /DAK 495./

Chuvash data:

xäda "leänykérö, koma, brautwerber, gevatter" /PChuv. 43./

xuda "test' i svekor meždu soboju" /Zöl./

Other Turkic data:

xuda "match-maker" /GT 30./

kuda "svat" /RAltS 678./

qodoyoi "die beiden Mütter eines Ehepaars im Verhältniss
zu einander" /Böht. 86./

kuda "svad'ba, svatovstvo, svat, svaha" sr. kudagay /TuvRS
261./

Middle Mongolian data:

quda "verschwägert, Schwager" /MNT 70./

quda : anda quda /MonPr₂ 45./, quda "les deux familles alliées
entre eux par le mariage de leurs enfants" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

quda oboγ "rodstvennik, parent d'un nom différent" /Kow. 908./

quda "the heads of two families related through marriage of
their children" /L/

quda "svat, svaha" /Pozdn. 101./

quduγuy "die Verwandtinn, Base, rodstvennica, svojstvennica,
tetka" /Schmidt 174b./

Other Mongolian data:

xoad~xoadä "svat, otcy, bračusčinsja ili suprugov" /DagP 98./

xuda "Freiwerber" /BurC 128./

xud^u "schwagerschaft, verwndtschaft, leute, deren kinder un-
ter sich verheiratet sind" /KWb. 194./

xuda "svat, kum" /KhRS 561./

aud "svat, svat'ja" /Nom. 68./

Ordos datum:

xuda "les chefs de deux familles alliées par le mariage de leurs enfants, les membres mâles de deux familles alliées entre elles par le mariage de leurs enfants, nom servant à designer, à une noce, chacun des invités mâles" /Ord./

The word is known in the majority of Tu. languages now spoken, with slight phonetical deviations. Let me mention here one:

goza "svat" - living in the North-Western Tatar dialect /cf. Kiekbæev, J.G.: *Nekotorye voprosy izučenija...* p.18./.

Doerfer considers it a Mo. loan in the Tu. languages and also in Manchu /cf. TIEN 423., MT 81./. Räsänen enlisted the Tu. languages that had borrowed the word from the Mo. /cf. RVEW 296./.

There are also differences in the usage of the word. To illustrate this, I want to cite the following: "Črezvyčajno interesno to poĵatie, kotoroe vkladyvalos' v termin goĵa "svat", svatami baškir nazывal ne tol'ko mužej rodných sester svoej ženy, no i vsjakogo mužčine, vzjavšego ženu iz togo že roda, iz kotorogo byla vzjata ego žena. Poslednee možno rassmatrivat' kak perežitok byloj dual'noj organizacii rodov. Zaručivšiš', soglasiem syna i ženy, otec otpravljjal k buduščemu testju svatov /goĵa/ ili sam otpravljalsja k nemu dlja peregovorov." /Rudenko 55 259./ As for the Mongolian side: "Marriages are fixed when the children are minors... and even prenatal betrothal is known... At the betrothal, presents are made to the parents of the girl, and the amount of the gift is fixed. Thenceforth the two families are to each other as xuda /parents of spouses/" /Krader 63 38./

It is safely said that the word belongs to marriage-terminology, and it can be used for male and female affiliated relatives. Both for this and also the preserved intervocalic -d- we consider the word of Mo. origin in VK.

It was probably borrowed by the Chuvash straight from the Mo. ie. without the help of a mediator language /cf. KEJCS 131./

71. VK. koḍik "well" < MMo. quduq

Tatar data:

koḍik → koye "kolodec" /TatRS 267./ - "well"

kutuk "Brunnen" /TatC 99./

qodoq, gozoq "vāke" /TatDS 200./ - "ice-hole"

koḍik → koye -Tökermä koḍikka, suın éčärson! /TatAS₂ 125./
- "Don't spit into the well, you might drink its water!"

Bashkir data:

qoḍoq "kolodec" /BashkRS/

qoḍia "id." /BashkK 141./

qoḍoq, qotoq "mikrogidrografik ob'ekt" /Kamalov75 137./ -
"micro-hydrographical object"

qotoq ~ qoḍoq ~ qoyo "kolodec" /Kiekbaev81 15./

Kipchak data:

kudux "Brunnen" /MEKS 299./

Middle Mongolian data:

quduq "Brunnen" /MNT 70./

quduq "kolodec" /MA 308./

quduq "id." /IMI 445./

Written Mongolian data:

quduq "kolodec" /Golst.₂ 131./

quduq "kolodec, puits" /Kow. 918./

qudduq "well" /L/

quduq "kolodec" /Pozdn. 102./

qudduq "der Brunnen, kolodec" /Schmidt 174c./

Ordos datum:

xuDuq "id." /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

hud^ug "Brunnen" /KWb. 194b./

xudag "kolodec" /KhRS 561./

quduq "well, spring" /Krue.117./

We can find two words for "well" in VK languages. One is koye /TatRS 267./, the other one is koḍik. The former is the result

of the development from OT quduŋ < qud- "to give water" /cf. DTS 463., Cl. 598./. This word spread on a long area, can be found in almost every Turkic language, moreover it went through into Mo. as well. The other word for "well" is a reborrowed one, a Mo. loan-word both in Tatar and Bashkir languages. Nominhanov put together the Mo. forms of the word /cf. Nom. 235./. For further data see Doerfer's handbook /cf. TMEN 395./.

72. VK. konaŋin "three years old female animal" < MMo. ḡunaŋin

Tatar datum:

konaŋin tana "ike tapkir bozaulagan yäŋ siyer" /DStat 92./ -
"young cow that has calved two times already"

Bashkir data:

qonaŋin "kobyła ot dvuh do trëh let" /BashkRS 338./ - "two to
three-year-old mare"

qonaŋin ~ gonazın ~ gonayın "trehletnjaja kobyła" /İšberdin79 2o./
"three-year-old mare"

Kipchak data:

ḡunaŋin "id." /Krk1pRS 154./

k'unāŋin "kobyła do 3 let, korova do 3 let" /NogRS 253./ -
"mare or cow till the age of three"

Chaghatai datum:

qunači "telenok dvuh let, ein zweijähriges Füllen" /Radl.3 911./

Middle Mongolian datum:

qunaŋin "dreijährig" /MNT 72./

Written Mongolian data:

ḡunŋin "trehletnjaja /o skote/" /Pozdn. 114./

ḡunaŋin "dreijährig /Femin./, trehletnjaja" /Schmidt 2o2a./

gunaŋin "trehletnjaja korova" /Golst.2 178./

Ordos datum:

GunaDži "âge des trois ans /vache, chamelle - Ou donne aussi
le nom de GunaDži à une vache ou une chamelle de qua-
atre ou cinq ans/" /Ord. 314./

Other Mongolian data:

gunž/in/ "trëhlétnjaja koróva, trëhlétnjaja /o samke život-nogo/" /KhRS 126./

gundžn "dreijährig /von weiblichen Haustieren/" /Kwb. 155./

hunjn "id." /Mon. 228./

gundžin "agée de quatre ans /jument, vache/" /Oir. 140./

The word has a Mo. etymology, it derives from funan "three".

Concerning its suffix we can get an explanation from Benzing :

"Feminina : bei Altersangaben für Tiere durch das Suffix -žn

= oir. -žin, hunžn "dreijährig"- masc. huun,

tulžn "fünfjährig"- masc. tūln " /Benzing85 42./.

The word was borrowed by Ewenki as well: gunadžin "trehletnjaja korova" /Novikova79 122./.

For further data see Räsänen's Dictionary /RVEW 301./.

In VK languages we find an intervocalic -j-~ -ž- in gonadžin,

as a clear criterium for the word being a loan. We suspect

that the first vowel has become somewhat reduced -u-> -ö-.

73. VK. konan "three years old male animal" < Mo. funan

Bashkir data:

konan "žerebec ot dvuh do treh let" /BashkRS/

kunan "hároméves mén" /PBashk. 255./ - "three-year-old stallion"

konan : konan at "žerebenok na tret'em godu" /BashkK/ - "foal in his third year of age"

qonan ügeđ "three-year-old ox" /Išberdin86 22./

Kipchak data:

kunan "žerebënok po tret'emu godu" /KirgRS/

funan -> qunan /Krk1pRS 154./

k'unan "žerebec do 3 let" /NogRS 253./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

kunan "trehletnyj žerebenok, ein dreijähriges Füllen" /Radl.2 910./

qunan "žerebenok /trehletnij, ot dvuh do treh let/" /K 168./ - "foal /three-year-old, between the ages of two to three/"

konan "žerebenok dvuhgodovalyj, s 3-j vesny" /Bud.2 95./

Other Turkic datum:

gunan "ein junger Stier" /MEJ 19./

Middle Mongolian data:

gunan "trehletnjaja rogataja skotina" /MA 179./ - "three-year-old cattle"

gunan "trehletnee životnoe" /MA 404./ - "three-year-old animal"

gunan "drei Jahre alt" /MNT 72./

Written Mongolian data:

gunūn "trehletnij /o skote/" /Pozdn. 114./

gunan "dreijährig /Masc./, trehletnij" /Schmidt 202a./

Ordos datum:

Guna "boeuf châtré qui est dans sa troisieme année /ou donne aussi le nom de Guna à un boeuf de quatre ou cinq ans/" /Ord. 314b./

Other Mongolian data:

gunun "age de quatre ans /cheval, boeuf/" /Oir. 140./

gunu "dreijährig /vom vieh/, die dreizahl, der dritte tag /im monat/" /KWb. 155./

The word goes back to the Mo. word gurban "three". It is a wide-spread loan in many Turkic languages, can also be found in Manchu : Ev. gunan, Sol. gunan, Man. gûna /cf. MT 102./.

74. VK. qunalqa "shelter for the night" < MMo. qonalqa

Bashkir datum:

qunalqa "nočleg" /BashkD2/

Chaghatai datum:

qonalqa "nočleg, das Nachtquartier"

Written Mongolian data:

qono- "nočevat'" /Pozdn. 90./

qonu- "übernachten, perenočevat'" /Schmidt 161b./

Ordos datum:

xonolgo "action de passer la nuit" /Ord. 353a./

Other Mongolian data:

gonlyu "das übernachten, nachtquartier" /KWb. 185./

The stem of the word is the OT gon- "opuskat'sja, sadit'sja" /DTS 455./. This was borrowed by the Mongols, and to it a vowel was added: gonu-, gona-. We can find it in this shape also in Dagur : xong- "nočevat', provodit sutki" /DagP 99./. On the de-verbal nomen suffix -lga see Poppe: Grammar of Written Mong. 161.

75. VK. gur "heath-grouse" < MMo. gur

Tatar data:

kurtay "košnñ ber töre /ayakları ozin, suda yözmi torgan, torna šikelle zur koš" /DStat. 100./ - "a kind of a bird /its legs are long, can swim in water, is as big as a crane/"

gurtai "čelän" /ST 156./ - "heron"

Bashkir data:

gor "teterrev" /Išberdin86 24./ - "capercaillie"

gur "heath-grouse" /PBashk. 255./ - "nyíri fajd"

Written Mongolian data:

gur qurquul /WU-TI 4148./

gur "black grouse" /L 987./

gur qurquul "das Birkhuhn, tetërka" /Schmidt 170b./

Other Mongolian data:

xur "tétereŷ, tetërka" /KhRS 565./

xor^o "auerhahn" /KWb. 187a./

The word is lacking in Turkic antiquity, furthermore it has a synonym in Tatar : körtlek "nyíri fajd, birkhuhn" /TatB 63./. We consider kur as a Mo. loan in VK. It is interesting to mention that we find the word kunažin with tay often in Kirg. - is it possible then, that the same language mediated kurtay from the Mo. to the Tatar language?

76. VK. körän "brown" < MMo. küren

Tatar data:

körän "buryj, burovato-koričnevij" /TatRS 328./ - "greyish-brown, brownish"

körän "sötét pej, barna, braun Pferd" /TatB 63./

körän, körän at "Braune /Pferd/" /PTatD/

körän "darčın yäki qızdırılğan kofe tösendäge, qonırt, qonırt töstäge" /TatAS₂ 271./ - "of the same colour as cinnamon or roasted-coffee, blondish-brownish"

körän "koričnevij" /BarTat./ - "brown"

Bashkir data:

körän "buryj" /BashkRS 282./

körän "buryj o lošadi" /BashkK 148./ - "brown of a horse"

körän "sötét pej, barna" /PBashk. 254./ - "dark bay, brown"

körän "fioletovij" /BashkD2/ - "violet-coloured"

Kipchak data:

küren "mast' /lošadi/, küren at "lošad' temnoryžej masti" /Kaz. 221./ - "colour /of a horse/, dark-yellow horse"

Chuvash data:

kären "sötétbarna, schwarzbraun, dunkelbraun" /PChuv. 64./

Other Turkic data:

kürän "ryžij /mast' lošadi/" /AzRS 118./

kürän "o lošadjah: buryj, krasnovatyj, solovoj, seryj, sivyj" /Pek. 1327./

Written Mongolian data:

küren, küren "temnyj, temnoburyj, temnognedoj, obscur, noir, brun, basané" /Kow. 2636./

küreng "/dark/ brown, maroon /esp. of fur/" /L/

kürüng "buryj" /Pozdn. 297./

küreng "schwarzbraun /von Haar, wie z.B. bei Pferden/, temno-buryj /o šersti, kak napr. u lošadej/" /Schmidt 185b./

Other Mongolian data:

xürén "koričnevij, buryj /o masti/" /KhRS 577./

küren "dunkelbraun, Pferdefarbe" /KWb. 248./

Ordos datum:

k'ürin /k'üren "brun, brun foncé /chevaux/" /Ord./

The word is a Mongolian loan in Yakut /cf. MEJ 54./ and also in several Sib. Tu. languages /cf. RVEW 310./. Doerfer gives more data concerning its literature /cf. TMEN 463./.

It was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the closing process of the vowels over there. körän belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping in the Volga - district.

77. VK. kümägäy "Adam's apple" < LMo. kömegei

Bashkir data:

kümägäy "kadyk" /BashkRS 294./ - "Adam's apple"

kümägäy "beyäd, hiyir maliniñ urti" /BashkD2 117./ - "throat, cavity of the mouth of cows" kümägäy → kümäy /BashkD1 111./

kümägäy "kadyk, adamovo jabloko", kümäy → tamaq /zoolBashk. 131./ - "Adam's apple, throat"

Kipchak datum:

kömekey "mesto pod nižnej čeljust'ju po obe storony górla" /Krk1pRS 334./ - "spot between the lower jaw and both sides of the throat"

Chaghatai datum:

kömäkäy "njobo vo rtu, der Gaumen" /Radl.2 1320./

Other Turkic data:

kömögöi "der vordere Theil des Halses" /Böht. 58./

Written Mongolian data:

kömei "podborodki /u meha/, duška sobol'ja, la peau sous le museau, peau de la poitrine" /Kow.3 2609./

kögemei = kömei "pharynx, throat" /L 479./

kömüg ~ kömügei "shed, roof over a portico, eaves" /L 487./

kögemei "der Bauchtheil eines Felles oder Balges, brjučnaja čast' škury ili meha" /Schmidt 181b./

Other Mongolian data:

xöömei "meh brjušnoj časti skury" /BurRS 593./

kömĕ "der hellere bauchteil eines felles" /KWb. 239./

xöömij "zev, górla" /KhRS 553./

k'öm "mesto pod podborodkom" /DagP 83./

The word kümägäy is living in Bashkir in parallel with kümäy. Both words mean "throat" and "Adam's apple". They have a third word meaning the same : tamaq , this is well spread among Turkic languages. We can justly suspect that the latter is the original Turkish word /cf. tamaq "gorlo" /DTS 529.// while the other is a loan-word.

There could have been two forms of the word in Middle Mongolian: köge + mei > kōmei and köge + megei > kōmegei / kөгemei

köge- could be the stem, meaning "to swell, distend, foam" /cf. L 478./. Because the etymology is not wholly clear, we can not decide upon the chronology of the metathesis. We can only say that the Bashkir word goes back to a Mo. kōmegei. The first vowel became closer in Bashkir later.

76. VK. makta- "praise" < MMo. ma t -

Tatar data:

makta- "hvalit', pohvalit'" /TatRS 359./ - "to praise, laud"

makta- "dícsérni, loben" /TatB 168./

makta- "hvalit'" /TatJ 90./

maqtañcay → maqtancaq → maktančik /ST 164./

makta- "övmek", "birinin mehasinin, iyi tarafların anmak" /TatB 490./ - "to boast, to talk of the best sides of one's merits"

makta- "kemneñ yäki närsäneñ dä bulsa yahşı, kürkäm, uñay, faydalı yañın huplau, yahşı dip söyläü" /TatAS₂ 361./ - "to praise or approve of the good, beautiful, comfortable, useful sides of somebody or something"

makta- "loben" /PTatD/

mædex "maktau" /TatAS₂ 416./

Bashkir data:

maqta- "hvalit'" /BashkRS/

maqta- "hvalit'" /BashkK/

makta- "dícsérni" /PBashk./

Kipchak data:

maqta- "hvalit'" /Kaz. 238./

mak'ta- "hvalit'" /NogRS 254./

makta- "dícsérni, hízelegni, loben, schmeicheln" /NKB 135./

maxta- "preisen, loben" /MEKS 300./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

maxta- "loben, preisen" /CC 162./

mahta- "laudo" /CCK 234./

maxta- "chwalič się, se vanter, se glorifier de" /DAK 515./

Chuvash data:

muxta- "hvalit'" /Zol. 44./

muhta- "hvalit', rashvalivat', proslavljat'" /Bg.Et. 135./

Other Turkic data:

magta- "preisen, loben" /Böht. 146./

maxta- "id." /MEJ 73./

Middle Mongolian data:

maxta- : maxtabai /AQJU 306./

magta- : magtaba emeyi "hvalil ženščinu" /MA 233./

maxta- : maxtaju /MonPr. 21./

magta- "vanter, se vanter, louer" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

maxta- "to praise" /L 520./

magta- "hvalit'" /Pozdn. 231./

magta- "loben, preisen, hvalit', prevoznosit'" /Schmidt 211c./

Ordos datum:

mag't'a- "louer" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

makt^o- "loben" /KWb. 254./

maxta- "to praise" /Krue. 100./

magta- "hvalit', slávit'" /KhRS 232./

It is considered to be a Mo. loan in Cuman by Poppe /cf. Poppe 962 336./, in Karaim by Zajaczkowski /MEKS 300./, by Kałuzynski in Yakut /cf. MEJ 73./, and by Schütz in Armenian.

Due to the initial m- we can take it for a Mo. loan in Tatar and Bashkir.

79. VK. malakay "cap" < MMo. malaɣai

Tatar data:

malaxay = kolakčın "füles sapka, eine Mütze mit Ohrdeckel"
/TatB 169./

malaqay "id." /TatDS/

malahay "Mehtan tegelgän kolakčın bürek." /TatAS₂ 362./ - "cap covering the ears as well, made of fur"

Bashkir data:

malaxay → "teüätbürek" /BashkD2/ - "cap covering the ears as well"

malahay "šapka-ušanka" /Kiekbaev81 14./ - "id."

Chuvash data:

mulaxxay "šapka" /ChuvS/

malaxaj "csücskékel ellátott téli sapka, wintermütze mit zip-feln" /FChuv. 84./

mulaxay "id." /Ašm.8 260./

mulaxxay "id." /3.Et. 134./

Middle Mongolian data:

maɣala "šapka" /IMI 441./

maɣalai č. pörük "šapka" /MA 233./

maɣalai "Hut, Mütze, Kappe" /MNT 106./

Written Mongolian data:

malaxa, malaɣai "malakaj, šapka, kartuz, bonnet, casquette, chapeau" /Kow./

malaɣai "hat, cap" /L/

maɣalai, malaqai "šapka" /Pozdn. 230./

malaɣai "die Mütze, der Hut, die Kopfbekleidung, der Deckel, šapka, šljapa, kryška" /Schmidt 211c./

Other Mongolian data:

malgay "šapka, golovnoj ubór" /KhRS 234./

malgai, malagai "Mütze" /BurC 172./

maɣal "šapka" /DagP 85./

malxā "chapeau" /Oir. 150./

malaɣai "hat, cap" /Krue. 100./

maxlā "id." /KWb. 254./

Though the origin of the word is surely Mongolian, we can not exclude the possibility of the Russian mediation into VK languages. On its Mo. origin see Poppe /cf. IMCS 84./.

The Mo. word malafai seems to have developed from an earlier malala /cf. IMI/ by the help of a metathesis. We find the word both with or without a final -i : Written Mo. malafai ~ malafa "šapka" /cf. Vladimircov29 296./ It was borrowed by the Manchu without -i : Man. maxala "Kopfschmuck ewenkisch - jukagirischer Fasson" /cf. IT 138./, and it went through into the VK languages with a final -i.

Similarly to the other borrowings the Mo. word final -ai is reflected by -ay being a telling sign of the word's being a loan. The word is of Mo. origin in the Chuvash /cf. Róna-Tas82 99./, and also in the Kirgiz /cf. Oruzbaeva:0 kirgizskih i mongol'skih ... p.459./.

80. VK. mangay manlay "forehead" < MMo. manglai

Tatar data:

mangay "lob, lobnyj" /TatRS 366./ - "forehead"

mañay, mañay "homlok" /TatB 168./ - "forehead"

mañlay "lob" /TatJ 91./

manglay : alın /TatN 491./ - "forehead"

manxaj "Stirn" /PTatD/

manxay tǎnkä "nalobnoe ukrašenie, sploš' uvešannoe serebrjanyĭ monetami" /Bajazitova86 142./ - "decoration, worn on the forehead entirely full of hanging silver coins"

manxay, manlay "Yözneñ yäki hayvannar başınñ küzdän yuƣarıǵı öleše" /TatAS₂ 376./ - "the upper part of the face or in the case of animals, the part above the eyes"

manxay, manday, mannay "lob" /BarTat./ - "forehead"

Bashkir data:

mañalay, mañanay "manlay, mañalay" /BashkD2 165./

manxay yalı /BashkD2 168./ - "mane hanging on the forehead /in connection with horses/"

manlay "lob" /zoolBashk. 137./

manlay, manday, manxay, mannay "lob" /Išberdin86. 24./

Kipchak data:

manday "forehead" /Kirghiz Manual 128./
manlay "Stirn" /CrimTat. 232./
manday "lob" /Kaz. 238./
manlaj "Stirn" /MEKS 300./
mannilay "homlok, Stirne" /NKB 135./
manlay "lob" /KrklpRS 446./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

manlay "Stirn, frons" /CC/
magley "frons" /CCK 110./
manlay "homlok, Stirn" /TGA 319./

Other Turkic data:

mannai ~ magnai "zuerst, am Anfang, anfangs" /MEJ 15./
manlay "lob, čelo" /TkmRS 442./
manday "lob" /AltV 199./
mannai "Anfang, zuerst" /Böht. 471. [!] = 147] /

Middle Mongolian data:

manglai "Stirn, Vorhut, Spitze der Marschtruppe" /MNT 107./
manglai "Stirn" /LP/
manglai "front" /LHY I 23./
manla → manglai /IMM 150./
manglai /VI 53./
manlai /sic!/ "lob" /IMI 441./
manglai "lob", manglai "avangard" /MA 405./
manglai : manglay - yin /MonPr 109./

Written Mongolian data:

manlay, mannay "čelo, lob, glavnyj, verhovnyj, glava, načal'-
nik, front, le milieu du front, principal, souverain,
suprême : le chef" /Kow. 1977./
manglai "forehead, front" /L 527./
mangnay "lob, čelo" /Pozdn. 129./
mangnaj "die Stirne, lob, čelo" /Schmidt 209c./
manglai "die Stirne, das Oberhaupt, der Anführer, das Vorste-
hende, lob, glava, načalnik" /Schmidt 210a./

Ordos datum:

mannā "front, éminent" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

- manlaj "glava, vožd', pėrvyj, avangárdnyj, peredovoj, glávnyj
glavénstvujuščij" /KhRS 236./
mannā "Stirn, Vorderkopf" /KWb. 257./
mannā "front, éminent" /Oir. 150./
manıl "lob" /DagP 85./
mognay, magnai "Voorhoofd" /Wit. 298./

The first occurrence of the word is in the Codex Cumanicus, where Poppe takes it for Mongolian /cf. Poppe 962 336./. Doerfer considers the word to be of Mongolian origin in Persian /cf. TMEN 501./. The original meaning of the word was "forehead" - according to him - , the other meaning "vanguard" is a later development.

The combination -ngn- often alternates with -ngl- in Written Mongolian : manglai ~ magnai , mangnu ~ manglu etc. The word meaning "forehead" was borrowed from the Mo. both with -n- and -l- by the VK languages.

81. VK mata- "to trouble, torment, disturb" <MMo.mata-

Tatar data:

- mata- "birini meşguliyeti esnasında rahatsız etmek" /TatN 488./
- "to disturb somebody in his engagement"
mata- "komaçaulau, uñaysızlau" /TatAS₂ 371./ - "to trouble, disturb"
mata- → matala- "çualdır-, çäbäländer-, uñaysızlau, avir häldä kaldıru" /TatDS 300./ - "to interfere, to become mixed up, to intervene, to toss about, to get lost, to leave somebody in difficulty"
mata- "pomogat'", matala- "okruzit', oblepit'" /ST 165./

Bashkir data:

- mata- "vožit', mučit'" /BashkRS 379./ - "to take pains , to romp about, torment, torture"
mata- "id." /BashkDl 155./

Other Turkic data:

- matai- "hervortreten, sich wölben" /MEJ 103./

Written Mongolian data:

mata- "krumm biegen, sognut" /Schmidt 213a./

mata- "to curve, bend, hollow out in a vault shape" /L 53o./

Other Mongolian data:

mata- "sgibat', vygibat', délat' izognutym" /KhRS 238./

mata- "biegen, bogenförmig machen" /KWb. 258./

The word is a Mongolian loan in some Turkic languages /cf. RVEW 33o., MEJ 1o4., 1o8./, and also in Ewenki : mata- "beugen" /MT 61./.

Its original meaning seems to have been "to bend", in the course of time it changed into "to torture". The word can be found in the same form with both meanings in VK languages.

82. VK. mölderä- "pour all over" < MMo. mültüre-

Tatar data:

mölderä- "nalivat'sja, nalit'sja /slezami/" /TatRS 389./ -

"to become full, being filled with /tears/"

küzlärennän yaş mölderäde "her tears began to flow" /TatRS 389./

mölderä- "Tulip taşırğa, tügelergä, çäçelergä toru."

/TatAS₂ 427./ - "to be too full and flow out all over"

Bashkir data:

möldörä- : möldöräp tor- "/tol'ko o židkostjah/ byt' perepolnennym" /BashkRS 391./ - "to be too full /in connection with liquids only/"

möldörä- "tulı bulıp tügelergä torou", "yalvarıp qarau"

/BashkDl 158./ - "to overflow", "to obtain sg from sy by entreaties"

Other Turkic data:

mültürüi "abgleiten" /Böht. 151./

Middle Mongolian data:

mültüre- "sich lösen, aufgehen, abfallen" /MNT/

Written Mongolian data:

mültüre- "id." /Kow. 2060./

möldöre- "sich losmachen, sich ablösen, abfallen aus der Hand fahren od. rutschen, otdelit'sja, otvjazat'sja, otpast', vypast' ili vyskol'znut' iz ruk'" /Schmidt 222b./

Ordos datum:

möltörö- "se détacher, sortir de sa place, échapper" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

möltr- "ganz abfallen, frei werden" /KWb./

multr- "vyputivat'sja" /KhRS 248./

möltörⁱ- "id." /Ramst. 266./

The Mongolian verb belongs to a rich family of verbs describing atmosphere, some of them are onomatopoetic. It is common with them that the stem has two syllables, and there is a deverbal verbum suffix added to the stem (cf. biljira-, mültüre-).

The initial p- is preserved in VK languages being an important criterion of its being a loan. We take the verb mölderä- for a Mongolian loan in Tatar and Bashkir languages.

83. VK. mäsekäy "sharp" < MMo. mese "any edged weapon"

Bashkir data:

mäsekäy → asqarin

mäsekäy "ütker" /BashkD1 162./ - "sharp"

Mäsekäy tešle bisqi.

mäsekäy "ostryj" /BashkD2 180./ - "sharp"

Written Mongolian data:

mese "glaive, toute arme tranchante" /Kow. 2006./

mese "any edged weapon or tool, knife, dagger, sword, surgical scalpel" /L 537./

mese "das Schwert, jede schneidende Waffe, meč, vsjakoe holodnoe oružie" /Schmidt 216b./

Other Mongolian data:

mes^o "kurzes schwert" /KWb.262./

mes "holódnoe oružie" /KhRS 253./

Ordos datum:

nese "glaive, couteau" /Ord. 463./

Doerfer considers the word to be of Mongolian origin /cf. TMEN 365./. No doubt, the stem is a Mo. loan in Bashkir but there was an additional suffix -käy put to its end, in order to make it an adjective. Playing the same role we can find it in : misekäy "ösnäqät" /BashkD2 170./ - "a hearty eater", duskaj "barát" /PBashk./.

84. VK. märgän "a good marksman" < MMo. mergen

Tatar data:

märgän "yahši atuči, töz atuči" /DStat. 137./ - "a good marksman, one who can shoot straight"

märgän "töz atuči, auči" /TatAS₂ 420./ - "a good marksman, huntsman"

mérgän "ohotnik" /BarTat. 166./

märgän "ohotnik" /TatČ/

Bashkir data:

märgän "métkij strelok, snájper, métkij, snájperskij, métko" /BashkRS 398./ - "sharp shooter, huntsman, crack shot"

märgän "strelok" /BashkK 172./ - "marksman"

märgän "metkij" /Kiekbaev81 14./ - "punctual, sharp"

Kipchak data:

mergen "iskusnyj strelok, snájper, ohotnik" /KrklpRS 457./ - "famous marksman, huntsman"

Other Turkic data:

märgän "der da gut trifft, ein guter Schütze, Geschicklichkeit im Schiessen" → bärgän /Böht. 148./

mergän "strelok, snájper, ohotnik" /UzbRS 259./ - "a good marksman, huntsman"

mergen "métkij, masterskoj, mudryj, genial'nyj" /TuvRS 293./ - "a good marksman, wise, of remarkable talents"

mergen "metkij strelok, Mergen" /TkmRS 449./

märgän ~ bärgän "ein guter Schütze, geschickt, brav" /MEJ 41./

Middle Mongolian data:

- mergen: mergen gandarvi-yin ökid /AQJÜ 312./
mergen "wise, sagacious" /HpP 127./
märgän "habile, universellement habile" /LMI I 19./
mergen : mergen-iyer /MonPr₂ 196./
merged Pl. : merged sayin /MonPr 59./

Written Mongolian data:

- mergen "lovkij, umnyj, učenij, master svoego dela, iskusnyj ohotnik, osobenno strelok, habile, sage, chasseur habile, en partic. un tireur d'arc" /Kow. 2019./
mergen "a good marksman, wisdom, wise" /L/
mergen "strelok, lovkyj, mudryj, artist" /Pozdn. 233./
mergen "weise, kunstvoll, meisterhaft, vollkommen, ein Meister, ein guter Jäger, mudryj, iskusnyj, masterskoj, soveršennyj master, iskusnyj ohotnik" /Schmidt 215b./

Ordos datum:

- mergen "prudent, sage, avisé, judicieux, sensé, qui à l'esprit très fin, malin, rusé" /Ord. 463./

Other Mongolian data:

- mergen "čempion po strel'bé iz luka, métkij strelok, mudryj, prozorlivyj" /KhRS 253./
mergn "künstler, geschicht, der sein handwerk versteht, jäger" /KWb. 261./

The word is considered to be of Mongolian origin in a lot of Turkic languages by Doerfer /cf. TMEN 498./, by Räsänen /RVEW 335./etc. It was also mediated to the Cheremiss by the Chuvash even if today it is extinct there, at least we have no example from present-day-Chuvash language /cf. KEJCS 127./. For the very same reason Poppe considers Tatar mediation more probable, than the above mentioned - suggested by Róna-Tas. /cf. Poppe: On Chuvash-Mong. linguistic contacts./

The original meaning might have been "talented, skilful" as Doerfer considers. As a result of a thorough study on the early Mo. loan-words in Manchu, Ligeti suggested another solution /cf.

AOH₁₀ 243./

Ramstedt takes the Mo. verb mer- "heranschleichen" for the stem, to it a -ge/n deverbil nomen-suffix was added.

85. VK. mokit "stupid, blunt" < MMo. moqadaq

Tatar data:

mokit "glupyj" /TatRS 375./ - "blunt"

mokiy / moqit "angira, mingeräü, beleksez" /TatDS 306./ - "grown
dull, ignorant"

miciy → mokiy /TatDS 310./

mokit "angiz, angira, mänsez" /TatAS₂ 401./

moğa- "tupet", tupoj /ST/ - "to make sy grow blunt, blunt"

Chuvash data:

mäka "glupyj" /ChuvS/

muga "tupoj" /Zol. 44./

moğa → muga "tompä, stumpf" /PChuv. 87./

mäka "tupoj" /Äsm. 294./

Early Kipchak data:

moxdaq "stumpf" /CC/

mohdak "obtusus" /CCY 233./

Middle Mongolian data:

moqodaγ : moqodaγ jida /AQJÜ 318./

moqodaq "qui n'est pas pointu, qui n'est pas aigu, qui ne
coupe pas" /LHY I 27./

moqadaq "tupoj" /MA 238./

Written Mongolian data:

moqu- "to be blunt or dull" /L/

moqadaq "stumpf, tupoj" /Schmidt 218./

Ordos datum:

muxudak, muxuduk, muxur "id." /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

moxdog "tupoj, tupogolovyj, bezdarnyj" /KhRS 243./

moxā, moxā "stumpf /zb. messer/" /KWb. 263./

moko "stumpf" /BurC 174./

moxo- "to give up sg., desist, spend its force" /Darig. 166./

The word was considered to be of Mongolian origin by Grønbech already in the Codex Cumanicus. Doerfer's opinion was the same concerning the Persian /cf. TMEN 509./.

Róna-Tas stated, that the Chuvash gained it from a Kipchak language, due to the intervocalic -k- that is preserved. The initial m- in Tatar is of major interest, being a safe criterium of the word's No. origin. It was borrowed by some other Turkic languages, Räsänen enlisted them in his Dictionary /cf. RVIEW 340./.

86. VK. möčä "body" < MKo. möče "part of the body"

Tatar data:

möčä "gäüdä" /DStat. 139./ - "body"
Böten möčese belän avıp kitte. - "All its parts disintegrated."
möčä "očä söyäge" /ST 168./ - "hip-bone"
möčä --> yäüdä "gäüdä" /TatDS 317./ - "body"

Bashkir data:

mösä II. "anat. organ, člen" /DashkRS 312./ - "organ, limb"
mösä "telosloženie" /DashkK/ - "figure, stature"
mösä "tuy" /DashkD1 153./ - "figure"
mösä II --> gäüdä /DashkD2 174./

Other Turkic data:

müsä "id." /Pek. 1651./

Chaghatai data:

muča = müšö "člen' tela, okonečnost', das Glied, das Bein"
/Radl.4 2200./
müče "členy tela" /MA 405./

Middle Mongolian datum:

möčes Pl. /MonPr₂ 227./

Written Mongolian data:

möče = möči "limb /of the body/" /L 544./
müče "id." /Kow. 2061./

Ordos datum:

mö'tš'ö "membre /du corps/" /Ord.2 472./

Other Mongolian data:

müsä "člen /tela/" /BurRS 309./

möč I anat." koněčnost" /KhRS 247./ - "limb"

mötsⁱ "glied, die extremitäten /hände und füsse/" /KWb. 267./

The meanings of the word möčä are "body, figure, build, hip-bone" in VK languages. These do not exactly coincide with the Mongolian meaning of the word, but inspite of this fact they must be the same word.

Doerfer considers the word Mongolian /TMBN 371./. It is lacking in Old Turkic, and also because of the initial m- we might declare it to be a lMo loan-word in VK languages.

The intervocalic affricate -č- was spirantized in Bashkir after the borrowing.

87. VK. muyıl "bird-cherry" < lMo. moyil

Tatar data:

muyel --> šomirt "ceremuha" /TatRS 378./ - "bird-cherry"

muil ačac' "čeremušnik" /GTat./

muyel "šomirt, šomirt ačaci" /DStat.134./ - "bird-cherry"

muyel "dial. šomirt" /TatAS₂ 408./ - "bird-cherry"

muyıl "id." /TatDS 308./

Bashkir data:

muyıl "id." /BashkRS 393./

muyıl "čeremuha" /BashkK 175./

mujël "hawthorn" /PBashk. 258./ - "galagonyafa"

muyılgöl "domašnij cvetok", muyıl mayı "vid kušan'ja, izgotovlennogo iz čeremusnoj muki i masla" /BashkD2 175./ - "domestic flower, a kind of a food, made of the flour of bird-cherry and butter"

Kipchak data:

moyıl "čeremuha" /Kaz. 242./

moyıl "čeremuha" /Krk1pRS 462./

Middle Mongolian data:

moyilsun "eine Frucht" /MNT 111./

Written Mongolian data:

mojilsun "bird-cherry" /L 542./

moyisun "čeremuha" /Pozdn. 256./

moyıl "die wilde Kirsche, Traubelkirsche" /Schmidt 217a./

Other Mongolian data:

mojl "Čerëmuha" /KhRS 241./

moyhon "id." /BurRS/

moihan, moihon "Traubenkirsche /Prunus Padus/" /BurC 174./

moil "espèce de merise" /Cir. 150./

moil'i "Čerëmuha" /DagF 86./

mojil "Faulbeerbaum" /KWb. 267./

Due to the initial m- this is also a surely Mongolian loan both in Tatar and Bashkir. In the dialect that was lending the word, the word-final -sun had already disappeared.

Vladimircov explained that this alternation took place in Written Mongolian : movil ~ moyisun .

The word was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the closing process of the vowels over there.

For further data see Räsänen's Etym. Dict. /RVEW 340./.

88. VK. nagas "collateral relatives" <MMo. nagaču "maternal relatives"

Bashkir data:

nagas "rodstvennik v bokovoj linii" /BashkK 176./ - "collateral relatives"

nagasi "ródina /seló/ máteri" /BashkRS 400./ - "native land /village/ of the mother"

Kipchak data:

nagašy "die Verwandten mütterlicherseits" /Kaz.-Mo. 85./

nag'ašak'a "djadja /brat materi/", nag'ašeyi "babuška /mat' materi dannogo rebenka/" /NogRS 256./ - "uncle /mother's brother/, grandmother /mother's mother/"

Chaghatai datum:

nagaču "djadja po materi" /MA 405./

Middle Mongolian data:

nagaču "Oheim mütterlicherseits" /MNT 112./

Written Mongolian data:

nagaču "maternal uncle, relatives on mother's side" /L 556./

nagacu "rodstvenniki so storony materi" /Pozdn. 63./ - "maternal relatives"

nagačū "der Oheim mütterlicher Seite, djadja po materi"
/Schmidt 80c./

Ordos datum:

nagač'is'i "parent du côté maternel" /Ord. 480./

Other Mongol data:

nagac "rodnye po máteri" /KhRS 257./

nag^otsu "verwandter mütterlicher seits" /Möb.270c./

nag^ots "parent du côté maternel" /Oir. 151./

nag^ots "relative on the mother's side" n. sa "the brother of the mother", n. edž "the mother of the mother" /Darig. 166./

nagasa "Oheim, Tante /mütterlicher Seits/" /BurC 143./

nagčū "mladšij brat materi, žena mladšego brata materi"
/DagP 86./

Doerfer takes the word for Mongolian in some Turkic languages /cf. THEN 516./, in Tanchu: Ew. nagačū, Sol. nagasū, Man. nak-čū /cf. MT 103./.

The first occurrence of the word in Turkic is in Chaghatai, but in Mongolian we have data already from the Secret History. "Ye-sügei the father of Chingis... was an aristocrat with the title of bagatur. The father is proposing to seek a daughter-in-law from the maternal kin of his son, his son's nagačunar a term which signifies the maternal uncles and the maternal kin at once." /Krader63 21./

Though the word in Bashkir has a somewhat different meaning, we can connect the two words.

89. VK. narat "Scotch fir" < LMo. narat plur. of narasun

Tatar data:

narat "sosná, sosnovyj", narat urmanı "krasnoles'e, sosnovyj bor" /TatRS 394./ - "Scotch fir", "pinewood"

Naratasti, Naratli, Naratlikičü, Narat'elga, Öčnarat /TatRS 795./ - placenames

narat "sosna" /TatJ 93./

narrad "Tanne", narrad-dschillék /TatVH 398./

narat --> qaračay /TatČ/

narat "bot. kürkäläre zur bulmačan, ilisli, mänge ač'č"
/TatAS₂ 434./ - "a coniferous evergreen with comparatively small pine-cones"

narat aŋažə "Föhre" /MishK 255./

Bashkir data:

narat "vörös áfonya" /PBashk. 258./ - "red bilberry"

narat jläğə "cowberry" /PBashk. 258./

Chuvash data:

narat, nart "sosna" /Ašm. 9 9./

narat "/csak találós mesében/ Pinus sylvestris" /PChuv. 90./
- "/only in riddles/"

Middle Mongolian data:

narat Pl. /cf. narasun/ "Föhre, Kiefer" /MNT 113./

narasun "pin, sapin" /LHY/

narasun : narasun-čigöres/ün/ yeke mod /NonPr. 150./

Written Mongolian data:

narasun, narasu "sosna, pin, sapin" /Kow./

narasu/n/ "conifers /pine, fir etc./" /L 565./

narasun nolun "der Fichtenbaum, sosnovoe derevo, sosna"
/Schmidt 82a./

Ordos datum:

narasu "pin, sapin" /Ord. 483./

Other Mongolian data:

nars/an/ "sosná, sosnóvyj" /KhRS 264./

narha/n/ "sosna" /BurRS/

narasn "pin" /Oir. 151./

nars "sosna" /DagP 87./

The word is almost unknown among the Turks, except for the VK and Chuvash languages.

The stem of the Mo. word seems to be narán "sun" as Poppe suggested. "...the plant names with the suff. -sun belong mostly to such plants which can be separated easily from each other..." /cf. Poppe: On some suffixes of plant names.../. Nevertheless this suffix did not reach the Volga-district, for the word was borrowed there in its old plural form. The word was also used there for place-names /cf. Išnarat "twin-pines" /TatRS 792./. On its Mo. origin see Róna-Tas's article /KEJCS 128./.

90. VK. nĭk "solid" ~ MMo. niĭ

Tatar data:

nĭk "krepkiĭ, tverdyĭ" /TatRS 403./ - "strong, hard, solid"
nĭk "avĭr, kĭen bulĭan, taza ešlängän" /TatAS₂ 450./ -
"hard, difficult, made to be lasting"
nĭg "erős, kemény, szilárd, Stark" /TatB 147./
nĭg "plotnyĭ" /ST/ - "thick, dense, durable"
magtĭ "taza, nĭg" /TatDS 310./

Bashkir data:

nĭg "krepkiĭ, tverdyĭ, dobrótnyĭ" /BashkRS 407./ - "strong,
hard, strong, solid, firm"
mĭqtĭ → nĭg /BashkRS 395./
nĭg "tverdyĭ, krepkiĭ" /BashkK 178./, nĭĭayt- "ukrepit',
utverdit'" /BashkK 178./ - "strong, solid, to make it
strong, solid"
birk "nĭg" /BashkDl 42./

Kipchak data:

nĭg "krepkiĭ, krepko, plotnyĭ, plotno" /Kaz. 255./,
nĭĭayt- "ukrepit', zakrepit'" /Kaz. 255./
nĭk'tĭ "krepkiĭ, pročnyĭ" /Nog. 256./
nĭk "krépko, plotno" /NogRS 238./

Chuvash data:

năk, năkă "krepkiĭ, tverdyĭ, zdorovyĭ, plotnyĭ" /Ašm.₉ 52./
năgă "szilárdan, rendületlenül, fest, unerschütterlich"
/PChuv. 90./

Written Mongolian data:

niĭ "solid/ly/, dense/ly/" /L 578./ < niĭta

Other Mongolian data:

nĭagt "plótnyĭ, tésnyĭ" /KhRS 288./
nĭg "dicht, hart, fest /zb. tuch/", nĭkt^o, nĭkt^o "dicht, fest
aneinander, ohne zwischenraum" /KWb. 276./

A surely Mongolian loan in VK languages with and without the
Mo. suffix -tay > -ta. The initial is n- both in Bashkir and
Tatar in the case of those loans having no final suffix.
The Tatar mediated it further to the Chuvash.

91. VK. nukta "halter /of horse/" < Mo. noxta

Tatar data:

nukta "nedouzdok" /TatRS 402./, nuktala- "nadevat' nedouzdok, obuzdyvat', obuzdat'" - "halter, to put the bridle on"

nugta "kötöfék, halfter" /TatB 147./, noktala- "felfékezni, halfter anlegen"

nukta "nedouzdok" /TatG/, nugta "obrot" /GTat./

nokta "Halfter" /PTatD/

nugta "nedouzdok" /TatJ 94./

nukta "avizliksiz yögän" /TatAS₂ 448./ - "bridle without a curb-bit", nuktala- "nukta kiderü" - "to put on the bridle"

nokta, nukta "yuka yögän /avizliksiz/" /DStat. 141./ - "thin bridle /without a curb-bit/"

nokta, noxta "Halfter" /TatC 104./

Bashkir data:

nugta "nedouzdok, obrot" /BashkRS 407./

nukta "nedouzdok, oborot" /BashkK 178./

nugit "noqot" /BashkD1 164./, nugta "auıdıqlıqlı yugän"

nogtalı Şeş "namordnik iz gvozdej" /BashkD2/ - "muzzle made of nails"

nukta "kötöfék" /PBashk. 258./

Kipchak data:

nogta "nedouzdok" /Kaz. 255./

nokta "id." /NogRS 237./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

noxta "nedouzdok" /MA 405./

nogta "yolar, nedouzdok" /K 174./

nogta "Halfter" /CC 172./

nokta "id." /CCK 122./

noxta "uzdzienica, uzda /bez wedzidet/, bride /sans mors/" /DAK 557./

Chuvash data:

nähta /nĭhta/ "nedouzdok, obrotka" /Ašm. 53./

nôhta, noxta "zabola /kötélből készített/, zaum /von strick/" /PChuv. 90./

nuxta "obrod, nedouzdok" /Zol. 45./

Other Turkic data:

nokta, notka "nedouzdok, obrot" /AltV 212./
nogta "nedouzdok, volja" /TkmRS 475./
nühta "nedouzdok" /UzbRS 292./

Middle Mongolian data:

noxta "id." /MA 259./
noqta "Halfter" /LP/

Written Mongolian data:

nokto "obrot, nedouzdok, licou, licol" /Kow. 695./
noftu "halter", noxtula- "to halter" /L 588./
noqto "nedouzdok, obrot" /Pozdn. 70./
nofto "der Halfter, uzda, povod" /Schmidt 92c./
nogto "nedouzdok" /Golst. 2 43./

Other Mongolian data:

nogt "nedouzdok", nogtlo- "nadevat' nedouzdok" /KhRS 269./
nokt^o "halter" /KWb. 278./
nogt, noxt, nokt "licou" /Oir. 152./
noktu, nokta, nokto "Halfter" /BurC 144./
nogto "nedouzdok" /BurRS/
loht "nedouzdok" /Todaeva85 86./
lochta "kl. Halfter mit nur einem Zügel" /Tenišev76 637./

We consider the word to be a Mongolian loan in VK languages, for there is an initial n-, and for it belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping. We can learn a little bit of how nukta was used: "Každoe utro baškiry verhom otpravljalis' za skotom i podgonjali ego k mestu kočevki. Čtoby žerebjata ne sosali matok, na nih nadevali nedouzdki/nukta ... i podvjazyvali k natjanutym nad zemlej volosjanym verevkam!" /Rudenko55 111./.

Nukta must have been very popular in the Mo. era, because it was borrowed by the Cuman /cf. Poppe962 336./, the New Persian /TMEN 517./, the Chuvash /cf. Eg.Et. 138., KEJCS 129./ and some other languages /cf. RVEW 354./

The first vowel of the word became closer already in VK languages. We have no criterium to decide whether the verb nuktala- was borrowed at the same time with nukta, or if it developed in Mo. and VK. languages separately.

92. VK. nögär "companion, friend" < MMo. nökör

Tatar data:

nügär "kiyäü yegete" /DStat. 142./ - "best man"

nägär "boriği törki häm mongol дәүләtlärendä han gvardi, tändä heznät itüçe gaskeri, gvardijaçe, tuyda kiyäüne saklap, ozatıp baruçi häm tuy mäjlese belän jitäkčelek itüçe keşe" /TataS₃ 830./ - "attendant, servant or guard doing service in the Guards of the khan in old Turkic and Mongolian states; the best-man in the wedding, taking care of the bride-groom"

nägär "družka ženiha" /GTat./

Bashkir data:

nögär --> "keyäü kösögö" /BashkD2 183./ - "friend and guard of the bride-groom"

Kipchak data:

nöger "svita, pridvornyj sluga" /Kaz. 255./

nögör "sočovarišč' /v étom značenii i u Babura/" Kirg. /Bud.2 296./

nöker "vojsko, otrok, voin, družinnik v byvšem, Hwinskom hanstve postupavšij v družinu so svoim oružiem i lošad'ju." /KrklpRS 484./

néger "oruženosec, podružnyj, rabotnik" /KarRPS 421./

Early Kipchak data:

nöger "Genosse, Kamerad, socius" /CC 172./

noga/r/"socius" /CCK 114./

Chuvash data:

neger "družka, šafer" /Zol. 45./

neker "id." /Ašm.9 18./

Other Turkic data:

navkar "sluga, soldat nereguljarnogo vojska" /UzbRS 278./

doğor "Kamerad, Freund" /MEJ 26./

Middle Mongolian data:

nöker "drug" /MA 261./, nökör "Gefährte, Freund, Kamerad" /MNT 119./

nökör : nökör següder /MonPr. 166./

nöker /VI 58./, nökör "compagnon, ami" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

- nükür, nökür "drug, tovarišč" /Golst. 2 46./
nökür "tovarišč, prijatel', drug, compagnon, camarade"
 /Kov. 702./
nökür "drug, prijatel'; tovarišč, priverženec, muž, suprug"
 /Fozdn. 70./
nökür "friend, comrade, companion, husband" /L 593./
nökür "der Gefährte, Freund, Begleiter, der Mann, Ehemann,
 sputnik, drug, tovarišč, muž, suprug" /Schmidt 95c./

Other Mongolian data:

- nöxör "tovarišč, drug, muž, suprug" /KhRS 275./
nökör "Kamerad" /KWb. 279./
nügür "muž" /DagP 88./
nük'ür / nöxör "Freund, Kamerad, Genosse, der Ehemann heisst
 auch ~/" /ParMon. 98./
nökör "compagnon, épouse, camarade" /Oir. 157./
nökör "compagnon" /SoyK 35./
nökör "Gefährte" /BurC 145./

The word is of Mongolian origin in VI languages /cf. initial n-/. It has not been much investigated as a Mongolian loan-word in Tatar and Bashkir languages. Aznagulov called my attention to the Bashkir dialects, where we can find the word nökör and in addition to it, üner is used with the same meaning. In the southern and eastern dialects nögür and mögür stand for "tovarišč ženiha, soprovoždajuščij ego k neveste v pervuju bračnuju noč'" /Aznagulov: K karakteristike.../ The phenomenon is very interesting, and not the least unique. There are lots of other examples, where we find a missing initial in comparison with the Tatar or Mongol or Lit. Bashkir data. /I examined only the eastern - dialect thoroughly./ Let me offer a few examples: Tatar möngerä- ~ BashkD önörä-, BashkD ümelderek ~ Lit. Bashk. kümelderek, etc. The Mo. reached even the Hungarian language, first it appears in the shape of nyögér after 1285. /cf. Németh Gy.: Wanderungen des mongolischen Wortes nökür "Genosse"./ According to Németh, the Uzbek datum I cited above /cf. navkar / seems to be of Persian origin.

The word has ample literature just to mention a few very important articles : Vladimircov, B.Ja.: Mongol'skoe nökür, Pelliot, P.: A propos des Comans, Kémeth Gy.: Kun László király nyögérei, Ligeti L. NyK XLIX. 242., Doerfer TMEN 388., Róna-Tas82 107., etc.

93. VK. očora- / očra- "to come across sy./sg." Mo. učira-

Tatar data:

očra- "popadat'sja na vstreču, preterpevat'" /TatRS 416./ -
"to meet sy.unexpectedly, to tolerate"

täüge očrašu "pérvaja vstreča" /TatRS 571./ - "first encounter"

očra- "vstretit', vstrečat'" /TatJ 113./ - "to fall in with sy."

očora- "rátalálni, daraufkommen, antreffen" /TatB 27./

očra- "käri kilü" /TatDS 270./ - "to come across sy./sg."

očra- "Barğanda, kaya da bulsa häräkät itkändä, kemgä yäki nâr-sägä karşı bulu, turî kilü." /TatAS₂ 486./ - "to come across sy. or sg. in the way of progress, going to somewhere"

očira- "nat'mut'sja, vstrečat'sja" /BarTat. 172./ - "to run into sg., to meet sy."

učira- "vstrečat'sja" /BarTat. 193./ - "to come across sy."

Bashkir data:

osra- "vstrečat'sja, vstretit'sja, popadat'sja, popast'sja" /BashkRS 419./ - "to run into sy., to meet sy."

osora- "vstretit'sja" /BashkK 184./ - "to come across sy."

Kipchak data:

uŝira- "vstrečat'"

učra- "begegnen" /MEKS 302./

Early Kipchak datum:

uçra-, uçira- /Sangl. Ind. V. 94./

Middle Mongolian data:

učira- : učirabasu : tülegen-lüge učirabasu /AQJÜ 454./

učira- : učiraŋuŋu /MonPr. 123./

učira- "begegnen, treffen" /MNT 157./

Written Mongolian data:

učira-, = učara- "to meet, come across, to be confronted, to happen to be" /L 859./

učira- "zusammentreffen, sich begegnen, sich begehen, vorkommen,
sojtisja, vstretit'sja, slučat'sja, priključat'sja"
/Schmidt 61c./

Ordos datum:

u'tš'ira- "recontrer, avoir une entrevue avec quelqu'un, se re-
contrer dans une existence future" /Ord. 746a./

Other Mongol data:

utšr- "begegnen, sich treffen" /K7b. 453b./

učra- "vstrečat', slučat'sja" /KhRS 472./

This verb is missing from Old Turkic texts, while it is very much used in Old Mongolian. It belongs to the group of tone-painting verbs in Mo. having two syllable in the stem and an additional suffix -ra /cf. asera-, abura-, mültüre-/.
We consider this verb as a Mongolian loan in both Tatar and Bashkir languages.

94. VK. ongi "socket for the handle of the axe" <IMo. onggi

Tatar data:

ongi "uško toporá" /TatRS 418./ - "socket for the handle of the axe"

ongi "baltanñ sap utirtıla torgan urini" /DStat. 143./ - "the opening on the hatchet where the handle is inserted"

ongi "balta küze, sap kiderä torgan tišege" /TatAS₂ 493./ - "the opening on the hatchet for the handle"

Bashkir data:

ongfo "uško toporá /v kotoroe vstavljajut toporiščę/" /BashkRS 415./ - "socket of the axe /for the handle to be inserted in/"

hongfo "ongfo" Balta hongfoho. /BashkDL 261./ - "socket", "Socket of the hatchet."

Kipchak data:

unğı "obuk" /Krk1pRS 677./ - "socket of the axe, butt"

Other Turkic data:

onoi, onjobun "eine Oeffnung, ein Lochkommen" /Böht. 21./

Middle Mongolian data:

onggi "Griff" /MNT 124./

Written Mongolian data:

onggi "otverstie u molota, topora, zastupa, lopatki, v kotoroe vkladyvaetsja čeren, toporišče, rukojatkā" /Kow. 1 356./

onggi "socket or ring for a handle in an axe, spade or hoe" /L 614./

onggi "die Oeffnung am Rücken eines Beils u.s.w. in welche der Stiel befestigt wird; otverstie na obuh topora i pr. v kotoroe vkladyvaetsja toporišče" /Schmidt 45a./

Ordos datum:

ongi "virole, anneau dans lequel on fait passer le manche d'un instrument" /Ord. 514a./

Other Mongolian data:

onggi "osnovanie, rukojatkā, stebel" /DagP 88./

ongi "loch, öffnung" /KWb. 287./

ongi "otvérstie ili gnézdó, kuda nasaživajut čerenok, rukojatkū; proušina, uškó /napr. u topora dlja skreplenija s toporiščem/" /KhRS 299./

The word is considered to be of Mongolian origin in Manchu by Doerfer : Mo. ongarqai "Loch, Öffnung" > Man. ongola, ungala "Höhlung, Loch" /MT 111./. The Mo. word seems to go back to ongui- = ongtai "to become wide open, open up, form an opening or a gap" /L 613./

Because the word is lacking in Turkic antiquity we have one more reason to take it for a Mo. loan in VK languages.

95. VK. ölkä "area" < MMo. ölke "the sunny side of a mountain"

Tatar data:

ölkä "oblast'" /TatRS 739./ - "area"

ölkä "id.", "Sugiška kadär Harisov Orenburg ölkäsändä éš-lägän ide." /TatAS₃ 7ol./ - "Until the war, Harisov lived in the Orenburg - area."

Bashkir data:

ölkä "oblast', oblastnoj", Irimbur ölkähe. /BashkRS 426./ -
"area, regional", The area of Orenburg.
batial' ölkä "oblast' batial'naja" /zoolBashk. 119./

Kipchak data:

ölkö "country, province" /Kirghiz Manual 132./

Chaghatai data:

ölkä "province, ville, pays, fief" /PdC 77./
ölkä "strana, kraj, otečestvo, provincija, vladenie, gosudarstvo, imperija, carstvo, die Gegend, das Land, Vaterland" /R₁ 1253./

Middle Mongolian data:

ölke "Vorderseite des Berges" /MNT 123./

Written Mongolian data:

ölke, ölške "poludennaja storona /gory, holma, doma i pr./ ,
coté méridional /d'une montagne, d'un monticul"
/Kow. 535./
ölge "sunny side of the mountain" /L/

The word ölkä "Gebiet" is considered by Doerfer to be a Mongolian loan in some Turkic and also in VK languages.

There is a difference between the meanings, but still it is not so great.

For further data see TMEN 28.

96. VK. sadak, sagaydak "quiver" < LMo. saxadaq.

Tatar data:

sadak "saadak, saydak, kolčan /dlja luka i strel/" /TatRS 461./ -
"quiver /for the bow and arrow/"
sagaydak, sadak " Jäya häm uk saviti! /TatAS₃ 830./ - "Quiver
for the bow and arrow."
sâdak "Köcher für Pfeile" /TatC 120./

Bashkir data:

haŋıdaq "osá, osiniŋ" /BashkRS 614./- "Wasp"
sagadək "osa" /BashkD2/ - "wasp"

Kipchak data:

sadək "luk /oružie/" /Kaz. 283./

Early Kipchak and Chagatai data:

sadək "luk so vsemi prinadležnostjami; der Bogen mit allem
Schiessgeräthe, luk i futljar dlja luka, der Bogen und
das Bogenfutteral /die Bogentasche/" /R.⁴ 383./
sadax "sahajdak, sajdak, carquois" /DAK 655./
sadaq, sdaq, sdaŋ "carquois" /PdC 334./

Other Turkic data:

sādax "Bogenüberzug" /Böht. 154./

Written Mongolian data:

saŋadaq "sajdak, kolčan, étui d'arbaléte, carquois" /Kow. 1294./
sagadag "quiver, arrow case" /L 656./
sadaq "sádak, samostrel" /Pozdn. 145./
saŋadaq "Bogen und Pfeile, das ganze Bogengeräthe, luk i
strely, ves' pribor luka" /Schmidt 34ob./

Other Mongolian data:

sādaq "bogen und pfeile, köcher" /KWb. 316./-
saadag "kolčan /dlja strel/" /KhRS 338./
saŋadaŋ "kolčan dlja strel" /Todaeva85 18./

Doerfer considers the word sādaq "Köcher" of Mongolian origin, the Bashkir datum haŋıdaq given by him, I could not come across. The Bashkir data I gave above, mean entirely different from "Köcher" still it might be connected somehow I believe.

In Tatar we have both Mongolian and Russian loan for "quiver". Teniŝev collected the Mongolian data in his article concerning sādaq /Teniŝev76-636./. See also K.U. Köhalmi's article in AOH.

97. WK. sarana "Lily" < Mo. sarana

Tatar data:

sarana "dial. bot. saranka" /TatRS 469./ - "Lily"

sarana ~ sanara "lilija sarana - Liliun martagon" /TatDS 602./

sarana "töbe suğan töсле, çäçäge zängär ber törle ülän /anñ suğanin aşıylar/" /DStat. 159./ - "a grass with a root like a bulb and has blue flowers /its bulb-root is edible/"

sarana "bot. Sugançalı üsemleklärnen ber töre." /TatAS₂ 630./ - "a kind of a plant with bulb-root"

Bashkir data:

harına "saranka, lilija pestraja" /BashkRS 623./

harına "qıyaq yarpaqlı, biş yılda säskä ata torğan göl" /BashkOl 256./ - "a kind of a rose, that blooms once in five years, its letters are like the reed-grass"

harına "sibär lälä" /botBashk. 112./ - "pretty -lily"

Chuvash data:

sarana "nazv. cvetka, lilija, saranka, carskie kudri" /Ašm.₉ 63./

sarana "valamely növény: gyökere sárga, fenyőtoboz alakú, ehető, virágjai szépek, halaványpirosak; eine pflanze mit hell-roten blumen, deren gelbe wurzel, die einem tannenzapfen ähnelte, essbar ist" /PChuv. 115./

Written Mongolian data:

sarana "Lilium tenuifolium, a lily with an edible bulb" /L 675./

sarana "der wilde Knoblauch, dikij česnok" /Schmidt 343c./

Other Mongolian data:

saraana "bot. lilija tonkolistnaja" /KhRS 350./

harâna "Lilienzwiebel" /BurC 134./

The word occurs exclusively in the Volga area besides Mongolian territories. Räsänen wrote that the Tatar mediated the word into Chuvash /cf. RVEW 403./. Because we have no more data for it in the Old- or Middle-Turkic texts we might take it for a Mo. loan. It occurs already in Written Mongolian.

98. VK. seläüsen "lynx" < Mo. sileüsün

Tatar data:

seläüsen "rys" /TatRS 474./ - "lynx"

seläüsen "hiúz, luchs" /TatB 135./

seläüsen "zool. Kübesenčä urmanda yaşı torgan, sorgılt-ıjırän yäki timgel-timgel kü yomşak yonlı, mäçelär törennän bulgan ertkič" /TatAS₂ 642./ - "A beast of prey belonging to the family of cats. Having greyish-red, thick, soft hair - sometimes spotted -, the majority of them lives in the woods."

sleusan "Felix Lynx; rys" /Izv. Obšč. 3-5. 250./ [Tat.]

seläüsen → slaučan "Luchs" /im Ms. irrtümlich: "Maulwurf"/
vgl. tat. selaüsen /MishK 256./

Bashkir data:

seläü "seläüsen, seläüsän" /BashkD1 180./

mälem "heläuehen; rys" /BashkD2 179./

heläüśen "heläühen" /Aznagulov75 8./

heläühen, dial. seläüsen "rys" /İşberdin86 23./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

şylŷs "rys /Životnoe/" /PdC 102./

şilevsün "Luchs und dessen Fell" /CC 218./

silausun "felis lynx" /CCK 98./

Middle Mongolian data:

şilä'ülsün "Lynx" /LHY/

Written Mongolian data:

silügüsü/n/ "Lynx" /L 708./

silügüsün "der Luchs; rys" /Schmidt 359b./

Other Mongolian data:

şilüüs/en/ "zool. rys'" /KhRS 652./

şilüsn "lynx" /Cir. 160./

şilüsn "luchs" /KWb. 371./

şilüüs "Luchs" /ParMon. 71./

şilüüs "felis lynx" = lynx /VAM 124./

şilülun, şilühun/n/, şilüse "Luchs" /BurC 139./

The word Šilegülsün "Luchs" is considered to be of Mongolian origin by Doerfer /cf. TMEN 1765./, this corresponds to Räsänen's view, see RVEW 421.

It is a Mongolian loan-word in Cuman /cf. Poppe 962 338./, and also in Manchu /cf. Cincius MT₂ 85. : silun "zool. rys'" /.

We have two more early data of it's occurrence, one in Pallas's "Zoographia" : slayssen, slylafsin "Felis Catus, Felis Lynx" /cf. KPZ 63./, and one in Witsen's Noord en Oost Tartaryen.....: Schulifun "Lux" /cf. Wit. 299./.

I think that there is an erroneous datum among Tatars listed above. Namely: there was something misunderstood in /KishK/. There is a word in Tatar: seläusen standing for "lynx", and there is one sualčan /TatRS 488./ meaning as much as "worm" - and these two must be separated. The latter also has dialectal forms e.g. seläučän /TatRS 474./ - resembling a lot to the word for "lynx". We have the corresponding word in Bashkir: seläüsän "listy, Červjak /dlja ryby/" /BashkDl/. And here we arrived to Bashkir, where we have the most amazing variety of data. We have the word there both with s- and h-, moreover we have a datum from the Orenburg dialect, where both h- and -s appears in the same word. We have lots of other examples for these alternating initials from Bashkir dialects : e.g. sançırau ~ hançırau /BashkDl 176./, selägäy ~ helägäy /BashkDl 180./, söyäl ~ höyäl /BashkDl 188./ etc. /cf. also CC./

Let me give you one more Tatar datum from the folk-lore:

"silöüsin jagi silkip bolmäš.

sirma tonũ bügüp b[ol]mäš" ol j[] /cf. The Koman Riddles and Turkic Folklore by A. Tietze, p.22./

In Bang's translation:

"Mein Luchs [-farbenes] Fett /oder Öl/ kann man nicht schütteln,
Meinen gesteppten Rock kann man nicht falten /zusammenlegen/
Auflösung: das Ei"

The word was surely borrowed from the Mongolian before the si- > ši- development had started there. We can almost be sure that the intervocalic -g- had disappeared by that time from the Mo. dialect, that was lending this word.

99. VK. selte "alkali" < Mo. *silte ~ siltü

Tatar data:

selte "ščēloč", ščēlok /TatRS 474./ - "alkali"
selti "ščēlok" /TatT 585./

selte "lúg/lauge" /TatB 136./

sl'te "ščëlok" /TatJ 51./

selte "Berär toz belän kislota kušiluınnan barlıkka kilgän zahar himik matdä." /TatAS₂ 641./ - "Poisonous chemical substance that comes into being by combining certain salts with acids."

Mongolian data:

šült "šëloč'" /KhRS 661./

šültü " pottasche, lauge" /KWb. 371./

The Mongolian word was adopted by Tatar before the si- > ši- Mongolian development. Because the word is lacking in Turkic antiquity we might take it for a Mongolian-loan.

100.VK. sıltau "cause, excuse" < IMo. silta†

Tatar data:

sıltau "povod, predlog, otgovorka" /TatRS 495./ - "cause, excuse, occasion"

sıltau "andichtung, ausflucht entschuldigung" /TatB 138./

sıltau "predlog, otgovorka" /TatJ 50./ - "suggestion, objection"

sıltau "Gadättä aklanu yäki bäylänü-höjüm itü öçen kiterelä torğan nigezsez, formal' säbäp." /TatAS₂ 700./ - "In general a certifying or unjustified, formal reason for the sake of provocation."

sıltau "säbäp, yapsaru" /DStat. 168./ - "cause, note"

Bashkir datum:

hıltau "otgovórka, predlog, povod" /BashkRS 644./

Kipchak data:

sıltau "blagovidnyj predlog, mnimaja pričina, otgovorka" /Kaz.312./ - "plausible pretext, seeming cause, excuse"

siltav "Gelegenheit, Angriff" /MEKS 301./

sıltaŭ "povod, pričina, predlog" /KrklpRS 603./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

siltov "calumnia" /CCK 233./

sıltaq "imputation, mensongère, calomnie" /PdC 381./

Chuvash data:

săltav, sălttav "pričina, povod, predlog" /Ašm.₁₀ 243./

Other Turkic data:

šiltag "kapriz, kapriznyj" /AzRS 245./

Middle Mongolian data:

silta^{fa} : silta^{fa} bar /MonPr.117./

silta^{fan} : silta^{fan} nököčeldügči šigul^{fan} /AQJÜ 392./

šilta^{fan} /VI 24./

šiltaq kibe tündü ebecinligi /MA 333./

šiltan /šiltān/ "cause, motif" /LHY/

šilta^a/n/ "Ursache" /MNT 140./

silta^γ "subterfuge" /HpP 130./

Written Mongolian data:

šiltag "otgovorka, uvertka, predlog; defaute, prétexte" /Kow. 1501./

silta^γ "cause, motive, excuse" /L/

šiltan, šilta^γ "pričina, povod, obstojatel'stvo, otgovorka" /Iozdn. 170./

šilta^{fan} "die Gelegenheit, slučaj" /Schmidt 360b./

Ordos datum:

šilt^cak "prétexte, subterfuge, occasion, raison, moyen" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

šaltān "vorwand, falscher grund, ausflucht, ausgedachte ursache" /KWb. 347./

šaltag "povod, predlog, otgovorka, uvěrtka" /KhRS 643./

šaltgaan "pričina" /KhRS 643./

If we consider the Turkic texts only, the earliest occurrence of the word was stated to be in CC by Róna-Tas /KEJCS 132./ and Zajaczkowski /MEKS 301./. In spite of this, Poppe didn't discuss it among the Mongolian loanwords in Cuman.

The word was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the Mo. si- > ši- development. Because the word has a spirant š for the initial in Chaghatai /cf. šiltaq/ we might assume, that it reached the VK languages via other mediations.

The word can be found in other Turkic languages /cf. RVEW 416./, /TMEN 236./.

101. VK. söyäm "span /of hand/" < Mo. sö'em, WMo. sögem

Tatar data:

söyäm "pjad', četvert' aršina /starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju meždu koncami bol'sogo i ukazatel'nogo pal'-cev/" /TatRS 502./ - "span /of hand/, arshina /old way of measurement : it equals with the distance between the thumb and the forefinger"

söjäm "kis vagy bakarsz; čirek aršin, die bokspanne /cf. kariš/" /TatRS 140./

söyäm "Aršinnin čiregenä tigez ülčäu berämlege." /TatAS₂ 720./ - "Unit of measurement, equaling with the quarter of an arshin."

Bashkir data:

höyäm "pjad' /starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju meždu bol'sim i sopnutym ukazatel'nym pal'cami ruki/" /BashkRS 633./ - "span /of hand/,...../see above/"

höyäm "Baš barmaq menän böklängän huq barmaq arahındagı ođonloq." /BashkDl 262./ - "The distance between the thumb and the forefinger."

Kipchak datum:

süyem "pjad'" /Krk1pRS 593./

Written Mongolian data:

sögön = sögem "span /the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger when stretched/" /L 731./

sögön "die kurze Spanne /mittelst des Daumens und Zeigefingers/ korotkaja pjad' /prostranstvo meždu bol'sim i ukazatel'nym pal'cami/" /Schmidt 373b./

Other Mongolian data:

sööm "pjad'" /KhRS 360./

höm, söm "Spanne" /BurC 135./

The word is missing from the majority of Turkic languages, while it is present in Tuvinian, Kirgiz, Kazakh and Karakalpak /cf. Si-dikov83 39./. On the other hand we have data from Written Mongolian. Therefore we suspect, it might be a Mo. loan in VK languages.

For further data see /Rassadin80 21./.

102.VK. suyer "capercaillie" < MMo. soyir

Tatar data:

suyer "zool. gluhar'" /TatRS 489./ - "capercaillie"

suyer "urman tavıǵı" /DStat. 165./ - "id." /see above/

suyer "körtleklär sem'jalığına kerüçe ére koş" /TatAS₂ 680./ -
"a big bird from the family of the grouses"

Bashkir data:

huyır "zool. gluhar'" /BashkRS 636./

huyır "süketfajd" /FBashk. 242./ - "capercaillie"

Written Mongolian data:

soir "capercaillie, wood-grouse" /L 724./

soyir šibaǵun "das Birkhuhn, polevoj teterev, teterka" /Schmidt
365a./

Other Mongolian data:

sör "ein vogel: auerhahn /Tetrao urogallus/" /HWb. 335./

sojr "zool. téterev" /KhRS 355./

soyr "am'tan taxianı namın tomooxon šuvuu, max sajn tum ixéd
agnana" /C. 477./ - "a bird from the family of hens, its
meat is edible"

soir "Auerhahn; Tetrao urogallus" /ParMon. 60./

sojir "ein Vogel" /HWb. 335./

The bird has some other names as well in Tatar : urman tavıǵı, kir tavıǵı, körtlek, etc., therefore we take suyer for a loan. It appears also in Pallas's Zoographia : soir "Tetrao Urogallus" /KPZ 63./, but we don't have data from the other dialects of Turkic.

After it had been borrowed, there took part a closing process of vowels in VK, for we find an -u- in the first syllable of both Bashkir and Tatar data.

103. VK. sukır "blind" < MMo. soqur

Tatar data:

sukır "slepoj" /TatRS 490./ - "blind"

sukır "vak, blind" /TatB 142./

sukur devlet "kör devlet" /TatN 357./ - "blind-luck"

sukir "id." /TatAS₂ 682./

Bashkir data:

hucir "slepoj, slepec" /BashkRS 637./

hucir "id." /BashkDl 264./

Kipchak data:

sokur "blind" /KKS 301./

sok'ur, sok'ir "bez glaza, krivoj" /Hog. 260./

sokur "vak; blind" /HKB 144./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:

soqur "schieläugig" /CC 222./

sochur "strabo, defioculus" /CCK 116./

soqur "einäugig; félszemű" /TGA 322./

soxur, söxur "niewidomy, slepy; aveugle" /DAK 690./

Chuvash data:

sokkîr "slepoj" /Zol. 61./

sukkâr, sokkâr "vak, blind" /PChuv. 125./

Other Turkic datum:

soqqor "einäugig" /Böht. 159./

Middle Mongolian data:

soqor "blind" /MNT 135./

soqar "slepoj" /IMM 138./

soqar "blind" /LP/

soqar "kör, slepoj" /MA 324./

Written Mongolian data:

soqur "slepoj, slepec", aveugle, qui est privé de la faculté de voir" /Kow./

soqur "blind" /L/

soqur "blind, slepoj" /Schmidt 367a./

Ordos Mongolian datum:

soxor "aveugle" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

sox^or "blind, mit einem fehler an dem auge, einäugig" /KWb. 329./

soxor "slepoj" /KhRS 359./

soxor "aveugle" /Cir. 156./

hokor, hoxor, soxor "blind, leer" /BurC 135./

The earliest occurrence of the word in Turkic is that in the Codex Cumanicus. Poppe considered the word to be a Mongolian loan in Cuman /cf. Poppe 962 338./, Zajaczkowski in Karaim /cf. MEKS 301./, Doerfer in Manchu /cf. MT 128./.

It appears in folklore as well, e.g. in proverbs :

Sukir tawikka bakra da buday. - "Kör tavuk karamuğu da buğday sanır." /KTA 64./

The word is also present in Osman Turkish - as we can learn it from O.N. Tuna -, it must be of Mo. origin /Tuna 75 305./. Räsänen did not say so, but gathered the data /RVEN 426./.

104. VM. sulagay "left-/handed/" < Mo. solaɣaj

Tatar data:

sulagay "levša" /TatRS 490./ - "left-handed"

sulaɣaj "Linkhand" /PTatD 38./

ulagay /solagay/: solak "sol elile iş gören kimse" /TatN 357./
- "somebody doing his work with his left-hand"

sulaɣaj "levša" /TatT 610./

selyaguy "sulagay" /DSTat. 161./

selaguy "sulagay" /TatDS 366./

sulagay "sul, kultirak, čulak" /TatDS 375./ - "left, left-handed, bandy-handed"

sulagay "sul /kul turinda/" /TatAS₂ 682./

Bashkir data:

hulagay "levša, lévyj" /BashkRS 637./

hulagay "hul", hulagay ɣul /BashkDl 264./ - "left, left-hand"

Kipchak data:

šalaɣaj "verhogljad /ne dovodjaščij dela do konca, odnosjaščijsja k rabote poverhnostno/" /Kaz. 387./

solaɣaj "levša, mañkut" /KarRPS 478./

Early Kipchak data:

solaɣaj "Linkshänder" /CC 222./

solagay "sinister, laevus" /CCK 226./



Written Mongolian data:

soluᡑai, solaᡑai "levyj" /Kow.₂ 1401./
soloᡑoi "levyj" /Tozdn. 154./
soluᡑai "links, levyj, na levo" /Schmidt 369a./

Ordos datum:

sologō "gauche, gaucher, faute, tort" /Ord. 532a./

Other Mongolian data:

solᡑᡅ, solᡑᡆ "linkshändig, linkisch" /Kwb. 330./
solᡑoj "lévyj /o ruke/" /KhRS 355./
halᡑai, salagai "link" /BurC 133./

It is not very easy to say anything for sure, in connection with this word. There are diverse views in opposition about soluᡑai. Doerfer thinks, it must be of Tu. origin in Mo. /cf. TMBN 1302. : sol "links" tü., soloᡑai "links" mo. < tü./. The word exists in present-day Turkish as well : sol "left", solak = solakan "left-handed" /Redh. 1026./. As for Clauson, we can read the following: "solak prob. Dev. H/A fr. *solak:- Den. V. fr. so:l, lit. "situated on the left" or the like. Prob. the origin of Mong. soloᡑay "left, left hand, left handed" /Kow. 1401., Halted 343./. Survives for "left handed" in SW. Osm., but all other lang. seem to use some form of the Mo. word in this sense..."

The word was borrowed into Manchu too: M-T salagaj "levyj", Éw. salagaj "id." /Lincius MT₂ 57./.

Its first occurrence in Tu. is seemingly in Codex Cumanicus. "Die türksprachliche Entsprechung ist sol "link", tsch. solaᡑ "Linkshänder", dagegen sind tar. solaᡑai und kas. solagaj "Linkshänder" aus dem Mongolischen entlehnt." /Poppe962 338./

Räsänen takes it for Mo. origin in a few languages /RVEW 427./.

I would accept Prof. Ligeti's view concerning soluᡑai. After he had gathered all the possible data of this word in Mo. languages, he stated the following : "Mongol kell legyen sajátos képzésmódja miatt szemben a törökségben elterjedt sol "bal"-lal. /LigetiA1 276./ - "Due to the peculiar way its derivation took place it must be Mongolian, facing sol "left" that came into general use among Turks."

For further literature see/Todaeva85 69., Nom. 46., Vladimircov29 288./.

105. VK. šibaga, šobaga "dice, lot" < Mo. šibaga

Tatar data:

šobaga "žrebyj, učast'" /TatRS 661./ - "lottery"

šibağa "sors; loos" /TatB 102./

šibaga ~ šubaga "kur'a" /TatN 364./ - "a drawing of lots, lot cast or drawn"

šâbağa, šebağa "Los" /PTatD/

šibaga → qanatqı /TatDS 191./ - "a small floating signalling for the angler while fishing"

šobaga "Närsägä dä bulsa hokuklı kešene bilgeläü öčen oyeštirilgan uyen..." /TatAS₃ 510./ - "A combined game for any legal entity to single him out in the course..."

Bashkir data:

šibağa "žrebyj" /BashkRS 663./ - "lottery"

šibağa "žrebyj" /BashkK/

Written Mongolian data:

šibağ-a/n/ "dice, lot /as in game of chance/" /L/

šabağa "žerebij" /Fozdn. 163./

šibağa "die Würfel, das Loos, igräl'nyja kosti, žerebij" /Schmidt 353c./

Other Mongolian data:

šawxa "würfel, kubus, das los" /Jb. 352./

šavga "žerebij" /KhRS 638./

šoо " igräl'nye kubiki" /KhRS 656./ < Tib.

We can find the word also with s- in Bashkir /cf. sibağış "žrebyj" /Aznagulov75 14./, and also can learn of the way it was played: "Pri vseh gruppovyh igrakh igrajuščie konalis' sibağas, delilis' na dve partii." /Rudenko55 276./

The word is of Tibetan origin in Mongolian. It was borrowed to the VK languages after the si- → ši- development.

Räsänen considers it to be of Mongolian origin in a few languages /cf. RVEW 445./.

Concerning the Chuvash representation of the word sibağa see

Egorov's Etymological Dict. : šäpa "žrebyj, udel, učast"

/Eg.Et. 334./. On this see the comments of Róna-Tas /cf. RTA86 30./.

106. Vk. Šonkar "falcon" < MMo. Šonxor

Tatar data:

Šonkar "kréčet" /TatRS 662./ - "falcon"

Šonkar "/Tob./ lačin" /DStat. 229./ - "hawk"

Šonkar "zool. Lačinnñ ber töre, au koši itep kullañila." /TatAS₃ 514./ - "A kind of a hawk used for hunting."

Šonkar "sokol" /BarTet. 198./ - "hawk"

Bashkir data:

Šonkar "kréčet /samec/" /BashkRS 660./ - "falcon /male/"

Šonkar "a lasên- nál nagyobb sólyomféle" /PBashk. 264./ - "a kind of a falcon, bigger than lasên "

Šonkar ~ätälge "kréčet", qara Šonkar "qara ätälge" /zoolBashk. 152./ - "falcon, black falcon"

Šonkar "belyj krečet" /Išberdin86 23./

Early Kipchak data:

Šonkar "faucon, proprement le gerfaut" /PdC 378./

Šonkar "sokol" /MM 194./

Middle Mongolian data:

šingqor "Edelfalke" /MNT 141./

Written Mongolian data:

Šonxor "sokol, krečet" /Golst. 415./

Šonxor /WU-TI 4131./, tuiŋon Šonxor /WU-TI 4132./

Šongqor "krečet" /Pozdn. 173./

singqur "der Falke, sokol" /Schmidt 353a./

Other Mongolian data:

Šonxor "eine falckenart" /KWb. 364./

Šonhor "sókol, kréčet" /KhRS 656./

Šonhr "kréčet, sókol" /KalmRS 679./

šonxor "Falke" /BurC 140./

Šonxor "gerfaut, Falco hierofalco" /Oir. 159./

singqur "falcon" /Krue. 123./

šonxr "kréčet" /Nom. 43./

Ordos datum:

Šonxor "gerfaut" /Ord./

The word is of Turkic origin in Mongolian, but later it was borrowed back by the VK and some other Turkic languages /cf. TMEN 237./. Due to the initial š- in Tatar and Bashkir we may not take it for original, but instead we can put it among the words that are of ultimate Turkic origin yet Mongolian mediation was necessary to let them spread in the Turkic languages. The word in Chuvash might be of Tatar transmission : šankar /cf. Petrov86 /.

There is a lot of Mo. loan-word in VK that belongs to the terminology of hunting with a falcon.

1o7. VK. takim "popliteal space" < Mo. takim

Tatar data:

takim "tezneŋ éčke yağı" /TatAS₃ 21./ - "the inner /back/ part of the knee"

taŋim "tez asti" /DStat. 175./ - "the space behind the knee"

taŋim "tez asti" /ST 196./

Bashkir data:

taqim "anat. bedro, ljazka" /BashkRS 5ol./ - "thigh"

taqim "ljažka, myšcy bedra" /zoolBashk. 143./ - "thigh, hip muscle"

Kipchak data:

taqim "vnutrennaja storona kolennogo sustava" /Krk1pRS 613./ - "the inner side of the knee-joint"

taqim "id." /Kaz. 338./

Middle Mongolian datum:

taqim "kolennaja čaška" /MA Pril.₂ 4o7./

Written Mongolian data:

takim "sgib' kolena, la genou ou la jointure des jambes" /Kow.₃ 1659./

takim "the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint" /L 77o./

Other Mongolian data:

takim "die kniebiegung, die innere seite des knies, der untere teil des Oberschenkels hinten" /KWb. 375./

taxim "kolénnyj sgib" /KhRS 397./

takim "jointure des pattes de derrière, mollet" /Oir. 161./

The word tařim belongs to the same semantical group as nöčä or kabirga in VK languages. It goes back to a MMo. tařim. We can not find it in Old Turkic, but it is well represented among Mo. dialects.

Räsänen noticed that it is a Mongolian loan in Kazakh, Teleut and Šor languages /cf. RVEW 457./. Doerfler stated its presence in MT languages : Dv. takim, Man. takiya "Knie der Tiere" /MT 111./.

108. VK. tanlay "soft palate" < MMo. tanlai

Tatar data:

tanlay "taŋkau" /DStat. 181./ - "soft palate"

tanlay → kamakiš /TatDS 404./ - "soft palate" → hard palate"

Bashkir data:

tanlay "taŋat. mǝ koe nēbo" /BashkRS 5.6./

tanlay "nēbo mǝtaŋkoe" /zoolBashk, 143./

Kipchak data:

tan'lay "nēbo, podniebienie" /KarRPS 512./

tanlay "nēbo" /Kaz. 340./

tanlay ~ tanlay "Gaumen" /MEKS 301./

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic:

tanlay "szájpadlás, Gaumen" /TGA 324./

tanlay "podniebienie, palais /anat./" /DAK 735./

Other Turkic data:

tanlay "rubcy vo rtu na neb' u skota" /AltV 332./

tanlay "nēbo" /RAltS 337./

tanlai, taŋalai "id." /Pek. 2550./

tanlai ~ taŋalai "Gaumen" /NEJ 25./

tanlai "der harte Gaumen" /Böht. 90./

tanlai "nebo, der Gaumen" /R₃ 811./

Middle Mongolian data:

tanlai "nēbo" č. tanaq /MA 341./

Written Mongolian data:

tangnai "nēbo vo rtu, le palais de la bouche" /Kow.₃ 1563./

tanlai, tangnai "roof of the mouth, /hard/ palate, hillock,

hillside, ornamental design resembling the surface
of the hard palate" /L 777./

tanglai "der Gaumen, nēbo" /Schmidt 228b./

Ordos datum:

t^caynā "le palais de la bouche" /Ord. 646./

Other Mongolian data:

tannā "gaumen" /KWb. 379./

t^caynā "nēbo" /DagP 92./

tanalê, tanalei, tanalai "Gaumen" /BurC 147./

In connection with the word tanglai, we can read the following:

"mong. -pis'm. tanglai > tangli > halh. tannā "nebo vo rtu"
V mong. - pis'm. nabljudat'sja čeredovanie l~l~n v seredine
slov, posle ng často l~l assimilirujutsja v n, što peredaet-
sja i halhaskomu..." /Vladimircov29 350./ It seems that the
word entered the VI languages before this development in Mon-
golian, for all the data are with -l- there. From a semanti-
cal point of view it belongs to the same group as angau "hard
palate" or takim discussed before. The word is well represented
in Mongolian languages both old and present-day. It was bor-
rowed by Manchu-Tunguz : Ew. tanilai, tanelai, Sol. tana, tan-
na /MT 128./, Yakut, Karaim. Räsänen gives a list of Sib. Tur-
cic languages that had borrowed the Mo. tanlai.

Here again the Mo. word final -ai is reflected as -ay in VK
languages.

109. VK. tapkır "times" < Mo. dabxur

Tatar data:

tapkır II "raz" /TatRS 516./ - "times"

tapkır "-szor, -szer; mal" /TatB 106./

tapkır "defa, kere", biş tapkır biş yigirmi biş /TatN 192./ -
"times; five times five equals to twenty-five"

tapkır "id." /TatAS₃ 36./, "Ul german sugışında öç tapkır ya-
ralangan..." /TatAS₃ 423./ - "He got wounded three
times in the German war."

Bashkir data:

tapqır II "raz" /BashkRS 507./ - "times"

tapqir "raz, imet' napravlenie" /BashkK/ - "times, having a direction"

Chuvash datum:

tapxâr "-szor, -szer, -mal" /PChuv. 157./

Middle Mongolian data:

dabqur "doppelt" /MNT 30./

dabqur : qoyar dabqur ĵergeber /MonPr. 15./

dabxur "double" /LHY I 22./

Written Mongolian data:

dabqur "dvoe, sugubo, dvojnoj, beremennost'" /Kow.₃ 1605./ -
"by twos, extraordinary, pregnant, double"

dabqur "row, tier, layer, stratum" /L/

dabqur "doppelt, mit Versetzung der Grundzahl auch dreifach, vierfach, u. s. w. schwanger; dvojnoj, sugubyj, tak-
že trojakij, četverojakij i pr., beremennyj"
/Schmidt 265a./

Other Mongolian data:

daxxar "verdoppelung, doppelt, schicht, schichtweise, etage, schwangerschaft usw." /KWb. 80./

dabzar "sloj, rjad" /BurRS/

dapxar "mal" /BurC 153./

labxur "dvojnoj" /DagP 75./

davxar "sloj, rjad" /KhRS 138./

Ordos datum:

Dawxur "double, qui a une doublure, superposée" /Ord./

The Mongolian word dabqur has two different meanings : one is "double" the other is "pregnant". If we consider phonetics only the structure of Tatar and Bashkir words on one hand and the Mongolian ones on the other, show a regular loaning.

However there is a slight difference in meaning.

Ramstedt considered the word to be a Mo. loan in Tatar, /cf. KWb. 80./

The word was borrowed by Manchu as well : Ew. dapkur, dabkur /MT 101./.

llo.VK. tukta- "to stop" <MMo. toŋta-

Tatar data:

- tukta- "ostanavlivat'sja, ostanovit'sja" /TatRS 555./ - "to stop"
tuktap tor- "stojat'" /TatRS 555./ - "to stand, stop"
tokta- "megállani, megszűnni, stehen bleiben, aufhören" /TatB 117./
tukta- "stillhalten" /PTatD 43./
toktag, toktax "Verzug, Aufenthalt" /TatC 109./
tukta- "ostanovit'sja" /TatJ 40./
tukta- /tuhta-/ "durmak, sabretmek" /TatN 233./ - "to stop, to
be patient" yagmur tuktadı "the rain has stopped"
tukta- "yöřeşne, hărăkätne bülü, beterü, hărăkätsez kalu" /TatAS₃
158./ - "to interrupt or stop one's walking or movement"
tukta- "ostanovit'" /TatDS 425./ - "to stop"
toŋta- "ostanovit'sja" /BarTat. 189./ - "to rest"

Bashkir data:

- tuŋta- "ostanavlivat'sja, ostanovit'sja" /BashkRS/
tokta- "megállni" /FBashk./ - "to stop"
tukta- "ostanovit'sja, perestat'" /BashkK 216./
tutqa- → tuŋra- "tuŋta" /BashkD1 230., 226./
tutqa- "tuŋta-" /BashkD2 264./

Kipchak data:

- toŋta- "ostanovit'sja, stat'" /Kaz. 351./
tok'ta- "id." /Nog. 263./, tokta- "id." /Nog. 264./
toktav /tokta-/ "ostanavlivat'sja, prekraščat', prekrascat' de-
lat' čto-l." /NogRS 355./ - "to stop, stop doing sg."
tokto- "to hesitate, to break off, to come to a stop" /Kirghiz
Manual 141./
toxta- "ruhen, dauern wohnen, weilen" /MEKS 302./

Early Kipchak datum:

- toxta-, tōxta-, t^coxta- "ustalič się, utrwalič się; /s'/ étab-
lir, se fixer, séjourner" /DAK 771./

Other Turkic datum:

- toŋtuo, toŋtobun "nachlassen, anhalten" /Böht. 95./

Chuvash datum:

têxta- "megállani, megszűnni; stehen bleiben, aufhören" /EChuv. 164./

Middle Mongolian data:

toqtaba orandān "č. toqtadi oraida; ostanovilsja na svoem mes-te" /MA 351./

toqta- : toqtafād /MonPr. 73./

Written Mongolian data:

toqta- "id." /Kow. 1877a./

toqta- "to stop, rest, become immobile" /L/

toqta- "stehen, stehen bleiben, sein Ziel oder seine Grenze finden; stojat', ostanovit'sja, najti predel ili cel'" /Schmidt 251a./

Ordos datum:

Dog^to- "se fixer, être fixé, rester en place, rester au même endroit /bétail au pâturage/, s'arrêter, se calmer. Fixer, prendre une décision" /Ord. 148./

Other Mongolian data:

toxtā- "anhalten, haltmachen, festsetzen, bestimmen, gründen, konstituieren" /KWb. 398./

togto- "ustanavlivat'sja, obrazovyvat'sja" /KhRS 403./ - "to settle, become steady"

tokto- "zurückhalten, hintern" /BurC 149./

togto- "anhalten, ruhen, sich wiederlassen, bestimmen" /ParMon. 149./

The word is also found in VK languages with a metathesis. It was borrowed before the closing process of the vowels over there. We can not find the word in Turkic before the Mongolian epoch, while we have earlier data from the Mongolian side.

It is a loan in Manchu too from the Mongolian : Sol. tokto- "feststehen, festsetzen" /MT 119./.

Doerfer considers the word to be of Mongolian origin /cf. TMEN 141./. For further data see Räsänen's dictionary /RVEW 485./

111.VK. totkavil "outdoor-guard" < Mo. todqa'ul

Tatar datum:

totkavil "Tışkı sakçı, kapka sakçısı/karavılçısı" /TatAS₂ 126./ -
"outdoor-guard, guard of the gate"
totqa- "totkarla-" /TatDS 420./ - "arrest"

Early Kipčak, Chaghatai data:

togsawul, toctawul "gardien d'une forteresse, porte-enseigne"
/PdC 238./
tutqaul "kaka ja-to dolznost' - ein Amt" /R₃ 1487./

Middle Mongolian datum:

todqa'ul "inspecteurs des relais postaux" /TDM 499./

Written Mongolian datum:

toctafal "die Verordnung, postanovlenie" /Schmidt 251a./

Other Mongolian datum:

totxa- "abhalten, zu hindern suchen" /KWb. 404./

The stem of the Mo. word seems to be *tod-, totu- "halten, fangen" /cf. KWb. 404./. There was a -ul /Nomina collectiva agentium/ suffix added to the verb todqa- as Doerfer considers /TMEH 124./.

We can find the word toktaul in Chag. - as Räsänen explains - with the meaning : "der höchste milit. Rang in Chiva und Kokand" /RVEW 485./.

It might have been used in Tatar as a synonym for karavil being a wide spread military term borrowed also from the Mongolian.

tomäga "headgear for the hawk" < Mo. tomoga

Tatar datum:

tomaga "auga öyrätelgän ertkiç koşlarnıñ küzlären kaplıy torgan kün başlık" /TatAS₃ 114./ - "leather headgear that covers the eyes of the birds of prey being trained for and used in hunting"

Kipchak datum:

tomaša "kožanyj kolpačok, nadevaemyj na golovu bérkuta"
/Krk1pRS 647./ - "a small cap made of leather and put
on the head of the golden-eagle"

tomaša "id." /KirgRS/

Early Kipchak, Chaghatai data:

tomaša "coiffe, bonnet fourré, capuchon qu'on met sur la
tête du faucon, plumes d'oiseau dont les soldats or-
nent leur tête" /PdC 245./

Written Mongolian datum:

tomogo "šapočka, nadevaemaja na balabana" /Pozdn. 196./ -
"a small cap put on the head of the goshawk"

/cf. Cleaves: HJAS/

Other Mongolian datum:

tomša "mütze, kappe" /K/b. 339./

Ordos datum:

t'omok "petit sac qu'on suspend à la tête d'un cheval et dans
lequel on lui sert sa ration de graines farineuses
/Bordō, musette /=DuDur/ morinDu t'omok Džw "suspend-
re une musette à la tête d'un cheval" /Ord. 667./

We have only one more datum from Turkic vocabularies : tomogo
[Tel.] = tomaša "kolpaček", nadevaemyj na glaza ohotničej pticy -
ein Käppchen, das den Jagdvögeln über die Augen gezogen wird"
/R₃ 1237./. Räsänen considers the Chaghatai word tomaša "Fe-
dersmuck an der Mütze des Sultans" of Mongolian origin /RVEW
487./. Doerfer takes the word also for Mongolian /TMEN 131./,
and we do too due to the word final vowel. Considering the Mon-
golian data Cleaves writes the following: ... "the word tomuša
is not attested elsewhere in the written language. In any case
it is not registered in Kowalewski's Dictionnaire.... It is
possible that this word is composed of the verb tomu- /to twist,
to spin/ + the deverbial suffix -ša." /SMI 96./.

113. VK. tukim "saddle-cloth" < Mo. toqum

Tatar data:

tukima "tkan'" /TatRS 555./ - "cloth, tissue"

tuqmaq "et muenindagi yaraga kamit tinäsen, öčen kamitka bāylāp kuela torgan kiez" /TatDS 424./ - "felt attached to the harness in order that it should not hurt the bruise on the body of the horse"

tukim "iyär kienze, iyär pälasi, iyär asti kiez" /TatAS₃ 159./ - "saddle-cloth, felt under the saddle" Yon tukima, efäk tukima - "woollen cloth, silk-cloth"

Bashkir data:

tuqim "čepprak" /BashkRS/ - "saddle-cloth"

tuqim → tirdek → ündek /BashkDl 226./

beše tuqima "tkan' plotnaja" /zoolBashk. 119./ - "thick cloth"

bolot hımaq tuqima "tkan' gubčataja" /botBashk. 87./ - "loose cloth"

Kipchak data:

tokum "saddle pad" /Kirghiz Manual 141./

toqim "potnik" /Kaz. 352./ - "saddle-cloth"

toqim "tkan'" /Krklp 3 645./ - "cloth"

Early Kipchak datum:

toqum "bât, couverture d'une bête de somme" /PdC 240./

Middle Mongolian data:

toqum "potnik" /MA 407./

toqum "id." /IMI/

toqu- : toquju: morin-u qağan-i toquju abčiraju /MĴÜ 441./

Written Mongolian data:

toqom "potnik" /Golst.₃ 123./

toqom "potnik", vojlok podstilaemyj pod sedlo, čapprak; foutre qu'ou met sous la selle des chevaux, tapis sur lequel ou met la selle" /Kow. 1799./

toqum "saddle fender made of felt or leather which is attached to the saddle" /L 830./

toqo "nakladyvat', nakleivat', obšivat', oblagat', čto čem" /Pozdn. 193./

toqum "Sattelunterlage, die Schabracke; čapprak'" /Schmidt 248c./

Ordos datum:

Doxom "chabraqe sur laquelle repose la selle et qui étant traversée par les sangles se place sur le dos de l'animal et est enlevée en même temps que la selle" /Ord. 149./

Other Mongolian data:

- Doxom "cloth under the saddle" /Darig. 154./
tox^om "schweisspolster /auf dem pferd/" /Kwb. 397./
toxom "potnik, vojlok /pod sedlo/" /KhRS 414./
torom "2-3 Decken auf dem Rücken des Pferdes, auf denen der Gesamtsattel ruht" /FarMon. 64./
torom "chabraque sur laquelle repose la selle" /Oir. 162./
tokum, toxom "Schweissdecke" /urC 149./

The word can be found in some other Turkic languages /cf. RVEW 465./. Räsänen and Doerfer consider it to be of Mongolian origin. The stem of the word might be the verb toqu- "to put the saddle on", it can also be found in the Secret History. It was borrowed by the Manchus : Man. toxoxo- "id." /MT 104./.

114. TK. tülä- "to pay" < IMo. tölü-

Tatar data:

- tülä- "platit', uplačivat'" /TatRS 581./ - "to pay, repay"
tülä- "fizetni, bezahlen" /Tat 127./
tüle- → asra- /TatDS 448./
tülä- "id." /TatAS₃ 287./

Bashkir data:

- tülä- "platit', uplačivat'" /BashkRS 557./
tülä- "zo latit', rasplačivat'sja" /BashkK 216./
tüläm → tüläü /BashkD1 231./
tüläm "halim" /BashkD2 266./ - "tax"

Kipchak data:

- töle- "platit', uplačivat'" /Krk1pRS 651./

Other Turkic data:

- tölüb-, tölübün "bezahlen" /Böht. 100./
tölüb- "id." /NEJ 18./

Middle Mongolian datum:

- töleksen kü'ün "č. tölegen kiši", "uplativešij čelovek" /MA 352./

Written Mongolian data:

- tölü- "payer, payer la dette" /Kow.₃ 1922./

töli- "to compensate, pay off, pay a debt, recompensate" /L 833./

tölo- "sčitat', isčisljat', vyčisljat'" /Iozdn. 195./

töli- "bezahlen, zaplatit" /Schmidt 260b./

Other Mongolian data:

töl- "bezahlen, eine schuld begleichen, ersetzen" /KWb. 406./

tölo- " platit', oplačivat', vyplačivat'" /KhRS 417./

The word is to be found in Old Turkic dictionaries : tölä- "platit', uplačivat'" /OTS 579./, töle- "to pay /a debt/, repay /a loan/". Therefore Doerfer takes it for Turkic origin in Mongolian /cf. TMEN 980./. The case is not so, for it is "almost certainly a Mo. loan-word fr. tölö- /Kow. 1922., Halted 435./ the only early occurrences are in late Uyğur texts containing other l.-w.-s. s. i. a. u. l.g., in SW only Tkm." /Cl. 492./.

115. VK. uba "stone heap" < MMo. obā ~ oboja

Tatar data:

oba "Kurganstein" /TatC 86./

uba 2. "Tigez ĵirdäge kečeräk kalku urın" /TatAS₃ 293./ - "a slightly rising place of a plain"

"Yerakta la ĵirdän, hay, kürenä Ubalarga salgan taş kala" -

"One can see from a distance, hey, the stone-heaps that were erected."

uba "vozvyšennoe mesto" /ST 211./ - "ascending place"

Bashkir data:

uba "kurgan, holm, kurgannyj" /BashkRS 569./ - "hill, hillock, heap, hilly"

uba "bugor', holmuk" /BashkK 220./ - "hillock, hill"

uba "kurgan" /BashkD2 274./

Kipchak data:

oba "Steinhaufen, Grabhügel" /MEKS 300./

oba "kurgan" /Kaz. 256./

Early Kipchak data:

oba "Hügel, podius" /CC 173./

oba "podius, grioua" /CCK 88./

Other Turkic data:

oba "utes', kamennaja skala" /AltV 213./

ovaa "kurgan" /TuvRS 312./

Written Mongolian data:

oboŋa "kuča, kupa, gruda kamnej; tas, monceau, amas..."
/Kow. 370./

obuŋ-an "heap, pile, mass" /L 598./

Ordos datum:

owō "monceau, tas, pile, obo, mire /de fusil/, en grand nombre,
en grande quantité" /Ord. 525./

Other Mongolian data:

owā "monceau, tas de pierre, obo" /Oir. 153./

owā "kegel, hügelchen, laufen, steinhaufen an der wegseite od.
auf einem hügel" /Kwb. 291./

owoo "Kultmal aus Steinen oder Stangen bzw. Hölzern /auf Hü-
geln, Bergen tc./" /ParMon. 147./

ovoo/n/ "kuča, gruda /kamnej/" /KhRS 291./ - "small heap, pile
/of stones/"

The word appears in the text of the Codex Cumanicus being a Mon-
golian loan there /cf. Poppe962 336./. It was borrowed by Ew.:
oba, Man. obo "Gedächtnishügel" /cf. MT 103./ and some Turkic
languages /cf. RVEW 356./.

Due to its meaning it urged several people write on it. Let me
mention some works in connection with obo : Bawden, C.R.: Two Mon-
gol texts concerning obo-worship, Eren, H.: Türklerde ekincili-
ğin gelişmesi., Gerasimova, K.M.: De la signification du nombre
1 3 dans le culte des obo.

It is considered to be a Mongolian loan also in Persian by Doer-
fer /cf. TMEN 153./.

116. VK. ugata "in particular" < MMo. oŋōta

Tatar data:

ugata "bigräk, bigräk tä" /DStat. 200./ - "in particular,
very much"

uŋata --> bütänčä "bik, bigräk" /TatDS 452., 111./ - "other-
wise, unusually"

Bashkir data:

ifrat "uŋata, bigeräk" /BashkD1 76./

uṭata : uṭata tihä "bigeräk tä" /BashkD1 24o./

uṭata "čeresčur, sliškom, očen'" /BashkRS 569./ - "excessively, over, very"

uṭata "bigeräk" /BashkD2 274./ - "in particular"

Kipchak data:

oṭata "očen'" /KarRS 423./

oṭata "sehr" /MEKS 300./

oṭaig "id. " /Krk1pRS/

Middle Mongolian data:

oṭṭata : oṭṭata nigen ṭug bolṭaya /MonFr.2 321./

oṭṭata : idegen oṭṭata ülü ideküi /AQJÜ 347./

Written Mongolian data:

oṭta [= oṭta] "fully, completely, entirely, altogether /used only to emphasize negation/" /L 601./

oṭṭat "ganz, vöhlig; sovsem, sovershenno" /Schmidt 48c./

Ordos datum:

oṭṭa "absolument" /Ord./

Other Mongolian data:

oṭt "sovsem, sovershenno, vovse" /KhRS 292./

oṭto "sovershenno, sovsem, vovse" /BurRS/

okt "durchaus" /KWb. 284./

The Mongolian word was developed by the help of a -ta Adverbial suffix. The second and third syllable had been contracted before the word was borrowed by the VK languages.

The initial vowel became closer after the borrowing.

117.VK. ulṭa "booty" < MMo. olṭa

Tatar data:

ulṭa "ganimät, sugiṣta ṭinep alingan äyberläär" /TatAS₃ 307./ - "booty, spoils of war" "Möhämmät han [sugiṣtan] zur ulṭa ilä kayttä." - "Mohammed khan returned [from the war] with much booty."

ulca /Tob., Tar./ "fayda, tabiṣ /ulṭa/" /DStat. 202./ - "benefit, booty"

Bashkir data:

ul'ya "dobyčá /lit. tabiš/" /BashkRS 574./ - "booty"
ul'ya "dobyčá" /BashkK 222./

Kipchak data:

olča "dobyčá" /Kaz. 260./
olča "Kriegsbeute" /EKS 300./
olča "dobyčá" /ErklpRS 492./
olča "dobyčá, trofej" /MogRS 245./
oldža "dobyčá, plennyj" /KarRPS 427./
olğa "asszony, Weib, Frau" /MKB 137./

Early Kipchak data:

olča "Kriegsbeute, praeda" /CC 177./
olča "dobyčá" /IA 265./
olča "prise, butin, prisonnier" /PdC 75./

Old Mongolian data:

olča "Worteschen /Beute/" /MHT 123./
olča : olča-luŋ-a nigen-e /MonFr. 64./
olča : olča eriküi /A.Ů 353./
olča "plennik, dobyčá" /MA 405./
ol- "to find" /HpP 128./

Written Mongolian data:

olča "najdennoe, priobretennoe, pól'za nahodka, ce qui est trouvé, acquis, avantage, profit" /Kow. 409./
olza "finding, find, acquisition, income, revenue, earning, profit, gain, booty, prisoners of war" /L 610./
oolga "die Beute, dobyčá" /Schmidt 44a./

Ordos datum:

oldžo "butin, gain profit, aubaine, gibier, qu'on prend à la chase, profit illégitime" /Ord. 509./

Other Mongolian data:

olz^o "fund, gewinn, vorteil, beute /im Krieg/, kriegsgefangene und ihre habe" /KWb. 285./
olz/on/ "nahodka, dobyčá, dohod" /KhRS 296./

The Mongolian word is a derivation from ol- "to find" with the help of a deverbal nomen suffix -ja. We know it from Vladimircov, that the word had a final -n in Old Mongolian, but it gradually faded away: "st. mong.-pis'm oljan "dobyča, priobretenie", nov. mong.-pis'm olja " /Vladimircov29 356./

It is used in Mongolian as early as in the Secret History: "čöl olja'ur means 'desert acquisition' i.e., sg. seized or captured in a deserted place and the origin of which is unknown, goods or possessions of uncertain origin" /cf. Rachewiltz85 /.

As a military term belonging to the Mongolian loan-words does the word survive in VK languages.

118. VK. uram "street" < Mo. *oram ~ *orom ~ *horum

Tatar data:

uram "ulica" /TatRS 590./ - "street", uram kütärep kičküru - "keep shouting along the street"

uram "utca" /TatB 35./ - "street"

uram "ulica" /TatG, GTat., TatK/

uram "id." /TatJ 110./

uram, oram "Gasse, Strasse" /PTatD/

uram "mahalle içlerindeki sokak" /TatN 85./ - "street in the district", uram halkı, uram haberi

uram "ulica" /TatDS 455./

uram "...ozinča açıklık, yul" /TatAS₃ 311./ - "long and widened open place, way"

uram → azbar /TatDS 455./

Bashkir data:

uram "ulica" /BashkRS 578./ - "street"

uram "id." /BashkK/

suq → uram /BashkDl 189./

Kipchak data:

uram "ulica" /Kaz./

oram "utca, tér, Gasse, Platz" /KKB 138./

oram "ulica" /Nog. 257./

Early Kipchak and Chaghatai data:

oram "rue, faubourg" /PdC 53./

oram, orom "ulica, plac, rue, place" /DAK 584./

Chuvash data:

- uram, oram "ulica, rjad obrazuemyj na bazare podvodami ili
torgovcami" /Ašm.₃ 268./ - "street, row formed
of horse-carriages or salesmen in the bazaar"
aram, uram "utca, gasse, strasse" /IChuv. 14./

Middle Mongolian data:

- horim /=horur/ "Seitenweg, Nebenweg" /MNT 77./

Written Mongolian data:

- orum "sled', čerta ostavšijsja znak, strui, metoda, porjadok,
trace, vestige, trait, empreinte, sillous" /Kow./
orum "trace, sign, vestige, footprint, stream" /L 623./

Ordos datum:

- orum "vestige, trace, apparence, ébauche" /Ord./

Other Mongolian datum:

- orum "sled, otpečatok" /KhRS 306./
orum "id." /BurRS/
orum "Spur, Merkzeichen, Ilatz, Stelle, Ant" /EWb./

We do not know any pre-thirteenth-century datum of the word, presumably it is a Middle-Mongolian loan-word. As A. Róna-Tas stated, the word is in connection with the Turkic orug, but we do not know their common predecessor /cf. KEJUS 125./.— There must have been a Middle-Mongolian dialect where the initial h- had disappeared, before it was borrowed by the VK languages. Tatar was the language that transmitted it into Cheremis without an initial h-, /cf. ČLČ 82./
Räsänen takes the word for Mongolian in a few Turkic languages /cf. RVEW 364./.

Investigating the reflections of MMo. vowels in Tatar and Bashkir languages we find the following:

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
<u>a-</u> abisin	<u>a-</u> abīsīn	<u>a-</u> aphīn
abra-	abra-	aʃra-
aʃuna	aʃuna	
alisun	alīsīn	
alus	alīs	
alʃa-	alʃa-	alyī-
angkagu	aŋkau	aŋqau
angkil-	aŋkil-	aŋʃqī-
angxar-	aŋʃar-	aŋʃarī-
arča	arča	
arči-	arči-	
asara-	asra-	ašīra-
<u>ä-</u> abisin	<u>ä-</u>	<u>ä-</u> äbehün
adarana		äðernä
älči	älče	
arči-	ärče-	ärse-, ärču-
<u>-a-</u> /in first syllable/		
bagana	<u>-a-</u> bagana	<u>-a-</u> baʃana
bätur	batır	
baʃa	baʃa	baʃa
čabidur	čaptar	sabtar
jada-	yada-	yadı-
yalga-	yalga-	yalʃa-
yauči	yauči	yausi
qaburʃa	kabırğa	qaburʃa
qabturʃa		qabtırʃa
qafurasun	kavīrsīn	qauīrhīn
qanʃuga	qančıʃa	qanyaʃa
qaragai	karagay	qaraʃay
qara'ul	karavıl	qarauıl
qarčıʃa	karčıga	qarsıʃa
qari'u	karu	qarıu
maqta-	makta-	maqta-
malaʃai	malaxay	malaxay
manglai	maŋgay	maŋlay
mata-	mata-	mata-
magaca		nagas
narad	narat	narat

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
sarana	sarana	harina
takim	takim	taqim
tanglai	tanlay	tanlay
dabxur	tapkir	tapqir
<u>-a-</u> /in second syllable/	<u>-a-</u>	<u>-a-</u>
abra-	abra-	aŕra-
alja-	alja-	
angkagu	aŋkau	aŋqau
angxar-	aŋŕar-	aŋŕari-
arča	arča	
asara-	asra-	
kitat	kītat	qītat
funajin	konaŕjin	qonaŕzin
funan		qonan
qirmaq	kīrpak	qīrpaq
quda	koda	qoda
oram	uram	uram
toxta-	tukta-	tuqta-
saraljin		haralyin
irjayi-	irŕay-	irŕayī-
<u>-ā-</u> borān	buran	buran
<u>-a-</u> asara-	<u>-ī-</u> asīra-	<u>-ī-</u> ašīra-
bilčara-	bīlŕira-	
būral		buril
moqadaq	mokit	
sarana		harina
<u>-a-</u> būral	<u>-u-</u> burul	
<u>-a-</u> bulanggirtai		<u>-ä-</u> bölängert
<u>-a-</u> bilčara-		<u>-e-</u> bälŕerä-
<u>-a-</u> abra-	<u>-a-</u> abra-	<u>-a-</u> aŕra-
aŕuna		aŕuna
alja-	alza-	
arča	arča	
asara-	asra-	ašīra-
bagana	bagana	baŕana
bilčara-	bīlŕira-	
bosaŕa	busaga	busaŕa
čida-	čida-	sīda-
dolana	tulana	dunala
ilga-	ilga-	
yalga-	yalga-	yalga-
qaburŕa	kabirga	qabirŕa

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
qabturğa		qabtırğa
qonalğa		qunalqa
quda	koda	qoda
maqta-	makta-	maqta-
mata-	mata-	mata-
noqta	nukta	nuqta
oba	uba	uba
oqōta	ugata	uqata
olğa	ulğa	ul'ya
sarana	sarana	harina
uqira-	oqra-	osra-
a sūna	-ä aŋunä	-ä
adarana		ädernä
bilçara-	bäljërä-	
dolana	dülänä	
a alğa-	-i alji-	-i alyi-
jada-		yadi-
quralta	karaltı	qaraltı
- eŋerei	ä- äzegäy	ä- äzekäy
- erke	i- irkä	i- irkä
erkele-	irkälä-	irkälä-
- /in first syllable/		
begelei	-i- biyäläy	-i-
çeber	çiber	sibär
çer	çir	sir
delbege	dilbege	dilbegä
dem	dim	dim
genete	kinättän	
- çeçen	-ä- çäçän	-ä- säsän
mese		mäsekäy
mergen	märgän	märgän
- betege	-ü- bütäkä	-ü- bütägä
- /in second syllable/		
itelgü	-ä- ätälge	-ä- ätälge
bödene	büdänä	büdänä
çöregei	çüräkäy	sürägäy
dönen		dünän
döneŋin		dünäŋen
erkele-	irkälä-	irkälä-
küren	körän	körän

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
sileüsün	seläusen	heläusen
sö'em	söyäm	höyäm
-e- itelgü	-e- itelge	-e-
berket-	berket-	
mose		mäsekäy
-e- Şöregei		-a- suraɣay
-e- bödene	-ä- büdänä	-ä- büdänä
böldürge	böldörkä	böldörgä
betege	bütäkä	bütägä
delbege	dilbegä	dilbegä
erke	irkä	irkä
möçe	möçä	mösä
ölkä	ölkä	ölkä
-e- bülbe	-e- bülbe	-e- bülbe
betege	büteke	
jöde-	yöde-	
-i- itelgü	-ä- ätälge	-i- ätälge
-i- ilga-	-i- ilɣa-	-i-
irɣay-	irɣay-	irɣay-
-i- ilga-	-o- olɣa-	
-i- itelgü	-i- itelge	
-i- /in first syllable/		
Şirai	-i- Şiray	
-i- bilɣara-	-i- büljira-, müljira-	
şida-	şida-	-i- şida-
şilbur	şilbır	silbır
Şirai	Şiray	siray
qirmaq	kırpak	qırpaq
niɣ	nık	nıq
siltaɣ	siltau	hiltau
-i- bilɣara-	-ä- bäljerä-	
şida-	şäda-	
şilbur	cälbär	
Şiray	Şäray	
-i- şilbur	-e- şelber	-e-
sileüsün	seläusen	heläusen
siltü	selte	
-i- şibaga	-o- şobaɣa	
-i- /in second syllable/		
angkil-	-i- ankil-	-i- anqı-
moyıl	muyıl	

MMo-	Tat.	Bashk.
<u>i</u> - sojir		- <u>i</u> - huyir
takim	- <u>i</u> - takim	taqim
<u>i</u> - çabidur	ø çaptar	ø saptar
uçira-	oçra-	osra-
<u>i</u> - mojił	- <u>e</u> - muyel	- <u>e</u> - muyel
sojir	suyer	huyer
<u>i</u> - /in third syllable/		
saraljin	- <u>i</u> -	- <u>i</u> - haralyin
↑unajin	konaĵin	qonaĵin
<u>i</u> - döneĵin		- <u>e</u> - dünäžen
- <u>i</u> arçi-	- <u>i</u> arçi-	
ĵauçi	yauçi	yausi
qaiçi	kayçi	qaysi
onggi	onĵi	
- <u>i</u> arçi-	- <u>e</u> ärçe-	- <u>e</u> ärse-
demçi	dimçe	dimse
- <u>i</u> onggi		- <u>e</u> onĵo
- <u>i</u> arçi-	- <u>u</u> arçu	
- <u>o</u> -bolĵal	- <u>u</u> - bulĵal	- <u>u</u> - bulyal
borān	buran	buran
bosaĵa	busaĵa	busaĵa
dolana		dunala
qonalĵa		qunalqa
moyil	muyil	muyil
noĵta	nukta	nuqta
sojir	suyer	huyir
soqur	suqir	huqir
solaĵai	sulagay	hulaqay
togta-	tukta-	tuqta-
toqum	tukim	tuqim
<u>o</u> - oba	<u>u</u> - uba	<u>u</u> - uba
oĵōta	ugata	uĵata
olĵa	ulĵa	ul'ya
oram	uram	uram
<u>o</u> - ŝongxar	- <u>o</u> - ŝonkar	- <u>o</u> - ŝonqar
todka'ul	totkavil	
<u>o</u> - dolana	- <u>ü</u> - dülänä	
<u>ö</u> - ölke	<u>ö</u> - ölkä	<u>ö</u> - ölkä
<u>ö</u> - dömögö-	- <u>ö</u> - dömeg-	- <u>ö</u> - dömögö-
möçe	möçe	möse
sö'em	söyäm	höyäm

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
- <u>ö</u> - bödene	- <u>ü</u> - büdänä	- <u>ü</u> - büdänä
bölbe	bülbe	bülbe
börtü	bürtä	bürtä
öüüče	öüäčäy	
ööregei	öüräkäy	sürägäy
dönen		dünän
dönejin		dünäžen
dönggö	dümgäläk	dümgäläk
kömegei		kümägäy
nökör	nügär	ünär
tölü-	tülä-	tülä-
- <u>ö</u> - ööregei		- <u>u</u> - suraŋay
- <u>ö</u> - /in second syllable/		
dömögö-	- <u>e</u> - dömeg-	
- <u>ö</u> - nötkör	- <u>a</u> - nägär	
- <u>ö</u> - dönggö	- <u>ä</u> - dümgä	- <u>ä</u> - düngä
<u>u</u> - učira-	<u>o</u> - očra-	<u>o</u> - osra-
- <u>u</u> - /in first syllable/		
bulanggir	- <u>o</u> - bolanŋir	- <u>o</u> - bolanŋir
qıda	koda	qođa
quduq	kodik	qođoq
ŋunaŋin	konaŋin	qonaŋin
ŋunan		qonan
qur		qor
- <u>u</u> - quralta	- <u>a</u> - karaltı	
- <u>u</u> - bulanggirt		- <u>ö</u> - bölängert
- <u>u</u> - /in non first syllable/		
abisun	- <u>i</u> - absin	- <u>i</u> - aphin
alus	alis	ališ
alisun	alisin	
bätür	batır	
öilbur	öilbır	silbır
qaburŋa	kabırğa	
qabturŋa		qaptırŋa
qafurasun	kavırsın	
dabxur	tapkır	tapqır
soqur	sukır	huqır
toqum	tukim	tuqım
quduq	kodik	
- <u>ü</u> - aŋuna	- <u>u</u> - aŋunä	
- <u>u</u> - çabidur	- <u>a</u> - çaptar	- <u>a</u> - saptar
- <u>u</u> - öilbur	- <u>ŋ</u> - öälbär	

Mo.	Tat.	Bashk.
- alisun	-u- alsun	-u-
qur	kurtay	
qaburğa		qaburğa
- /in first syllable/		
büldürge	-ö- böldörkä	-ö- böldörgä
յüle-	yödä-	
küren	körän	körän
mültüre-	möldä-rä-	möldörä-
- /in non first syllable/		
büldürge	-e- mölderkä	-e- müldergä
mültüre-	möldä-rä-	
sileüsün	seläüsen	heläüsen
- ö'üče	-ä- čüäčay	
- sileüsün	-ü- seläüsen	-ü- heläüsen
ü itelgü	-e- ätälge	-e- ätälge
siltü	selte	
ü börtü	-ä- bürtä	-ä- bürtä
tölü-	tülä-	tülä-

Disyllables, diphthongs:

-a-	-aga-	-aŋa-
čaŋān	čagan	saŋan
qaraŋai	karagay	qaraŋay
nagača		nagas
šibaga	šibaga	šibaŋa
solaŋai	sulagay	
saŋadaŋ	sagaydak	saŋadaq
-a-	-aka-	-aqa-
malaŋai	malakay	malaqay
soleŋai		hulaqay
-> -ä- saŋadaŋ	-a- sadak	
-> -au- jauči	-au- yauči	-au- yausi
qara'ul	-avü- karavil	-auü- qarauil
qafurasun	kavirsin	qauirhin
todka'ul	totkavil	
- qaiči	-ay- kayči	-ay- qaysi
-i malaŋai	-ay malakay	-ay malaqay
manglai	manğay	manğay
čirai	čiray	širay
qaračai	karačay	
qaraŋai	karagay	qaraŋai

MMo.	Tat.	Bashk.
ge-> ē- ējegei	ä- äzegäy	ä- äžekäy
ege- begelei	-iyä- biyäläy	-iyä- biyäläy
ege- begelei		-eyä- beyäläy
-ege betege	-äkä bütäkä	-äkä bütäkä
delbege		-ägä dilbägä
-ege delbege	-ügä dilbügä	
-ei čöregei	-äy cüräkäy	-äy sürägäy
kömegei		kümägäy
iya qarčığa	-iya karčığa	-ağa qarsağa
i'u> -ū qari'u	-ū karu	-i'u qari'u
u> -ū bural	-u- burli	-u- buril
aga ganjuga	-uga qandžurğa	-ağa qanyağa
aga ganjuga	-iğa qančığa	
igü-> -ū- büldürge	-ö- böldörkä	-ö- böldörkä

From this list above we can draw the following lesson concerning the vowels of the Volga-Kipchak languages.

1. The majority of MMo. words with an initial a- are reflected by an a- in Tat. and/or Bashkir.

MMo. <u>a-</u> /12/	- - - ->	VK <u>a-</u> /12/, /7/
<u>a-</u> /12/	- - - ->	Tat. <u>ä-</u> /2/, Bashk. <u>ä-</u> /3/
- <u>a-</u> /25/ 1st syll.		Tat. - <u>a-</u> /23/, Bashk. - <u>a-</u> /24/
- <u>a-</u> /15/ 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>a-</u> /13/, Bashk. - <u>a-</u> /12/
- <u>ä-</u> /2/ 1st, 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>a-</u> /2/, Bashk. - <u>a-</u> /1/
- <u>a-</u> 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>i-</u> /3/, Bashk. - <u>i-</u> /3/
- <u>a-</u> 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>u-</u> /1/
- <u>a-</u> 2nd syll.		Bashk. - <u>ä-</u> /1/
- <u>a-</u> 2nd syll.		Bashk. - <u>e-</u> /1/
- <u>a-</u>		Tat. - <u>a-</u> /21/, Bashk. - <u>a-</u> /20/
- <u>a-</u>		Tat. - <u>ä-</u> /3/, Bashk. - <u>ä-</u> /1/
- <u>a-</u>		Tat. - <u>i-</u> /2/, Bashk. - <u>i-</u> /3/

2. MMo. <u>e-</u>		Tat. <u>ä-</u> /1/, Bashk. <u>ä-</u> /1/
<u>e-</u>		Tat. <u>i-</u> /2/, Bashk. <u>i-</u> /2/
- <u>e-</u> 1st syll.		Tat. - <u>i-</u> /6/, Bashk. - <u>i-</u> /4/
- <u>e-</u> 1st syll.		Tat. - <u>ä-</u> /2/, Bashk. - <u>ä-</u> /3/
- <u>e-</u> 1st syll.		Tat. - <u>ü-</u> /1/, Bashk. - <u>ü-</u> /1/
- <u>e-</u> 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>ä-</u> /7/, Bashk. - <u>ä-</u> /9/
- <u>e-</u> 2nd syll.		Tat. - <u>e-</u> /2/, Bashk. - <u>e-</u> /1/
- <u>e-</u> 2nd syll.		Bashk. - <u>a-</u> /1/

MMo. <u>-e</u>		Tat. <u>-ä</u> /7/,	Bashk. <u>-ä</u> /7/
<u>-e</u>		Tat. <u>-e</u> /3/,	Bashk. <u>-e</u> /1/
3. MMo. <u>i-</u>		Tat. <u>-ä-</u> /1/,	Bashk. <u>-ä-</u> /1/
<u>i-</u>		Tat. <u>-i-</u> /2/,	Bashk. <u>-i-</u> /1/
<u>i-</u>		Tat. <u>-o-</u> /1/,	
<u>i-</u>		Tat. <u>-i-</u> /1/	
<u>-i-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-i-</u> /1/,	
<u>-i-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-i-</u> /7/,	Bashk. <u>-i-</u> /6/
<u>-i-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-ä-</u> /4/	
<u>-i-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-e-</u> /3/,	Bashk. <u>-e-</u> /1/
<u>-i-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-o-</u> /1/	
<u>-i-</u>	2nd syll.	Tat. <u>-i-</u> /3/,	Bashk. <u>-i-</u> /3/
<u>-i-</u>	2nd syll.	Tat. <u>-e-</u> /2/,	Bashk. <u>-e-</u> /2/
<u>-i-</u>	3rd syll.	Tat. <u>-i-</u> /1/,	Bashk. <u>-i-</u> /2/
<u>-i-</u>	3rd syll.		Bashk. <u>-e-</u> /1/
<u>-i</u>		Tat. <u>-i</u> /4/,	Bashk. <u>-i</u> /2/
<u>-i</u>		Tat. <u>-e</u> /2/,	Bashk. <u>-e</u> /2/
<u>-i</u>			Bashk. <u>-o</u> /1/
<u>-i</u>		Tat. <u>-u</u> /1/	
4. MMo. <u>-o-</u>		Tat. <u>-u-</u> /4/	Bashk. <u>-u-</u> /4/
<u>-o-</u>		Tat. <u>-u-</u> /10/,	Bashk. <u>-u-</u> /12/
<u>-o-</u>		Tat. <u>-o-</u> /2/,	Bashk. <u>-o-</u> /1/
<u>-o-</u>		Tat. <u>-ü-</u> /1/	
5. MMo. <u>-ö-</u>		Tat. <u>-ö-</u> /1/,	Bashk. <u>-ö-</u> /1/
<u>-ö-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-ö-</u> /3/,	Bashk. <u>-ö-</u> /3/
<u>-ö-</u>		Tat. <u>-ü-</u> /8/,	Bashk. <u>-ü-</u> /10/
<u>-ö-</u>			Bashk. <u>-u-</u> /1/
<u>-ö-</u>	2nd syll.	Tat. <u>-e-</u> /1/	
<u>-ö-</u>		Tat. <u>-ä-</u>	
<u>-ö</u>		Tat. <u>-ä</u> /1/	Bashk. <u>-ä</u> /1/
6. MMo. <u>-u-</u>		Tat. <u>-o-</u> /1/	Bashk. <u>-o-</u> /1/
<u>-u-</u>	1st syll.	Tat. <u>-o-</u> /4/	Bashk. <u>-o-</u> /6/
<u>-u-</u>		Tat. <u>-a-</u> /1/	
<u>-u-</u>			Bashk. <u>-ö-</u> /1/
<u>-u-</u>	non 1st syll.	Tat. <u>-i-</u> /11/	Bashk. <u>-i-</u> /7/
<u>-ü-</u>		Tat. <u>-u-</u> /1/	
<u>-u-</u>		Tat. <u>-a-</u> /1/	Bashk. <u>-a-</u>
<u>-u-</u>		Tat. <u>-ä-</u> /1/	

MMo. -u-	Tat. -u- /2/	Bashk. -u- /1/
- <u>ü</u> - 1st syll.	Tat. - <u>ö</u> - /4/	Bashk. - <u>ö</u> - /3/
- <u>ü</u> - non 1st syll.	Tat. - <u>e</u> - /3/	Bashk. - <u>e</u> - /2/
- <u>ü</u> -	Tat. - <u>ä</u> - /1/	
- <u>ü</u> -	Tat. - <u>ü</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>ü</u> - /1/
- <u>ü</u>	Tat. - <u>e</u> /2/	Bashk. - <u>e</u> /1/
- <u>ü</u>	Tat. - <u>ä</u> /2/	Bashk. - <u>ä</u> /2/
MMo. -ai-, -ai	Tat. -ay-, -ay /6/	Bashk. -ay-, -ay /5/
-ei		Bashk. - <u>äy</u> /2/
-a <u>fa</u> ->- <u>a</u> -	Tat. - <u>a</u> - /1/	
-ege->- <u>e</u> -	Tat. - <u>ä</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>ä</u> - /1/
-u <u>fu</u> ->- <u>ü</u> -	Tat. - <u>u</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>u</u> - /1/
- <u>ü</u> <u>ü</u> ->- <u>ü</u> -	Tat. - <u>ö</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>ö</u> - /1/
-a <u>fa</u> -	Tat. - <u>aga</u> - /5/	Bashk. - <u>a<u>fa</u></u> - /4/
-a <u>fa</u> -	Tat. - <u>aka</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>aga</u> - /2/
-ege-	Tat. - <u>iyä</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>iyä</u> - /1/
-e <u>ge</u> -		Bashk. - <u>eyä</u> - /1/
-ege-	Tat. - <u>äkä</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>äkä</u> - /1/
-ege	Tat. - <u>ügä</u> /1/	
-a <u>fu</u> ->- <u>au</u> -	Tat. - <u>au</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>au</u> - /1/
-a <u>fu</u> -	Tat. - <u>avi</u> - /3/	Bashk. - <u>auï</u> - /3/
-i <u>fa</u>	Tat. - <u>i<u>fa</u></u> /1/	Bashk. - <u>a<u>fa</u></u> /1/
- <u>uga</u>	Tat. - <u>uga</u> /1/	Bashk. - <u>a<u>fa</u></u> /1/
- <u>uga</u>	Tat. - <u>i<u>fa</u></u> /1/	

In the consonant system of the VK languages we find the following :

1. MMo. <u>b</u> - /16/ ----->	Tat. <u>b</u> - /16/	Bashk. <u>b</u> - /13/
<u>b</u> -	<u>p</u> - /4/	
	<u>m</u> - /4/	<u>m</u> - /1/
- <u>b</u> -	- <u>b</u> - /10/	- <u>b</u> - /10/
	- <u>p</u> - /2/	- <u>p</u> - /4/
		- <u>m</u> - /1/
	- <u>v</u> - /1/	
		- <u>f</u> - /1/
2. MMo. <u>ç</u> - /10/	Tat. <u>ç</u> - /10/	Bashk. <u>s</u> - /9/
<u>ç</u> -	<u>c</u> - /4/	
	<u>s</u> - /1/	
- <u>ç</u> - /12/	- <u>ç</u> - /11/	- <u>s</u> - /9/
	- <u>j</u> - /1/	- <u>ç</u> - /1/
	- <u>s</u> - /1/	
	- <u>c</u> - /5/	
3. MMo. <u>d</u> - /8/	Tat. <u>d</u> - /6/	Bashk. <u>d</u> - /8/
	<u>t</u> - /4/	<u>t</u> - /1/
	<u>z</u> - /1/	
- <u>d</u> - /10/	- <u>d</u> - /9/	- <u>f</u> - /7/
		- <u>d</u> - /1/
	- <u>t</u> - /5/	- <u>t</u> - /3/
	- <u>z</u> - /1/	
	- <u>y</u> - /1/	
4. MMo. <u>g</u> - /2/	Tat. <u>k</u> - /2/	Bashk. <u>k</u> - /1/
		<u>g</u> - /1/
- <u>g</u> - /8/	- <u>g</u> - /6/	- <u>g</u> - /6/
	- <u>k</u> - /2/	- <u>k</u> - /3/
	- <u>y</u> - /1/	- <u>y</u> - /1/
5. MMo. <u>ğ</u> - /2/	Tat. <u>k</u> - /1/	Bashk. <u>g</u> - /2/
- <u>ğ</u> - /16/	- <u>ğ</u> - /-g- /13/	- <u>ğ</u> - /12/
- <u>ğ</u> -	- <u>k</u> - /4/	- <u>g</u> - /5/
- <u>ğ</u> /3/	- <u>k</u> /3/	- <u>g</u> /3/

6. Mo. <u>l</u> - /3/	-----> Tat. <u>l</u> - /3/	Bashk. <u>l</u> - /2/
	<u>l</u> - /2/	
	<u>l</u> - /1/	
- <u>l</u> -	- <u>l</u> - /3/	- <u>l</u> - /3/
	- <u>l</u> - /3/	- <u>l</u> - /5/
- <u>l</u> -	- <u>l</u> - /2/	
- <u>l</u> -	- <u>l</u> - /1/	
7. Mo. <u>k</u> - /3/	Tat. <u>k</u> - /3/	Bashk. <u>k</u> - /3/
- <u>k</u> -	- <u>k</u> - /7/	- <u>k</u> - /6/
	- <u>k</u> - /1/	- <u>k</u> - /1/
	- <u>k</u> - /1/	
8. Mo. <u>g</u> - /15/	Tat. <u>k</u> - /13/	Bashk. <u>g</u> - /14/
- <u>g</u> -	- <u>k</u> - /1/	- <u>k</u> - /1/
	- <u>k</u> - /8/	- <u>g</u> - /6/
- <u>g</u>	- <u>k</u> /3/	- <u>g</u> /3/
9. Mo. <u>l</u> - /29/	Tat. <u>l</u> - /27/	Bashk. <u>l</u> - /23/
- <u>l</u> /5/	- <u>l</u> /5/	- <u>l</u> /4/
0. Mo. <u>m</u> - /10/	Tat. <u>m</u> - /9/	Bashk. <u>m</u> - /9/
- <u>m</u> -	- <u>m</u> - /3/	- <u>m</u> - /3/
- <u>m</u> -	- <u>p</u> - /1/	- <u>p</u> - /1/
- <u>m</u> /5/	- <u>m</u> /5/	- <u>m</u> /5/
1. Mo. <u>n</u> - /5/	Tat. <u>n</u> - /4/	Bashk. <u>n</u> - /5/
	<u>m</u> - /1/	<u>m</u> - /1/
- <u>n</u> -	- <u>n</u> - /8/	- <u>n</u> - /13/
- <u>n</u> /13/	- <u>n</u> /10/	- <u>n</u> /12/
2. Mo. <u>r</u> - /36/	Tat. <u>r</u> - /33/	Bashk. <u>r</u> - /32/
- <u>r</u> /12/	- <u>r</u> /11/	- <u>r</u> /10/
3. Mo. <u>s</u> - /10/	Tat. <u>s</u> - /8/	Bashk. <u>h</u> - /9/
		<u>s</u> - /1/
- <u>s</u> -	- <u>s</u> - /6/	- <u>s</u> - /7/
		- <u>h</u> - /1/
	- <u>z</u> - /1/	
- <u>s</u> /1/	- <u>s</u> /1/	- <u>s</u> /1/



14. MMo. <u>š</u> - /2/ ----->	Tat. <u>š</u> - /2/	Bashk. <u>š</u> - /2/
15. MMo. <u>t</u> - /7/	Tat. <u>t</u> - /7/	Bashk. <u>t</u> - /5/
- <u>t</u> -	- <u>t</u> - /14/	- <u>t</u> - /9/
	- <u>d</u> - /1/	- <u>d</u> - /1/
- <u>t</u>	- <u>t</u> /2/	- <u>t</u> /1/
16. MMo. <u>γ</u> - /2/	Tat. <u>γ</u> - /2/	Bashk. <u>γ</u> - /2/
MMo. - <u>ng</u> - /7/	Tat. - <u>ŋ</u> - /7/	Bashk. - <u>ŋ</u> - /6/
	- <u>mg</u> - /1/	- <u>mg</u> - /1/
MMo. - <u>ngg</u> - /3/	Tat. - <u>ŋŋ</u> - /2/	Bashk. - <u>ŋŋ</u> - /3/
	- <u>mg</u> - /1/	- <u>mg</u> - /1/
MMo. - <u>ngk</u> - /2/	Tat. - <u>ŋk</u> - /2/	Bashk. - <u>ŋk</u> - /2/
MMo. - <u>ngx</u> - /1/	Tat. - <u>ŋx</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>ŋx</u> - /1/
MMo. - <u>ngl</u> - /2/	Tat. - <u>ŋl</u> - /2/	
	- <u>nl</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>nl</u> - /2/
MMo. - <u>rg</u> -	Tat. - <u>rk</u> - /1/	
	- <u>rg</u> - /1/	Bashk. - <u>rg</u> - /2/

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