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Middle Mongolian Loan Words in Volga Kipchak Languages

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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, linguistical and so on. 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 cannot exclude the possibility of borrowing words from Mongolian by them till the total disintegration of the Golden Horde.

In his book entitled Turkish and Mongolian Studies Sir Gerard 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 Çagatay 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 means of advance.
Siberian Turkic (Rassadin 1973), Ottoman Turkish (Tuna 1973-75), Bashkir (Išberdin 1979), Noghay (Birtalan 1990), Tuva (Tatarincev 1976) and Turkish (Schönig 2000) languages.

Studies deal with Middle-Mongolian loan words in Korean[1], Manchu[2], Karaim[3], Yakut[4], Cuman[5], Modern-Persian[6], the dialects of Afghanistan[7],

1 Pelliot (1930:253-266) is the most important study on this topic.
2 Ligeti (1960:231) is a pioneer on this field of research. Later he published his results also in Hungarian and Russian.
3 Zajączkowski (1960:296).

Chuvash[8], Siberian Turkic[9], Tuva[10], Ottoman Turkish[11], Bashkir[12], Noghay[13] and Turkish[14] languages. Investigating the influence of Mongolian languages on the Turkic languages of the Mongol epoch Ligeti[15] reached the following conclusion: the more to the West or North to the central territory of the Mongols the Turkic languages borrowed Mongolian words, the smaller is the number of direct borrowings. He considered these words to have been transmitted by another language in the majority of cases. The Middle Mongolian loan words of Bashkir, Balkar, Kumuck, Kazan Tatar, Ottoman Turkish and Crimean Tatar were reckoned among this type. He also added that it could not have been different with those Middle Mongolian loan words of Chuvash.

There are a few examples of borrowing the same word by the same language in different periods with different characteristics. It is also remarkable, that many Mongolian words are of Turkic origin due to early language contacts. Some of these words were reborrowed by certain Turkic peoples. In his elaborate study on Turko-Mongolian relations Schönig[16] came to the conclusion that "... [They] do not seem to share a common basic vocabulary". Borrowings that took place between them were bilateral, they can be described the following way: 1. Tu > Mo, 2. Mo > Tu.

Räsänen[17], Poppe[18] and Róna-Tas[19] stated that some Middle Mongolian loan words in Chuvash are of Tatar mediation which is indicated by their

4 Kałużyński 1961.
5 Poppe (1962:331).
6 Doerfer 1963.
7 Ligeti 1964.
8 The first two articles by Róna-Tas (1971-72:77), (1973-74:125) came out in Hungarian, while the third one in English (1982:66).
9 Rassadin (1973:47).
10 Tatarincev 1976.
11 Tuna (1973-75:281).
12 Išberdin (1979:20).
13 Birtalan 1990.
14 Schönig 2000.
15 Ligeti (1935:190).
16 Schönig (2003:403-4).
17 Räsänen 1920.
18 Poppe (1977:111).
19 See footnote 7.

phonetic or semantic development. In his study on Mongolian elements in Tatar, Faseev[20] does not separate the early Mongolian loan words in Tatar from those of the Mongol era; instead, he lists some notes concerning historical, lexical, etymological problems. Burganova[21] found some words of Mongolian origin among the terms of Tatar plant-names, Ahmet'janov[22] in Tatar kinship terminology, Aznagulov[23] in that of the Bashkirs.

As a result of his previous study on the Mongolian loan words of the Tatar language Ahmet'janov 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 that survive only in dialects. Some of them were mediated further to the Chuvash by Tatar[24] language.

Kiekbaev[25] investigated the origin of the vocabulary of the Bashkir language. He found that certain Middle Mongolian loan words appear only in some isolated dialects of Tatar and Bashkir. He took them for loan words borrowed from each other.

In his article mentioned above, Poppe divides the Middle Mongolian loan words of Tatar transmission in Chuvash into two different chronological groups. The Chuvash *a* > *u* closing process made it possible for him to separate the earlier layer[26]. According to this, *narat* could belong to the later group of Middle Mongolian loans transmitted to Tatar, because this 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 Middle Mongolian 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 György Kara and András Róna-Tas I tried to find and choose the best possible criteria with the help of which I could find a great deal of Middle Mongolian loan words in Volga Kipchak languages, among which I discuss somey 130 here.

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20 Faseev 1969.

21 Burganova 1976.

22 Ahmet'janov 1977.

23 Aznagulov 1973.

24 Ahmet'janov (1978:119).

25 Kiekbaev (1966:92).

26 Poppe put the Tatar *alpawït, čaptar, qarawïl, qarčïğa* among them (as opposed to Chuv. *ulput, čuptar, χural, χurčka*).

Why do we consider a word of Mongolian origin in Volga Kipchak languages?

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 *quda* → VK *qoda*, MMo *quduq* → VK *qodïq*

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- (Similarly to the previous sounds it can not stand initially in Turkic languages)
e.g.: MMo *niγ* → VK *nïq*, MMo *noγta* → VK *nuqta*

-ǰ-, *-ž-* is to be found in loan words only
e.g.: MMo *baǰa* → VK *baǰa*, MMo *olǰa* → VK *ulǰa*

Disyllables, diphthongs, plus vocals, the presence of *-o-*, *-ö-*, *-i-*, *-ü-*, *-u-* in non-first syllables, if the other criteria also point to the word's MMo origin.
e.g.: MMo *kömegei* → VK *kümägäy*, MMo *čöregei* → VK *sürägäy*

Turko-Mongolian rhotacism: e.g.: VK *körän* 'brown' < MMo *küren* : Old Turkic *küzen* 'polecat' (Clauson 1972:761).

2. Morphological 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 +γai* → VK *qaraġay*
MMo *döne(n) +ǰin* → VK *dünäžen*
MMo *nara(sun) +d* → VK *narat*

3. The criterion 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.: Mo *dönejin* → VK *dünäžen*
Mo *todqa'ul* → VK *totkavïl*

4. Semantic criterion

If a word has a wide field of semantics in MMo, while its expected counterpart in VK has only a very special meaning, it is probably a MMo loan word there.

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

5. The criterion 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 *aŋγar-, aŋla-* 'to understand': MMo *angxar-* 'id.'
VK *barmaqča, ïrqača, ečmäk, biyäläy* 'mittens': MMo *begelei* 'glove(s), mitten(s)'

6. The criterion of cultural history

There are common terms in VK languages and in MMo used in the terminology of falcony, 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 *baǰa* 'brother-in-law' → VK *baǰa*
MMo *alči* 'gaming bone' → VK *älče*
MMo *dönen* '3-4 years old stallion' → VK *dünän*

Thematical groups of Middle Mongolian loan words in Volga Kipchak languages

1. Kinship terms

	Volga Kipchak data	Meaning	Mongol data
1	*absïn* (TatDS) *avïsïn* (DSTat) *abïsïn* (ST) *aphïn* (BashkT) *äbehenä* (BashkD)	'sister-in-laws calling each other'	MMo *abisun*
2	*baǰa* (TatRS, TatB) *baca* (PTatD) *baža* (BashkRS) *bažay* (BashkD2)	'brother-in-law, husband of the wife's sister'	Mo *baǰa*
3	*biräm* (TatDS)	'addressing sy. near to one's heart'	MMo *beriger*
4	*qoda* (TatRS, TatDS) *kuda* (TatC) *kəda* (PTatD) *qoδa* (BashkD1)	'affiliated relatives'	MMo *quad*
5	*nagas* (BaskK) *Naġasï* (BashkRS)	'collateral relatives'	MMo *nagača*
6	*yaučï* (TatRS) *ǰaučï* (PTatD) *ǰaucï* (MishK) *yausï* (BashkRS)	'father-in-law, mother-in-law; matchmaker'	MMo *ǰayuči*

2. Parts of the body (illness)

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*aŋkau* (TatRS, TatAS) *aŋqau* (BashkRS)	'hard palate'	MMo *angkagu*
2.	*čir* (TatRS) *sir* (BashkRS)	'illness'	MMo *čer*
3	*čïray* (TatRS, TatB) *čəray* (PTatD) *sïray* (BashkRS)	'face'	MMo *čirai*
4	*kabïrga* (TatRS, TatB) *kaburga* (TatN, Pbashk)	'rib'	MMo *qaburya*
5	*kümägäy* (BashkRS) *kümäy* (zoolBashk)	'Adam's apple'	MMo *kömegei* 'larynx'
6	*maŋgay* (TatRS) *maŋlay* (TatJ) *maŋlay* (BashkD2)	'forehead'	MMo *manglai*
7	*möčä* (DSTat) *möce* (ST) *mösä* (BashkRS)	'stature, body'	MMo *möče* 'limb'
8	*selägäy* (TatB)	'saliva'	MMo *silükei*
9	*suqïr* (TatRS, TatB) *sukur* (TatN) *huqïr* (BashkRS)	'blind'	MMo *soqur*
10	*takïm* (TatAS) *taġïm* (DSTat) *taqïm* (BashkRS)	'the hollow behind the knee joint'	MMo *taqim*
11	*taŋlay* (DSTat) *taŋġay* (TatDS) *taŋlay* (BashkRS)	'soft palate'	MMo *tanglai* 'palate'

3. Animals (parts of their body)

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*aġunä* (TatDS) *aġuun* (TatT)	'loon, partridge'	MMo *aqūna* 'loon (bird)'

	aġuna (BashkRS)		
2	*ätälge* (TatRS) *ätälge* (BashkRS)	'falcon'	MMo *itelgü*
3	*büdänä* (TatRS) *büδänä* (BashkRS)	'quail'	MMo *bödene*
4	*bütäkä* (TatRS) *büteke* (TatN) *bütägä* (BashkRS)	'crop of birds'	MMo *betege*
5	*čüräkäy* (TatRS) *coragay* (DSTat) *sürägäy* (BashkRS) *surağay* (BashkD2)	'wild duck, loon'	MMo *čöregei*
6	*har* (BashkRS)	'hawk, a bird of prey'	MMo *sar*
7	*haralyïn* (BashkRS) *saralyïn* (BashkD1)	'snipe'	MMo *saraljïn*
8	*qarčïga* (TatRS, TatB) *karčəġa* (PTatD) *qarsïġa* (BashkRS) *karsaga* (BashkK)	'hawk, falcon'	MMo *qarčiga*
9	*kavïrsïn* (TatRS) *kawərsən* (PTatD) *qauïrsïn* (ST) *qauïrhïn* (BashkRS)	'bird's feather'	Mo *qa'urasun*
10	*kurtay* (DSTat) *qor* (Išberdin 1986)	'heath-grouse'	MMo *qur*
11	*seläüsen* (TatRS, TatB) *seläü* (BashkD1) *heläüśen* (Aznagulov 1975)	'lynx'	MMo *sileüsün* > *ši*
12	*sögä* (zoolBashk) *sügä, čügä* (PBashk)	'a kind of a fish'	MMo *šügärlig*
13	*suyer* (TatRS) *huyïr* (BashkRS)	'capercailzie'	MMo *soyir*
14	*šoŋkar* (TatRS) *šuŋqar* (PBashk)	'falcon'	MMo *šoŋxor*
15	*toyġon* (BashkRS) *tuiġun* (PBashk)	'gerfalcon'	MMo *toyγun*

4. Horse-breeding

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*böldörkä* (TatDS) *möldörmä* (PTatD) *büldürgö* (TatR) *müldergä* (BashkRS)	'loop on a whip handle'	MMo *bü:ldürge*
2	*burlï* (TatRS, TatB) *burïl* (BashkRS)	'grey (horse)'	MMo *būral*
3	*bürtä* (TatRS) *bürtä* (BashkRS)	'dark chestnut (horse)'	MMo *börtü*
4	*čaptar* (TatRS) *čabdar* (GTat) *čaptarlï* (TatDS) *sabtar* (BashkK)	'yellow (horse)'	MMo *čabidur*
5	*čïlbïr* (TatRS) *čelber* (TatB) *cəlbər* (MishK) *sïlbïr* (BashkRS)	'long leather cord; tether'	MMo *čilbur*
6	*dilbege* (TatRS) *dilbegä* (TatB) *tilbügä* (GTat) *dilbugä* (PBashk)	'reins'	MMo *delbege*
7	*dünän* (BashkRS) *dunän* (PBashk)	'3-4 years old stallion'	MMo dönen
8	*dünäžen* (BashkRS)	'mare past her 3rd year'	MMo *döneǰn*
9	*qonan* (BashkRS)	'three years old female animal'	Mo *γunan* *MMo *qunan*
10	*konaǰn* (DSTat) *qonažïn* (BashkRS)	'3 years old female animal'	Mo *qunaǰn* *MMo *qunaǰn*
11	*köräп* (TatRS) *köräп* (BashkRS)	'brown (horse)'	MMo *küren*
12	*nukta* (TatRS, TatB) *nuqta* (BashkRS) *nuqït* (BashkD1)	'halter'	MMo *noqta*
13	*tasma* (TatRS, TatB)	'leather strip'	MMo *tasma*

	taśma (BashkRS)		
14	*tuqïm* (BashkRS) *tukïm* (TatAS)	'saddle-cloth'	MMo *toqum*

5. Plants

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*alïsïn* (TatDS) *alzïn* (ST)	'second crop'	Mo *alisun*
2	*arča* (TatRS)	'juniper'	Mo *arča*
3	*bülbe* (TatRS)	'tuber, root'	Mo *bölbē*
4	*dülänä* (TatRS) *tulana* (GTat) *dunala* (BashkRS)	'hawthorn'	Mo *dolana*
5	*čaġan* (TatRS) *saġan* (BashkK)	'mapple-tree'	MMo *čaqa'an*
6	*karagay* (TatRS) *qaraġay* (BashkRS)	'larch-tree'	Mo *qaragai*
7	*muyïl* (TatDS) *muyel* (TatRS) *muyïl* (BashkRS)	'bird-cherry'	MMo *moyil*
8	*narat* (TatRS, PBashk)	'pine-tree'	MMo *narat* (Sing. *narasun*)
9	*ori* (TatRS) *oro* (BashkRS)	'burr on a tree'	Mo *ur*
10	*sarana* (TatRS) *harïna* (BashkRS)	'lily'	Mo *sarana*
11	*solo* (TatRS) *holo* (BashkRS)	'oat'	MMo *suli*

6. Terminology of the household, dwelling, food, tools etc.

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*äδernä* (BashkRS)	'bow made of horn'	MMo *adarana*
2	*äžegäy* (TatDS) *äcegäy* (DSTat) *äžekäy* (BashkRS)	'sweet cheese'	MMo *ēǰegei*
3	*bagana* (TatRS, TatB)	'pillar, pole'	Mo *bagana*

	baġana (BashkRS)		
4	*biyäläy* (TatRS) *beyäläy* (TatB) *biyalay* (TatH) *meyaläy* (DSTat) *beyäläy* (BashkRS)	'mittens'	MMo *be'elei*
5	*busaga* (TatRS)	'threshold'	MMo *bosoqa*, Mo *bosaya*
	posaġa (BarTat)		
6	*čüäčäy* (BarTat)	'small cup'	MMo **čö'üče*, Mo *čögöče*
	cüäcäy		
7	*dümgäläk* (TatDS)	'enclosure'	MMo *dönggö* 'shackles'
	düŋgäläk (BashkRS)		
8	*qabtïrġa* (BashkK) *qaptïrġa* (PBashk)	'purse'	MMo *qabturya*
9	*kayčï* (TatRS, TatB) *kačï* (TatJ)	'scissors'	MMo *qayiči(n)*
10	*kodïk* (TatRS) *kutuk* (TatC) *qoδoq* (BashkRS)	'well'	MMo *quduq*
11	*karaltï* (TatRS)	'group of buildings'	MMo *quralta*
12	*qunalqa* (BashkD2)	'shelter for the night'	MMo *qonalya* < *qonol*
13	*malaqay* (TatDS) *malaxay* (BashkD2)	'cap'	MMo *malayai*
14	*mantu* (TatB)	'steamed meat balls'	Mo *mantu* < Chin.
15	*oŋgï* (TatRS)	'socket on the axehandle'	MMo *onggi*
	honġo (BashkD1)		
16	*saġaydak* (TatAS) *sadak* (TatRS)	'quiver'	Mo *sa'adaq*
17	*šïbaga* (TatB) *šobaga* (TatRS)	'dice, lot'	MMo *šibaya*
18	*älče* (TatAS)	'gaming bone'	MMo *alči*
19	*tirmä* (PBashk)	'a section of lattice'	MMo *terme*

7. Social life

	Volga Kipchak data	Meaning	Mongol data
1	*bulyal* (BashkD2)	'term, date'	MMo *bolǰal*
2	*batïr* (TatRS)	'valiant'	MMo *bātur*
3	*čäčän* (TatRS)' *säsän* (BashkRS)	story teller'	MMo *sečen* dial., *čečen*
4	*dim* (TatRS)	'suggestion'	MMo *dem*
5	*dimče* (TatRS) *dimse* (BashkK)	'suitor'	MMo *demči*
6	*yasaul* (TatRS) *yesaul* (TatAS)	'military officer'	MMo *ǰasa'ul, ǰasaγul*
7	*karavïl* (TatRS) *qarauïl* (BashkK)	'guard, watch'	MMo *qara'ul*
8	*karū* (TatRS) *qarïu* (BashkRS)	'objection'	MMo *qari'u*
9	*märgän* (DSTat)	'a good marksman'	MMo *mergen*
10	*nügär* (DSTat) *nägär* (TatAS)	'companion, friend'	MMo *nökör,* WMMo *nöker*
11	*sïy* (TatRS) *hïy* (BashkRS)	'feast'	MMo *süi*
12	*sïltau* (TatRS) *hïltau* (BashkRS)	'cause, excuse'	Mo *sïltaγ*
13	*šuk* (TatRS)	'joker, joke'	Mo *šog*
14	*totkavïl* (TatAS)	'outdoor guard'	MMo *todqa'ul*
15	*ulǰa* (TatAS)	'booty'	MMo *olǰa*

8. Topography

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*ölkä* (TatRS)	'area'	MMo *ölke* 'sunny side of a mountain'
2	*uba* (TatAS)	'stone heap'	WMMo *obā*
3	*uram* (TatRS)	'street'	WMMo *oram*

9. Weather and other phenomena of nature

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*buran* (TatRS, TatB)	'snow-storm'	*WMMo *boro'an*
2	*kïrpak* (TatRS) *qïrpaq* (BashkK)	'powdery-snow'	MMo *qirmaq*
3	*öyär* (BashkRS) *eyär* (BashkD1)	'flood after snow-melting'	MMo *üyer* 'flood'
4	*salkïn* (TatRS)	'cold weather'	MMo *salkin* 'wind'
5	*uran* (PBashk)	'echo'	MMo *uriyan* 'invitation'

10. Substances

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*lay* (TatDS)	'mud, clay'	MMo *lai*
2	*selte* (TatB)	'alkali'	MMo *siltü*

11. Qualities

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*alïs* (BashkK)	'distance, distant'	MMo *alus*
2	*bolaŋġïr* (TatDS) *bölänġert* (BashkRS)	'dim'	MMo *bulanggir* 'turbid'
3	*čibär* (TatRS) *sibär* (BashkRS)	'nice, good'	MMo *čeber*
4	*irkä* (TatRS)	'self-willed'	MMo *erke*
5	*kinät, kinättän* (TatRS)	'all of a sudden'	MMo *genete*
6	*mäsekäy* (BashkD1)	'sharp'	MMo **mese*
7	*mokït* (TatRS) *mokïy* (TatDS)	'blunt'	MMo *moqoγ-a*
8	*nïk* (TatRS)	'solid'	MMo *niγ*
9	*tapkïr* (TatRS)	'manifold, double'	MMo *dabqur*
10	*ugata* (DSTat) *uġata* (BashkD1)	'in particular'	MMo *oyōta* < *oyoγata*
11	*usal* (TatAS)	'evil-minded'	MMo *osal*
12	*sirkek* (TatB)	'watchful'	Mo *sergeg*
13	*tintäk* (TatRS)	'foolish'	MMo *teneg*

12. Activities

	Volga Kipchak data	meaning	Mongol data
1	*abra-* (TatDS) *aġra-*	'to save, rescue'	Mo *abura-*
2	*alǰï-* (TatT) *alǰa-* (TatB) *alyï-* (BashkRS)	'to get tired'	MMo *alǰa-*
3	*anġar-* (TatRS)	'to understand'	MMo *angqar-*
4	*aŋkï-* (TatN) *aŋkïl-* (TatDS)	'to emit an odor'	MMo *angkil-*
5	*arči-* (TatT) *ärče-* (TatB) *ärse-* (BashkD2)	'to clean'	MMo *arči-*
6	*asra-* (TatRS) *asïra-* (TatB) *aśïra-* (BashkRS)	'to protect'	MMo *asara-*
7	*berket-* (TatRS)	'to strengthen'	MMo *berket-* 'to become too difficult'
8	*bïlǰïra-* (TatRS) *bälǰerä-* (TatAS) *mïlǰïra-* (TatDS)	'to soften'	MMo *bilčara-* 'to be(come) crushed'
9	*bültäy-* (TatRS) *bïltäyi-* (BashkRS)	'to become swollen'	MMo *bültei-* 'to be pop-eyed'
10	*čïda-* (TatRS) *sïδa-* (BashkRS)	'to endure'	MMo *čida-* 'to be able'
11	*dömeg-* (TatRS) *dömögö-* (BashkRS)	'to suffer'	MMo *dömögö-*
12	*ïržay-* (TatRS)	'to show bare one's teeth'	MMo *irǰayi-*
13	*ïlġa-* (DSTat) *olġa-* (ST)	'to separate'	MMo *ilga-* 'to distinguish'
14	*irkälä-* (TatDS)	'to display affection'	MMo *erkele-*
15	*yada-* (TatDS) *yaδï-* (BashkD2)	'to be exhausted'	MMo *yada-*

16	*yalga-* (TatRS) *yalġa-* (BashkD1)	'to unite'	Mo *ǰalga-*
17	*yödä-* (TatRS) *ǰödä-* (TatDS)	'to be in need'	MMo *ǰüde-*
18	*küše-* (TatRS)	'to harden from cold'	MMo *kösi-* 'to harden'
19	*makta-* (TatRS, TatB) *maqta-* (BashkRS)	'to praise'	MMo *maqta-*
20	*mata-* (TatN)	'to trouble, disturb'	MMo *mata-*
21	*mölderä-* (TatRS) *möldörä-* (BashkRS)	'to pour all over'	MMo *mültüre-*
22	*očora-* (TatB) *očra-* (TatRS) *učïra-* (BarTat) *osora-* (BashkK)	'to come across sy.'	MMo *učira-*
23	*tukta-* (TatRS) *tutqa-* (BashkD1)	'to stop'	MMo *toqta-*
24	*tülä-* (TatRS, TatB)	'to pay'	MMo *tölü-*

Middle Mongolian loan words in Volga Kipchak languages in alphabetical order

1. *abïsïn* 'sister-in-laws calling each other' < MMo cf. WMo *abisun*

Tatar data:
absïn 'kilendäšlär; 'snoščennicy, ženy dvuh brat'ev' (TatDS 17) – 'daughter-in-laws', 'partners or wives of two brothers', *abïzïn* → *avïsïn* (DSTat 7), *avïsïn* 'kilendäš', kilendäšlär üzärä berbersenä avïsïn yäki abïzïn dilär. Gomumän, bütän kešelär dä kilendäšlärne abïzïnnar dip söylilär' (DSTat 9) – 'daughter-in-law, 'daughter-in-laws among themselves call each other *avïsïn* or *abïzïn*. In general all others also call daughter-in-laws *abïzïnnar*.' *abïsïn* 'kilendäš, irläre bertuġan bulġan hatïnnar üzara *abïsïn* bulalar', 'ženy rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu' (KST 97), *abïsïn* 'ženy rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu' (ST 15), *abïz* 'staršaja sestra, forma počitel'nogo obraščenija k požiloj ženščine' (TatTD 16), *abïzäni*[27] 'ätineŋ anasï' (DSTat 248), *abzï* Anredeform: 'älterer Bruder; Onkel' (MišTat 111),

Bashkir data:
aphïn 'ženy rodnyh brat'ev (po otnošeniju drug k drugu)', *aphïn-äze* 'ženščiny (odnoj sem'i)' (Bashk 39), *aphïn* 'the wives of brothers' (BashkT 15), *aphïn-äze* 'snohi i svekrov" (BashkD2 28). Maksjutova (1975:37) gives another meaning of the word: ... 'qïδδïŋ äsähenä, tuġan *äbehenä* keyäü birgän küldäk'...when translating it this way: 'platja dlja materi i teti nevesty, podarennye ženihom',

27 There is a masculine form of the word in Tatar: *äbzäti* 'ätineŋ atasï' (DSTat 248).

Other Kipchak data:
abïsïn 'nevestka; žena staršego brata po otnošeniju k žene mladšego brata', *abïsïn – ažïn* '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', *abazan* 'die Frauen der Brüder – eine in Beziehung auf die anderen' (Kaz), *abysyn-adžyn* 'sógornő, a férj testvérének férje' (KazSK), *abïsïn* 'nevestka (žena odnogo brata po otnošeniju drug k drugu)' (KrklpRS 16) – 'id.', *abïsïn* 'snočenica (žena brata ili rodstvennika po otnošeniju drug k drugu k žene drugogo brata ili rodstvennika)', *abïsïn – ažïn* 'ženy rodstvennikov po otnošeniju drug k drugu' (KirgRS 19), *apsïn* 'elti' (Krch), *apsunlar (*sing. *apsun)* 'nevestki (ženy dvuh rodnyh brat'ev po otnošeniju drug k drugu' (Kum), *abïsïn* 'id.' (Nogh),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatai data:
abïsïn 'défectueux; plus petit, d'un âge tendre, enfant petit d'un animal quelconque' (Chag 2), *abusun ~ abisin* (Cl.1960:94), *iki abusun* 'Schwester' (ChagŠS83),

Other Turkic data:
Both Radloff and Räsänen gave a Teleut datum: *abïzïn* 'Frau des älteren Bruders des Mannes' (R1 630, RVEW 2), *abïzïn* 'svojačenica' (Hak),

Written Mongolian data:
abïsun 'nevestka, snoha', *abisun – ajn* 'nevestki (tak nazivajut drug druga žena bratev) snohi' (GolstI 18), *abisun* 'id.', *abisun ajn* '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 ajn* 'des Mannes Brudersweib' (Schmidt 4),

Other Mongolian data:
ab'han 'nevestka (žena odnogo brata v otnošenii ženy drugogo brata) sr. *beri, bergen*' (BurjRS 27), *awisan* 'axin exner, düügijn exnerijn awisan bolno', *awisan ažin* 'ax düü xoyorin exner xarilcan biye biyesijg iinxüü duudna' (Cév 18), *awisan* 'termin rodstva – žena staršego brata po otnošeniju k žene mladšego brata, nevestka' (KhRS 21), *awsn, äwsn* 'Schwägerin, die Frau des Bruders des Mannes' (KWb 20), *aw'san* 'sógornő, ángy, testvér felesége' (Khal 6), *awis = 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, collégue...= mo. *abisun* (OrdM 37b), *awisun ažin* 'id.'.

The word is not represented in Old Turkic texts but we have ample data from Written Mongolian. Ramstedt analysed the word into two parts: *abi* being the stem and *-sun* the suffix. *-sun* is a widespread denominal and deverbal suffix of nomens in Mongolian without any significant meaning (cf. Poppe: Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen). I. Gyarmati suggests a Mongolian etymology: *ab-* 'to take' > *abi-* 'sy. or sg. that was taken' being the variant of *abu-* 'id.'.

While there is a strict difference in meaning between *abisun* and *ažin* in Mongolian: cf. *awisan* (KhRS 21) see above, and *ažin* 'termin rodstva: žena mladšego brata po otnošeniju k žene staršego brata, nevestka' (KhRS 26), *abisun* can mean either younger or older sister/daughter-in-law with or without *ažïn* in Turkic languages.

The data: *apte* 'staršaja sestra' (CrTatR 23), *abïsta, abïtay* 'kızkardeş; Schwester' (CrKar) may be of different origin. Karachays have other terms of relations of Middle Mongolian origin. They appear in folk-lore as well: *Anasï mahtagannï alma, apsïnï sökgenden kalma.* 'Annesinin övdüğü kızı alma, eltisinin çekiştirdiğinden kalma. (Tavkul 2001:46). There is another word of MMo origin in the sentence: *mahta-* see later.
For further data see: (Birtalan 1994:40).

2. *abra-* 'to save, rescue, nurse' < MMo *abura-*

Tatar data:
abra- 'zašišat'; verteidigen, schützen' (TatRS 633), *abra-* 'kotkaru, saklau', *Alla abradï inde* (TatDS 17) - 'to save, help; Allah has saved us already.' *abra-* 'id.', *Qoday üze abrasïn inde.* (Bajazitova 1986:33) - 'Now let God itself save you!',

Bashkir data:
ağra- 'vospityvat', vyhaživat'' (BashkK 4), *bala ağra-* 'vospytivat' ditja',

Other Kipchak data:
abra- 'južn. (o ljudjah) byt' vo množestve' (KirgRS 19), *abra-* 'hranit', sohranjat', bereč', oberegat'' (KarRP 38), *aburla-* 'počitat', čtit', počitanie' (Kum), *abra-* '1. obrabotat'; ograbit'' (CrTatR 7),

Early Kipchak data:
abra- 'schützen, verteidigen, defendere' (CC 27), *abra-* 'abriter, protéger' (DAK), *abra-* 'id.' (AQP 121), *abra-* 'korumak, savunmak' (KT 1),

Chuvash data:
upra- 'bereč', hranit', zaščiščat', ohranjat'' (Chuv 514), *upra-* 'id.' (ChuvRS 457), *upra-* 'védni, védelmezni, oltalmazni, schützen, beschützen, beschirmen' (ChuvP 193),

Other Turkic data:
abïra-, abïrïbïn uw. = *abrā-* 'erretten, erlösen' (YakB. 6), *abrā-, abïrā-* 'helfen, retten' (MEJ 41, 70, 83, 108), *abra-, abira-* 'id.' (MBZ 74),

Middle Mongolian data:
abura- : aburabai (AQjÜ 10), *abura(n)* 'to save' (HpP), *abura-* 'secourir, sauver' (LHY 20), *abura-* 'helfen, retten' (MNT 2), *abura- : aburayad* (MonPr 82), *abura- : aburayad, aburaǰuγu, aburan, aburasu* (SMI 79),

Written Mongolian data:
abura- 'spasat', sohranjat', zaščiščat'' (Kow1 46), *abura-* 'to save, rescue, help, deliver, preserve life, to protect' (L 6), *abura-* 'spasat'' (KalmP 3), *abura-* 'erhalten, schützen; sohranjat', zaščiščat'' (Schmidt 4), *abura(n)-* 'to save' (HpP), *abura-* 'helfen, retten' (MNT), *abura-* 'bereč', hranit'' (Ščerbak 1986:50),

Other Mongolian data:
avra- 'spasat', izbavljat', vyzvoljat', vyručat'' (KhRS 20), *awra-* 'megment, megszabadít, megvált' (Khal 5), *avra-* 'id.' (Cév. 17), *abu,-ra-* 'retten, beschützen' (KWb 20), *awura-* 'sauver' (OrdM.).

We cannot find the word in Old Turkic dictionaries while it is well represented in Written Mongolian. Böhtlingk called our attention to Klaproth's comment: "vgl. *abïra* und Coman. *abrarmen* defendo" (Klaproth 1828:149).

According to Sevortjan "glagol *abra-* i ego modifikacii preimuščestvenno v tjurkskih jazykah Altaja i Sibirii, otčasti v kypčakskih, iz kotoryh – a imenno tatarskogo on vošel v čuvašskij." (SevEST 59). He considered the word of Mongolian origin in Turkic languages, as Räsänen did it in his dictionary (RVEW 2). Poppe considered it of Mongolian origin too in

Cuman (Poppe 1962:334). He translated the word *abura* 'in order to take' (IMCS 198) and gave the following explanation: "...The sufix *-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 Converbum 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', *üǰere* 'in order to see'."

Róna-Tas (1973-1974) considered the word of Middle Mongolian origin in Chuvash 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-*, which is present in several words in Mongolian e.g. *abuyad, abuysan, abulaya, abun* and to it was added the suffix *-ra* (se above). The vowel *-u-* must have faded away from the borrowing Mongolian dialect due to its position in the word. The word is well known in Volga Kipchak languages as a verb, but it survived only as a noun derived from that verb in Karachay-Balkar language.

The preservation of the second syllable shows that it is an early borrowing. In the latest etymological dictionary of Turkish the word is also considered to be of Mongolian origin *abra-* 'başar-' (Eren 1999:1). The diphthong in final position shows that this is not a Turkic word. The meaning has shown a considerable change in Crimean Tatar.

For further details see: (Zajaczkowski 1960:297), (Róna-Tas 1982:75), (Berta 1999:58), (Csáki 2004:9).

3. *alïs* 'far' < MMo *alus* 'further'

Tatar data:

alïs 'daleko; yerak' (TatDS 37), *alïs* 'yerak' (DSTat 15), *alïs* 'dial. yerak ǰir, yerak urïn' (TatAS 54) - 'far off land, remote place', *alïs* 'daleko' (ST 24), *alïs* 'yerak', *alïssïn-* 'yeraksïn-' (KST 101) - 'you are far away', *alïs* 'yerak; dalekij, dal'nij' (TatTD 28),

Bashkir data:

alïθ 'dalekij, dal'nyj' (Bashk 29), *alïs* 'dalekij, daleko, dal'nyj' (BashkRS 39), *alïs* 'daleko, dalekij' (BashkK 12), *alïs* 'distant, remote', *alïsqa* 'to a long distance', *alïslïq* 'distance' (BashkT 12), *alïś* 'otdalenno' (BashkD2 129)[28],

28 There is a synonym of the word in Bashkir: *δur* 'dalekij' (BashkD2 72).

Other Kipchak data:
alïs 'dal'nij, nerodnoj' (Kaz 31), *alïs* 'far' (KazDTL 55), *alïs* 'daleko, dal''; *alïskï* 'dalekij, dal'nyj' (KirgRS 54), *alïs* 'far' (KirgDTL 55), *alïs* 'dal', dalekij, dal'nij' (KrklpRS 174), *alïs* 'dalekij' (Nogh 435), *alïs I* Kir. Sag., vergl. *alïs* (Jak.) aussergwöhnlich I 'dalekij, udalennyj, dal' – weit, entfernt, die Entfernung' *alïstan körünödü* (Kirg) 'éto iz daleka vidno – es ist von weitern zu sehen' (R I 379), *alïs* 'uzak' (Krch) - 'far', *alïs* 'dal' nij, dalekij' (Baskakov 1949:177), *alïs* 'dalekij, dal'nij' (Kum),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
alïs 'dalekij, daleko' (F 44), *alïs* 'daleko' (HŠN I.83, 230), *alus* 'état, condition' (Chag34), (Zenker I. 92), *alïs* 'weit, Ferne' (Č 101),

Other Turkic data:
alïs 'dalekij, dal'nyj, daleko' (TkmRS 43), *olus* ~ *alys* 'ausserordentlich, sehr, mehr' (MEJ 16), *alïs* 'sut' koren', istočnik; ishod, konečnyj rezul'tat; konečnyj' (Tuv),

Middle Mongolian datum:
alus 'hinüber, jenseits' (MNT 6),

Written Mongolian data:
alus 'distance, distant place, far remote' (L 33), *alus* 'črez (goru, reku, lošad'...), mimo' (Kow 78), *alas* 'čerez' (KalmP 6), *alus, alas* 'id.' (KalmP 7), *alus* 'über (einen Fluss oder Berg), črez'' (Schmidt 12b),

Other Mongolian data:
alut [sic] 'über' (BurC 88), *als* 'dal', vdali, dalekij, dal'nyj' (KhRS 32), *als* 'messze, távol; messzi, távoli' (Khal 18), *als* 'in einiger entfernung, fern (mit Gen.) über, auf der anderen Seite' (KWb 8), *alus* 'au delà, au loin' (OrdM 18a).

The word with the same meaning in OT is *ïraq* 'distant, far away' (Clauson 1972:214). While it survives in all modern Turkic languages, in addition there is a Mo loan in some of them. The original Turkic word survives in Tatar as *erak* 'far, distant', in Karachay with the same meaning: *erek* 'uzak' (Krch 193).

This word (*alïs*) cannot be found in Old Turkic texts, but can be found in Middle Mongolian. It was borrowed by certain Kipchak and Siberian Turkic

languages from a Middle Mongolian dialect. The second vowel of the word makes us suppose that it had been borrowed by the Kipchak languages prior to the *-u-* > *-ï-* development in Tatar and Bashkir.

The Buriat datum is due to a misprint or to a misreading. According to Rassadin the literery Buriat language preserved the final *-s* in this word similarly to many other cases (cf. Rassadin 84).

Sevortjan considers it a Mo. loan, from the form: *alus/als* 'rasstojanie, dal'' (Sevortjan 1974:147).

For further data see: Räsänen (RVEW 17), (Birtalan 1992:38, 1994:40), (Tatarincev 2000:107).

4. *alïsïn* 'second crop' < MMo *alisun* cf. WMo *alisun*

Tatar data:

alïsïn → *alsïn* 'otava, molodaja porosl', podnjavšajasja u kornej sozrevših hlebov' (TatDS 36), *utau* → *alsïn* 'čapkannan soŋ ikenče kat üskän ülän, kurpï' (TatDS 458) – 'grass that has grown for the second time after mowing', *alsun* 'otprysk, otrasl' (TatJ 15), *alzïn* 'kurpï; otava' (KST 100), *alzïn* 'kurpï; otava' (ST 22), *utaba* [sic!]→ *alzïn* (ST 227),

Other Kipchak data:

alïsïn 'otava, vshody (ozimoj pšenicy)' (KirgRS 54), *alïsïn* 'otava' (KarRP 67), *alïsïn* 'çayır biçildikten sonra tekrar çıkan otlar' (Krch), *alïsïn* – in *alïsïn bicen* 'das erste Heu' (BlkP 201), *alïsïn*: alïsïn ot 'otava, osennaja trava', *alïsïn harbuz* 'osennij arbuz' (Kum),

Written Mongolian data:

alïsun ~ *alïsu* 'des pois fauches' < *ali* 'grain' (Kow. I 77), *alisun* 'Erbsenstroh; gorohovina' (Schmidt 12b), *alisun* 'goroh skošennyj so stručkami' (Golst. 33),

Other Mongolian data:

älsn 'Schale (der Früchte), Spreu' (KWb 22), *alis(an)* (Khal 17).

It has not survived in present day Mongolian languages; therefore it can be documented mainly from Turkic data. Both *alsïn* and *utau* are loanwords in Tatar dialects, the former may be of Mongolian origin while the latter is of Russian. They also call it *kurpï* in Tatar (RTatS 419). It is a well debated

word (cf. Róna-Tas 1972:208) a study on it was offered by I. Gyarmati (cf. AOH 38), another by I. Vásáry.

We have *kaju* in Chuvash, meaning as much as 'sarjú, új termés lekaszált réten vagy learatott szántóföldön; grummet, der neue gras- od. strohwuchs auf einer gemächten wiese od. auf einem abgeernteten acker' (ChuvP 55).

Rassadin quoted a synonym in his study on the history of the Buriat language: lit. Bur.: *henze*, Written Mo. *kenǰe* 'otava'.

We also have to consider that the word is practically extinct in Modern Mongolian languages.

There is a Mongol criterion on the word *+sun* appears also on other names of plants (grass and bush alike): Omo. *qulusun* 'sitnik', *mojilsu(n)* 'čeremuha' etc.

For further data see: (Eren 1999:23), (Gyarmati 1984:357), and Vásáry I. (1993).

5. *alǰï-* 'to get tired, exhausted' < MMo *alǰa-*

Tatar data:

alǰ- 'utomljat'sja, utomit'sja, obessilevat', obessilet'' (TatRS 35), *alža-* 'kimerülni, kiélni magát; sich entkräften, sich ableben' (TatB 13), *alǰï-* 'id.' (TatT 64), *alǰïra-* → *alǰ-* 'tilmerü' (TatDS 37) - 'to suffer pain, struggle', *alǰu* 'aru häldän tayu, bik yalïgu' (DSTat 16) - 'to get tired, lose one's strength, get exhausted'. "Kičä hava kïzu buldï, at *alǰïdï*." - 'It was so hot yesterday that the horse got exhausted.' *alž-* 'id.' (TatAS1 55),

Bashkir data:

alyï- 'utomljat'sja; iznurjat'sja, izmatyvat'sja; utomlenie, iznurenie, izmatyvanie' (Bashk 25), *alyï-* 'iznurjat'sja, iznurit'sja, utomljat'sja, utomit'sja; obaldet', pomutit'sja' (BashkRS 36), *alžï-* → *alyï-* 'iznurjat'sja, obaldet'' (BashkD1 20),

Other Kipchak data:

alǰa- 'yanılmak, şaşırmak, tereddüt etmek' (Krch), *alǰa-* 'sbivat'sja, terjat'sja, terjat' golovu, lišat'sja samoobladanija' (KrchT), *alža-* 'tomit'sja, majat'sja, mučit'sja, stradat'' (Kum), *alžä-* 'to moan in pain' (KumR), *alǰa-* 'stanovit'sja bezumnym, terjat' razum' (Kar), *alǰï-* 'id.' (Kaz, KazSK), *alǰï-* 'ošibit'sja, vzjat' ne to napravlenie; vyžit' iz uma; boltat' vzdor' (KirgRS 50), *alǰa-*

'stanovit'sja bezumnym / saléc' (KarRP 64), *alǰï-* 'vpadat' v detstvo, vpadat' v starčeskij marazm' (CrTatR 25),

Middle Mongolian data:
alǰa- 'behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein' (MNT 5), *alǰa- : alǰaqu (yayu alǰaqu ta)* (MonPr2: 233),

Written Mongolian data:
alǰa-, alǰiya- 'byt' utomlenu, udručenu, pritti v ustalost', iznemoč'; être fatigué, accablé, se lasser se fatigeur, devenir faible, s'affaiblir' (Kow 93), *alǰa-, alǰiya-* 'to suffer, be unable to bear, to become tired, exhausted, weary, to be troubled' (L 34), *alǰiya-* 'ermüdet seyn, erschöpft seyn; byt' utomlenu, istoščenu' (Schmidt 130),

Other Mongolian data:
alžaa- 'utomljat'sja, pereutomljat'sja' (BurRS), *alǰaa-* 'ustavat', utomljat'sja, iznemogat', ustalost', utomlenie' (KhRS), *aldza-* 'megtörik, megbán' (Khal), *alči-ja-* 'verzärteln (die Kinder)' (KWb 9).

The word cannot be found in Old Turkic texts while we have ample data in Old Mongolian texts. 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), Zajączkowski 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 *-ǰ-* was not preserved in Tatar words, while there is a *-ǰ* in *alǰï-*. We have both *-y-* and *-ž-* in Bashkir to substitute the Mongolian *-ǰ-*. As for vocals the Mongolian *-i-*, most probably due to the initial *a-*, was substituted by *-ï-* in VK, though we also find *alǰa-* in Christian Tatar dialects (cf. Bajazitova 1986:185).
See also: (Csáki 2004:9).

6. *aŋġar-* 'to understand' < MMo cf. WMo *angqar-*

Tatar data:
aŋġar- → *aŋla-* 'ponimat', ponjat', soobražat', vosprinimat'' (TatRS 50), *aŋġar-* 'megérteni, átlátni; verstehen, einsehen' (TatB 5), *aŋġar-* 'aŋlau,

tösenü' (TatDS 61) - 'to solve, grasp', *aŋġar-* 'aŋlau' "*Aŋġardïŋmï, min ni ättem?*" (DSTat 26) - 'Do you understand what I have said?', *aŋġar-* 'id.' (TatAS1 101), *aŋġar- ~ aŋqar-* 'ponimat'' (ST 25), *aŋġar- → aŋla-* (KST 101), *aŋqar- → aŋġar-* (KST 102), *aŋġar-* 'id.' (Bajazitova 1986:130), *aŋġar-* 'aŋla-; ponjat'' (TatTD 40),

Bashkir data:
aŋġarï- → aŋla- (Bashk 36), *aŋġarï-* 'id.' (BashkD1 22), *aŋqa- → aŋqarï-* 'aŋlau; urazumet'' (BashkD2 27) - 'grasp',

Other Kipchak data:
aŋġar- 'ponimat', dogodat'sja' (Kaz 61), *aŋġar-* 'ponimat', vnikat', dogadyvat'sja' (KrklpRS 44),

Chuvash datum:
ăŋkar- 'dogadyvat'sja, soobražat'; ponimat', razbirat'sja' (Chuv 52),

Other Turkic data:
aŋġar- 'id.' (R1 187), (RVEW 20),

Written Mongolian data:
angqar- 'to give attention to, observe, regard' (L 46), *angxara-* 'prinimat' vo vnimanie, vnikat'' (KalmP 2), *angqar-* 'wissen, vernehmen, kentniss nehmen, znat', vnjat', uznat'' (Schmidt 20),

Other Mongolian data:
aŋxar- 'leicht auffassen, genehmigen, geruhen; befehlen' *mini ügig aŋχartšeen-t* 'verstehen Sie meine Worte?' (KWb 12), *aŋxār-* 'figyel, figyelemmel kísér, odafigyel' (Khal 27), *aŋxāra-* = *aŋkxāra-* 'observer quelque chose, faire attention à quelque chose' (OrdM 26a).

There are two words in the VK languages meaning 'to understand'. Both go back to the same Old Turkic stem: *aŋ* 'intelligence'. The word *anla-* was formed with the help of a denominal suffix *+lA-* (cf. *éš +lä-* 'to make', *fiker +lä-* 'to imagine' etc.).

The other one: *aŋġar-* was borrowed from the Mongolian, the suffix *-qara* is a Mongolian attribute.
The Turkic word was compared with Mongolian by Radlov.
Erdal (1991:429, 742) considered the word to be a hapax in Turkic.
See also (Csáki 2004:10).

7. *aŋkau* 'hard palate' < MMo cf. Mo *angqayu*

Tatar data:
aŋkau 'nebo, nebnyj' (TatRS 50), *aŋkau* 'szájpadlás; Gaumen' (TatB 5), *aŋkau* 'avïz kuïšlïgïnïŋ öske stenasï' (TatAS1 101) - 'the upper part of the cavity of the mouth', *angkau* 'nebo' (AKRTat 92), *aŋġay* 'aŋkau; nebo' (ST 25), *aŋkau* 'nebo' (RTatS 358), *taŋlay* → *aŋkau* (DSTat 181),

Bashkir data:
aŋqau 'anat. nebo; nebnyj' (Bashk 36), *aŋqau* 'id.' (BashkRS 43), *aŋqau* 'id.' (BashkD1 22), *aŋqau* 'nebo tverdoe' (zoolBashk 116),

Other Kipchak data:
aŋqïgïy 'razinja, rotozej' (KirgRS 59), *aŋqau* 'razinja' (KrklpRS 846),

Written Mongolian datum:
anqγai- 'to open up; to be wide open' (L 43),

Other Mongolian data:
ang 'loch, riss, ritze, spalt', *anga* 'spalt, riss' (KWb 11), *anga* 'elágazás, rés, hasadék' (Khal 25) – 'ramification, split, crack'.

The word is not represented in Old Turkic, Ramstedt and Räsänen took it for Mongolian. It must be a derivation of the Mongolian verb *angka-* 'to be open'. It got a deverbal suffix *-gu-* (cf. Poppe, N.: Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mong.).

The word is missing in this form from Bashkir dialectological dictionary, yet it explains the word *žeržek* (BashkD2 72) as well as *ïrġaq* (BashkD2 311).

Sevortjan offered another etymology (cf. SevEST 157) which we consider wrong.
The Kirgiz word given above must go back to the same stem.

8. *arča* 'juniper' < MMo *arča*

Tatar data:
arča 'arča (drevovidnyj možževel'nik)' (TatRS 41), *arča* 'bot. Artïš' (TatAS 74) – 'juniper', *arča* 'možževel'nik' (AKRTat 80),

Other Kipchak datum:
arša II. 'bot. možževel'nik' (KrklpRS 435),

Chuvash data:
orča 'možževel'noe derevo' (ZChuv 21), *urča* 'možževel'nik' (ChuvD 19),

Other Turkic data:
arčïn 'možževel'nik' (RAltS 301), *arča* 'bot. arča, drevovidnyj možževel'nik' (UzbRS 40), *arča* 'id.' (RVEW 24),

Middle Mongolian data:
arči 'možževel'nik' (MA 104), *arča* 'Cypresse' (MNT 8), *arča* 'génevrier' (LHY),

Written Mongolian data:
arča 'veres, možževel'nik obyknovennyj; genévrier (arbrisseau)' in: *qonin a.* 'iuniperus comunnis' (Kow 161), *arča* 'juniper' (L 50), *arča* 'kiparis' (KalmP 14), *arča* 'id.' (Golst1 68).

Other Mongolian data:
arča 'Wacholder' von **ari-*, *arigun* 'rein' (KWb 15), *arc* 'bot. mozzevel'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 1963:184) [Juniperinae] (ParMon 51), *artš'a* 'juniperus chinensis' (OrdM. 30a).

There are two words in Tatar for 'juniper': *artïš* (TatRS 40) and *arča*. The first of them goes back to an Old Turkic *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 (TMEN§448), but in this case it was re-borrowed from 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' with the suffix *+ča* that survives 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 Mongolian word *davaa(n)* 'gornyj pereval' (KhRS 137) (cf. Oruzbaeva, B.O.: O kirgizskih i mongol'skih leksičeskih paralleljah po toponimike).

9. *arčï-* > *ärče-* 'to clean' < MMo *arči-*

Tatar data:
arču → *ärčü-* 'čistit', očiščat', očistit', vykorčevivat', občistit', ograbit'' (TatRS 732), *ärče-* 'tisztítani, eltakarítani; reinigen, putzen, aufräumen' (TatB 16), *érče-* 'čistit'' (TatJ 18), *arčï-* 'čistit'' (TatJ 7), *arčï* 'čistit', očiščat'' (TatT 22), *arču 1.* → *aču 1.* 'čistartu, utau, yolku, ǰieštïru' (TatDS 49), *arčä-* 'reinigen' (PTatD 7), *ärdzü* 'ärčü; očiščat' ot češui' (ST 38), *ärčü* 'id' (TatAS3 685) "*Bu gaybätčelär kesälärne ärčilär, läkin üzläre 'čibär'.*" - 'These gossiping people are clearing up their pockets, nevertheless they (consider themselves) *čibär* ie. 'clean, immaculate.', *arc-* 'ärč-; čistit', očiščat'' (TatTD 33), *arč-* 'u-, yu-; stirat', myt'' (TatTD 33), *ärč-* 'očiščat' ' (RTatS 433),

Bashkir data:
ärse- 'čistit', očiščat', občiščat'' (Bashk 819), *ärse-* 'očiščat' (ot skorlupy)' (BashkK 22), *ärse-* 'čistit', ubrat'' (BashkD2 323), *ärčü* 'čistit'' western Bashk., *ärseü* 'id.' standard Bashkir (Maksjutova 1981:30),

Other Kipchak data:
arčï- '(dial.) čistit', sčiščat' → *artla-* (CrTatR 32), *aršï-* 'čistit', očiščat'' (KrklpRS 53), *aršï-* 'id.' (Nogh 235),

Other Turkic data:
arčï- 'obdirat' (šeluhu), očiščat' (ot šeluhi)' (UzbRS 40), *arčïïr* 'čistit'' (RAltS 838),

Middle Mongolian data:
arči-: arčiǰu (AQǰÜ 31), *arčiba altan* 'očistil zolota' (MA 104), *arči-* 'wischen' (MNT 8),

Written Mongolian data:
arči- 'čistit', otbirat'; essuyer, nettoyer' (Kow), *arči-* 'to wipe, clean, or dry by rubbing; to erease; to weed' (L 51), *arči-* 'očistit', vyteret', obtirat', stirat', utirat'' (KalmP 14), *arči-* 'abwischen, reinigen; stirat', očiščat'' (Schmidt 160),

Other Mongolian data:
arči- 'čistit', očiščat'' (KhRS 45), *arša-* 'čistit'' (BurRS), *arči-* 'rein fegen, abputzen, abwischen' (KWb 15), *artš'i* 'essuyer, nettoyer' (OrdM 30a).

The word occurs already in the Codex Cumanicus: *arčilarmen* 'ich scheyde' (CCK 136), we find it also in the Vocabularium cumanico - latinum: *arčilarmen* 'decortico' (CCK 250).

Grønbech 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 *arïg* '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* [= eremdeg?] (AQjÜ 28).

Rybatzki (2003:65) gives the following data in his study on MMo word formation: SH *arči-* 'to wipe': *arči.mal* 'clean'. There we see the MMo deverbal noun suffix *+mAl* on our verb discussed.

We find further derivatives of it in Mongolian: *arčimal, arčiyur* etc. Ramstedt considered the word *arči-* of Mongolian origin, so did Räsänen (RVEW 24) and Clauson.
Doerfer takes it for Turkic (TMEN2 p. 448) nevertheless his earliest datum is Chaghatay (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. Ligeti: Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus).
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:161), (Birtalan 1992:39).

10. *asara-* 'to protect' < MMo *asara-*

Tatar data:
asra- 'vospityvat', vospitat', vskramlivat', vskormit', hranit', bereč'' (TatRS 42), *asïra-= 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?* 'Do you have/breed a horse?' (TatN 33), *asra-* 'äyberne ozak vakït ber häldä totu' (TatDS 50) - 'to keep something for a long time in the same condition', *asra-* 'yäsäü, tamak tuydïru, kön kürü' (DSTat 19) – 'to live, to fill one's stomach, to live on sg.', *asran-* 'rastit', vospityvat' rebenka' (KST 104), *asra-* ~ *asran-* 'rastit', vospityvat' rebenka' (ST 29), *asra-* 'tab-, tudïr-; rodit'' (TatTD 34),

Bashkir data:
aśïra- 'soderžat', razvodit'' (BashkRS 56), *aśïra-* 'to breed' (BashkT 19), *aśïra-* : *aśïrau bala* 'alïp aśïraġan bala' (BashkD1 26) – to bring up an adopted child', *aśïrau inäy* 'atahï – inähe bulmaġan kešenenең tärbiähendä torġan qarsïq' (BashkD2 32) – 'gammer supported by a motherless, fatherless person', *qarabiδäü* 'ber bala la *aśïramaġan qatïn*; besplodnaja ženščina' (BashkD2 134),

Other Kipchak data:
asïra- 'soderžat', kormit', *bala asïra-* 'vospytivat' rebenka' (Kaz 44), *asïra-* 'id.' (KrklpRS 57), *asïra* 'id.' (NoghRS 51), *asra-* 'soderžat'; hodowac' (KarRP 81), *asïra-* 'soderžat'' (KrklpRS 954), *asıra-* 'himaye etmek, saklamak; beslemek; gömmek' (Krch 91), *asïra-* 'hranit', bereč' čto; kormit', rastit', vospityvat' kogo; otkarmlivat' kogo; hronit', pogrebat' kogo' (KrchT 83), *asïra-, asra-* 'nähren, ernähren, erziehen, begraben' (KrchP), *asra-* 'nähren, ernähren, erhalten, begraben' (BlkP 203), *asïra-* '1. himaye et-, sakla-; 2. besle-; 3. göm-; *asra-* 'vykarmlivat', vskarmlivat'; vyraščivat'' (CrTatR 33), *asïra-* 'soderžat'', vospytivat', vyraščyvat', vskarmlivat'' (Kum), *asïra-* 'stechen, betäuben' (KumN), *asra-* 'besle-; nähren' (CrKar), *asïra-* 'kormit', vospityvat', vskarmlivat'' (Kklp),

Early Kipchak data:
asra- 'rastit', vyraščivat'' (F 75), *asra-, -r* 'zu essen geben' (CC), *asar-* 'pependo (sic!)' (CCK 43), *asra-, asara-* W9, P 107 (Sangl. Ind.V. 95) *asïra-* 'avoir, soin de, protéger' (Hy131), *asïra-* 'veerpflegen, versorgen, ernähren' (Civ 241), *asra-* 'to nourish, raise, bring up, to adopt' (Rbg), *asra-* 'observer, regarder, garder, conserver' (Chag 20), *asra-* 'zu essen geben, ernähren' (LCCG), *asratay* < *asra-* 'skryvat', *asrat-* 'zastavit', soderžat', vospityvat'' (ChagB 68), *ïsra-* 'őriz, véd, pártfogol' (ChagBL 37), *asra-* 'korumak, saklamak' (Kİ), *asrat-* 'id.' (Zenker), *asra-* 'ernähren, erziehen, bei sich halten, verbergen' (Č 105), BudI44,45, Radl.I 546,

Chuvash data:
usra 'deržat', soderžat', bereč', hranit'' (Chuv 517), *osra-* 'bereč, vospityvat'' (Zol 21), *usra-* 'nevelni; aufziehen, erziehen' (ChuvP 194), *usrav : u.-ivδl* 'fogadott fiú; Pflegesohn' (ChuvP 195),

Other Turkic data:
asra- 'soderžat'' (Uzb 59), *asra-* 'bereč, hranit'' (UzbRS 42), *asra-* 'to take care of, to attend to' (Turki), *asra-* 'to protect' (Redh. 83),

Middle Mongolian data:
asara-: asaraqui (AQjÜ 33), *asarba* 'hranil' (IMI), *asaraba önečini* 'okazal sirote popečenie' (MA 107), *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* (MonPr 12), *asara- : asarayad* (MonPr 133), *asara- : asaraysan, asaraǰu* (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-* 'vospitivat', prizrevat'' (KalmP 4), *asara-* 'verpflegen, erziehen, prizret', vospitat'' (Schmidt 21a),

Other Mongolian data:
asra- 'uhaživat', zabotit'sja, opekat' (KhRS 46), *asr-* 'beschützen, erziehen, gnädig, mitleidig sein' (KWb 16), *asar-* 'prinosit', rožat'' (BurRS), *asara-* 'protéger, soigner, traiter avec sollicitude, sauver, servir quelqu'un (domestique)' (OrdM 32b).

The stem of the word is Turkic *aša-* 'est', kušat'' (DTS 62), to which the *-ra* deverbal forming intensifier suffix was added in the Mongolian languages. This is Mongol marker, easy to discover on other loan verbs too. The word was re-borrowed in this new form *asara-* by several Turkic (cf. RVEW 29), and Tungusic languages: Solon *asar-* 'id.', Man. *asara-* 'id.' (MT 136).

It is a Mongolian loan word in Cuman (cf. Poppe 1962: 331), in Karaim (cf. MEKS), in Chuvash (cf. Róna-Tas 1971- 72, 1973-74). 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 details in 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 my Mongol teacher Önörbayan a born Western Mongolian himself. We find the same meaning in certain Bashkir dialects (see above BashkD2), while it was also extended to the terminology of animal-breeding: "Sigiz sïyïr asrama, simiz sïyïr asra." (KTA 63) - 'Don't breed eight cows, breed a fat one!'.

In Karachay the word was not united with the concept of the received or foster child: *émček bla asïra-* 'kormit' grud'ju' (KrchT), *asïrawlu* 'tutumlu, idareli' (Krch). From the same stem further words were formed in Karachay: *asïraw* 'hranenie, kormlenie' (KrchT), *asïrawču* 'besleyici' where we notice the additional vocal (Tavkul 2000:20), *asïrawlu, asïrawsuz* etc.

Doerfer (1963) collected all the necessary data in: (TMEN§20) 'ernähren' tü. < mo., Alt., Tuv.: *azyra-*, Kar., Kirg. *asra-*, Chuv. *usra-* 'soderžat' ; kormit'; vospityvat'', etc.

There are further remarks on the word in the following articles: (Ščerbak 1986:50), (Poppe 1962:334), (Róna-Tas 1982:76), (Kincses Nagy 1997:142), (Schönig 2000:65), (Tatarincev 2000:75), (Csáki 2004:11).

11. *äδernä* 'bow made of horn' < MMo cf. WMo *adarana* < **adirana*

Bashkir data:

äδernä or *äδernä yan* ~ *äδernä yäyä* 'ist. luk (osobo krepkogo izgotovlenija s ispol' zovanijem volč'ej žily, roga i t.d.)' (Bashk 811), *äδernä* 'ist. luk (osobo iskusnogo prigotovlenija, iz takogo luka streljal märgän 'snajper i bogatyr')' (BashkRS 693), *äδrenäya* 'luk iz roga' (BashkK 21), *ädrinä* 'ein Bogen mit gespannter Sehne' (RVEW 36), *äδernä* 'luk, sdelannyj iz roga' (BashkD2),

Written Mongolian data:

adarana 'gromadnyj, bogatyrskij luk', (kakie, govorjat, byvali vstarinu)' (KalmP 6),

Other Mongolian data:

adrn 'tolstyj konéc strely (kotoryj upiraetsja v tetivu), bogatyrskij luk' (KalmRS 28), *adarana* '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. loan words as a continuation of the former *a-*. On the other hand we know that a 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 *äδernä* was borrowed by Bashkir from 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 (*ädernä*). Imelis' strely i s ostrymi kostjanymi nakonečnikami. Baškirskij boevoj luk *ädernä* neskol'ko otličalsja ot ohotnič'ego *yäyä*. On vsegda sklaivalsja 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 koncami, očen' elastičnyj…' (Rudenko 1955:73).

12. *älče* 'envoy' < MMo cf. WMo *elči*

Tatar data:
äldzi 'ilče; poslannik' (ST 37), *älce: älce/älče sal-* 'nadet' nabekren'' (TatTD 397), *ilci* ~ *ildzi* 'ilče; posol' (ST 55), ikenče däräjädäge diplomatik *ilče* 'poslannik' (RTatS 506),

Bashkir datum:
ilse 'posol; poslanec' (Bashk 205),

Other Kipchak data:
elši 'posol, gonec' (Kklp), *elči* 'posol, poslannik' (Kirg 950), *elči* 'posol', poslannik' (Kum),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
elçi 'elçi' (Atalay 1945:168), *elči* 'posol' (MA 403), *elçi* 'bir il tarafından gelen vafid, bir yere gönderilen haber-res, mübelliğ, nebi, resul, mürsel' (LO

133), *elči* 'envoyé, messager' (Chag 130), *elzi* (CC 35,105), *elči* 'poslannik' (HŠN 442), *elči* '1. elçi; 2. haberci, postacı, müjdeci' (KT 72),

Chuvash datum:
elčĕ 'posol' (Chuv 635),

Other Turkic:
elči 'ambassador, messenger, envoy, match-maker' (Az), *elči* 'ambassador, envoy, minsiter' (Redh. 335),

Middle Mongolian datum:
elči 'messenger, apostle' (KD198A3),

Written Mongolian datum:
elči(n) 'messenger, courier; envoy, ambassador; apostle, missionary' (L 307),

Other Mongolian datum:
eltši 'herold, gesandter, botschafter' (KWb 120).

The word is to be found in Old Turkic *elçi* the modern meaning is 'ambassador, representative of government in foreign countries' (Clauson 1972:129).

It is due to this 'modern' meaning that we consider the word a reborrowed one in VK languages. The original Old Turkic meaning: 'member of the royal family' got lost.

Doerfer had an other opinion and made clear his statement in (TMEN§656): *elči* 'Gesandter' mo. < tü.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:94), (Tenišev 2001:319).

13. *ätälge* 'falcon' < MMo *itelgü*

Tatar data:
ätälge 'balaban (vid bol'šogo sokola)' (TatRS 733), *itelge* 'szabda sólyom; schachtfalke (falco lanarius)' (TatB 23), *ätälge* (koš) 'balaban' (RTatS 26), *ätälge* 'zool. zur börketneŋ ber töre' (TatAS3 687) – zool. A kind of the big golden-eagle', *itälgü* 'košnïŋ ber töre; myšelov' (ST 61),

Bashkir data:
ätälge 'krečet (samka)' (Bashk 822), *ätälge* 'krečet (samka)' (BashkRS 702), *ätälge* 'krečet" (BashkK 22), *ätälge* → *šoŋqar* (zoolBashk 153) qara šoŋqar → qara ätälge 'krečet norvežskij' (zoolBashk 133) – 'Norvegian kind of hawk',

Other Kipchak data:
itelgi 'sokol, pustel'ga (rod jastreba)' (Kaz 200), *itelgi* 'balaban (vid sokol)' (Kirg 305),

Early Kipchak data:
itälgü 'espèce de faucon' (Chag 94), *itelgü* 'faucon épervier, Falke, Sperber' (Z 141), *itälgü* 'Mäusebussard (Buteo buteo)' (Č 114),

Other Turkic data:
itälgü = *itälgi* 'ohotnič'ja ptica – eine Art Jagdvogel' (R1 1502), *itolġi* 'zool. baloban' (UzbRS 185), *ötleği* 'bearded vulture, lammergeier, (zool. Sylvia communis)' (Redh. 911),

Middle Mongolian data:
itelgü 'krečet" (IMI 404), *itelgü : erdem-tü sayin itelgü* (MonPr 368), *itelgü* 'id.' (Wu-Ti 4532), *itelgü* 'saker, falcon, hawk' (KD200A21),

Written Mongolian data:
itelgü 'gyrfalcon' (L 1204), *itilgi* 'balaban (ptica samka)' (KalmP 24), *itelgü* 'der Geierfalke, krečet" (Schmidt 41a), *itelge, itelgü* 'zajcelov, krečet, balaban' (Golst1 125),

Other Mongolian data:
itlya, itlyan 'ein raubvogel, geierfalke?, (weiblicher) würgfalke' (KWb 211), *itélgé šonhor* 'falco cherrug' = 'faucon sacré' (VAM 123), *itlg* 'krečet" (Nom 43), *e't'elge šiwū* 'id.' (OrdM).

Doerfer gives the Mo word in two different forms: *itelgü, ötälgü* 'Falkenart' (TMEN§62). Räsänen (RVEW 175) takes the word for Mongolian in Turkic languages (see all further data there). Sidikov called our attention to the Mongolian word *ite, itü* 'kind of a bird of prey' (Sidikov 1983:52).

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 second syllables both in Bashkir and Tatar languages.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:104).

14. *äžegäy, äzgäy* 'red curds, dry cheese' < MMo cf. WMo *egeǰegei*

Tatar data:
äžegäy, äzgäy 'kort, kïzïl eremček' (TatDS 540), *äcegäy* 'kïzïl eremček', "Söt eretep, eremčektän äcegäy kaynatarïmma tigän item. (Söt eretep, ak eremčektän kïzïl eremček kaynatïrmïnmï digän idäm.)" (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* 'eremček; tvorog' (KST 232), *äžekäy* 'turta' (TatTD 395), *äǰägäy* → *waǰaga* (TatTD 402), *äcegäy* → *küpcek* 'eremček; tvorog' (ST 109), *ečigäy* 'moloko, kipljačenoe do polučenija gustoj massy' (BarTat 138),

Bashkir data:
äžekäy 'sladkoe kušan'e iz jagod zemljaniki, klubniki, do gustoty vyvarennoe v cel'nom moloke' dial. *qïðïl eremsek (→ eremsek)* (Bashk 812), *äžekäy* 'qïðïl äžekäy, dosuha vyvarennyj tvorog, čut' pripavlennyj 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), *äžekäy* '1. eremsekkä säkär qušïp qaynatïp yakalġan ašamlïq', '2. er elägen höttä qaynatïp äðerlängän ašamlïq', '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 säkär qušïp qïðartïlġan eremsek; 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', *äžekay* ~ *äžegäy* ~ *äzekäy* ~ *äzegäy* 'krasnyj tvorog, kušan'je iz tvoroga s maslom i sladostjami' (Išberdin 1979:22), *äžekäy* 'prigotovljalsja sledujuščim sposobom: k gotovomu katïk pribavljalos moloko, i smes eta kipjatilas' v kotle na medlennom ogne dosuha, polučalas' svežim (ne toplenym) molokom i podavalas' k čaju. Zagatovljalsja vprok, na zimu.' (Rudenko 1955:129),

Other Kipchak datum:
ežegey 'osobyj sort syra' (Kaz 137),

Other Turkic data:
iäǰägäi, iäǰǧäi 'smetana, tvorog' (YakP 891), *iäžägäi* 'Quark' (MEJ 29),

Written Mongolian data:
egeǰegej, eǰegej 'syr iz oveč'jago moloka; frommage fait du lait de brebis' (Kow 1 234), *egeǰegej* [= *ēǰegej*] 'curds, cottage cheese' (L 299), *egeǰegej* 'geronnener saurer Rahm, davon gebackene Kuchen oder Käse; smetana, syr ili pirožki iz smetany' (Schmidt 26a),

Other Mongolian data:
éézgéj 'slivki ot syrogo moloka' (BurjRS 781), *ēDzgī* 'a sort of dried curd, (in Dariganga not the same as *ēdmeg* in Ordos)' (Darig 157), ēzəgĒ 'Schafmilch mit *bozo* od. *bozo* aus Schafmilch, Käse aus geronnener Schafmilch' (KWb 131), *éézgij* 'tvorog' (Sidikov 1983:61), *éézgij* 'tvorog' (KhRS 684), *éžigej* 'osobyj sort tvorožnogo syra iz kipjačennogo oveč'ego ili koz'ego moloka, varennyj tvorog' (Sidikov 1984:69), *ēǰǧī* = *ēdem* Kow.: *egeǰegej, ēǰegej* 'frommage fait de lait de brebis' (OrdM 229b).

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

The Yakut data well support our belief in its being a pre- 17th century loan word from the Mongolian. It was borrowed in the Mongol era by certain Turkic languages of a certain area in Southern Siberia: Tuv. *éézegey*, Hak. *éčigey*, Alt. *eǰegey*, Kirg. *ézigey* (cf. Sidikov 1983, 1984).

Cincius suggests that the word goes back to the Mongolian *edem, edemeg, egedem* and it was borrowed by the Manchu-Tungus languages as well, in the form of *ēžemuγ* 'tvorog' (Cincius2 439). I consider this a mistake; we should separate *ēžemuγ* from *egežegej*.

Räsänen considers it of Mongolian origin in Hakas and Yakut languages.

According to the personal communication of Prof. A. Temir a born Kazan Tatar himself, *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. Yet there is another word in

Siberian Tatar: *iremcek* ~ *éremček* 'tvorog' (ST 58) that is a synonym to *äžegäy*.

I am also indebted to my Mongolian teacher Mr. Önörbayan for the following details: ModMo *éézgij* ~ *ēdzgī*, Oir. dial. *ēdzgē* is a popular delicacy among the 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 for years.

15. *bagana* 'pillar, pole' < MMo cf. WMo *bayana*

Tatar data:
bagana 'stolb, ustoj, kolonna, stolbec, kolonka' (TatRS 51), *bağana* 'oszlop, cölöp; säule, pfahl' (TatB 151), *bagan'* 'stolb' (TatG), *bagana* 'id.' (TatPR), *bagana* 'stolbec' (TatH), (AKRTat 197), *bagana* 'toprağı kazarak dikilmiş kalın direk', *uram baganasï* (TatN 139) – 'a thick pole forced into the soil', *bagana* 'stolb', *quš bağanasï, oyoq bağanasï* (TatDS 63), *bagana* 'id.' (TatAS 106), *bagana* 'Pfahl, Säule' (MišTat 116), *bağana* 'stolb' (BarTat 133), *bağana* 'bagana; stolb' (TatTD 42), *čïjïm bağanasï* 'telegraf baganasï' (Bajazitova 1986:129), *bagana bäyräme* 'prazdnik stolba' kogda ispolnjaetsja odin god so dnja smerti čeloveka, na ego mogile stavili stolb. Etot obrjad sobljudalsja ran'še u krjašen d. Sarapala Al'met'evskogo r-na. Kak pokazyvajut arhivnye dannye i po rasskazam starikov, v etoj derevne krjašenami sčitalis' i otatarivšiesja čuvaši. Dannyj obrjad sobljudaljsja i v sosednih čuvašskih derevnjah.' *pağan* 'bağana; stolb' (KST 176), *pağan* 'bagana; stolb' (ST 166), *bagana* 'id.' (DSTat 36, 49), *čïžïm baganasï* 'telegramma baganasï' (DSTat 220),

Bashkir data:
bağana 'stolb; ustoj, byk; stolbec, kolonka' (Bashk 65), *bağana* 'stolb, ustoj (opora mosta), kolonka' (BashkRS 68), *bağana* 'czölöp, oszlop, kútágas' (BashkP 231) - 'stake, pillar, pile, sweep of a well', *bağana* 'column, pillar, pole' (BashkT 32), *bağana* → *baqan* 'stolb dlja lazan'ja vo vremja sabantuja[29]', *bağana* → *baqan* 'stolb dlja lazan'ja vo vremja sabantuja'

29 A well known game also among Karachay-Balkars, a western Kipchak people. In 2001 we attended a Karachay festival in the vicinity of Eskişehir (Turkey), and managed to record the parts of the game by video-camera.

(BashkD2 36-7), *qaδïqbaġana* → *maġana* (BashkD2 127), *baġana* → *maġana* 'kol' (BashkD2 165), *satabaġan* 'sukovatoe derevo dlja vyvešivanija posudy, satlï baġana' (BashkD2 202), *baqan* → *baġana* 'vysokij stolb dlja lazanija vo vremja sabantuja' (Miržanova 1979:186),

Other Kipchak data:
baġana 'stolb, stojka, podporka' (Kaz 82), *baġana* 'czölöp, ok, alap, Pfahl, Ursache, Grund' (KumN 99), *baġana* 'stolb, šest v jurte, kolonna, stolbec, kolonka, opora, oplot, tupica' (KarRP 95), *baġana* 'Stütze, Säule' (KarK 163), *baġana* 'stolb, podporka, podstavka, balka' (Nogh 237), *baġana* 'Stütze, Säule' (MEKS 3), *baġana* 'stolb' (RKklp 978), *baġana* 'çatıyı tutan ana direk, sütun, kalın direk' (Krch108), *ara baġana* 'temel direk' (Krch), *kara bagana* 'szégyenoszlop, ahova kikötötték a bűnözőket' [pillory, where criminals were bound][30], *baġana* 'tiyreuwč; ullu čïpïn; üynüy al žanïp neda žerbaš üjleni orta arqaularïn tuthan aġač' (Bittirlanï 1997:333), *baġana* 'podporka, stojka' (CrTatR 30), *baġana* 'stolb'; *telegraf baġana* 'telegrafnyj stolb' (Kum), *bağana* 'füstkarika tartó oszlopa' (KazSK), *baqan* 'stojko' (RKklp),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
bagana 'çatal' (Atalay 1945:146), *bağana, bağanaq* 'çatal' (KT 21), *baġam* 'tekye aġažï, direk, destek, metanet, temel' (ChagŠS),

Other Turkic data:
bagana 'Pfahl' (YakB. 126), *bagana* 'stolb, podporka, kolonna, svaja, opora' (TuvRS 82), *bayanæ* 'wedge, wooden peg' (Turki),[31]

Written Mongolian data:
bayana 'pierre ou barre de bois sur lagnelle on attache les tentes, pilier, colonne' (Kow 1056b), *baġana* 'pillar, column, post, tent-pole' (L 68),

30 On 9th February 1909 in connection with what he saw in the edge of the village *Mara* Vilmos Pröhle wrote the following: "...there one can still see the famous *khara-bagana* known from the folk-songs of the outlaws, painted in black, around which in old times the horse-thieves and outlaws were buried for eternal rest, after they had met their fate." (Pröhle 1910:138).

31 Jarring (1964:45) noticed, that the word is Persian in Turki, it means that it was transmitted there by Iranian people, though the origin of the word is the same Mongolian *bagana*. Same is the case with the Turki word *bahadur* (Jarring 1964:46).

bayana 'stolb', kolonna' (KalmP 117), *bayana* 'die Säule, der Pfeiler; stolb, kolonna' (Schmidt 98a),

Other Mongolian data:
bagana 'stolb, kolonna, podporka, podstavka, drevko, na kotoroe opiraetsja surta, palatka' *baganïn oroj* (KhRS 53), *baġana* 'oszlop' (Khal 41), *baχana* D, *baχan ~ baχn* U 'colonne, poteau' (Oir 128), *bagana* 'Pfeiler aus Holz (*mod*), die dem *tonoo* und damit dem ganzen gèr den rechten Halt geben wird' (ParMon.157), *bayăn ~ baχăn* 'id.' (Vladimircov 1929:228), *bayana* 'opornyj steržen' (ustanavlivaetsja v jurte), stolb, kolonna, podporka' (Sidikov 1983:55), *bagana, baqana* 'Säule, Pfeiler, Balkenstütze (im Hause)' (KWb 29), *bagana* 'chevron, piquet pour attacher des animaux' (OrdM).

The word is wide-spread in Mongolian areas. It is well represented in Written Mongolian while we cannot find it in Old or Middle Turkic sources. It went through to Manchu and also to some Finno-Ugrian languages (cf. Ewenki *bayana*, Man. *baχana* (MT 101), *poχana* (ČLČ 178)).

The contraction of the *-aya-* syllable did not take place in Mongolian due to the articulation of the first vowel (cf. Poppe 1962:4).

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.*

Zajączkowski considered the word of Mongolian origin in Karaim, Kazak, Karakalpak, Noghay languages, Clauson agreed with this in his etymological dictionary (see there p. 316). Räsänen considered it of Mongolian origin too in Cheremiss, but there via Chuvash mediation.
For further data see: (Birtalan 1994:40), (Tatarincev 2000:170), (Tenišev 2001:390).

16. *baytal* 'three year old horse' < MMo *baital*

Tatar data:
baytal 'yäš biyä, öč yäšlek biyä' (TatAS I 112), *baytal* 'Stute' (MišTat 118), *baytal* 'kolïnlï biyä' (DSTat 28), *paytal*[32] '2-3 yäšlek biyä, kolïnlaganga čaklï' (DSTat 146),

32 In Tatar there is a *p- ~ b-* change in initial position also in: *paypak ~ baypak* (DSTat 146), *peläzek ~ beläzek* (DSTat 147), etc., as well as a *p- ~ m-* alternation: *pinnek ~ minnek* (DSTat 149), etc.

Bashkir data:
baytal I 'kobyla (ne žerebivšajasja)'; *dünäžen baytal* 'kobyla po četvertomu godu'; *qonan baytal* 'kobyla po tret'emu godu' (Bashk 67), *baytal* 'négyéves kanca' (PBashk 231),

Other Kipchak data:
baytal 'kısrak' (Krch 115), *baytal* 'kısrak' (Karça – Koşay 1954:123), *baytal* 'kobylica (ešče ne žerebivšajasja)' (Kirg 98), *baytal* 'kobyla' (KarRP 99),

Written Mongolian data:
baidasu(n) 'a three to four-year-old animal which has not yet born young (especially mare); barren' (L 74),

Other Mongolian datum:
baydas(an) 'fiatal kanca, meddő kanca' (Khal 44).

The word belongs to the terminology of horse-breeding. There are horse-names, horse-colours; the names of illnesses diagnosed in the case of horses, names of set of horses, etc. which belong to this group. Many of these words were borrowed from Middle-mongolian by Volga Kipchak languages.
In Bashkir we see it together with *dünäžen.*
For further data see: (TMEN§827) *baital* 'junge Stute'.

17. *batïr* 'hero, brave' < MMo *bātur*

Tatar data:
batïr 'geroj, bogatyr, silač, molodec, smelyj, hrabryj' (TatRS 61), *batïr* 'bátor, hős; tapfer, held' (TatB 153), *batïr* 'kurïkmaučanlïk, kïyulïk, köčlelek, uyganlïk sïyfatlarï belän tanïlgan šähes' (TatAS1 134) – 'a valiant being known for his intrepidity, fearlessness, courage and bravery', *maqattïr* 'bahadir, batïr, bogatïr', geroj' (ST 147), *batïr* 'tapfer, heldenmütig; Held' (MišTat 118),

Other Kipchak data:
batïr 'bogatyr' *(epičeskij)* (RKklp 59), *batïr* 'bogatïr, vitjaz', hrabryj' (CrTat 49), *batïl* 'brave' (KazDTL 21), *batər* 'hero' (KumR 73), *batïr* 'Held, tapfer' (KumN 101),

Early Kipchak data:
bagat i.e. *bagatur* 'probus, integer' (CCK 299), *baġatur* 'yiğit, bahadır, cesur' (KT 21), *batur* 'tapfer' (Č 127),

Other Turkic data:
botïr 'hrabryj, otvažnyj, batyr' (UzbRS 82), *batïr* 'brave' (TrkmDTL 21),

Middle Mongolian data:
ba'atur Pre-Classical Mo, *bayatur : bayatur či ... törögsen-tür-iyen* (AQjÜ 39),

Written Mongolian datum:
batur 'bogatyr' (KalmP 119),

Other Mongolian data:
baatar 'bogatyr', geroj, vitjaz, bogatyrskij, gerojčeskij, mužestvennyj, hrabryj, doblestnyj' (KhRS 52), *baatar* 'bátor' (Khal 40) – 'brave'.

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.
Doerfer considered the word to be of Turkic origin: (TMEN§817) *bayatur* 'Held' mo. < tü.

18. *baǰa* 'brother-in-law' < MMo *baǰa*

Tatar data:
baǰa 'svojak' (TatRS 64), *baǰa* 'sógor (feleségem nővérének férje); schwager (mann der frauenschwester)' (TatB 152), *paǰa* → *baδa* 'Schwager' (TatC 124), *baca* 'svojak' (PTatD), *baca* 'iki kız kardeşlerle evlenmiş olanlar birbirine baçadırlar' (TatN 132) - 'the ones who have got married with two sisters are *baça* to each other', *baz'a, baz'i* 'baǰa; svojak' (TatDS 64), *baca* 'baǰa; svojak, brat ženy' (ST 42), *baz'a* 'baǰa; Bertugan kïzlarga 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-others.', *paca* ~ *pača* 'baǰa; svojak' (KST 178),

Bashkir data:
baža 'svojak' (Bashk 66), *baža* 'svojak' (BashkRS 69), *baža* 'svojak; ike ayaktï baža tatïu, dürt ayaktï tatïu družnï (živut) – o dvuh nogah svojaki, o četyreh nogah kozï (pogov)' (BashkK 23), *bažay* 'baža; svojak' (BashkD2 37),

Other Kipchak data:
baža 'svojak' (Kaz 62), *bajanaq* ~ *bajanak* 'svojak (o muž'jah rodnyh sester v otnošenii drug k drugu)' (KarRP 96), *baža* 'svojak' (KrklpRS 76), *baža* 'svojak' (RKklp 913), *baja* 'bacanak' (Krch107), > *baža* 'husbands of sisters' (Abhaz)[33], *baža* 'svojak' (Kum), *badž* '2. sokraščennoe ot *badžanaq* 'svojak'' (CrTat 49), *baja* 'svojak' (Kirg), *badža* 'sógor, a feleség testvérének a férje' (KazSK),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
baja 'svojak' (ChagMAII.), *bacanak* 'iki kız kardeş zevcleri' (LO), *baca* 'baca' (DK 34), *baja* 'brother-in-law' (ArmK), *baca* 'baca' (BL), *bajanak* 'ie.' (Kİ), *bacanak* 'iki kızkardeş zevceleri, seluf' (LO), *bajanak* → *pajnak* (KT 21),

Chuvash data:
baja, bazya 'svojak' (Zol), *puśana* 'svojak' (Chuv 317), *puśana* 'svojak' (ChuvF 453), *puZana* 'sógor (feleségem nővérének a férje)' (ChuvP 110) – 'brother-in-law (husband of one's wife's sister)' < **bajanaq*,

Other Turkic data:
baja 'svojak' (TkmRS 66), *boža* 'svojak' (UzbRS 78), *baža* 'svojak (muž sestry ženy)' (TuvRS 83), *baja:* → *quda:* (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
baja 'svojak' (MA 402), *baja* 'le maris de soueurs' (LHY), *baja* 'brother-in-law (sister's husband)' (KD200C6),

Written Mongolian data:
baja 'svojak, zjat'; beaux-frères, personnes qui out épousé les deux soeurs' (Kow 1082), *baja* 'husbands of sisters, term used by husbands of sisters in

33 For its further Caucasian connections see: (Tavkul 2002:4).

referring to each other' (L 93), *baǰa* 'svojak' (KalmP 120), *baǰa* 'der Schwager, der Frauen-Schwester-Mann; zjat'' (Schmidt 104a),

Other Mongolian data:
baza, baǰa 'Schwager' (BurjC 167), *baǰa* 'muz'ja, rodnyh sester' (DagP 69), *baža* 'Schwager' (KWb 37), *baz* 'svojak' (Nominhanov 38), *badža, baza* 'svojaki, svojak' (Sidikov 1983:36), *baz* 'sógor (egyik nővér férje a másik nővér férje számára)' (Khal 44), *baǰā* 'les maris de soeurs' (OrdM).

Due to the intervocalic *-ǰ-*, we consider it a loan word in the VK languages. It seems to belong to the terminology of affiliated relatives several of which were borrowed from the Middle Mongolian languages. It is most probable that it was adopted in VK languages via Chaghatay mediation. We have no criterion 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 *baǰa* 'svojak' existed in Chaghatay as well (cf. MA-P II.).

The word went into general use in Volga Finno-Ugrian languages, due to Chuvash mediation. Räsänen writes that we can find it also in Mordvin, Vogul, Ostyak and Votjak in the shape of *pada* 'id.' (ČLČ 180).

According to Bazilxan a Mongol loan in Kazak (cf. Bibliogr.). Pokrovskaja states that the word *baza* is valid for males and females in singular and plural in Buriat. (cf. Bibliogr.)

Jarring (1964:254) gave the literature of the word: both Menges and Katanov wrote about this well spread kinship term used in relation through marriage.

The Karachays transmitted the word to others (e.g. Kumyks and Abkhaz people) living in the Caucasus (Tavkul 2002:357). Later it spread to the Kabard in the shape of *baje* 'husbands of sisters' (Tavkul 2002:360), to the Avar *baža* 'husbands of sisters' (Tavkul 2002:365).

Doerfer considered the word to be of ultimate Turkic origin: *baja* 'Schwager' tü. > mo., *bajanaq* 'Schwager' (TMEN§682).
For further data see: (Birtalan 1994:40), (Tenišev 2001:310).

19. *beregä, birän* 'sister-in-law' < MMo. cf. WMo. *berigen*

Tatar data:
beregä 'ältere Schwägerin' (TatC), *bergä* 'id.' (TatAS I 151),

Written Mongolian data:
bergen 'wife of an elder brother; polite expression used in addressing the wife of a person of about the same age' (L 99), *birigen* 'staršaja nevestka, snoha' (KalmP 126),

Other Mongolian data:
bergen 'sógornő, idősebb fivér felesége' (Khal 90), *birigen* (Burj).

The word belongs to the terminology of affiliated relatives, many of which is borrowed from MMo. In VK languages.

20. *berket- ~ berketä-* 'to strengthen; affirm' < MMo *berket-*

Tatar data:
berket- 'zakrepljat', zakrepit', utverždat', utverdit'' (TatRS 67), *berket-* 'närsägä dä bulsa kadaklap, čänčäp, kadap ... yullar belän nïgïtu' (TatAS1 153) - 'to make anything fast by the way of driving it into sg., or sticking it into sg.', *berket-* 'megerősíteni; befestigen' (TatB 157),

Bashkir data:
berkete- 'prikrepljat', zakrepljat'' (Bashk 84), *berkätä-* 'id.' (BashkD1 39), *qaušarï-* 'berkete-; skrepit'' (BashkD2 141),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
berkit- ~ berkid- ~ birkit- 'sağlamlaştırmak' (KT 28), *Bärkä Hän* Pn. (Č 129),

Other Kipchak data:
berkiti- 'zakrepit'' (RKklp 247),

Chuvash datum:
parGa 'erős, vastag (pl. ember, kötél); stark, dick' (ChuvP 94),

Other Turkic data:
berket- ~ bekit- ~ bek'it- ~ bekt- 'to make hard, to close, to fasten, to obstruct, to shut up, to fix' (Turki), *bergede-* 'byt' v zatrudnenii; osložnjat'sja' (TuvRS 99),

Middle Mongolian data:
berket- 'to become strong' (MA), *berkešiye- : berkešiyegsen* (MonPr85),

Written Mongolian datum:
berkešije- 'to consider difficult' (L 100),

Other Mongolian datum:
berxte- 'megnehezedik, nehezebbé/bonyolultabbá válik' (Khal 91).

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

It was borrowed by Chuvash in the form of an adjective.
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:145), (Róna-Tas 1982:76).

21. *bilǰra-* 'soften' < MMo cf. WMo *bilčara-*

Tatar data:
bilǰra- 'mjaknut', razmjaknut', razmokat', drjabnut', sniknut'' (TatRS 88), *bäläǰärä-* 'nïk ǰebüdän ütä yomšaklanïp yäki ǰäelep-taralïp kitü (törle äyberlär turïnda), ~ *mäläǰärä-* (TatAS1 208) - 'to become soak or extend the size from a heavy rain (in connection with different things)', *mïläǰra-* ~ *bïläǰra-* ~ *mäläǰärä-* 'razmjaknut', raskisnut'' (TatDS 310), *bïlčïrat-* 'besározni; kotig machen' (TatB 159),

Bashkir datum:
mälyerä- 'drjahlet', oslabevat'' (Bashk 449),

Other Kipchak data:
bïlžïra- 'byt' lipkim' (Kirg 171),

Other Turkic datum:
bilčilla- 'hljupat'' (UzbRS 72), *mïlčïra-* 'hljupat'' (Tuv 305),

Written Mongolian data:
bilčara- 'to become crushed, pulverized or squashed' (L 104), *bilči-* 'razojtis', razbrestis', pastis' (o stad)' (KalmP 125),

Other Mongolian datum:
bjalcgana- 'remeg, hullámzik (kocsonyás anyag)' (Khal 92).

It seems to be a loan in Tatar due to its length and also to the *-ǰ-* 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, especially if there is a lateral (-l-, or -r-) in the next syllable of the same word.

Schönig listed Western Oghuz or other (especially Siberian) Turkic data with initial *m- ~ p-* that stood for an original Mo initial *b-* (Schönig 2000:69, 73, etc.).

22. *biyäläy* 'mittens' < MMo cf. WMo *begelei*

Tatar data:
biyäläy 'rukavicy, varežki' (TatRS 75), *kün biyäläy* 'mittens made of leather', *ečke biyäläy* 'mittens'; *beyäläy* 'ujjatlan kesztyű, fausthandschuh' (TatB), *biyäläy* 'rukavicy' (TatG), *mêlei* 'Handschuh' (TatC 129), *biyäläy* 'vareški' (TatJ 27), *biyalay* 'rukavica' (TatH), *ičsiz biyeley* 'eldiven, yani deri eldiven' (TatN 61) – 'gloves without a lining i.e. gloves made of leather', *biyali* 'rukavica', *pialey* 'id.' (GTat), *variga* 'zur biyäläy'[34] (DSTat 44), *iläsä* 'biyäläy' (DSTat 61), *meyäläy* 'biyäläy' (DSTat 131), *pičärkä* 'biyäläy' (DSTat 149), *ïrkača* 'kün *biyäläy*' (DSTat 235), ečmäk 'ečke *biyäläy*' (DSTat 238), *biyäli* 'varežka' (PTatD 11), *mägäläy* 'rukavicy' (BarTat 164), *yecmäk* 'yomšak biyäläy' (ST 111) – 'soft mittens', *yaryaq* 'tïš biyäläy' (ST 119) - 'external or top gloves', *miyäli* 'biyäläy; rukavicy' (KST 166), *Biyeley iïnden yudruk kürsete.* (KTA 88) – 'Fist is shown from the gloves.' *mägäläy ~ miyäli ~ mēlēy* 'biyäläy; rukavicy' (ST 151), *biyäli* 'varežki, svjazannye krjučkom' (TatTD 53), *icmäk* 'kün biyäläy; kožanye rukavicy' (ST 62),

Bashkir data:
beyäläy 'rukavicy, varežki' (Bashk 81), *beyäläy* 'rukavicy, varežki' (BashkRS 88), *biyäläy* 'id.' (BashkK 34),

34 The Russian loan is explained here by the Mo.

Other Kipchak data:
mééley 'rukavicy, perčatki' (Kirg 548), (cf. Oruzbaeva in Bibliogr.), *byjalaj* 'kétujjas kesztyű' (KazSK),

Other Turkic data:
meeley 'varežki' (RAltS 43), *päläy* 'glove' (UygDTL 66), Pis aday pir inde čurtapčalar. – *Meley*degi χol. - 'Five dogs live in one cave – the hand in the glove.' (Tietze 62), *behle* 'falconer's leather gauntlet for carrying a hawk' (Redh. 150),

Written Mongolian data:
begelei 'glove(s), mitten(s)' (L 94), *bili* 'rukavicy, vareški' (KalmP 124), *begelei* 'der Handschuh; perčatka' (Schmidt 104c),

Other Mongolian data:
bêêlê, bêlei 'Handschuh' (BurC 168), *begelei* 'fausthandschuh' (KWb 44), *begelei* 'gloves, begeleici 'glovemaker' (Krue 67), *beelä* < Old Kalm. *beele* 'rukavicy, varežki' (Nom 126), *bèèlii* 'eine Art Handschuhe, Fausthandschuhe' (ParMon 167), *béélij* 'varežka, perčatka' (Sidikov 1983:57), *begelei* 'rukavicy' (Rassadin 1980:28), *begelei* 'id.' (Todaeva 1985:18), *beelij* 'kesztyű' (Khal 91).

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

We cannot 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 Mongolian origin in Siberian Turkic languages, in Uighur 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 Mongolian equivalent.

We can assume a Mongolian *beyeley* that was borrowed by VK languages. In the course of the contraction – which was going on with the -*VgV*-, -VγV- type of syllables – there may have been 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 in order to preserve

and indicate the original Mongolian length. This *-y-* can be an intrusive in VK filling the hiatus between the vowels.[35]

The shift from the initial *b-* > *m-* is not a unique phenomenon in Turkic languages especially if there is another nasal or lateral consonant in the following syllable.[36]

The habit is familiar to the Iranians as well, their word *destvele* F. 'şahinci eldiveni' (< *destvane*) was borrowed by Old Ottoman Turkic (Turan 2001:50).

Doerfer considered it to be of Mongolian origin: (TMEN§52=1997) *begelei* 'Falknerhandschuh' mo. For further data see: (Schönig 2000:69).

23. *bolaŋġïr* 'dim' < MMo *bulanggir(tai)*

Tatar datum:
bolaŋġïr 'toníïk, tömsä, bolgančïk' (TatDS 91),

Bashkir data:
böläŋgert 'tusklyj, nejasnyj (o lučah sveta); tusklo, nejasno' (Bashk 102), *böläŋŋert* 'tusklyj (o lučah sveta)'(BashkRS 112), *böläŋgert* → *bolartqï* (BashkD1 49), *bolaŋqïr* 'böläŋgert' (BashkD2 50),

Middle Mongolian data:
bulanqir bolba usun 'voda stala mutnoj' (MA 125), *bulanġir* 'turbid' (KD203B27),

Written Mongolian data:
bulunggir, bulanggir 'mutnost', nečistata' (Kow 1190), *bulunggir* → *bulanggir* (L 136), *bulanggirtai* 'turbid, muddy, dirty, depraved, corrupt' (L 133), *bulanggir* 'trübe, schlammig, mutnyj, ilovatyj' (Schmidt 112b), *bulunggir* 'grjaznyj, mutnyj; matovyj; poročnyj' (KalmP 135),

Other Mongolian data:
buluŋer, bulaŋer, bulaŋir 'Schmutz' (BurjC 170), *buliŋyartae* 'troublé (eau, liquide), oir. *bulunggir, bulanggir* 'id.' (Kara 1959:131), *bulŋgir, bul'ngr*

35 The same phenomenon is well known in Hungarian language history.

36 See e.g. in the case of *boz* 'grau' : Mo *boro* : ttü. *mor* 'dunkelviolett' (Schönig 2000:73), in Jakutisch *büdürüy-* ~ *müdürüy-* 'stolpern, holpern' (Schönig 2000:77), etc.

'schmutzig, unrein, trüb' (KWb 60), *bulingar* 'mut' (KhRS 86), *bulaŋgirt'ä* → *buliŋgirt'ä* 'qui contient des saletés, trouble (liquide)' (OrdM 95).

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

24. *böldörkä* 'loop on a whip handle' < MMo cf. WMo *büldürge*

Tatar data:
böldörkä 'petlja na knutovišče knuta' (TatDS 108), *möldörmä* 'petlja, kotoroj nagajka nadevaetsja na ruku (PTatD 32), *büldürgö* 'petlja' (TatR), *böldörkä ~ böldörmä* 'kulga kiyär öčen cïbïrkï sabïna berketelgän elmäk' (TatDS 108) – 'a loop fixed on a whip handle in order to put it on the arm', *böldörkä ~ möldörkä* 'id.' (TatDS 316), *bölderkä ~ mölderkä* 'id.' (DSTat 138), *böldermä* 'dial. kulga kiyu öčen ǰaylangan élmäk (čïbïrkï sabïnda)' (TatAS1 215) - 'loop that is fitted (to the whip-handle) in order to fix it to the arm',

Bashkir data:
böldörgö 'temljak' (Bashk 102), *böldörgä* 'temljak' (BashkRS 112), *müldergä* 'temljak (dlja nadevaniju na ruku)' (BashkRS 394), *möldörgä ~ böldörgä ~ möldörkä* 'id.' (BashkD1 158), *möldörmä ~ böldörgä* 'temljak' (BashkD2 173),

Other Kipchak data:
büldirge 'petlja na rukojatke nagajki' (Kaz 110), *büldirge* 'petlja u rukojatki knuta, ili nagajki dlja nakidyvanija na ruku' (KrklpRS 127),

Chaghatay data:
büldürgä, bildürgä 'id.' (MA),

Chuvash data:
păltărka (pïldïrga) 'verevočka ili remešok na rukojatke nagajki ili pletki' (Ašm10 110), *păltărka* 'remešok na rukojatke nagajki ili pleti dlja odevanija ruki' (Chuv 277), *pălDărGa* 'ostornyél végén levő szíj- vagy zsinórhurok,

melybe a kezet beleillesztik; riemen- oder schnurschlinge am peitschenende' (ChuvP 99)[37],

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 124), *bögöldörge* '(bög) die Schlinge, das Knopfloch; petlja petlica' (Schmidt 120c),

Other Mongolian data:
bügelderge 'podveja (remen' ot sedla ohvatyvajuščij grud' lošadi), petlja (u ošejnika teljonka na knutovišče dlja nadevanija na ruku)' (BurRS), *bögöldörgö* 'petlja u ručki knuta, nagajki' (KhRS 79), *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)' (OrdM).

Räsänen (RVEW 92) and Róna-Tas (1982:86) considered the word Mongolian. Rassadin links it to the terminology of Shamanism (cf. Yak. *belderge, beldirge* 'verevka iz beloj konskoj grivy' (Rassadin 1980:68). Yakut *belderge* 'verevka iz beloj konskoj grivy, upotrebljaemaja dlja perevjazyvanija čaš i kovšej vo vremja ijsyaka sr. bur. *Bohansk šam.*'.

25. *bulǰal* 'term' < MMo *bolǰal*

Tatar data:
bulčal 'id.' (ČLČ 184), *molδaχ* 'id.' (TatC 129), *molǰax* 'Termin' (TatC), *bulǰal* → *boǰal* 'vakït; srok' (TatTD 58),

Bashkir data:
bolyal 'naznačennyj srok; ustanovlennyjsrok; naznačennyj, ustanovlennyj (o sroke)' (Bashk 97), *bulya-* 'tuy vaqïtïn bildäläü' (BashkD1 51) - 'pre-arrange

37 The Chuvash word *vălDărGe* 'kis ezüstpénzek v. játékpénz-félék (*nuχrat*), melyek a drótból készült karperecről lógnak; kleine silbermünzen od. Spielmarken (nuχrat), die an dem von messingdraht verfertigten armband als zieraten hängen' (ChuvP 199) – should be considered as well, with a minor difference in semantics.

the time of marriage', *bulyal* 'vaqït; srok' (BashkD2 56), *bulyal quyïu* 'tuy vaqïtïn bildäläü'; 'opredelenie sroka svad'by' (Maksjutova 1975:34),

Early Kipchak datum:
bulǰal 'ein voraus bestimmte Ort für eine Zusammenkunft' (Č 136),

Other Kipchak data:
bolǰal 'vade, müddet, mühlet', *bolǰalnï ozdur-* 'vadesini geçirmek' (Krch 125), *boldžal* 'srok' (KrchT), *boljal* 'Termin, Frist' (KrchP), *bolzal* 'Termin, Zeitpunk' (BlkP 210), *bolžal* 'srok, vremja' (Kum) > *bolžal* (Avar), *bolïžaq* 'Termin' (NoghR), *božžal, bolžal* 'Termin, Frist' (KumN 103), *bolžal* 'srok, vremja' (Kum)[38], *bolžol* 'naznačennyj srok, uslovlennyj srok' (Kirg), *bolǝǰaq* 'Termin' (NogR 150),

Chuvash data:
pălčav, pĭl'čav 'okončatel'nyj ugovor o sroke, o dne svad'by' (Ašm. 1910:10), *pălčav* 'ugovor o dne svad'by' (Chuv S 277), *pəl'ǰav* '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...' (ChuvP 99), *pălčav* 'ugovor o dne svad'by' (ChuvF),

Other Turkic data:
molčak 'srok' (AltV), *bolčag* 'svidanie; srok, vremja' (Tuv),

Middle Mongolian data:
bolǰa- : bolǰabasu : bolǰabasu ber bida učiraquy-a berke (AQjÜ 85), *bolǰal* 'srok' (MA 120), *bolǰal* 'Verabredung' < *bolǰa-* '(Termin) verabreden, bestimmen' (MNT 19), *bolǰal : bolǰal* ülü qoǰidan (kem *bolǰal)* (MonPr 306),

Written Mongolian data:
bulǰaya, bolǰoya, bulǰiga 'opredelennyj srok, termin, sbornoe mesto, sborišče; termin, temps prefix, temps fixe, rendez-vous' (Kow), *bolǰa-, bolǰu-* > *bolǰuy-a(n)* 'stipulation, contract, agreement, appointed time, term, rendezvous' (L 119), *bolǰõ, bolǰoy* 'srok' (KalmP 130), *bolǰar, bolǰaya* 'der

38 There is another word with the same meaning ('srok') in Kumyk, and it is also a loan: *müǧlet* (Kum 234).

Termin, die Frist; srok', die Bedingung, Verabredung, der Termin, uslovie, ugovor', srok'' (Schmidt 115a), *bolǰal* 'srok' (MA Poppe 1938:227), *bolǰal* 'date agreed upon' (SH), *boljar* GG 19,

Other Mongolian data:
boldzoo(n) 'dogovorennost; uslovie, ugovor (o sroke i meste)'; *bolzol* 'uslovie' (KhRS 74), *bolzol* 'megegyezés/egyezség (pl. találkozó időpontjáról)' (Khal 63), *bolzor* 'srok'' (BurRS), *bolzaar, bolzag* 'Frist, Sammelplatz' (KWb 51), *bolzg, bolza* < *bolzog, bolzoo* 'srok'' (Nom 297), *bolǰaya* 'uslovie, ogovor' (Todaeva 1985:18), *bolǰō* 'endroit convenu, rendez-vous, date fixe' (OrdM 95) → *bolǰaya.*

The word was formed from the Mo verb *bol-* with the deverbal verbum suffix: *bol-ja-* 'verabreden'. It was further added a deverbal nomen suffix: *bolja-r* 'bestimmter Ort, Übereinkunft' (Poppe 1927:103).

The derivatives are numerous and well represented in Mongolian languages old and new alike. It was borrowed by the VK languages in two different forms.

One was *bolǰay,* which took part in a development in Tatar, it became *bolčau* > then *bolčaw*. This was the stage when it was borrowed by Chuvash and some Volga Finno-Ugrian languages. The other one was *bolǰal,* and this one is still used in Bashkir. The *-ǰ-* 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.

It was borrowed from Mongolian into different Siberian Turkic languages and went through to Manchu Tungus as well (cf. MT 101).

The word is also attested in Karachay proverbs: *ǰalčïnï bolǰalï ǰetse, suw ǰelekni ešikden uzatïr* – 'ücretli amelenin vadesi dolarsa su kovasını kapıdan uzatır (içeri girmez)'. 'If the worker's time is over, he will keep away the water bowl from the door' i.e. he will not enter the house. (Karça – Koşay 1954:123).

From Karachay the word was borrowed by the Avar language in the form of *bolžal* 'interval' (Tavkul 2002:366).
For further data see: Räsänen (RVEW 79), Doerfer (TMEN§107) *bolǰar* 'Frist' tü. < mo., (Róna-Tas 1982:79), (Birtalan 1992:38, 1994:41), (Fedotov 1996:397), (Schönig 2000:70), (Csáki 2004:12).

26. *buran* 'snowstorm' < MMo *boro'an*

Tatar data:
buran 'buran, metel, metelica, v'juga' (TatRS 84), *buran* 'téli zivatar, hóförgeteg; wintersturm, schneegestöber' (TatB 166), *boran* 'Wirbelwind' (TatC 127), *buran* 'v'juga' (TatH), *buran, buragan* 'kar kasïrgasï, yağmur ve kum kasïrgasïna da buran denir' (TatN 160) - 'whirlwind with snow, the whirlwind with rain and sand is also called buran', *buran* 'buran-kïzan' (TatDS 97), *buran* 'Schneesturm' (PTatD 12), *buran* 'id.' 'Bu yel kïšlar bik buran.' (TatAS1 192) - 'Winter is full of snow-storms this year.', *boran, puran* 'buran' (BarTat), *buran* 'Sturm, Schneesturm' (MišTat 122), *qarġa puran* → *kürkä puran* 'vesennij buran' (ST 110),

Bashkir data:
buran 'burja, buran, v'juga, metel'' (Bashk 110), *buran* 'metel'' (BashkRS 120), *buran* 'metel, v'juga' (BashkK 38), *buran* 'metel' (BashkD2 56),

Other Kipchak data:
boroon 'snow storm' (Kirghiz Manual 108), *boroon* 'buran, v'juga; snežnaja burja, smerč' (Kirg 147), *boroon* 'storm' (KirgDTL 144), *boran* 'burja, v'juga, metel, sil'nyj veter' (NoghRS 84), *boran* 'Sturm, Orkan, Wirbelsturm' (KCG 126), *boran* 'metel', buran' (RKklp 425), *boran* 'Gewitter' (KumN 104), *boran* 'buran, metel', v'juga, burja' (Kum), *boran* 'buran' (CrTat 61), *boran* 'burja' (KarRP 130), *boran* 'fırtına', *boran et-* 'fırtına yapmak' (Krch 126), > *buran* (Abhaz), *boren* (Adige, Kabard), *burgan cel* 'kasırga, hortum' (Krch130), *boran* 'buran' (Kaz), *boran* 'hóvihar' (KazSK), *boran* 'storm' (KazDTL 144),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
buran 'terebra' (CCK 303), *borayan* 'wirbelwind, sturm' (Z), *boraġan* 'kasïrga, šedid furtuna, külak, dalga - Wirbelwind' (ChagŠS31), *buran, buraġan* 'tempest, whirlwind' (KD198A18), *boran* 'şedit fırtına, kasırga gibi vurularak esen boragan' (LO), *burġan* 'kasırga, boran' (KT 38),

Other Turkic data:
porogon 'metel, buran, v'juga' (AltV 265), *buran* ~ *bur'an* ~ *bura:n* ~ *bora:n* 'storm, sand-storm, tempest' (Turki)[39], *boran* 'buran, metel, burja'

39 Jarring (1964:61) mentioned, that Menges had written about this word before.

(AzRS 32), *burayan* 'smerč, vihr', vodovorot' (AzRS 35), *borağan* → *burağan* 'whirlwind, an eddying tempestof wind, rain or snow' (Redh. 190, 201), *boran* 'storm' (UygDTL 144), *bŭron* 'storm' (UzbDTL 144), *boraan* 'nenast'e, pasmurnaja pogoda' (Tuv 113),

Middle Mongolian data:
boro'on = boro'an 'Schneesturm' (MNT 19), *boraun* 'snow-storm, blizzard' (KD198A19), < Mo *boro'an* 1. MNT,

Written Mongolian data:
boroyan 'dožd'; pluie' (Kow), *borogan* 'id.' (Golst2 264), *boruyan* 'rain' (L 121), *boruyan* 'der Regen; dožd'' (Schmidt 115b), *boro* 'dožd'' (KalmP 131),

Other Mongolian data:
borān 'unwetter, sturm mit regen od. Schnee' (KWb 51), *boran* 'id.' (Nom 276), *boruya* 'rain, storm' (Krue 69), *boroo(n)* 'dožd'' (KhRS 78), *boroon* 'eső' (Khal 67) – 'rain', *borōn* 'pluie' (OrdM 81).

Though we find the word in Chaghatay with three syllables (cf. *borayan* (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 as well as in different languages of the Caucasus. See in the following Karachay proverb: *Börü boranlï keče čabar.* (Bittirlanï 1997:253). In Karachay it is also known in compounds, like *boranbilgič* 'albatros, kahin' or *bora-, boran et-, boranlat-, borangılan et-* 'fırtına yap-' (Krch). Parallel to the word *boran* 'fırtına' (Krch126) we have the word *burgan cel* 'kasırga', the first part of which was borrowed from Middle Mongolian. Similarly to *bolǰal* and *bulǰuw* we find *-o-* and *-u-* as first syllable vowels.

The word has a large family, it was borrowed into Adige, Kabardin in the form of *boren* 'storm' (Tavkul 2002:360), also borrowed into Russian: *purga* and *buran* 'snow-storm'.

Doerfer considered **borağan* 'Schneegestöber' to be of Mongolian origin in the VK languages (TMEN§100). Räsänen listed the Turkic languages that have this word, or even lent it further (cf. RVEW 80). Dobrodomov offered a Russian etymology, which is probably erroneous.
For further data see: (Kincses Nagy 1997:144), (Schönig 2000:75), (Tatarincev 2000:253), (Tenišev 2001:634).

27. *burlï* 'grey' < MMo *buurul*

Tatar data:
burlï 'čalyj, kauryj', *burlï at* 'lošad' čaloj mesti' (TatRS 85), *burul, bural* 'hellgrau, von gemiscghtem Haar' (TatC 171), *burlï* 'fehéres, szürkés, graulich' (TatB 166), *burlï* 'kara yäki kïzïl östendä börtek-börtek ak yonnarï bulgan (gadättä at turïnda)' (TatAS1 193) - '(In general it is used for horses) black or red haired with some white curls or spots in it.', *burlï yeltkä* 'golubaja čern' (poroda utok)' (ST 47), *purïl ~ burïl* 'burlï at; čalyj (mast' lošadi)' (ST 179), *turï burlï* 'gnedo-čalyj' (TatRS 558),

Bashkir data:
burïl 'čalyj' (Bashk 111), *burïl* 'čalyj (o masti lošadi)' (BashkRS 121), *burïl, burïl at* 'čalaja lošad'' (BashkK 39),

Other Kipchak data:
burïl 'čalyj (o masti lošadi), *kara burïl* 'temnočalyj' (Kaz 101), *buwrïl* 'čalyj' (RKklp 1089), *buvurul* 'atlarda demir kırı rengi, siyah ve beyaz tüyleri karışık at rengi' (Krch),

Chaghatay datum:
būrul 'čal, sedoj' (MA 127),

Chuvash data:
purlă, păvărlă 'čalyj' (Ašm9 307), *purlă* 'serovatyj, čalyj, bulanyj (o masti lošadi)' (Chuv 315), *păvărlă* 'buryj, čalyj' (Chuv 276), *purlə* 'szürkés, sárgásszürke; gräulich, gelbgrau' (ChuvP 108),

Other Turkic datum:
burul 'von gemischtem Haare (von Pferden)' (YakB 143), *buurul* 'sedoj, buryj' (Tuv 124),

Middle Mongolian data:
būrul 'sedoj' (MA), *burûl saqaltu* 'a grey-bearded man' (KD203C1),

Written Mongolian data:
buyural, buyurul 'grey' (L 131), *buyural morin* 'der Rothschimmel; čalaja lošad' (Schmidt 111c), *boro* 'seryj, sivyj' (KalmP 131),

Other Mongolian data:
burul, bural 'hellgrau, von gemischtem Haar' (BurC 171), *būral, bural* 'gris (chevaux), chenu' (Oir 131), *būrl* 'weisshaarig (von menschen), weissmähnig (von Pferden)' (KWb), *buural* 'sedina, sedoj, čalyj' (KhRS 91).

Many of the words denoting horse-colour were borrowed by Turks in the Chingisid era from Middle-Mongolian language, as Doerfer explained (1996:173). The same concerns some of the nouns denoting horses of a certain age (and gender).

The word is borrowed with its original long Mongolian vowel, and is also transmitted with it (cf. Tat *burlï* > Chuv. *păvărlă*), even if it is not indicated in writing, we have to assume it. Besides the Volga region it was also borrowed by Yakut and several Siberian Turkic languages (cf. *pūrul* 'čalyj; mit gemischtem Haare (von Pferden)' (Radl. IV 1366). The original long vowel in the first syllable has been preserved both in Chuvash and in Karachay.

We see it in Tungus: *boro* 'seryj' (Poppe 1927a:40).
For further data see: (Egorov 1964:146), (Róna-Tas 1982:83), (Fedotov 1996:394), (Tatarincev 2000:308), (Khabtagaeva 2001:98).

28. *busaga* 'threshold' < MMo *bosaya*

Tatar data:
busaga 'porog (dveri)', *busaga töšerü* 'obivat' porogi' (TatRS 85), *busaya* 'küszöb, schwelle' (TatB 166), *busaga* 'ešik = kapï ve penǰere gibi nesnelerin alt kïsmïnïn temas ettiği ağač' (TatN 167) - 'threshold, the wooden contact at the lower side of doors and windows', *busaga* 'porog' (TatDS 97), *busaga* 'tupsa, täräzä/išek tupsasï' (DSTat 39), *pusaga* 'tupsa, täräzä töbe' (DSTat 151), *bosaġa* 'porog' (BarTat 135), *posaġa* 'porog' (BarTat 177), *busaġa* 'porog' (ST 47), *busaga* 'išek töbe; preddverie, mesto pered dver'ju' (TatTD 62), *busaga* 'porog' (RTatS 503),

Bashkir data:
buθaġa → *tupha 1* 'porog' (Bashk 646), *busaga* 'porog u dveri' (BashkK 39), *busaġa* 'porog' (BashkD2 57),

Other Kipchak data:
bosaġa 'porog' (Kaz 99), *bosġa* 'porog, dvernaja rama' (KrklpRS 115), *bosaga* 'porog, dvernaja korobka' (NoghRS 85), *basaġa, bosaġa* 'porog' (KarRP 105, 132), *bosaġa* 'Türschwelle' (KCG 126), *bosaġa* '1. porog; 2. geogr. Porog' (CrTat 61), *bosaġa* 'eşik' (Krch 126), *posaġa* 'Schwelle' (KumN 141), *posaġa* 'porog' (Kum), *bosaġa* 'eşik; Schwelle' (CrKar), *bosaġa* 'perekladina dveri, kosjak, porog' (Rkklp), *bosogo* 'dvernaja rama, dvernaja korobka; porog' (Kirg), *bosaġa* 'ajtófélfa' (KazSK), *bosaġa* 'porog' (RKaz),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic Chaghatay data:
bosaġa 'seuil de la porte' (Chag 170), *bosağa, bosoğa bos/şoğa* (Sangl. Ind V. 95), *bosaġa* 'kapı eşiği' (KT 34), *bosaqa, bosaġa* 'küszöb, a sátor küszöbe' (ChagAbV 36), *bosaġa* 'kapı eşiği, merdiven parmaklıklarından her biri' (Toparlı 1992:511, 2003:34), *bosağa, bosoğa* W20, *bos/şoğa* K.1173 (Cl.1960:95), *bosaġa* 'Schwelle, Pforte, Haus und Hof' (ChagŠS31), *bosaġa* 'eşik, yurt'un kapı çerçevesinin alt tarafı' (Nevayi 1996:58), *dēdü bosaġa* 'üstün bosaqa; verhnij kosjak' (MA 141),

Chuvash data:
pusaχa[40] 'porog, stremja' (Ašm10 8), *pusaχa* 'stremja, porog, stupen'ka' (Chuv 316),

Other Turkic data:
posogo 'porog' (AltV 266), *pozogo* 'porog, zadnjaja čast' jurty' (AltKK 242), *mosoġo* 'Schwelle' (YakB 149), *bosaga* 'porog' (TkmRS 111), *büsaġa* 'porog (dvernoj)' (UzbRS 97), *bosaġa* 'treshold' [sic!](Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
bosoqa 'seuil de porte' (LHy 18), *bosaġa : bosaġ[a]* (MonPr 364), *bosoqa* 'Türschwelle, Türauslass' (MNT 20), *bosaqa* 'threshhold' [sic!] (KD186C23),

Written Mongolian data:
bosuya, bosaya 'porog v dverjah; le seuil d'une porte' (Kow 1173a), *bosuy-a* 'doorsill, threshold' (L 122), *bosoya* 'die Türschwelle; porog dverej' (Schmidt 119b), *bosoya* 'porog" (KalmP 128),

40 There is a Chuvash synonym of the word: *alăk-ayə, alăk-paDə* 'schwelle' (ChuvP 3).

Other Mongolian data:
bohogo, bocogo 'Schwelle' (BurC 169), *basărgă* → *bosuya* 'porog' (DagP 70), *bosxa* 'porog (dveri kalmyckoj kibitki)' (KalmRS 112), *bosgo* 'porog (u dveri)' (KhRS 78), *bosgo* 'Schwelle, Unteres Querstück des Türrahmens' : *totgo* 'Oberschwelle' (ParMon 156), *bosaga* 'Türschwelle' (KWb 52), *bošogo* 'seuil de porte' (OrdM).

The stem of the word is Mongolian verb *bos-* 'to stand up' (cf. *bos- : bos- : ai köbegün bos bos* (AQjÜ 85), (Poppe 1955: 121)).

The word has a Mo etymology: *bos(o)-* 'to stand up' and the deverbal nomen suffix *-ġa*. The Mo. word *bosuġ-a* '1. doorsill, threshold; 2. vertical, upright, erect' (L 122). It worth mentioning that the OT word *ešik* 'threshold' (Clauson 1972:260) also means 'door' in several Mod. Tu. languages after the Chag. era.

The word *bosoga* or *bosuga* derived from this verb with the help of a deverbal suffix (cf. Sidikov 1983:26, Róna-Tas 1975:82). 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 Middle Mongolian in the 13th-14th centuries (cf. Vladimircov 1929:312).

Though the same author called our attention to an interesting phenomenon: "...*bosuya* 'porog' ~ *bošuya* v mong. pis'm v celom rjade slov nabljudajutsja čeredovanija *s* i *š*" (cf. above p. 227), still we do not have any example of the word being borrowed with *-š-*. Poppe showed in that the word entered Ewenki as well: *bohogo* 'a mountain slope never illuminated by sun beams' (cf. Poppe 1959:271).

The originally Mongolian word *bosogo* is used in place-names in Kirghiz: *Bosogo-Ak-Taš* (cf. Oruzbaeva 463).

Zajączkowski considers the word of Mongolian origin in Karaim (cf. MEKS 298), Róna-Tas stated the same for Chuvash (see above), Doerfer took it for a Mongolian loan in several Turkic languages **bosaya, bosoya* 'Türschwelle' 105 mo. (TMEN§105). We can find a wide range of these languages in the following studies: (Sidikov 1983:54), (RVEW 81), (Schönig 2000:75).

Nasiri erroneously considered the word of Persian origin in Tatar: "*busaga*: aslında Farsça *busegâh*: öpme yeri demektir ve tarihi bir tabirdir. Eski İran şahlarının dergâhına giren adam sarayın *busaga*'sını (eşiğini) öpmek adet idi..." (TatN 168) - 'originally Persian *busegâh* meant the place of 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: *tupġa* 'porog, dvernaja petlja' (BashkK 217), *tubsa* 'küszöb' (PBashk 267) - 'threshold' as well as *kütärmä II* 'porog' (BashkD2 120).

For further data see: (Róna-Tas 1982:81), (Birtalan 1994:41), (Özönder 1996:58), (Eren 1999:140 +NT data), (Tenišev 2001:50, 512), (Schönig 2003:412).

29. *büdänä* 'quail' < MMo *bödene*

Tatar data:

büdänä 'perepel, perepelka' (TatRS 94), *büdänä* 'bertörle kečkenä koš' (DSTat 38, 40), *büdänä* 'Wachtel' (TatR IV 1899), *büdänä* 'Wachtel' (PTatD), *butana* 'perepelka' (GTat), *büdänä* 'perepel; bïtbïldïk' (RTatS 457), *pö:dö:nö:* 'büdänä; perepelka' (ST 177), *büdänä* → bïtbïldïk 'perepel' : ike aučï auga čïkkannar. Ikesenä öč ürdäk, ber büdänä atkannar. (TatAS1 219) - 'quail, Two huntsmen went out to hunt. Both of them shot three ducks and one quail.'

"taw buyïnda büdänä / balalarïna sülänä" (Paasonen) - 'Die Wachtel am abhang des Berges spricht mit ihrem Jungen.'

Bashkir data:

büδänä 'perepel' (Bashk 114), *büδänä* 'perepel' (BashkRS 124), *büdänä* 'búbos banka' (PBashk 235) - 'hoopoe', *büδänä* 'perepel' (BashkK 35), *büδänä* → bïtbïldïq 'perepel, perepelka', *büδänä qarsïyahï* 'jastreb – perepeljatnik' (ZoolBashk 120),

Other Kipchak data:

bödene 'perepel, perepelka' (KrklpRS 116), *bo'do'no'* 'perepelka' (Nogh 238), *bedene* 'perepelka' (KarRP 147), *b'edńa* 'Turteltaube, Wachtel' (MEKS 298), *bödęne* 'Wachtel' (CrimTat 239), *bodene* 'perepel, perepelinyj' (CrTat 59), "*Bödeneden korkkan tarı ekmez.*" (DKT 35) - 'The one who is afraid of a quail will not sow millet.' *bödene*[41] 'bıldırcın' (Krch 127), *bödene* zool. 'perepelka' (KrchT 138), *bödené* 'Rebhuhn' (KrchP),

41 The word *bödene* also survives in Karachay as one of the ninety names denoting the most honorable and aristocratic families (Tavkul 1993:122).

bedené 'Wachtel' (BlkP 207), *bödene, podene (bodene)* 'Wachtel' (KumN 103), *bödene* 'perepelka' (Kum), *bödene* 'perepelka' → *bednä, bedänä, bédéné* (KarRP 134), *bo'do'no* 'perepelka' (Nogh), *bödönö* 'perepelka, perepel' (Kirg), *ödene [sic!]* 'perepel' (Kaz), *bödene* 'fürj' (KazSK) – 'quail',

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
bödenä 'caille' (Chag 164), *büdene, büdüne* 'Sangl. Ind.V. 95), *bädänä* 'wahrsch. *bödänä* zu lesen) fürj; Wachtel' (TGA 305), *bedene* 'bıldırcın' (Kav), *bedene* 'bıldırcın'(Kip), *bödenä* 'caille' (Chag), *büdene, büdüne* (Sangl. Ind V.), *büdene, büdüne* (Cl.1960:95) K.1230, H.312, *büdene* 'bïldïrcïn - Wachtel' (ChagŠS36), *bėdana, biedana* 'caille, râle de genêts' (DAK), *bedene* (Toparlı 2003:26), *bödänä* 'Wachtel (Coturnix corturnix)' (Č 135),

Chuvash data:
putene 'perepel, perepelka' (Ašm10 44), *putana, potana* 'id.' (Ašm10 54), *podené* 'perepelka' (Zol 49), *putene* 'pérepel' (Chuv 320), *podén* 'caille' (Klaproth 1828:243), *puDEnE* 'fürj; Wachtel' (ChuvP 110), *putene* ~ *putyana* ~ *potyana* ~ *pït'ana* 'id.' (ChuvF),

Other Turkic data:
pödine, pödüne, pödünö 'perepelka' (AltV 267), *bödene* → *matpadak* 'perepel' (Tuv 116), Tel., Shor *pödüne*, Tkm. *bedene*,

Middle Mongolian data:
bödänä 'caille' (LHY 17), *bödene* 'id.' (VI 21), *bödene* 'Wachtel' (LP), *bödene* 'quail' (KD200B5),

Written Mongolian data:
bödöne 'perepelka; caille (tetrao coturnix)' (Kow 1230), *bödüne* 'id.' (Golst), *bödüne* 'quail' (L 144), *bödöne* 'die Wachtel; perepelka' (Schmidt 124a), *bödöne* 'perepelka' (KalmP 131),

Other Mongolian data:
bödänä 'Wachtel' (KWb 54), *büdüne* 'quail' (Krue 71), *bödn* 'perepelka' (Nom 43), *bödnö* 'zool. perepelka' (KhRS 91), *bödnö* 'fürj (Coturnix)' (Khal 69) – 'quail', *büdene* 'id.' (BurRS), *bödönö* 'caille' (OrdM 84).

It must be a loanword in Tatar due to the intervocalic *-d-* that is preserved. The word *bödene* superseded the original Turkic word *bïldïrčïn* in many dialects, went through to the Persian and also to Western Siberian Turkic.

Later it was transmitted from VK further to the Vogul, Votyak (cf. Voty. *bödönö* 'Coturnix dactylisonans; perepel' (Izv.Obšč. 3-5 252)) to Cheremiss.

Räsänen (1920:182) called attention to the Mongolian origin of the word. Toparlı in his comprehensive dictionary of Middle Kipchak words considered the word to be of Arab origin, while Mándoky considered it of Mongolian in Cuman.

The word appears in Karachay proverbs: *Bödene suvga kirmey edi, čabak suvdan čïkmay edi.* 'Quail does not enter, fish does not leave water.' [i.e. One should know his place.] (Bittirlanï 1997:237, Tavkul 2001:88).
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:49), Doerfer (TMEN§98) *bödänä ~ bödöne* 'Wachtel' mo., (Róna-Tas 1982:85), (Fedotov 1996:455), (Eren 1999:51), (Kincses Nagy 1997:141), (Schönig 2000:76).

30. *bülbe* 'tuber, root' < MMo cf. Mo *bölbee*

Tatar data:
bülbe 'bot. kluben', klubnevoj' (TatRS 95), *bülbe* → alma 'kalhuz baqčasïnnan *bülbene* mičkägä tutïrïp alïp kiläbez' (TatDS 110) - 'we are going to bring apples in barrel from the garden of the co-operative', *bülbe* 'üsemlek tamïrïnïŋ jir astïndagï nïk yuanaep bültäygän itläč öleše' (TatAS1 219) - 'fleshy part of the root of a plant, well thickened under the ground', *bülbe* → *alma* (TatTD 72),

Bashkir data:
bülbe 'kluben'' (Bashk 114), *bülbe* 'kluben'' (BashkRS 124), *bülmä* → sindek 'id.' (BashkD1 53), *bülmä* 'id.' (BashkD2 58),

Other Kipchak datum:
bul'ba 'kartofel'' (KarRP 140),

Written Mongolian datum:
bölbe 'puzyr' (na vode)' (KalmP 132),

Other Mongolian data:
bölwĒ 'Blase, Wasserblase' (KWb 56), *bölbee* 'növ. tündérrózsa (Nymphaea)' (Khal 69).

The VK data seem to go back to Mongolian *bölbö* 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 *bömbüge(n)* 'ball, pellet used for crossbows, bomb, globe, sphere, globular, spherical' (L 127) will take us nearer to the etymology (cf. MMo *bülteyi-* (AQJÜ 102) ~ *bultayi-* (AQJÜ 87), etc).

31. *bürtä* 'dark chestnut' < MMo *börte*

Tatar data:
bürtä 'muhortyj (o masti lošadi)', *bürtä at* 'muhortaja lošad'' (TatRS 96), *bürtä* 'dial. sargïlt yäki aksïl taplarï bulġan turï töstäge (at turïnda)', *bürtä biyä* (TatAS1 222) - 'chestnut colour (for horses) on which one can find yellowish, whities patches', *bürtä at* 'muhortyj; borïn očlarï, ayaklarï sargïlt töstä bulgan turï at' (RTatS 333), *bürtä (at)* 'kara-čalïy' (DSTat 77),

Bashkir data:
bürtä 'karakovyj (o masti lošadi); karakovyj kon'' (Bashk 116), *bürtä* 'karakovyj (o masti lošadi)' (BashkRS 126), *burtä (at)* 'golubaja lošad'' (PBashk 235), *bürtä* 'belyj, sivyj v jablokah' (Rudenko 1955:106),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
börte 'cheval de charge' (Chag 165),

Middle Mongolian datum:
börte '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 lošad'' (Chin.-Uyg. 16) u Ju. Klaprota, po-vidimomu,

netočnyj perevod: *bör* 'svetlo-seryj', sr. man'č. *būrtu kara* 'temno-voronaja lošad'' (Ščerbak 1961:86).

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

32. *bütäkä* 'crop of birds' < MMo *bötege*

Tatar data:
bütäkä 'želudok ževatel'nyj u ptic' (TatRS 96), *büteke* 'böbrek, küçük adama da büteke derler' (TatN 160) – 'kidney, little men are also called *büteke*', *betägä* nokr. *bütäkä* 'želudok u pticy' (TatDS 82), *bütäkä* 'košlarnïŋ aškazanï' (TatAS1 223) - 'crop of birds', *bütägä* 'bütäkä; ptičij želudok' (ST 48), *bütägä* → *bükätä* 'želudok u ptic' (TatTD 72),

Bashkir data:
bütägä 'mjatlik; nedorostok' (Bashk 116), *bütägä* 'bot. mjatlik kistovidnyj, želudok ževatel'nyj (u ptic)' (BashkRS 126), *bütäkä* → *biδrätäü, pütäkä* 'zob (u ptic)' (BashkD2 59),

Other Kipchak datum:
böteke 'anat. počka, želudok pticy' (KrklpRS 118),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
bötägä, bötegä 'estomac, poche des oiseaux' (Chag 162), *peteke, böteke* (Sangl. Ind. V. 95), *böteke* : bötekesini tuldurdï ta'uq 'kurica napolnila svoj zob' (MA 123),

Chuvash data:
puteke (puδägä) 'zob u pticy', *puteke* 'počki u barana i ovcy (parnyj organ)' (Ašm 10 44), *pĕZeχe* 'madárbegy (kívülről); kropf (von der aussenseite)' (ChuvP 97),

Other Turkic datum:
bötögö 'Vogelmagen' (YakB 135),

Middle Mongolian datum:
bötege 'the gizzard of a bird' (KD186C26),

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),

Other Mongolian data:
bütege 'id.' (BurRS 126), *betege* 'Vogelkropf' (KWb 43), *beteg* 'pticyj zob' (KhRS 101), *be't'ege* 'nom d'une maladie d'estomac' (OrdM), *beteg* 'madárbegy' (Khal 91).

It is most probable that we should assume a Middle Mongolian *bötöge* or *bötege* form that was borrowed to the VK.
There is an *-ö-* in the first syllable both in Chaghatay and in Yakut (cf. RVEW 84 and MEJ 133) (cf. Bur).

33. *čaġan* 'mapple-tree' < MMo *čagān* 'white'

Tatar data:
čagan 'klën', *ak čagan* 'berëza' (TatRS 627), *čaġan aġač* 'klën' (GTat), *čagan* 'klën' (TatDS), *čagan* 'öräŋge agačï' (DSTat 212) - 'maple-tree', *čagan* 'öräŋge, ak kaen' (TatAS3 398) - 'mapple-tree, birch-tree', *caġan aġac* 'klen' (ST 232),

Bashkir data:
saġan klen; klenovyj' (Bashk 524), *saġan* 'klën' (BashkK 189), *saġan* 'jávorfa' (PBashk 260), *saġan* 'klën' (BotBashk 111),

Early Kipchak datum:
čaġan 'Ahorn (Acer)' (Č 139),

Middle Mongolian data:
čayan bora morin 'belo-seryj kon'' (MA 130), *čaqa'an, čaqān* 'weiss, Schimmel, weiss' (MNT 25), *čaġan* 'white' (KD202B26),

Written Mongolian data:
čayan 'belyj' (KalmP 240), *čayan* 'weiss, die weisse Farbe; belyj, belyj cvet' (Schmidt 317b),

Other Mongolian data:
cagaan 'belyj' (KhRS 600), *tsayān* 'weiss' (KWb 419).

The word is of Mongolian origin without any doubt. It is also present in Yakut (cf. *čayān* 'glänzend, strahlend' (MEJ 134)). On its Mongolian origin see Doerfer: *čayayan* 'weiß' mo. (TMEN§177), (Poppe 1955:27, 61, 113).

However its meaning in VK is different, still we take its Mongolian origin for sure. Perhaps first the word was used in VK together with *aġač* 'tree', while its original meaning was in use. Later, as it gradually faded away, *čaġan* was enough to name the same tree. We can find other synonyms in Tatar for it: *öräŋge*, and *ak kaen* see above. Cf. also Modern Mongol *aqč mod* and Turkic *aq*.
For Mongolian data see: (Poppe 1955:27, 113) .

34. *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* 'yalï häm koyrïgï čal bulgan aksïl jirän (at töse turïnda)' (TatAS3 409) – 'whitish reddish horse with grey mane and tail', *čaptarlï* → *čuptarlï* (TatDS 475), *čaptarlï : čaptarlï alyapqïč* (TatDS 475) - 'apron made of a figured cloth', *captar* 'čaptar; igrenevyj; ryžaja lošad' s beloj grivoj' (ST 234),

Bashkir data:
saptar 'igrenevyj (o masti lošadi), *saptar at* 'lošad' igrenevoj masti' (Bashk 529), *sabtar* 'igrenij' (BashkK 189), *saptar* 'id.' (BashkRS), *saptar* 'sárga ló' (PBashk 260), *saptar* 'savrasyj' (Rudenko 1955:106),

Other Kipchak data:
šabdar 'igrenij, igrenevyj (mast' lošadi)' (Kaz 385), *šabdar* 'igrenevyj (o masti lošadi)' (KrklpRS 717),

Chuvash data:
tšuptar 'ló színéről mondják; bulanyj; fakó; falb (pferde)' (ChuvP 189), *čuptar : čuptar laša* 'igrenevaja lošad'' (Egorov 1964:327),

Other Turkic data:
sabdar 'igrenevyj' (Hak), *šabdar* 'id.' (R IV:989), *šamdar* 'id.' (R IV:994),

Middle Mongolian datum:
čabdar morin 'igrenevyj kon'' (MA 129),

Written Mongolian data:
cabidar 'id.' (Golst3 247), *čabidur morin* 'ryžečalaja, igrenjaja lošad'; cheval gris mêlê de polis roux, aleza à crinière blanche' (Kow), *čabidar* 'reddish-yellow with white mane and tail' (L 155), *čabidar* 'igrenij' (KalmP 240), *čabidur morin* 'der şchweissfuchs; ryžečalaja lošad'' (Schmidt 316b),

Other Mongolian data:
sabeder, cabedar 'Fuchs mit weisser Mähne und weissem Schweif' (BurC 158, 164), *sabidar* 'igrenij' (BurRS), *tsewdür, tsewüdür* 'cheval brun à crinière blanche' (Oir 164), *cav'dar* 'igrenevyj (o masti lošadi)' (KhRS 600), *čabidur* 'mit weisser mähne und weissem schweif' (KWb), *čawidar* 'robe de cheval: alezan à crinière et queue blanches' (OrdM 697).

Vladimircov (1929:277) gives the etymology of this word in his Sravnitel'naja grammatika. It was also lent to Manchu-Tunguz languages (cf. Cincius MT2 375, MT 101), and to Siberian Turkic ones as well (cf. RVEW 94). It spread in the Volga-region (cf. Róna-Tas 1982:88) with the same meaning. In certain languages we find a secondary *š-* (cf. Róna-Tas 1982a:429).

35. *čäčän, säsän* 'minstrel' < MMo *čečen* 'wise'

Tatar data:
čäčän 'skazitel', narodnyj pevec, improvizator' (TatRS 650), *čäčän* → *čičän* 'borïngï halïk šagïyre, šagïyr, improvizator, näfis süz ostasï' (TatAS3 473) – 'popular story-teller in olden days, poet who could improvise, master in nice words',

Bashkir data:
säsän 'sesen; improvizator, skazitel'' (Bashk573), *säsän* 'improvizator, skazitel', nahodčivyj v slovah, ostroslov' (BashkRS 496), *säsän* 'nahodčivyj v slovah'' (BashkK 191), *säsän* → *fetnä 2* (BashkD2 232),

Other Kipchak data:
šešen 'ostroslov' (RKklp 592), *čečen* 'dalkavuk, ağzı laf yapan, güzel konuşan, becerikli' (Krch 171), *čečen* 'dial. 1. krasnorečivyj; 2. orator' (CrTat 341), *šešen* 'krasnorečivyj, krasnobaj, orator' (Kklp), *čečen* 'krasnorečivyj, krasnorečivyj orator' (Kirg), *šešen* 'ékesszóló' (KazSK),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
çeçen, sečen 'id.' (Sangl. Ind.V. 95), *čečenlik qïldï anïng birle* 'postupil snim krasnorečivo' (MA Poppe 1938:131), *čečen* 'ferzane, zeki' (ChagŠS), *çéçen, seçen* W.133, *ç/seçen* K.1358, - (BL), *çeçen* 'Türkide çaçan derler, ferzane' (LO),

Other Turkic data:
Yakut: *sähän* 'Erzählung' (MEJ 106), *čečan* 'iskusnyj, umelyj, levkij' (UzbRS 519),

Middle Mongolian data:
sečen: sečen bilig-den küčüten köbegüd činu (AQjÜ 382), *sečen qa'an* 'Sechen Khan, Khubilai' (HpP 130), *čečen* 'umnyj' (IMI 434), *sečen* 'klug' (MNT 133), *sečed* Pl. *: sečed sayid* (MonPr 116), *sečen: Sečen qayan* (MonPr 116), *sečen : sečen sayin* (MonPr 154),

Written Mongolian data:
sečen = *čečen* 'wise, sage, intelligent, prudent' (L 680), *čičin* 'mudrost' razsuditel'nost', mudryj, mudrec'' (KalmP 244), *sečen* 'weise, klug, erfahren, pünktlich; mudryj, umnyj, opytnyj, točnyj' (Schmidt 351c),

Other Mongolian data:
cecerŋ 'klug' (BurC 164), *Dzets'en* 'wise' (Darig 156), *čečen, sečen* 'scharfsinnig, scharfsinn, weisheit' (KWb 428), *cėcėn* 'weise, klug' (ParMon 143), *cécén* 'mudryj, umnyj, smešlënnyj' (KhRS 623), *sécen* ~ *cécén* 'eszes, bölcs' (Khal 412), *ǰi'č'in* = *se'č'in* 'sage, intelligent, qui a beaucoup d'esprit', *mergen ǰi'tš'ī k'uun* 'personne sage et intelligente' (OrdM 205a).

The word *sečen* 'weise' is considered to be Mongolian by Doerfer (TMEN§207), it was also borrowed by the Ewenki and Manchu languages (cf. MT 51) – as a confirmation of Cincius (MT2 422).

Both in Tatar and Bashkir we have synonyms of the word: *ǰyručï, ǰyrucï, ǰyrčï* (TatDS 580), *aqïn* 'narodnyj pevec-poet v Kazahstane, Kirgizii (BashkRS 32).

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

There is a synonym of the word in Karachay: *awuzlu* 'dilbaz, güzel konuşan, söz ehli' (Krch). It is interesting that it has a verbal form in Kumyk: *čečip aytġanda* 'govorja jasnee' (Kum 358).

The word was borrowed by Tungus as well: *čečen* 'umnyj' (Poppe 1927a:59).

For further details see: TMEN *čečän* 'beredt' 207 mo. > tü, (Birtalan 1994:43).

36. *čïda-* 'to be patient, endure' < MMo *čida-* 'to be able to do sg.'

Tatar data:

čïda- 'terpet', vyterpet'' (TatRS 645), *čïda-* 'eltűrni, kitartani; gedulden' (TatB 94), *čïda-* 'terpet', preterpevat', vyterpevat', sterpet', snosit', snesti velikodušno' (TatT 458), *čïda-* 'ertragen' (PTatD 14), *čïda-* 'avïrlïklarnï, kïenlïklarnï küŋelsezleklärne h.b.š. zarlanmïyča häm bernärsägä birežmičä kičerü, baštan ütkärü, tüzü' (TatAS3 456) – 'to be able to bear out or survive any kind of a hardship, sorrow or apathy without a murmur', *čïdaqlï* ~ *čïdaklï* 'dobrotnyj, noskij' (TatTD 360), *cïda-* 'čïda-; terpet'' (ST 243), *čda-* 'terpet'' (TatYu 100), *cïda-* 'erdulden, ertragen' (MišTat 125),

Bashkir data:

sïδa- 'terpet', vyderživat', snosit'; terpenie, vyderžka' (Bashk 562), *sïδa-* 'terpet', vyderživat', snosit'' (Bashk 562), *sïδa-* 'terpet', snosit'' (BashkK 197), *sïδa-*'id.' (BashkRS 490),

Other Kipchak data:

čïda- 'to endure, support, to put up with' (Kirghiz Man. 148), *šïda-* 'terpet', perenosit'' (Kaz 399), *čida-* 'tűrni; dulden' (KumN 107), *šïda-* 'vyderživat' čto l., terpet', perenosit'' (KrklpRS 746), *čïda-* 'terpet', preterpevat', vyderživat'' (KarRP 636), *čyda-* 'ausharren, geduldig sein, aushalten, leiden' (KarK 179), *čïda-* 'dayan-, sabret, tahammül et-' (Krch), *čïda-* 'terpet', vyderživat', perenosit' čto; deržat' sja, sohranjat'sja' (KrchT 742), *čïda-*

'dulden, erdulden' (KrchP), *čïda-* 'terpet', vynosit', vyderživat'' (CrTat 346), *čïda-* 'to stand, take, bear, support' (KumR 76), *čïda-* 'vyderživat', vynosit'' (Kum), *čïda-* sabret-, geduldig sein' (CrKar), *šïda-* 'terpet'' (Kklp), *čïda-* 'terpet', vyderživat'' (Kirg),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
čïda- 'usiłowac, s'efforcer, supporter, souffrir, persévérer' (DAK 188), *cıda- ~ çida-* (Sangl.Ind.V. 95), *čïda-* 'supporter, patienter' (Chag 302), *čïdayučï* 'le puissant' (Hy 152), *čïda-* 'to bear' (Rbg 692)[42], *čida-* 'terpet ', perenosit'' (Tef), *čida-* 'terpet', perenosit'' (ChagB177), *čida-* 'sabr, tahammül; ausdauern' (ChagŠS43), *džida-* 'ertragen, widerstehen' (ChagŠS53), *cïda-, çida-* W.27, P.132, (Cl.1960:95), (MA Poppe 1938:132), *çıdam* 'sabır, karar'; *çıda-* 'yüke dayan-' (LO), *čïda-* 'id.' (AQP 582), *čïda-* 'ertragen, erdulden, aushalten' (Č 140),

Chuvash data:
tšït- 'tűrni, kitartani, elbírni; dulden, ertragen, aushalten' (ChuvP 186), *čăt-* 'id.' (Chuv), *čăt* 'vyderživat', vynosit'' (Chuv),

Other Turkic data:
čïda- 'snosit', vyterpet', moč'' (AltV 436), *čïda- ~ čïdæ- ~ čïde-* 'to stand, to withstand, to endure, to resist, to last' (Turki), *čïda-* 'vyderživat', vynosit', perenosit', snosit', terpet', dolgo služit'' (UzbRS 520), *čïda-* 'vyderživat', vynosit'' (TkmRS 743), *satā- ~ sytā-* 'können, vermögen' (MEJ 22), *satā-, satïbïn* 'verstehen, vermögen, mit dem Gerund. Fut. oder mit dem Acc. des Nom. Fut. mit einem entsprechenden Possessiv' (YakB 153),

Middle Mongolian data:
čida-: čidabasu : γarun čidabasu ber (AQjÜ 114), *č'ida[ǰu]* 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* (MonPr 90), *čida-: čidaba* (SMI 81),

Written Mongolian data:
čida- 'moč', imet' vozmožnost', byt' v sostojanii; pouvoir, être en état de, pooséder le povoir, savoir' (Kow 2154), *čida-* 'to be able, capable' (L 176), *čida-* 'moč', byt' v sostojanii' (KalmP 247), *čida-* 'können, vermögen, die

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

Macht haben, ...' (Schmidt 329c), *čida-* 'moč', byt' v sostojanii; vyderživat' (Ščerbak 1986:51), *čida-* 'moč', byt' v sostojanii, smet', umet'' (KalmP 247),

Other Mongolian data:
čida- 'können, vermögen' (KWb 436), *čida- : čidayči* 'puissant, vainqueur' (SoyK 31), *šada-* 'moč', byt' v sostojanii, umet'' (BurRS), *čada-* 'moč', ...' (KhRS 626), *čada-* 'tud (vmit csinálni), képes (vmit megtenni), megtehet vmit' (Khal 678), *čida-* 'avoir le talent de, savoir, être en état de...' (OrdM 700b).

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§188., 996): *čida-* 'können' mo., (Poppe 1955:38,107).

As we can learn it from Poppe (1956:48) the breaking of the vowel *-i-* in Mongolian "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-*." The so-called breaking of **i* in Middle Mongolian had not taken place before the word was borrowed by Turkic peoples, because it is represented by *-ï-* in most Turkic languages.

It is most likely that the word was borrowed by Tatar with *-i-* > *-ï-*. We have examples of further derivations, e.g. *čïdam* 'steady, stubborn' (TatRS 645), *čïdamsïz* 'unstable' (TatRS 645) etc.

Both Mongolian *čida-* and *mede-* means a kind of ability, while *yada-* stands for 'disability'. All three are Mongolian loan words in Volga Kipchak languages. *čida-* expresses a kind of ability, a capacity of the body or the person in question, i.e. a physical ability and *mede-* expresses the mental ability.

There are several words that derived from this stem in Karachay: *čïdam* 'sabır, dayanıklılık', *čïdaw* 'sabır, tahammül', *čïdawsuz* 'dayanılmaz' (Krch), *čïdamlï* 'dayanıklı, mütahammil' (Karça-Koşay 1954:129). They are also present in Middle Turkic (DAK 188-189).

In Mongolian the opposite of the verb *čida-* is *yada-*. That was also borrowed by many Turkic languages but not Karachay. Yet there are forms that derive from the latter verb: *džadaw* 'nevynoslivyj, neterpelivyj; ~ *at* 'iznežennyj kon''; ~ *adam* 'čelovek, ne perenosjaščij trudnostej' (KrchT).
For further details see (Poppe 1955:38,107), (Zajączkowski 1960), (Róna-Tas 1982:88), (Fedotov 1996:405), (Özönder 1996:111), (Schönig 2000:79), (Csáki 2004:13).

37. *čïlbïr* 'chain' < MMo *čilbūr*

Tatar data:
čïlbïr 'cep', cepočka' (TatRS 645), *čelber, čïlbïr* 'lánc, láncocska; kette, kleine kette' (TatB 93), *čïlbïr* 'kleine kette' (PTatD), *čïlbr'* 'cep' (TatJ 102), *čïlbïr* → *yaka* 'čïlbïr bulayï kömäštän, kaptïrïp' (TatDS 496) - 'silver chains fastened to each other', *čïnjïr* 'čïlbïr, zïnjïr' (DSTat 220) - 'chains', *čïlbïr* 'ozïnča, tügäräk, yäki baška törle metal boỷralarnı ber-bersenä kiderep yasalgan bau' (TatAS3 457) – 'a kind of a rope that was made by stitching long, round or other shaped metal chains to each other', *cïlbïr* 'zincir; kette' (MishK 248), *cïlbïr* 'Kette' (MišTat 125), *čïlbïr* 'ženskoe ukrašenie, nadevaemoena šeju, imejuščee četyre ili pjat' dlinnyh podvesok s vstavlennymi kamnjami' (TatTD 360), *čïnjïr* 'čïlbïr; cep'' (TatTD 350), *cïlbïr* 'tezgen; povod' (ST 244), *cïntïr* 'čïlbïr; cep'' (KST 222),

Bashkir data:
sïlbïr 'verevka (obyčno iz konskogo volosa)' (Bashk 563), *sïlbïr* 'cepočka' (BashkRS 490), *sïlbïr* 'cep' dlja lošadi iz lošadinyh volos' (BashkK 198), *sïlbïr* 'igra v krug' (BashkD2 223), *sïlbïrlï qaptïrma* '...Gorazdo čašče oni [baškiri] nadevali na šeju ožerel'e ili vernee ošejnik iz polosy barhata, zastegivajuščejsja speredi serebrjanoj prjažkoj' (Rudenko 1955:181) → *sïlbïrlï qaptïrma, sïlbïr* 'qïldan ürelgän bau' (BashkD1 194),

Other Kipchak datum:
sïlbïr 'dlinnyj povod' (Kaz 399),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
čïlbur 'chaine d'argent qu'on attache au-dessus du nez du cheval comme ornement (Chag 309), *çılbur, çilbur* (Sangl. Ind.V. 95),

Chuvash data:
čilber 'povod u uzdy' (Zol), *tšïlBïr* 'kötőfék, kantár; halfterriemen' (ChuvP 181),

Other Turkic data:
čılbır '2. leading rein' (Redh. 252), *cïlbïr* 'povod' (R IV:206),

Middle Mongolian data:
čilbur 'Trensenriemen, Halfterriemen' (MNT 27), *čilbur* 'leather cord attached to the bridle' (KD187C12), *čilbur* = *čilbūr* 'rènes d'une bride' (LHY), *čulbur* 'čumbur' (MA Pril2 403), *čulbur* (VI 25),

Written Mongolian data:
čilbuyur, čulbuyur '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), *čulbuyur* 'das Lenkseil, der Riemen oder Strick am Zaum zum anbinden oder herumführen des Pferdes; povod, remen ili verevka, privjazyvaemyja dlja voždenija lošadi' (Schmidt 333c),

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* 'knut, bič', *šilbe* (KhRS 651), *culbuur* 'Kandarenzügel' (ParMon 62), *čolbūr* 'povod'ja' (Todaeva 1985:85), *tsulbur, tsulwur, tsolwur* 'longe' (Oir 165), *tš'ulbūr* 'longe' (OrdM 718b).

The two syllables *-uyu-* had developed into > *-ū-* in Middle Mongolian before the word was borrowed by the Volga Kipchak languages. There it took part in the closing process, in the course of what it developed into a reduced vowel *-ï-, -ə-*.

The etymology of the word is a moot question. Poppe (1956:45) offers a **čirbuyur* form that had developed into > *čilbuyur*. The word is widely spread both in Mongolian and Turkic languages cf. (RVEW 108), Doerfer (TMEN§181), (Tekin 1981:128).

It is a Mongolian loan in Russian cf. *čumbur*, in Manchu as well; see Solon *šilbur*, Man. *čilburi* (MT 137).

In one of his articles on Turkic agriculture Eren writes that the word *çılbır, cılbır ~ cilbir* 'rope attached to the halter' is considered to be of Mongolian origin in Anatolian dialects (cf. present day Turkish *çılbır* 'leading rein' (Redh. 252a)). The first occurrence of the word in Turkic texts was in Chaghatay.

In his article entitled 'Mongolian words in Osman Turkish' Tuna considers *çil* the stem of the Mongolian word. He also added that this might be related to the Ewenki word *dil* 'head' (Tuna 1975:289). Tekin considered it impossible. In his study on some Altaic harnessing terms he wrote that the "Mongolian *čilbur/čilbuyur* is a deverbal noun of instrument in *-yur, -yür...*».

The verbal root or stem is related to Mongolian *čiliyi-* 'to lengthen, become long, stretch out' he added, but we doubt it.
For further data see: (Tuna 1973-75:289), (Kincses Nagy 1997:141), (Schönig 2000:80).

38. *čïray* 'face, appearance, expression' < MMo *čirai*

Tatar data:
čïray 'oblik, lico, fizionomija' (TatRS 647), *čïray* 'arcvonás, kinézés' (TatB 95) - 'feature of face, appearance', *seräi, sérai* 'Gesicht' (TatC 121), *çıray* 'yüz' (TatN 279) - 'face', *čïray* 'rumjanec, kraska v lic, vid, krasota lica, milovidnost'' (TatT 462), *čeräyses* 'yamsez' (TatDS 481) - 'without any beauty', *čïray* 'ğesicht' (PTatD 14), *čïray* 'bit, čïray, tös' (ST 108), *bikcärgä* 'čïraysïz yabalak; filin' (KST 108), *čïray* 'kešedäge ečke hälneŋ čağïlïšï bularak yöz' (TatAS3 461) - 'face reflecting the inner condition of the human being', *čïray* 'lico', *salqïn čïray ~ karaŋï čïray* (TatTD 361), *cïray* 'bit, čïray, tös; lico' (ST 244), *cïray* 'čïray (kešeneŋ yöze)' (DSTat 210), *ačïk čïraylï* 'köläč yözle' (DSTat 23),

Bashkir data:
sïray 'lico; lik' (Bashk 564), *sïray* 'vyraženie lica' (BashkRS 491), *sïray* 'vid, lico' (BashkK 198), *sïray* 'yөð' (BashkD1 195) – 'face',

Other Kipchak data:
šïray 'čerty lica, vid, oblik' (Kaz 400), *čïray* 'lico, vid, oblik; twarz, oblicze...'→ *čaray, čiray, čeray, čïray* (KarRP 637), *širai* 'das Gesicht, das Antlitz' (Kaz.-Mo 84), *šïray* 'čerty lica' (KrklpRS 750), *šïray* 'lico' (RKklp), *čïray* 'Gesicht, Aussehen' (KCG 169), *čaraj ~ čeraj* 'Gesicht, Antlitz' (MEKS 298), *čïray*[43] 'yüz, çehre' (Krch 175), *sïfat-čïray* 'görünüm, dış görünüş' (Krch 341), *č'ïray* 'Schönheit' (KrchP), *cïray*[44] 'Gesicht', Gesichtszüge', schönes Gesicht' (BlkP 215), *čïray* 'lico' (Kum), *čere ~ čïray* 'vyraženie lica; lico, vid' (CrTat 348), *čïray* 'yüz; Geschicht' (CrKar), *čïray* 'čerty lica' (Kirg), *šyraj* 'arc' (KazSK),

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43 In Noghay it is to be found in the form: *šïray* 'čerty lica, krasota lica, obraz' (Milyh 1949:293).

44 Its further developed form lives in Balkar in the form of the following family name: *Cïraylarï* (Pröhle 1914/15:215).

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
čyraj 'Gesicht, Porträt' (CC 79), *čiray* 'vultus' (CCK 282), *čirai* 'face, visage, forme' (Chag 303), *čïray* 'çehre, yüz' (KT 51), *čiray* 'čehre, šekl' (ChagŠS 45), *čïray* 'lico, fizionomija' (HŠN I.86), *čïray* m. 'Gesicht' (Grønbech 1942:79), *čïray* 'face, visage, forme, joue' (Chag 303), *čïray* 'Gesicht' (Č 140),

Other Turkic data:
čïray 'naružnost'', čerty lica' (AltV 440), *čïray* 'appearance' (GT 7), *sïrai* 'Gesicht' (YakB 163), *čïraylï, čïraysïz* 'krasivyj, nekrasivyj' (TkmRS 747), *šïray* 'lico, lik, oblik, fizionomija, vid' (TuvRS 590), *čïr'ay ~ čir'ay ~ čiraj ~ čira:y* 'face, countenance, beauty' (Turki)[45], *čïray* 'lico' (Kolesnikova 1975:59), *šïray* 'lico' (Shor), *čiray* 'face' (UygDTL 55),

Middle Mongolian data:
čirai : öngge čirai (AQjÜ 121, MoPr 90), *čirai : čirai-tur* (MonPr 28), *čirai* (SMI 81, 87), *čirai* 'visage, face, figure' (LHY), *čirai* 'Farbe, Aussehen, Miene' (MNT 28), *čirai* (MA 135), *čirai* 'form, likeness' (KD205C37),

Written Mongolian data:
čirai 'lico, obličie, cvet lica, visage, face, figure' (Kow), *čirai* 'face' (L 191), *čirai* 'lico' (KalmP 250), *čirai* 'das Gesicht, Antlitz, lico, lik' (Schmidt 329a),

Other Mongolian data:
šarai, ċarai, šeräi, sârai, čarai 'Gesicht' (BurC 138, 139, 142), *čirä* 'Gesicht (das Menschen)' (KWb 441), *tsarā, čirĒ* 'visage, face' (Oir 164), *čirai* 'Gesicht, Facies' (ParMon 75), *caray* 'lico, fizionomija, lik, oblik' (KhRS 604), *caray* 'arc, (átv.) megjelenés, külső, forma' (Khal 655), *čarä* 'visage, figure, mine, teint du visage, apparence' (OrdM 695).

There is another Mongolian word for 'face': *düri*.

The original Turkic word for 'face' has developed into *yöz* (TatRS 193) in Tatar. Apart from that we have a synonym *čïray* (see above). The latter is a Mongolian loan word. It is widely spread in Siberian Turkic languages and we do not have a criterion to prove that it is a loan straight from Mongolian.

45 Jarring (1964:71) mentioned, that Poppe had cited the word as the nominal part of compound verbs.

There are new words based on *čïray* in Karachay, e.g. *čïray+lï* 'beautiful' which looks like a calque.

The word served as the stem of further developments in Tatar, see e.g.: *čïraysïz yabalak* (koš) 'saryč' (RTatS 604).

In connection with initial affricates in Mongolian see (Poppe 1955:113), (Birtalan – Rákos 2002:206).
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:81), (Birtalan 1992:39, 1994:43).

39. *čibär* 'nice, good' < MMo *čeber*

Tatar data:
čibär 'krasivyj, horošenkij' (TatRS 635), *čilbär* 'takaros, nyalka, szép; nett, hübsch, schön' (TatB 96), *cibär* 'hübsch, nett, schön' (PTatD 13), *čibär 2.* 'äybät, yahšï harakterli' (TatDS 482) - 'honest, glorious with a good character', *čibär* 'yahšï, äybät' (DSTat 216) - 'kindly, charitable', *čibär* 'čïrayï söykemle, yagïmlï bulgan, yöze matur bulgan' (TatAS3 423) – 'being gentle with an attractive, nice face', *čibär* 'güzel; schön' (MishK 248), *cibär* → *čibär* 'hübsch, schön (Mädchen)' (MišTat 125), *čibär* 'äybät, yahšï – keše turïnda (slavnyj, horošij – o čeloveke)' (TatTD 350), *čibär* 'krasivyj' (RTatS 275),

Bashkir data:
seber 'krasivyj (tol'ko po otnošeniju k čeloveku)' (BashkRS 469), *seber* → *sambat* (BashkD1 179),

Other Kipchak data:
šeber 'id.' (Kaz 398), *čebyar* 'milyj, prijatnyj' (KarRP 626), *čéber* → *čäber* 'id.', *čébér* → *čeber* 'id.' (KarRP 639), *šïraylï* 'krasivyj' (RKklp 370), *čeber* 'iskusnyj' (CrTat 338), *čeberlik* 'ügyesség; Geschicklichkeit' (KumN 106),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
čeber kisi 'homo purus' (CCK 282), *čeber* 'nett, anständig' (CC 74), *čėbarla-* 'czyścić, oczyszczać, nettoyer, purifier, épurer' (DAK 183),

Chuvash data:
tšiBer 'jó, jól, illedelmes; gut, anständig' (ChuvP 187), *čiper* 'krasivyj' (Zol 102),

Other Turkic datum:
säbär (Pl. *säbärdär*) 'rein, sauber' (YakB. 158),

Middle Mongolian datum:
čeber 'krasnorečivo' (MA),

Written Mongolian data:
čeber 'čistyj, oprjatnyj, nezapjatnannyj, bezporočnyj, vozderžnyj; pur, propre, net, sans tâche, sans dêfaut, abstinentm modéré' (Kow), *čeber* 'clean, pure, neat, immaculate' (L), *čeber* 'čistyj, oprjatnyj, neporočnyj' (KalmP 244), *čeber* 'rein, sauber, appetitlich, mässig; čistyj, oprjatnyj, primančivyj, umerennyj' (Schmidt 321b),

Other Mongolian data:
cibir 'rein' (BurC 164), *seber* 'čistyj' (BurRS), *tsewr* 'reinlich, sauber', *tsewrkn ger* 'ein reinliches haus' (KWb 428), *tsewür, tseür* 'net, pur' (Oir 164), *cevr* 'čistyj' (KalmRS 629), *cévér* 'čistyj, krasnyj, bezuprečnyj' (KhRS 619), *čiwer* 'propre, pur, qui n'est pas souillé, immaculé, net' (OrdM 710a).

Grønbech (1942:74) and Poppe (1962:335) considered the word of Mongolian origin, as well as Kałużynski (1961:110) and Zajączkowski (MEKS 298). It is wide-spread in the Volga-region, went through into the Chuvash from the Tatar, and further into Finno-Uugrian languages (cf. R – RT 33). As we learn it from Bajazitova (1986:142) it is also used in addressing: *čibär tütey* ~ *čibär jïŋgey* 'obraščenie rodstvennikov nevesty k posaženoj materi (bukv. 'krasivaja tetka)'. There is an unorganic *-l-* in (TatB) which is not unusual in Kipchak Turkic languages.[46]

40. *čir* 'illness' < MMo *čer*

Tatar data:
čir 'hvor', hvoroba, bolezn', nedug" (TatRS 636), *čir* 'kór, betegség; krankenheit' (TatB 96), *çir* 'hastalık, hasta', *suvuk çir* 'soğuk hastalık' (TatN 290) - 'illness, ill, chill', *çir : üs-čir* 'Fallsucht', *cir* 'Krankheit' (PTatD 14),

46 There are several examples in Karachay for example in the verb *öserlikdi* 'it will grow', or in *oltur-* 'sadit'sja, usaživat'sja' (KrchT 495): *otur-* 'to sit; to sit down, to sit up, etc.' (Redhouse 904).

čirgä ologu → čirgä sabïsu 'avïruġa sabïsu' (TatDS 327) - 'to get ill', *hasta* 'aviru, čir[47]' (DSTat 79), (TatAS1 13) – 'sickness, illness', *cir* 'Organïzmda normal' tereklek eščänlegeneη bozïluï'(TatAS3 429) - 'disfunctioning of normal life-functions in the organism', *čir* 'hvor', hvoroba, bolezn'' (TatTD 353),

Bashkir data:
sir 'bolezn'', hvor', nedug; nedostatok, iz'jan' (Bashk 542), *sir* 'bolezn', hvor'' (BashkRS 472), *sir* 'id.' (BashkK 194), (PBashk 262), *sir* 'čirej, bol'noj, kišečnaja opuhol'' – u životnyh' (BashkD2 209) - 'sick, ill, tumour in the bowels of animals', *sir* 'id.' (BashkD1 184),

Other Kipchak data:
šer 'pečal, toska, ugnetënnoe sostojanie' (Kaz 395), *šer* 'id.' (KrklpRS 734), *čïrχï* 'beteges; kränklich' (KumN 107),

Early Kipchak datum:
čerli 'macer' (CCK 282),

Chuvash data:
čir 'bol', bolezn', nedug' (Zol 103), *tšir* 'betegség; krankheit' (ChuvP 187),

Other Turkic datum:
čär 'Narbe, Schwiele' (MEJ 135)

Middle Mongolian datum:
čer 'gnoj' (MA 132),

Written Mongolian data:
čer-e 'das Geschwür, die Beule' (Schmidt 288c), *čer* 'phlegm, sputum, mucus' (L 172),

Other Mongolian data:
cér 'mokrota' (KhRS 622), *tser* 'schleim in der gurgel, speichel, kränklicher zustand' (KWb 427), *ser* 'id.' (BurRS).

47 There is a verbal forma as well: *čirlä-* (DSTat 205) which means 'to get sick'.

This is a kind of an illness one may cause to oneself for his old age by smoking a lot. However animals can catch it also, in Western Mongolian 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).

41. *čüäčäy* 'small cup' < MMo **čö'üče*

Tatar data:
čüäčäy 'čaška' (BarTat), *cüäcäy* 'čïnayak čokïrï' (DSTat 211) - 'kind of a cup', *Ber cüäcäy su ectem.* 'I drank a cup of water.' *cüäcäy* → *cügäcäy* 'tabak, käsä; čaša, ploška, piala' (ST 242),

Chaghatay datum:
sifāl čögüček 'glinjanaja čaška' (MA 322),

Other Turkic data:
čögöčök, čögöčöh 2. 'malen'kaja (v rod rjumki, no pomen'še) posudinka, upotrebljaemaja šamanom pri žertvoprinošenii (vsego ih byvaet devjat')' (YakP3 3662),

Middle Mongolian data:
čögeče : čögečeber : čögečeber dügüren usun (MonPr 238),

Written Mongolian data:
čögüče 'small cup, small goblet (for oil, sacrifical grain etc.)' (L 201), *čögüčö* 'glubokaja i širokaja čaška' (KalmP 251), *čögüče* 'eine kleine Trinkschale; nebol'šaja dlja pit'ja, čaška' (Schmidt 335c),

Other Mongolian data:
cögc, cögüce 'kleine Tasse, kleiner Becher (wird eine 'Butterlampe' im lamaistischen Tempel damit bezeichnet)' (ParMon 143), *tsöktsö* 'holzerne trinkschale' (KWb 432), *cögüce* → *siyaǰang cögüce* 'porcelain cup' (Krue 76), *cögc* 'rel. čaška (dlja masla, žertvennyh zëren i t.d.)' (KhRS 612), *č'ögö'č'i* 'tasse' (OrdM 714b).

Due to its phonetical form this must be a loan word in VK. We have to assume a Mongolian **čöüče* form that was borrowed even if it is unattested. There is a phenomenon we can often observe in Middle Mongolian words: -V in final position is often replaced in VK by a -D (e.g. *-e ~ -ei*).

42. *čüräkäy* 'loon' < MMo cf. WMo *čöregei*

Tatar data:
čüräkäy : cüräkäy ürdäk 'nyrok (vid dikoj utki)' (TatRS 652) - 'dipper (kind of a wild duck)', *čürekey ürdek* 'kılkuyruk' (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. 'ürdäknең ber töre, kečkenä genä ürdäk' (DSTat 209) - 'a certain kind of a duck, small duck', *čüräkäy* 'ürdäklär sem'jalïgïnnan iң kečkenä ürdäk, kečkenä gäüdäle, zur bulmagan' (TatAS3 461) - 'the smallest duck in the family of ducks, with a small body, it is difficult to find', *čüräkäy* → *cörägäy* 'čüräkäy ürdäk; čirok (poroda utok)' (KST 220)[48],

Bashkir data:
sürägäy : sürägäy öyräk 'čirok' (BashkRS 487), *sebekay, sobokay* 'vadkacsafaj' (PBashk 262) - 'sort of a wild-duck', *surägäy* 'kis tarka kacsafaj (nagyon sebes röptű)' (PBashk 263) – 'small colourful kind of duck with very swift flight', *surayay* 'dikaja utka' (BashkD2 218) - 'wild duck', *söräkä* I 'sörägäy; čirok' (BashkD2 216), *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), *näδek suqïš sörägäy* 'čirok uzkonosyj' (zoolBashk 138) - 'wild duck with straight spout',

Other Kipchak data:
šüreney 'čirok (utka)' (KrklpRS 745), *šüreley* 'čirok' (RKklp 1095),

48 There is a synonym of the word in West Siberian Tatar: *cumġa* 'čüräkäy ürdäknең töre; nyrok' (KST 221).

Other Turkic data:
čörköi 'rod utki' (YakP3 3673), *čökköi, čärkäi* 'id.' (YakP3 3673), *čyrkyi ~ čurkui ~ čörköi* 'Krickente' (MEJ 88), *čüräkäi* 'rod' utki; die Krieckente' (TelR3 2194),

Written Mongolian data:
čürükü nuγusu (Wu-ti 4156), *čürügü noγusun* 'polevoj čirok; la sarcelle corumune (anas querquedula)' (Kow3 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:
cürxüi 'Knäkente (Anas querquedula)' (BurC 165), *śirkê, śurköi, śurkui* 'id.'(BurC 139), *čörk, [čörke]* 'zool. čirok' (KalmRS 656), *šörgö (nuγusn)* '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: *sirgei urdak* 'Anas crecca' (Kecskeméti 1968:63). This word is not represented in Old Turkic, but it can be found in Teleut, Shor and Kazakh languages. They have borrowed the word from Mongolian see Räsänen (RVEW 121). Kałużynski (1961) gives further data in his work.

It seems to be a Mongolian loan word in Yakut and Tuva. Its presence is evident in VK too, let me give an example from Tatar folk-lore:
"*čürägäy-ürdäk* külgä čumar / külnäŋ asäl tašäna."
'Die taucherente taucht ins wasser / auf den edelstein in dem see hinab.' (Paasonen 1901:67)

The initial *s-* in Bashkir is a clear indicator of its being a loan word. The same is the case with the word final difthong *-äy*. It is typical with Mongolian 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 birds' names of Mongolian origin in VK languages.

43. *dilbegä* 'rein; reins' < MMo *delbege*

Tatar data:
dilbege 'vožža' (TatRS 130), *dilbegä, dilbügä, tilbügä* 'fékszár, gyeplő' (TatB 87) - 'rein', *dilbïgä* 'Lenkseil' (PTatD 15), *tilbügä* 'vožži' (GTat),

til'bigä, dil'bügä 'vožža' (TatČ), *delbiga* → *dilbegä* 'vožža' (TatDS 125), *dilbegä* i. 'jikkän atnï idarä itä torgan ozïn nečkä bau, kayeš yäki brezent tasma (yögängä totaštïrïla)' (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 abzïy dilbegäne nïk totkan ide.' (TatAS1 303) - 'Uncle Ali was holding his reins very fast.', *dilb[ï]gä* vožži' (TatJ 67), *dilbegä* 'vožži' (TatT 536), *dil'bgä* 'vožži' (TatYu 67), *tilbegä kat-* 'yögän kat-' (DSTat 80), *dilbegä* 'Zügel' (MišTat 131),

Bashkir data:
dilbegä 'vožža' (BashkRS 167), *dilbügä* 'gyeplő' (PBashk 237) - 'rein', *dilbägä* 'vožži' (BashkK 69), *dilbegän, dilbägän* → *tilbegän* (BashkD2 69),

Other Kipchak data:
telbe 'vožži' (RKklp 101), *telbev* 'vožži' (CrTat 281),

Early Kipchak data:
telbuġa 'Leitseil' (CC), *telbuga* 'funis ductorius' (CCK 229), *telbuġa* 'yular' (KT 269),

Chuvash data:
telgebe 'vožži' (Zol 81), *tilχebe, tilgebe* 'gyeplő; lenkseil' (ChuvP 168), *tilkepe, tilχepe, kilkepe* 'id.' (Ašm6 22),

Middle Mongolian datum:
delbeget 'Zügel, Leine (Pl. *delbeger*)' (MNT),

Written Mongolian datum:
delbeg 2. 'rein' (L 247),

Other Mongolian data:
délbég 'vožži' (KhRS 167).

The word is of Mongolian origin in the VK languages, which can be best seen from the initial *d-*. It belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping, which was deeply influenced in the area by the Mongols.

Räsänen takes the word for Mongolian origin in certain languages (cf. RVEW 471).

The etymology offered by Egorov (1964:251) was refused by Róna-Tas (1982:90).

Tekin offers another etymology, which should be refused as well. He says that "Mongolian *delbeg / delbegen* is morphologically related to Mongolian *dele-/deli-/tele-/teli* 'to stretch' (cf. Tekin 1981:28).
Schönig connects the Turkish word *terbiye* 'dizgin' to Mo *delbegen* (Schönig 2000:90, 2003: 412).

44. *dim* 'suggestion' < MMo *dem* 'help'

Tatar data:
dim 'ugovarivanie, uveščevanie' (TatRS 130), *dim* 'javaslat, rábeszélés; das zuraten, zurede' (TatB 129), *dim* 'öndäü, izget' (TatAS1 303) - 'call, invitation, command', *dim* → *zim* (TatAS1 303),

Bashkir data:
dim 'ugovarivanie, uveščevanie, uveščanie, ugovor' (Bashk 163), *dim* 'ugovarivanie' (BashkRS 167), *dim* 'sovet, ugovarivanie, uveščanie' (BashkK 69), *δimnä-* 'dimlä-; sosvatat" (BashkD2 71),

Chuvash data:
tim 'želanie, stremlenie, vlečenie...' (Egorov 1964), *tim* 'pobuždenie, stremlenie' (Zol. 81),

Middle Mongolian datum:
dem (SMI 82),

Written Mongolian data:
dem 'aid, help, assistance' (L 250), *dem* 'die Hilfe, Unterstützung; pomošč, vspomoženie, podkreplenie' (Schmidt 276b),

Other Mongolian data:
dem 'Hilfe, Unterstützung' (KWb 87), *dém* 'sposob, dejstvija, umenie' (KhRS 168), *dem* 'aide' (OrdM 138b).

The word was most probably mediated to the Chuvash language by Tatar (Róna-Tas 1982:91).

45. *dimče* 'suitor' < MMo cf. WMo *demči* 'business man'

Tatar data:
dimče 'sovetnik, svat, svaha' (TatRS 130), *dimče* 'javasló, leánykérő; anrater, brautwerber' (TatB 129), *dimläüči, dimči* 'svat, svatunja' (TatT 538), *dimtše* 'id.' (Bajazitova 1986:199), *dimci, dimči* 'takdim edici' (MishK 249) - 'go between', *dimci, dimči* 'Ehevermittler, Brautwerber' (MišTat 131), *dimče* 'svat' (RTatS 606), *dimče* 'kïz sorarga kilüče' (DSTat 30),

Bashkir data:
dimse 'uveščevatel', svat, svaha' (Bashk 163), *dimse* 'sovetnik' (BashK), *dimdäš* 'qïδδïŋ iptäštäre arahïnan dimse' (Maksjutova 1975:34),

Written Mongolian datum:
demči 'business manager (a lama) in a monastery' (L 250),

Other Mongolian data:
demči 'helfer; beistand' (KWb), *démč* '(ist.) nadziratel', smotritel' (monastyrja)' (KhRS 169), *demči* 'géromt, administrateur, etc.' (OrdM 139a).

The Mongolian meaning 'subsidiary force' gave way to different ones. The word 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.

Dem is not listed in Karachay dictionaries, yet its derivations are present, as seen in the case of three words: *demengili, demengisiz,* in addition there is a Karachay verb *demleš-* 'aralarını açmak, kavga etmek, çekişmek, mücadele etmek' (Krch), *demleš-* 'grozit' kulakami; branit' sja' (KrchT). The latter was formed in Karachay with a Turkic denominal suffix, while the Bashkir verbs *dimlä-* '1. ugovarivat', uveščevat', uveščat'; 2. svatat'' (Bashk 163) and *δimnä-* (BashkD2 71) seem to be direct loans from the Middle Mongolian (WMo *demne-* 'to aid, help, assist' (L 251) < **dem +le-*, Modern Mongolian *démnéx* 'támogat' (Khal 168) – due to their semantics.
See also: (Csáki 2004:15).

46. *dömeg-* 'pass away' < MMo cf. WMo *dömögö-*

Tatar data:
dömeg- 'izdyhat', podyhat'' (TatRS 142), *dömeg-* 'ülü, hälak bulu' (TatAS1 322) - 'to die, perish', *dömeg-* 'izdyhat'' (RTatS 216),

Bashkir data:
dömögö- 'izdyhat', podyhat', sdyhat', okolevat'; izdyhanie' (Bashk 169), *dömögö-* 'izdyhat', izdohnut', sdyhat', sdohnut'' (BashkRS 171),

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 ernähren, etwas schwach angreifen; s trudom sniskivat' sebja propitanie, slabo za čto prinjat'sja' (Schmidt 284c), *dömü-* 'gagner son pain; truditsja dlja svoego propitanija' (KowIII 1925a),

Other Mongolian data:
dömö- 'vlačit' žalkoe suščestvovanie, žit' koe-kak' (KhRS 155), *dömü-* knapp sein, mit mühe durchkommen od. Hinreichen' (KWb 98).

The initial *d-* suggests that the word in Tatar and Bashkir is of Mongolian origin. There is another word in Old Turkic with the meaning 'to die'. It is lacking in Old Turkic texts, but I could not find it either in Middle Mongolian yet we have ample Written Mongolian data.

47. *dülänä* 'hawthorn' < MMo cf. WMo *dolana* < *doluγana*

Tatar data:
dülänä 'bojaryšnik' (TatRS 143), *dülänä* 'bot. agač yäki kuak törlärenең bersennän bulgan čänečkele üsemlek' (TatAS1 325), *tulana* 'bojarka, bojaryšnik' (GTat), *dulana* 'kamïr aγačï, kamïr aγačïnïң jimeše' (TatDS 128), *yabïšqan* → *tulana* ~ *tuana* 'dülänä, kamïrlïk' (ST 117), *dolana* 'id.' (BarTat), *tulana* 'dülänä, kamïrlïk; bojaryšnik' (KST 206)[49],

49 There is a synonym of the word in West Siberian Tatar: *yabïšqan* (KST 117).

Bashkir data:
dunala → *enälek* 'bojaryšnik (derevo i plod)' (Bashk 171, 799), *dunala* 'bojaryšnik' (BashkRS 172), *dunala* → *enäle* (BashkD1 64), *dunala* 'id.' (botBashk 86), *yadi dunala* 'bojaryšnik obyknovennyj' (botBashk 90), *bayar yemeše* 'dunala; bojarïšnik' (BashkD2 37),

Other Kipchak data:
dolono 'bojaryšnik' (Kirg 196), *düle hans* 'dağlarda yetişen çiçek açan bir bitki' (Krch), *dolana* 'bojaryšnik' (Kaz),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
dolana 'eine Pflaumengattung' (ChagŠS 590), *dolana* 'espèce de prune sauvage appelée aussi...' (Chag 322),

Other Turkic data:
tulana Tob. 'bojarka (Crataegus sanguinea)' (R3 1468), *doloγon* 'Weissdorn' (YakB 116), *doloγono* ~ *doloχono* ~ *dolukuna* 'Hagedorn, Weissdorn' (MEJ 79), *dolagana* 'bojaryšnik (jagody i kustarnik)' (Tuv),

Written Mongolian data:
doloγan-a (= *dolo:γan-a*) 'hawthorn' (L 260),

Other Mongolian data:
dolōgono 'id.' (BurRS), *dolāna~ dolana* 'ein strauck: hagedorn, weissdorn (crataegus cuneata?)' (KWb 94), *doloogono* 'galagonya (bokor, fa vagy gyümölcse) (Crataegus)' (Khal 145).

The word is of Mongolian origin in VK languages; due to the initial *d-* and the Mongolian denominal suffix *+γana* (MEJ 78) it cannot be explained otherwise. The Mo suffix *+γana* is discussed in details in different studies, (e.g. Bläsing 2004).

Poppe (1981:382) writes the following: "The words ending in *+γana, +gana* denote mostly such plants (or animals) which occur in large numbers in one place and relatively small and difficult to separate from each other e.g. bushes forming a thicket..." There is a similar suffix in Old Turkic *+klńA* "A lively diminutive, whose products are very rarely lexicalised...." (Erdal 1991:47). The stem of the word is the Mongolian *dola(n)* 'seven'.

Only the first part of the Karachay compound is a Mongolian loan and it has already lost its suffix, perhaps it was not directly borrowed from the

Mongolian. Dmitrieva collected much more Turkic data of the word (1976:38).

We see it in Tungus: *dolo:gino* 'nazvanie kakoj to jagody krasnogo cveta, rastuščej na kustah s koljučimi vetvjami' (Poppe 1927a:42).
There is ample literature on it (TMEN§189=2134), (MEJ 79), (Sevortjan 1974:269), (Dmitrieva 1975:138), (Schönig 2000:91). Sevortjan (op.cit.) and Benzing (1952:143) considered the word of Iranian origin, but it is a Mongolian loan in Persian, see Doerfer, TMEN4 p.315.

48. *dünän* '3-4 years old stallion' < MMo *dönen*

Bashkir data:
dünän (aygïr) 'žerebec po četvertomu godu', *dünän (ügäδ)* 'byk po četvertomu godu' (Bashk 172), *dünän* 'trëxgodovalyj žerebec' (BashkRS 173), *dünén* 'četyrehletnij žerebec, *dünén ügeδ* 'četyrehletnyj byk', *dünén baytal* 'četyrehletnjaja nežerebaja kobyla' (Išberdin 1986:22), *dünän* 'négyéves mén' (PBashk 237) - 'four years old stallion',

Other Kipchak data:
dönen 'samec-trehletka (o skote)' (Kaz 133), *dönön* 'ovca po četvertomu godu žizni' (Sidikov 1983:25), *dönen* 'samec-trehletka (o skote)'(KrklpRS 177), *dönen* 'žerebenok' (CrTatR 49),

Early Kipchak data:
dönen 'id.' (Hou), *dünen* 'dört yaşındaki tay' (KT 67),

Other Turkic data:
dönön 'lošad' treh-četyreh let' (AltV), *tönön, dönön* 'lošad' četyreh let' (TuvRS),

Middle Mongolian data:
dönen üker 'četyrehletnyj byk' (MA 143), *dönen* 'četyrehletnij' (MA Pril.2 403),

Written Mongolian data:
döne(n) n. and adj. 'four year-old male animal (bull, camel or elephant), four year old male child (obs.)' (L 267), *dönön* 'vozrast 4-h let' (KalmP 221), *dönen* 'vierjährig (Masc.); četyrehgodovalyj' (Schmidt 284b),

Other Mongolian data:
dönö 'četyrehgodovalyj byk' (KhRS 155), *dönö = dönön (temee)* '4 jährig masc. Kamel, 4 jährig masc. Rind' (ParMon 66, 67), *dönün* 'âgé de quatre ans (cheval ou boeuf)' (Oir 134), *dönn* 'vierjährig (vom vieh), der vierte tag im monat' (KWb 99), *dönö* 'âgé de quatre ans (chameaux)', *dönön temē* 'chameaux de quatre ans' (OrdM 156a), *dünen* 'id.' (Bur).

In his study on MMo numerals Rybatzki (2003:70) listed this word among other lexicalized numeral derivatives: *dönen* 'four-year-old' (male animal).

The stem of the Mongolian word is a development from the word *dörben* 'four' (AQǰÜ 142). The word *dönen* designates only masculine animals before the age of four.

In Bashkir it must be a Mongolian loan word due to the initial *d-* and also to the semantic group it belongs to. It also belongs to the terminology of horse breeding. We can find it in Russian: *dunan* 'trehletnij kirgizskij baran' (Fasmer1 553), and in Manchu language as well.

49. *dünäžen* 'mare that has completed her 3rd year of age' < MMo cf. WMo *dönejn*

Bashkir data:
dünäžen (baytal) 'kobyla po četvertomu godu' (Bashk 172), *dünäžen* 'trexgodovalaja kobyla' (BashkRS 173), *dünäžen baytal* 'ös yäše tulïp dürtkä sïqqan beyä' (BashkD1 64) – 'mare, that has completed her 3rd and turned to her 4th year of age',

Other Kipchak data:
dönöžin 'korova do 4 let, kobyla do 4 let' (Nogh 241), *dönežin* 'samka-terehletka (o skote)' (Kaz 133), *dönežin* 'id.' (KrklpRS 177),

Written Mongolian data:
dönežin 'četyrehletnjaja' (Golst3 168), *döneži(n)* n. and adj. 'four year-old female animal (cow, camel, elephant), four year old girl (obs.)' (L 267), *dönǰin* 'četyrehletnjaja' (KalmP 221), *dönejn* 'vierjährig (Femin.); četyrehgodovalaja' (Schmidt 284b),

Other Mongolian data:
dönǰn 'vierjährige (fem.)' (KWb 98), *dönǰ* 'četyrehgodovalyj (o korove, verbljude)' (KhRS 155), *dünžen* 'id.' (BurRS), *dönǰin* 'âgée de quatre ans (jument ou vache)' (Oir 134), *dönǰ, dönǰin temee* 'vierjährig fem. Kamel, 4 jährig fem. Rind' (ParMon 66,67), *dönöǰi* 'âgée de quatre ans (chamelle)', *dönöǰin temē* 'chamelle de quatre ans' (OrdM 156a).

This is the female pair of the word *dönen*. In most Mongolain languages *döneǰin* 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 Mongolian suffix *+nǰin* after numerals (Benzing 1985:98). We can see it in Tungus on another stem: *tukučān* 'telenok-odnoletka' srv. mong. *tuγul* (Poppe 1927a:55).

The word in Bashkir is clearly a Mongolian loan due to the initial *d-*, the intervocalic *-ž-*[50], the semantics of the word and to its Mongolian etymology.

50. *har* 'hawk' < MMo cf. WMo *sar*

Bashkir data:
har 'zool. kanjuk, saryč' (Bashk 727), *har* 'zool. saryč' (BashkRS 621), *harδar* 'saryči' (zoolBashk 149), *har* 'id.' (Išberdin 1986:23),

Early Kipchak data:
sar 'vultur' (CCK 129), *sar* 'milan' (Chag 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 myšelov (rod koršuna)' (Schmidt 343b),

Other Mongolian data:
sar 2. 'zool. lun'' (KhRS 350), *sar* 1. *sar šowūn* 'ein vogel: milan' (KWb 313a), *sar* 'buteo' (VAM 123), *sar* 'buse' (OrdM 561a).

50 On Bashkir consonants in loanwords see (Berta 1998:283).

The word belongs to the field of ornithology; the VK languages have several ornithological terms of Mongolian origin. It must be an early loan for the initial *s-* took part in the *s-* > *h-* Bashkir development.

51. *haralyïn* 'snipe' < MMo cf. Mo *saraljǐn*

Bashkir data:
haralyïn 'bekas' (BashkRS 622), *haralyïn* 'id.' (zoolBashk 149), *haralyïn* ~ *saralyïn* ~ *saraldïn* 'id.' (BashkD1 177), *saralyïn* ~ *saraldin* 'bekas' (BashkD2 201), *haralyïn* ~ *haralžïn* 'bekas' (Išberdin 1986:24),

Other Mongolian data:
šarāljǐn 'bekassine (vogel)' (KWb 349), *saraaljǐn* '(zool.) val'dšnep' (KhRS 350),

The Mongolian word was borrowed after the breaking of the *-i-* into the Bashkir language, where we find both *h-* and *s-* in initial position.

The ending is also a telling one: this suffix *+ljǐ(n)* occurs in Mongolian. It "forms names of plants and animals the characteristic features of which are denoted by the nominal stem concerned" (Poppe 1981:386).

52. *ïlġa-* 'to separate' < MMo *ilga-*

Tatar data:
ïlġa- 'saylap, aerip alu' (DSTat 234) - 'to choose, select', *ïlġa-* → *olġa-* 'sayla-' (KST 172) - 'to choose', 'id.' (KST 230), *ïlġa-* 'vybirat'' (BarTat 198),

Early Kipchak data:
ïlgă-, ilğa- (Sangl. Ind. V 94),

Other Turkic data:
ïlġa- 'vybirat'; aussuchen auswählen' (Tel, Alt, Leb R1 1376), *ïlġa-* 'auswählen, auslesen' (MEJ 22), *ïlġa-* 'to elect, to select, to sort, to choose, to detach' (Turki), *ılga-* 'to gallop' (Redh. 501),

Middle Mongolian data:
ilqa- 'auswählen' (MNT 81), *ilya- : ilyayči* (MonPr 183),
Written Mongolian datum:
ilya- 'to separate, assort; classify, analyze, distinguish; to discern, discriminate, differentiate; to select the best' (L 406),

Other Mongolian data:
yalga- 'različat', otličat'' (KhRS 692), *yalga-* 'megkülönböztet, kiválaszt, osztályoz' (Khal 752), *yalya-* 'to part, separate' (Darig 165), *yalgă-* 'različat', vybirat', razbirat'' (DagP 81), *ilya-* 'die besseren auswählen, für sich herausnehmen' (KWb 206), *ilga-* 'séparer, trier, distinguer, discerner, traiter différemment, traiter partialement' (OrdM 382b).

The word is considered to be of Mongolian origin in different languages cf. Doerfer *ilya-* 'auswählen' mo. (TMEN§71), (MT 137). It arouse the interest of a number of Mongolists the outcome of which is abundant literature (cf. Ramstedt: Das schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart..., Vladimircov: Sravnitel'naja grammatika..., Poppe: The primary long vowels..., Ligeti A1 260, MEJ 20, etc.)

The Christian Tatar dialect spoken in Čistopol has *o-, ï-, e-*, or often *i-, e-* in the place of the initial labials *o-, ö-* (cf. Bajazitova 1986:40).

The opposite of the verb 'to unite' was also borrowed from Mo, see ***yalga-***.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:102).

53. *ïržay-* 'to show bare one's teeth' < MMo *irǰayi-*

Tatar data:
ïržay- 'skalit'sja, oskalit'sja, osklabit'sja, ščerit'sja, oščerivat'sja, oščerit'sja' (TatRS 673), *ïržïq* 'nekrasivo ulybajuščijsja čelovek' (TatDS 527), *ïržay-* 'avïznï zur ačïp yäki urïnsïzga yäm'sez itep kölü, elmayu' (TatAS3 548) - 'laughing or smiling and opening one's mouth too wide or having done some nasty things out of place', *ïrcayt- ~ ïršay-* 'teš ïržayt-, avïz yer-; skalit' zubï, smejat'sja' (ST 254), *tešen ïržayt-* 'oskalivat', oskalit'' (RTatS 416),

Bashkir data:
ïržayï- 'skalit'sja, oščerivat'sja, zijat', byt' raskrïtïm' (Bashk 785), *ïržayï-* 'skalit'sja, pokazyvat', pokazat' oskal' (BashkRS 672), *ïržayï-* 'id.' (BashkD1 285),

Other Kipchak data:
ïržïy- 'oskalit' (zuby)' (Kaz 408), *ïržïyï-* 'ulybat'sja, grimasničat'' (KrklpRS 759), *ïržïyï-* 'skalit' zuby' (RKklp 929), *ïrzay-* 'ulybat'sja, usmehat'sja' (KarRP 651), *ïrǰay-* '(dial.) skalit' zuby, zuboskalit'' (CrTat 366), *ïržay-* 'nevetni; lachen' (KumN 120),

Early Kipchak data:
ïrcay-, arcay-, ircay- 'id.' (Sangl. Ind.V. 94), *ïġray-* 'knurren' (CCD),

Other Turkic data:
ïrcai 'hervortreten (von den knochen bei abgemagertem körper), klaffen, sich öffnen (von einer wunde)' (YakB 32), *aržai-* 'die Zähne zeigen, grinsen' (MEJ 115), *ïržai-* 'id.' (MEJ 115),

Middle Mongolian data:
irǰayi- : irǰayiysan : irǰayiysan mürgü sidüten (AQjÜ 211), *irǰai-* 'smile' (MA 198),

Written Mongolian data:
irǰayi- 'for a row or group of small objects to move or appear, for teeth to show, to grin, sneer' (L 416), *irǰayi-* 'aufsperren, die Zahne blöcken; razinut' rot, skalit' zuby' (Schmidt 40b), *arčiya-* 'oskalit' zuby' (KalmP 14),

Other Mongolian data:
yarǰay- 'obnažat' rjad čego l.' (KhRS 695), *yarzay-* 'elő/kivillan, vicsorog', *irzä:-, irzĒ-* 'die zähne zeigen, lächeln, grinsen, die zähne fletschen, drohen' (KWb 210), *yarzä:-* 'grinsen, die zähne zeigen, offen sein, so dass das innere sichtbar ist' (KWb 216), *irǰä-* 'montrer les dents' (OrdM).

The word is not represented in Old Turkic; we consider it to be a loan in VK. This is supported by the *-ž-* sound, and the diphthong *-ay* at the end of the verb. The verb serves as the stem to *ïrǰayt-* 'to bare one's teeth' – that has an additional Turkic suffix *-t-*.

It is widely spread in Mongolian texts from various times. We find it in Middle Mongolian as well. For all these we take the word for a Middle Mongolian loan in Bashkir and Tatar languages.

The word consisted of three syllables in Middle Mongolian: *irǰayi-*, but in Modern Mo. they were reduced to two.

See also: (Csáki 2004:19), (Róna-Tas 2005:97).

54. *irkä* 'pampered, spoilt (child)' < MMo *erke*

Tatar data:

irkä 'iznežennyj, balovannyj, izbalovannyj' (TatRS 174), *irkä* 'zart' (TatC 83), *irke* 'nazlı, şımarık' (TatN 120) - 'coquettish, petted, spoiled (child)', *irkä* 'söelüne, nazlaunï, irkäläüne yarata torgan, artïk irkäläüdän uzïngan, köysez, nazlı, söekle, yaratkan keše (gadättä kïz)' (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* 'yarataunï kötep, sïrpalanïp yöri torgan keše' (TatAS1 410) - 'longing for fondness, sy. walking on a fawnish way', *irkä* → *aybataq* 'irkä; izbalovannyj, iznežennyj' (KST 98), *irkätäy* 'köysez; kapriznyj, izbalovannyj' (ST 59), (KST 114), *irkä* 'kényes; verzogen, verwöhnt' (TatB 26), *irkäce* → 'irkä; iznežennyj, neženka' (TatDS 149), köškö 'irkä, nazlı; neženka' (TatDS 277), *irkä* 'iznežennyj, neženka' (RTatS 219, 363), *irkä* 'Liebling, Liebste' (MišTat 143),

Bashkir data:

irkä 'izbalovannyj' (BashkRS 212), *irkä* 'izbalovannyj, svoevo'lnik' (BashkK 78), *irkäm* 'Balanï irkäläp äyteü hüðe.' (BashkD1 74), *köškä* 'irkä; izbalovannyj' (BashkD2 112),

Other Kipchak data:

erke 'izbalovannyj' (RKklp 295),

Middle Mongolian data:

erke: erke omoγ (MonPr 33), *erke* 'Macht, Majestät' (MNT 45), *erke* (AQǰÜ 170),

Other Mongolian data:
erke 'freiheit, wille, willkür, macht' (KWb 125), *erx II* 'izbalovannyj, kapriznyj, svoenravnyj', *erx xüüxed* 'izbalovannyj rebenok' (KhRS 678), *erke* 'inclinations naturelles, mollesse, délicat esse' (OrdM 246b).

The word *irkä* is a Mongolian loan word in the VK languages. In Mongolian it is of Turkic origin, cf. Old Turkic *erk* 'sil, volja' (DTS 179), *erk* "has two basic meanings, (1) 'authority' that is the power to impose one's will on others; (2) 'free will, independence' that is freedom to decide for oneself without being subject to the authority of others. It became an early loan-word in Mongolian as *erke* (Haenisch p. 45) and survives in all modern languages in a variety of forms...." (Clauson 1972: 220).
We see it in Tungus: *érke* laskatel'noe slovo 'golubčik'' (Poppe 1927a:45).

Doerfer listed it among the Turkic words of Mongolian origin as **erke* 'verhätschelt' mo. (TMEN§65).
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:97).

55. *irkälä-* 'to pamper' < MMo *erkele-*

Tatar data:
irkälä- 'nežit', laskat', prilaskat'' (TatRS 174), *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), *irkälä-* 'izneživat', iznežit'' (RTatS 219), *irkälä-* 'id.' (DSTat 140, 176, 258),

Bashkir data:
irkälä- 'laskat', prilaskat', oblaskat', prigolubit'' (BashkRS 213), *irkälä-* 'balovat'' (BashkK 78), *irkälä-* 'id.' (PBashk 244), *irkäläk* 'iznežennaja' (BashkD2 79), *irkälät-* 'laskat', nežit', balovat'' (Bashk),

Other Kipchak data:
erkelet- / erke kïl- 'balovat'', *erkeleti-* 'laskat' ' (RKklp 387), *erkelet-* 'nazlandırmak, şımartmak' (Krch), *érkelen-* 'stat' izbalovannym, izbalovat'sja; iznežit'sja' (KrchT 772), *erkelet-* 'verzärteln, liebkosen' (KrchP), *érkelet-* 'izbalovat', iznežit'' (Kum), *erkele-* 'verzärteln' (KumN 112), *érkelet-* 'laskat'' (Kirg 962), *erkelet- / erke kïl-* 'balovat'' (Rkklp),

Other Trukic datum:
erkile- 'to caress, to fondle' (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
erkile-: erkileged: kičigen yabuqu-yi erkileged (MonPr 33), *erkele-* 'liebkosen, spielen' (MNT 45),

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

Other Mongolian data:
érxle- 2. 'laskat'sja, lastit'sja, igrat' (o detjah)' (KhRS 679), *érxlé-* 'kényeskedik, túl sokat megenged magának' (Khal 737), *erkele-* = *erkile-* 'se traiter délicatement' (OrdM 246b).

The word has derived from the previous one (cf. Mongolian *erke* > *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'. There is an adjective in Karachay *erke* 'şımarık, nazlı' (Krch), most probably a Middle Mongolian loanword. A verb was made of it with the help of a Turkic suffix: *erke-le-t*. The final *-t* is a Turkic causative suffix.

The utmost origin of the word may be Old Turkic *erk*, which was borrowed into Mongolian, but later it was handed over to Turkic languages with a marker, an additional final vocal.
For further data see: (TMEN 65), (Schönig 2000:97), (Csáki 2004:18).

56. *yada-* 'to be exhausted' < MMo *jada-*

Tatar data:
ǰäza- ~ *ǰada-* '1. iznemoč', obessilet', terjat' sily' (TatTDS 410), *yata-* 2. 'yabïg-; hudet', toščat'' (KST 120), *yada-* 'arïklan-, yödä-[51]' (DSTat 242),

51 The verb here is explained by another loan also borrowed from MMo.

Bashkir data:
yaδï- III 'lišat'sja, terjat'' (Bashk 832), *yaδïlï-* 'auïrïuδan hauïga bašla-' (BashkD1 79),

Other Kipchak data:
yada- 'ermüden, sich plagen' (MEKS 299), *yada-* '1. ustavat', utomljat'sja; byt' usatlym, utomlennym, iznurennym; 2. hudet'; 3. ploho sebja čuvstvovat'' (KarRP 216), *žüdegen* 'iznurennyj' (RKklp), *ǰada-* 'počuvstvovat' otvraščenie; okazat'sja nesposobnym, nemoščnym' (Kirg 210), *džada-* 'kimerül' (KazSK) – 'get exhausted/fagged',

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
yada- 'devenir faible, sans force' (Chag520), W.168, P.386 (Cl.1960:99), *yada-* 'nicht können' (Civ 299), *yada-* 'sıkıl-, daral-' (Atalay 1945: 275), *yada-* m. 'ermüden' (Grønbech 1942:109), *yadowsuz* 'qui n'est pas fatigué, qui n'est pas las' (ArmK),

Other Turkic data:
ǰadā- 'kraftloss werden' (MEJ 50), *yada-* 'ustavat', utomljat'' (TkmRS 806),

Middle Mongolian data:
yada- : yadabai : aryadan yadabai da (AQǰÜ 506), *yada- : yadaǰu : qoyolai yadaǰu* (MonPr 168), *yadanyu* 'slabyj' (IMI 408), *yadaqsan* 'ne mogšij' (MA 386), *yadauluqsan* 'impudent' (AKD204A2), *yada-* (MNT§15 etc.),

Written Mongolian datum:
jada- 'to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be in need; to suffer; to be unable' (L 422), (Kow 2276),

Other Mongolian data:
yada- 'ne moč', ne umet', ne byt' v sostojanii' (KhRS 690), *jadanam, jadanap* 'nicht können' (BurC 137), *jadna* 'ne pas pouvoir' (Oir 146), *jada-* 'nicht können, nicht im stande sein; in armut leben' (KWb 213), *jada-* 'ne pas pouvoir, être impuissant' (OrdM), *ida:-* 'to be tired, to be exhausted' (Mong), Dag., *yadax* 'nem tud (megtenni vmit) nem képes, kínlódik, küszködik' (Khal).

We 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 also follow some verbal stems.

The verb was borrowed by the Manchu-Tungus languages (cf. Sol. *yada-*, Man. *yada-* 'id.' (MT 82).

It is present in the Early Kipchak source, Codex Cumanicus as *yada-* 'to get tired' (Schönig 2003:411).

There are other synonyms of the word in West Siberian Tatar: *yabïg-* 'hudet', toščat'' (KST 120), *cağïl-* 'ar-, häldän tay-; ustat', vybit'sja iz sil' (KST 216).

For further data see: (Poppe 1955: 107), (Kincses Nagy 1997:142), (Csáki 2004:15).

57. *yadau* 'tired' < MMo cf. WMo *yadayu*

Tatar data:

yadau (dial.) 'yabïk, hälsez, yödäü' (TatAS3 622) - 'thin, puny, sickly, bad, exhausted, weak, feeble, faint, helpless, impotent, powerless', *yadau ~ yatau* 'yabïk, arïk, zägïyf (yödäü)' (DSTat 242, 247) - 'weak, feeble', *yatau* '1. hudoj, toščij; 2. hudet', toščat'' (ST 72), *yatau* '1. yabïk; hudoj, toščij'[52]; 2. yabïg-; hudet', toščat'' (KST 120), *qïrtïy → yadau* "Qïrtïy at belän yïraq barïp bulmïy." (TatDS 220) - 'It is not possible to go for a long distance on a horse that is exhausted.' *näljek → yadau* (TatDS 322), *yadau* 'arïk, yabïk; hudoj, toščij' (TatTD 106),

Other Kipchak datum:

ǰadaw 'karač. nevynoslivyj; neterpelivyj'; *~ at* 'iznežennyj kon''; *~ adam* 'čelovek, ne perenosjaščij trudnostej' (KrchT 216), *ǰadoo* 'II. izmučennyj, iznurennyj, istoščennyj, slabyj' (Kirg 210),

Written Mongolian data:

yadayu 'poor, needy; pauper, indigent; weakened; enfeebled' (L 422), *yadangu* 'slabyj' (MA 408),

52 There is a very interesting synonym of the word: *celgäü* 'yabïk; hudoj' (KST 218).

Other Mongolian data:
yaduu 'bednyj, neimuščij, slabyj, bessil'nyj' (KhRS 691), *yaduu* 'szegény, szegényes, nincstelen, ügyefogyott, tehetetlen' (Khal 750) - 'poor, needy, in want; destitute of, poor in, deficient in'.

The Mongolian deverbal noun is based on the previous verbal stem *yada-*.
The word has a synonym in West Siberian Tatar: *celgäü* 'yabïk; hudoj' (KST 218).

58. *yalga-* 'to unite' < MMo *ǰalga-*

Tatar data:
yalga- 'soedinjat', soedinit', nadstavljat'' (TatRS 706), *yalga-* 'nindi dä bulsa yul belän äyberlärne yäki anïŋ kisäklären ber-bersenä berketü, kušu, totaštïru' (TatAS3 633) - 'to bring together, to combine, to join the parts of different things, or the whole things whatever it may be', *yalġa-* 'összeforrasztani, toldani; fát oltani; zusammenlöten; anstückeln; pfropfen' (TatB 78), *ola- I* 'yalga-' (ST 160),

Bashkir data:
yalġa- 'prisoedinjat', soedinjat', scepljat', udlinjat', nadstavljat'' (Bashk 836), *yalġa-* 'terkä-' (BashkD1 79) - 'to unite',

Other Kipchak data:
žalġa- 'soedinit'' (RKklp 954), *ǰalga-* 'eklemek' (Krch), *džalġa-* 'soedinjat' kogo-čto; scepljat', naraščivat', nadstavljat' čto' (KrchT), *yalġa-* 'uveličivat', prisoedinjat'' (Kum), *ǰalga-* 'nadstavljat'; soedinjat'' (Kirg), *ǰalğa-* 'összeköt' (KazSK), *ǰalġa-* 'id.' (RKaz),

Other Turkic datum:
salġa- 'id.' (YakP),

Middle Mongolian data:
yalya- : yalyaba tündü 'prisoedinilsja k nemu' (MA 200), *ǰalqamǰï* 'continuation' (HpP),

Written Mongolian data:
ǰalya- 'to connect, join, splice; to continue, lengthen, add; to meet, border, adjoin' (L 1030),

Other Mongolian data:
jalga- 'összeköt, összekapcsol, összeilleszt, hozzátold' (Khal 192), *ǰalya-* 'allonger au moyen d'une allonge, ajonter une allonge, unir deux bouts, lier diverses parties les unes aux autres' (OrdM 182b).

There is a synonym in Tatar for 'to unite', it is *berläš-* (cf. TatRS 68), and this is the original Turkic word, while *yalga-* is a Mongolian loan. It is present in other Kipchak langugaes as well with an initial *ǰ-* or *ž-* as a Mongolian loan. There is a noun as well in Tatar: *yalgau* 'ssivanie, svjazyvanie' which was based on the above verb.

See further data on the Mongolian word in Poppe's 'The primary long vowels in Mongolian (cf. Poppe 1962:8), (Kincses Nagy 1997:141), (Schönig 2000:102), (Csáki 2004:16).

59. *yaθawïl* 'guard' < MMo cf. WMo *ǰasaγul*

Bashkir datum:
yaθawïl 'esaul' (Bashk 847),

Early Kipchak data:
yasawul 'die Wache zu Pferde' (Č 197), *yasavul* 'hanın hassa alayı, yasakçı, muhafız, emir subayı' (Barutçu Özönder 1996:44), *yasawul* 'načal'nik straži' (HŠF 491), *yäsawul* 'ohrana, ohrannik' (HŠN I.88), *yasaul* 'huissier, porte-verge, intendant'(Chag 526), *yasaul* 'der Verbieter, Wächter, die in Mittel-Asien mit Ruthen ihre dienstlichen Rundgänge halten' (ChagŠS102),

Other Kipchak data:
ǰasaway, ǰasawul 'nöbetçi, polis, kanun adamı' (Krch143), *yesaul* 'esaul, esaul'skij' (KrchT), *yasaul* 'Unteroffizier' (KumN 123), *yasaul* 'esaul' (Kum), *yasawun* 'zagon (dlja skota)' (KarRP 237), *džasawul* 'esaul, pridvornoe zvanie', *džasawïl* 'esaul, nalogovyj činovnik' (Krklp), *žasawïl* 'esaul' (RKklp), *žasool* 'ispolnitel' poručenij pri dolžnostnom lice' (Kirg 238),

Other Turkic datum:
yasavul '2. *archaic* guard' (Redh. 1245),

Written Mongolian data:
ǰasaġul 'arbitrator, referee, umpire, judge, sentry, guard' (L 1040), *jasaġul, jasa'ul* 'ordonnateur, un capitaine, une sentinelle' (Kow 2269), *jasaul (un)* 'to have put in order' (HpP)

Other Mongolian datum:
zasuul 'birkózó segítője/tanácsadója' (Khal 199) - 'helpmate of wrestler' .

The word belongs to the so called Mongol social life semantical group. There is a morphological criterion we have to consider: the Mo deverbal nomen suffix *-'Ul ~ -GUl > -(A)vUl* (Schönig 2000:78).

Even though the word formating suffix had been considered as part of Eastern Turkic morphology by the 16th century[53], we consider it as a Mo marker.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:112), (TMEN§149, 1863) *jasaġul* 'Ordner' mo.

60. *yaučï* 'suitor, matchmaker' < MMo *ǰa'uči,* Mo *ǰayuči*

Tatar data:
yaučï 'svat', *yaučï hatïn* 'svaha' (TatRS 719), *ǰaučï* 'heiratsvermittler' (PTatD), *yaučï (ir, hatïn)* 'svat ili svaha' (RTatS 606), *baš koda* → *'yaučï, dimče* – 'kïz sorarga kilüče' (DSTat 30) - 'main suitor, suitor, go between, the man or woman who came to propose marriage to a girl (in the name of the bride-groom)', *yaučï* 'yegetkä kïz dimläp yörüče' (TatAS3 658) - 'the one who came to the young man proposing a girl', *yauci, žauši* 'kïz görücü; Brautschauerin, Heiratsvermittlerin' (MishK 252), *žaučï* 'svat', svaha' (Matveev 1896:318), *saučï* 'yaučï; svat, svaha' (ST 187), *saucï* 'yaučï; svaha' (KST 189)[54], *saucï* → *yaučï, kïz yaučïsï* (DSTat 181),

53 There are several other Middle Turkic words formed by the help of this suffix, e.g. *šiqavul, čapavul, hirevül* (Csiky 2004:16).

54 There is a verbal form of the word as well in West Siberian Tatar: *saucïla-* 'yaučïla-; svatat' nevestu' (KST 187).

Bashkir data:
yausï 'svat, svaha' (BashkRS 728), *yausï* 'svatun, svatunja' (BashkK 95),

Other Kipchak data:
ǰawšï '(pri svatovstve) svat, quda (otec zjatja ili nevestki)' (RKklp 906), *ǰuuču* 'svat, svaha(kto svataet)' (Kirg 271),

Chuvash data:
yevčĕ 'svatun(ja), svodnik(-ca)' (Ašm4 264), *yevčĕ* 'id.' (Chuv), *jEv,DZE* 'lánykérő, násznagy; heiratsvermittler' (ChuvP 24),

Written Mongolian data:
ǰayuči 'svat', svodnik, possednik; faiseur de marriage, marieur, marieuse, entremetteur, entremetteuse' (Kow), *ǰayuči* 'matchmaker, go-between' (L 1024),

Other Mongolian data:
juuč 'svat, svodnik, posrednik' (KhRS 208), *ǰūči* 'entremetteur de marriage' (OrdM).

The word has a Mongolian etymology. According to Róna-Tas(1973-1974:126), it goes back to the Mongolian word **ǰayu : ǰayura* 'middle place, in between' (cf. AQǰÜ 216), a nomen actoris suffix was added to it: *ǰayu + či*.

Räsänen attributes to the Chuvash word a Tatar origin. He also gives further data in his etymological dictionary (RVEW 176). Egorov (1964:60) on the other hand offers another etymology "Proishodit ot *él, il* 'narod, plemennoj sojuz' " which is inacceptable for phonetic 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 *žaučï* – svata ili svahu i posylajut ih k roditeljam nevesty. V *žaučï* priglašaetsja inogda odin iz rodstvennikov ženiha..." (Matveev 1896:318).

The word is to be found with *s-* in Siberian Tatar, even a verb is based on it: *saucïla-* 'yaučïla-; svatat' nevestu' (ST 187).
For further data see: (Róna-Tas 1982:97).

61. *yödä-* 'to be in need' < MMo cf. WMo *ǰüde-* 'to be tired'

Tatar data:
yödä- 'nuždat'sja, obednjat', iznurjat'sja, iznurit'sja' (TatRS 193), *jödä-* 'bajban lenni, szorongani, elképedni; bedrängt ängstlich sein (cf. *alža-*)' (TatB 87), *ǰödä-* 'yödä-' : *ǰödäügä čïqqan* 'bik nïq yabïqqan' (TatDS 583) - 'to get tired, exhausted lose much weight', *źödä-* → *jödä-* (PTatD 47), *ǰöda: ǰöda bulu* 'aerïlu, mährüm kalu' (TatAS3 814) - 'to part, separate, be deprived of'; *yödä-, yüdä-* 'iznemogat'' (BarTat 146), *yödäš-* 'beteren-, hälsezlän-; istoščat', pohudet'' (TatTD 121), *yüdä-* ~ *yuta-* 'yödä-; izmučit'sja, isterzat'sja' (ST 88), *yödäü*[55] 'arïk (hayvan)' (DSTat 69) - 'tired (used in connection with animals)' (DSTat 69),

Bashkir data:
yöδä- 'mučit'sja, iznurjat'sja, vybivat'sja iz sil, obessilevat'' (Bashk 234), *yöδäš-* '1. aslïqtan hälheδlän-; obessilet' (ot goloda); 2. yonoso-; oslabet'' (BashkD2 93),

Chuvash datum:
jüDE- 'vénségtől botorrá, butává válni, szellemileg elgyengülni; geistig altersschwach werden' (ChuvP 32),

Other Kipchak data:
ǰüdegen 'iznurennyj' (RKklp), *ǰüdö-* 'pohudet', iznurit'sja' (Kirg 272),

Written Mongolian data:
ǰüde- 'to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pressure' (L 1082),

Other Mongolian data:
züde- 'id.' (BurRS), *züdü-* 'überanstrengt sein, erschöpft sein, müde sein, mager sein' (KWb 483), *züdé-* → *züdre-* 'iznurjat'sja, iznemogat'' (KhRS 209), *ǰüdü:* voir s.v. *jadū-* (OrdM 223b).

Räsänen considered the word to be of Mongolian origin in Turkic languages (RVEW 212). In Tatar it occurs as a loan both in *y-* and *ǰ-* dialects.

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55 The word belongs to the terminology of horse-breeding in the Tatar dialect spoken in *Älki rayonï.*

It would be interesting to find the links between Mongolian *yada-* and *jüde-*[56]. 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. *alža- : jödäb kal-* 'megzavarodni, elképedni; verwirst, verblüfft werden').

There is a Tatar adjective: *yödäü* 'arïk (hayvan)' (DSTat 69) – 'tired (of animal)' which is formed of the same stem.

There is a synonym of the verb in Bashkir: *dzurïġï-* '(redko) vybivat'sja iz sil, vymatyvat''sja ot sil'noj skački (o lošadi)' (Bashk 176).

62. *kabïrga* 'rib, side, flank' < MMo *qabirqa,* Mo *qabirya, qaburya, qoburya*

Tatar data:
kabïrga '(anat.) rebro, (geom.) rebro, kosogor. sklon'' (TatRS 201), *kabïrga, kaburga* 'oldalborda, rippe' (TatB 44), *kabrga* 'rebro' (TatJ 84), *qabïrġa* → yaqa 'the edge of sg.' (TatDS 186), *kabïrga* 'id.' (TatAS2 13), *qabïrya* 'rebro' (BarTat), *kabirga* : kaburga, yan: müsellesin yanı, *kaburga kemiği, dağ kaburgası* (TatN 402) - 'rib, side, the side of a triangle, the bone of the rib, ridge of a hill', *"Atï ulu, kabïrgasï kuru."* – 'His fame is great, but his ribs are weak.' (KTA 86), *qabïrġa III* 'rebro' (TatTD 123), *kabrga* [sic!] 'rebro' (TatYu 84), *kabïrga* 'id.' (DSTat 151),

Bashkir data:
qabïrġa 'rebro; bok, sklon; rebernyj' (Bashk 330), *kaburga* 'borda' (BashkP 249) - 'rib', *qabïrġa* 'kosogor' (BashkD2 126),

Other Kipchak data:
qavïrġa 'rebro' (NoghRS 249), *qawïrġala-* 'Seite bei Seite reiten' (NogR 156), *qabïrġa* 'rebro, stena' (Kaz 419), *kaburġa* 'oldal, lejtő; Seite, Abhang' (KumN 127), *qabïrġa* 'rebro' (RKklp 877), *qaburġa* 'rebro' (CrTat 143), (CrTatR 75), *qabïrġa* 'Seite, Wand' (BlkP 232),

56 Kara does not think they are of common origin, while they can serve as synonyms to a certain degree.

Early Kipchak data:
chaburcha 'costa' (CCK 112), *qaburġa* 'borda; Rippe' (TGA 316), *χabïrγa* 'rebro; côte' (DAK 438), *qaburqa* 'Rippe' (CC 188), *qaburġa* → *qabïrġa* (KT 122), *qabïrġa* 'Rippe' (Č 158),

Other Turkic data:
qabïrġa 'id.' (YakB 79), *kaburga* 'rib, ribs' (Redh 574), *qaburγæ* ~ *qabuγæ* ~ *qabuγa* 'rib' (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
qabirγa : karkata neretü amidu-yin qabirγ-a (AQǰÜ 235), *qabirqa, qabirqas* 'Rippen' (MNT 54), *qabirqa* 'Rippe' (LP), *qabirqa* 'côte' (LHY1 24), *qabirγa čaγān morin* 'yanı aq at' (MA 285) - 'horse with white sides', *qabirġa* 'rib' (KD199A6),

Written Mongolian data:
qabirγa 'rebra verhnaja, perednjaja; les côtes supérieures, de devant' (Kow 755), *qabïrγ-a(n)* 'rib, side, flank' (L 898), *qabirγa* 'verhnija, bolee dlinnyja rebra, bok' (KalmP 76), *qabirγa* 'die Seite; bok' (Schmidt 128c),

Other Mongolian data:
χawirga(n) 'rebro, bok, bokovaja čast'' (KhRS), *χab'irg* 'rebro' (DagP 96), *χäwrγa* 'die Seite, Rippen' (KWb 179), *qabirga* 'ribs' (Krue 110), *χawirga* 'côté, flanc, bord' (OrdM).

Doerfer considered the word of Mongolian origin in several Turkic languages and also in Persian: *qaburγa* 'Rippe' tü. < mo. (TMEN§267. Räsänen offers a Mongolian etymology (RVEW 216) that we cannot accept. The earliest Turkic datum could be the one in Codex Cumanicus.

Bazilxan called our attention to Kazakh *qabïrγa* 'rebra u grudiny'. Most probably the word originally belonged to the terminology of horse-keeping, and later its meaning got widen.

Poppe's etymology is clear and acceptable: **qabi* in **qabisun* 'side' (Poppe 1955:27) could be the stem of the word, the ending *+rqai/rkei* is a compound nominal suffix. Investigating primary **h-* in Mongol, Doerfer reconsidered the question of Mongol-Turkic and Mongol-Tungus relationship and discussed the word *qaburga* as well (1996:176-7).

The impact on early Kipchak languages can be detected in Codex Cumanicus (Schönig 2003:411).

For further data see: (Schönig 2000:147).

63. *kayčï* 'scissors' < MMo *qayiči* > *qaiči*

Tatar data:
kayčï 'nožnicy' (TatRS 213), *kayčï* 'olló' (TatB 40) - 'scissors', *kačï* 'nožnicy' (TatJ 82), *kayçı* 'kumaş kesmekte kullanılan maruf alettir, makas' (TatN 420) - 'a well-known tool in cutting textiles', *qaïčï* 'nožnicy' (TatG), *kaitsch* 'Scheere' (TatVH 392), *qančï* 'kayčï' (TatDS 191) - 'scissors', *kajčï* → kacï, kačï 'makas; Scheere' (MishK 252), *kayčï* → *kacï* (MišTat 147, 145), *qayčï* 'baš häm imän barmak öčen baldak sïman totqalï qaraqaršï ike pïčaqtan torġan, urtadan totaštïrïlġan kisü qoralï...' (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', *qaycï* 'nožnicy' (BarTat), *qaycï* → *aycïq* 'yögän präškäse; prjažka u uzdy' (ST 19), *qaycïla-* 'kayčï belän kisü; otrezat' nožnicami, strič'' (ST 115), *kačï* [sic!] 'nožnicy' (TatYu 82), *kayčï* 'nožnicy' (RTatS 380),

Bashkir data:
qaysï 'nožnicy, sekator' (Bashk 336), *qaysï* 'nožnicy' (BashkRS), *qaysï* 'nožnicy' (BashkK 113),

Other Kipchak data:
kayčï 'olló; Schere' (KumN 127), *qaišə, qanšə* 'Schere' (NogR 156), *qayšï* 'nožnicy' (Kaz 424), *qayšï* 'scissors' (KazDTL 129), *qayšï* 'nožnicy, protivorečivyj' (KrklpRS 357), *kayčï* 'scissors' (KirgDTL 129),

Chuvash data:
xačă 'nožnicy' (Chuv 539), *xajDŽï* 'olló; schere' (ChuvP 33), *chaitsch* 'Schere' (ChuvVH 392),

Other Turkic data:
qayčï 'scissors' (AzDTL 129), *gayčï* 'scissors' (TrkmDTL 129), *qayča* 'scissors' (UygDTL 129), *qayči* 'scissors' (UzbDTL 129),

Middle Mongolian data:
qaiči 'nožnicy' (MA 406), *qayiči* 'ciseaux' (LHY), *qaiči* 'scissors' (KD204C3),

Written Mongolian data:
qayiči 'nožnicy; ciseaux' (Kow 711), *qaiči(n)* 'scissors, pincers' (L 912), *qayiči* 'nožnicy' (KalmP 73), *qayiči* 'die Schere; nožnicy' (Schmidt 126b),

Other Mongolian data:
χai'č' 'nožnicy' (DagP 96), *xaič (in)*'olló; járőrök találkozó helye' (Khal545), *χajč(in)* 'id.' (KhRS 501), *qaici* 'shears, scissors' (Krue 112), *χä:tš* 'ciseaux' (Oir 143), *xaiči(n)* 'Handschere' (ParMon 158), *xaeč* 'shears' (Darig 161), *χä:tsi* 'die Schere' (KWb 180), *xä:či* 'ciseaux' (OrdM).

The word is considered to be of Iranian origin by Egorov, but Doerfer makes it clear that it is a Mongolian loan there just like in several Turkic languages: **qaiči* 'Schere' 318 tü. < mo. (TMEN§318). We can read about its Mongolian etymology in Róna-Tas's article *qayi-* 'to cut' in (Róna-Tas 1973-1974:130).

The word is of Mongolian origin also in Chaghatay (cf. *qaiči* 'id.' MA Pril II.).
The vowel of the second (open) syllable had fallen out in the transfer Mongolian dialect before it was borrowed by the VK languages.

There is an interesting misunderstanding in the meaning of ST data, because the noun does not mean 'scissors', yet the verb based on it means 'to cut with a scissors'.
For further data see Räsänen's dictionary (RVEW 221), (Poppe 1955: 76), (Róna-Tas 1982:109), Sidikov's studies (Sidikov 1983, 1984) and (Schönig 2000:149).

64. *kančïġa* 'leather stripe attached to the saddle' < MMo *qanǰuqa* cf. Mo *yanǰuya*

Tatar data:
qandžuġa 'toroka, remni u sedla, kotorymi privjazyvajut k sedlu legkuju klad', dič' i pr.' (Bud2 27), *kančïġa bau* 'äyber bäyläu öčen, iyärgä tašïlgan bau' (DSTat 76) - 'thong attached to the pad, in order to tie up the burden with', *qančïġa, qanžïġa, qančïġa bau* 'podpruga, toroka, privjaz u sedla' (BarTat 151), *kanǰïga* 'id.' (TatAS2 44), *qancïġa* 'toroka (remeški pozadi sedla dlja pristežki)' (ST 118), *kanǰïga bau : äyber bäylä öčen, iyärgä tagïlgan bau* (DSTat 76),

Bashkir data:
qan'yaya 'toroka' (BashkRS 321), *qanyaya* 'toroka' (Išberdin 1979:23),

Early Kipchak datum:
qančuġa 'der Riemen hinter dem Sattel zum anbinden leichter Sachen' (Č 160),

Other Kipchak data:
qanžïġa 'toroka' (RKklp 1013), *kanžïga* 'toroka' (Kirg 340),

Other Turkic datum:
kancığa '*archaic* breast strap at the front of a saddle' (Redh. 594),

Middle Mongolian datum:
qanǰuqa 'saddle-thongs' (KD205A22),

Written Mongolian data:
yanǰuγ-a(n) 'thongs attached to a saddle for tying an object' (L 350), *yanǰaya* 'toroka (u sedla)' (KalmP 106), *yanǰuya*'toroka' (Golst2 160),

Other Mongolian data:
ganǰaγ(a) 'Sattelriemen (an denen etwas festgebunden wird)' (KWb 143), *ganǰaga* 'toroka' (KhRS 111), *ganzaga* 'Riemen' (ParMon 63).

The word is still in use in Western Mongolian 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-breeding.

Doerfer considered the word to be of Mongolian origin: **qanǰuya* 'Riemen am Sattelende' tü. < mo. (TMEN§290).
We see it in the Tungus verb: *gaŋcuka-kal* 'privjazat' k sedlu' (Poppe 1927a:41).
For further data see the following works: Räsänen (RVEW 231), (Tuna 1973-75:298), (Nominhanov 1975:232), (Rassadin 1980:29), (Sidikov 1983:126), (Schönig 2000:98, 2003:411, 414).

65. *kaptïrġa* 'purse' < MMo *qabturγa*

Tatar data:
kaptïrgïč ~ *kaptïrma* 'id.' (TatAS2 47), *qaptïrma* 'ženskoe našejnoe ukrašenie s podveskami, sostojaščimi iz bljah s kamnjami ili monetami, s našejnoj zastežkoj' (TatTD 129),

Bashkir data:
qabtïrγa 'nošennyj baškirami na pojas, kožanyj mešoček' (BashkK 109), *qaptïrγa* '(nyeregkápán lógó) vadásztarisznya' (PBašhk 250) – 'satchel for hunters (hanging on the saddle-bow)', *kaptïrγa* "uzkij (vsego 2-3 cm širinoj) remennyj pojas, sravnitel'no korotkij (1.2-1.3 m), s vytinennym na ego narunoj poverhnosti uzorom, s krjučkoobraznoj pražkoj na odnom konce i dyročkami na drugom. U pravogo boka na etom remne vsegda byla privešena bol'šaja prjamougol'naja kožanaja suma – *kaptïrġa* ili kalta – bylo rasprostraneno sredi jugo-zapadnyh baškir, i vostočnye ščitali ego tatarskim..." (Rudenko 1955:169) - 'narrow leather belt (2-3 cm wide), comparatively short (1.2-1.3 m). There were pressed in 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 kaptïrġa or kalta. It was popular among the South Western Bashkirs and the Easterners took it for Tatar.' *qaptïrġa* 'qalta' (BashkD1 125),

Early Kipchak data:
χaptïrġa, χaptïrχa 'rodzaj torby, espéce de sac' (DAK 448), *qapturġa* 'zincir veya bukağı halkalarını bir araya toplayan demir' (KT 126),

Middle Mongolian datum:
qabturγa oqtalba qulayai 'vor vyrežal karman' (MA 285) - 'the thief cut out the sac',

Written Mongolian datum:
qabtaγa 'der Beutel, die Tasche; košelek, karman' (Schmidt 129b),

Other Mongolian data:
xawtga 'košelek' (KhRS 494), *xaptrγa* 'beutel, tasche' (KWb 167), *qabtaγa* 'bag, pouch' (Krue 110), *gabtarga* 'sachet, bourse qu'on porte suspendue à

la ceinture au côté gauche et dans laquelle on met le tabac et la pipe' (OrdM 282b).

The word is a Mongolian loan in different Turkic languages, see Doerfer: **qabturyai* 'Tasche' (TMEN§262).
It was also borrowed to Tungusic languages (cf. Ew. *kapturga*, Sol. *xapturga*, Man. *xabtaxa* (MT 39).
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:52), (RVEW 234), (Schönig 2000:147).

66. *karačay* 'kind of a bird' < MMo *qariyačai* cf. WMo *qaraačai*

Tatar datum:
karačay 'bizonyos madár; ein gewisser Vogel' (TatB 45),

Written Mongolian data:
uran qariyačai 'die Hausschwalbe; domovaja lastočka' (Schmidt 54c), *qariyačai* 'die Schwalbe' (Schmidt 140b), *qaratai* 'lastočka' (KalmP 87)[57], *qariyačai* 'id.' (Kow 843a),

Other Mongolian data:
xarātsä: 'schwalbe' (KWb 168), *xaraacai* 'lastočka' (KhRS 513), *xaraacai* 'hirunda daurica' = 'hirondelle rousseline'(VAM 122).

The word cannot be found in Old Turkic texts, but we can find it in Written Mongolian. The word final Mongolian *-ai* diphthong is reflected by a Tatar *-ay* as we might expect. The vowel of the second syllable had been contracted in the Mongolian (cf. *qariya- > qarā-* before it was borrowed by the Tatar. We see it in Tungus: *karāčirej* 'lastočka' (Poppe 1927a:47).

67. *karagay* 'larch-tree' < MMo cf. WMo *qaragai*

Tatar data:
karagay 'listvennica', *karagay urmanï* 'listvenničnyj les' (TatRS 228), *qaraġay* 'id.' (TatT 83), *qaraġay* 'sosna' (GTat), *karagay* 'čïršï, narat' (DSTat 77) - 'spruce fir, Scotch fir', tet aġač '*karaġay*' (ST 200) - 'larch-

57 Even though this is a different Mo word, the stem is the same.

tree', *qaraġay* '1. narat; 2. naratlïq; 3. urman; 4. erbet agačï' (ST 120), *qaraġay* 'narat' (TatDS 193) - 'Scotch fir', *karagay* 2. 'narat, čïršï' (TatAS2 51), *qaraġay* 'kedr' (BarTat), *qaraġay* 'narat; sosna' (TatTD 130), *qaraġay* '1. narat; sosna, 2. naratlïq; sosnjak' (KST 147), *katï karagay* 'tet agač' (DSTat 183),

Bashkir data:
qaraġay 'sosna' (BashkRS), *qaraġay* 'id.' (BashkK 124), *xarġai, karaġay* 'lucfenyő, erdei fenyő' (PBashk 250), *qaraġay* 'sosna' (botBashk 102), *qaraġay eme* 'tubirsiq' (BashkD1 126) - 'pine-cone', *qaraġay quŋïδï* 'smoljovka' (zoolBashk 133),

Early Kipchak datum:
qaraġay 'Lärche (Pinus larix)' (Č 160),
Other Kipchak data:
qaraġay 'fenyő; Fichte' *qaraġay taxta* 'fenyődeszka, Fichtenbrett' (KumN 129), *qaraġay* 'sosna' (Kaz 435), *qaraġay* 'pine' (KazDTL 110), *qaraġay* 'sosna' (NoghRS 250), *qaraġay* 'id.' (KrklpRS, RKklp 961), *karagay* 'el'; elovyj les; gornyj les' (Kirg 347), *karagay* 'pine' (KirgDTL 110),

Other Turkic data:
qarayay 'spruce (Pinus)' (Turki), *qariġay* 'pine' (UygDTL 110), *qaraġay* 'pine' (UzbDTL 110),

Written Mongolian data:
qaryai 'listvennica; larix (Pinus larix)' (Kow 844), *qaryai* 'larch tree' (L 936), *qaryai* 'der Kiefernbaum oder eine Gattung desselben, die im Herbste die Nadeln verliert' (Schmidt 142a), *qaryai* 'sosna, listvennica' (KalmP 88), *xaryai* 'listvennica' (Golst2 102),

Other Mongolian data:
xargai 'sibirskaja listvennica' (KhRS 515), *xaryā* 'Tanne, Lärche' (KWb 169), *xaryaė, xaryā* 'espèce du pin, pin aux feuilles caduques' (Oir 142), *qaryai* 'larch' (Krue 114).

The word is considered to be a Mongolian loan in some Turkic languages by Doerfer: *qarayai* 'Lärche' mo. (TMEN§280), and Dmitrieva (1976:38). Its first occurrence in Turkic languages is Chaghatay (Chag 398).

The suffix *+γai* is a Mongolian 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 consider the word *karagay* 'kïr ürdägeneŋ kara kaurïylï ber töre' (TatAS2 51) - 'black coverfeathered meadow-duck' also a Mongolian loan in Tatar. It occurs also as a place-name: *Karagay* (TatRS 792).

There is another word in Tatar from the same stem with the help of another Mongolian suffix: *karagana* 'Linsenbaum' (TatC 91). *+gana* is a Mongolian 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" (Poppe 1981).

For further data see: RVEW 235, (Kincses Nagy 1997:141).

68. *karaŋgï* 'dark; darkness' < MMo *qaraŋgui*

Tatar data:

karaŋgï 'temno' (RTatS 667), *qaraŋġï* ~ *qaraŋġïy* 'temnota, potemki' (BarTat 152), *ïmïrtla-* 'karaŋgï tösä bašla-' (DSTat 235), *karañgï* 'dunkel; Dunkelheit' (MišTat 146),

Bashkir datum:

qaraŋġï 'temnyj; nejasnyj, neizvestnyj' (Bashk 351), *karaŋġu, karaŋġï* 'sötét, sötétség' (PBashk 250),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:

karaġu, karaŋu, karanku 'karanlık' (HMA), *qaraŋġu* 'dark', *qaraŋġuluq* 'darkness' (Rbg715), *qaranqu* 'temnyj' (ChagB 205), *qaraŋgu* 'temnyj' (IM 104), (PdC 418), Zenker 696, *qaraŋġu* ~ *qaraŋqu* 'temnyj' (Fazylov1971:598), *qäraŋġu, qäraŋqu* 'temnyj, temno, temnota' (HŠN I.87), *qaranqu* 'temnota' (MA 292), *karangı* 'karanlık' DLT: *karanggu, karanğku* (Atalay 1945:184), *qarangu, qaranqu* 'karanlık' (DK 169), *χaramġu, χarangu* 'obscur, noirceur, obscurité' (DAK 862), *qaraġu* 'karanlık' (Hou), *carangu* (CC 82), *karangi* 142, *qaraŋġu, qaraŋġï* 'Finsternis' (Grønbech 1942:193), *qaraġu* ~ *qaraŋġï* ~ *qaraŋġu* (KT 127), *qarangqu* 'darkness' (E 221),

Other Kipchak data:
qarangï 'karanlık', *köz qarangï etib* 'ne olursa olsun diyerek' (Krch 277), *q'araŋŋï* 'Finsternis' (KrchP), *Qarangıkol* 'ırmak ve vadi adları' (Tavkul 2000:486), *qaraŋŋï* 'dunkel, das Dunkel' (BlkP 235), *qarangï* → *qaranlïq* 'temnota, mrak' (CrTatR 78), *qarangï* 'temnyj, mračnyj' (Kum), *qaraŋï/qaraŋŋï* 'dark' (KumR 88), *qaraŋgï* 'temnyj' (Kklp), Karaim: *qaranguluq* 'darkness' (Jankowski 1997:69), *qarangu* 'dunkel' (CrKar), *qaraŋgï* 'dark' (KazDTL 40), *karaŋgï* 'temno; t'ma, temnota, mrak; nevežestvennyj, temnyj' (Kirg 349), *karaŋgï* 'dark' (KirgDTL 40),

Other Turkic data:
qaraŋulıq (Turan 2001:97), *qaraŋu geje* (Turan 2001:145) - 'dark night', *karanu* [sic!] '*archaic* dark, obscure; darkness' (Redh. 604), *garaŋku* 'dark' (TrkmDTL 40), *qaraŋgu* 'dark' (UygDTL 40), *qorong'i* 'dark' (UzbDTL 40),

Written Mongolian data:
qaraŋgui (L 935), *qaranqu* (MA 292),

Other Mongolian data:
xaranxuj 'sötét; maradi; sötétség; maradiság, tudatlanság' (Khal 559), *qaranggui*, oir. *xaranxui*, kalm. *xarŋgū*, halha *xarngui*, haranhuj 'temnota, temno, temnyj', bur. *xaranxī*, ord. *xaraŋguī* 'sötét(ség)' (Birtalan-Rákos 2002:207).

The stem of the word is attested in Old Turkic: *karaŋğu* der. fr. *kara:* but morphologically obscure; 'dark, darkness'. An early loan-word in Mongolian... (Clauson 1972:662).

This is a debated word, though it is most probably reborrowed from Mongolian in this form in many of the present day Turkic languages.
See in the following proverb: *Öksüznü künü qarangï.* (Bittirlanï 1997:239). *Kündüz čïrak jandïrgan keče karangïda kalïr* (Tavkul 2001:14). *Karangï kulak börünü uyasï.* 'A dark valley is the nest of a wolf.' (Tavkul 2001:148)

Doerfer considered the word to be of Turkic origin in Mongolian: *qaraŋgu* 'finster' mo < tü. (TMEN§1448).
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:152), (Poppe 1962:337), (Eren 1999:210).

69. *karavïl* 'guard, watch' < MMo *qara'ul*

Tatar data:
karavïl 'karaul, ohrana, straža' (TatRS 228), *karauïl, karaul* 'őrizet; wache' (TatB 45), *karavïl* 'korallï dežurlïk' (TatAS2 50) - 'orderly watch', *karawïl* 'Wache' (PTatD 25), *karawïl : tawïk karawïlï* (TatDS 230) - 'watch of the hens', *qarawïl ayač* 'mičneŋ tür yägi počmagï buena utïrtïlgan agač bagana' (DSTat 77) - 'wooden stand at the fore corner or in the direction of the corner of the oven', *karavïl* 'straža; sakčïlar, sak' (RTatS 653), *urman karavïlčïsï* 'strelok' (RTatS 654), *karaul* 'Wache' (MišTat 146),

Bashkir data:
qarauïl 'karaul; karaul'nyj' (Bashk 353), *qarauïl* 'straža, storož' (BashkK 124), *küδäüges I 'qarauïl'* (BashkD2 115),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
qaravul ~ qaravulu (KT 127), *karaul* 'straža, karaul' (Bud2 48), *qarawul, qarawulčï* 'Wache, Vorposten' (Č 161),

Other Kipchak data:
qarauïl 'haraul, ohrana, muška, pricel' (Kaz 435), *qaraul* 'őr; Wächter', *qaraul et-* 'őrködni; wachen' (KumN 129), *qarauïl* 'id.' (KrklpRS 379), *qarawul* 'storož' (CrTat 152), *qala'ur* 'Wache' (BlkP 234),

Chuvash data:
xural 'id.' (Chuv), *xural: xural tïr-* 'őrt állani; wache stehen', *xural'Zï* 'őr, testőr; wächter, wache' (ChuvP 51),

Other Turkic data:
xaraal 'karaul' (TuvRS 469), *qara'ul* 'post of observation, watch-out', *qara'ulčï* 'watchman' (Turki), *karavul 'archaic* sentry, guard, watchman; outpost' (Redh. 605),

Middle Mongolian data:
qara'ul 'Späher, Patronille' (MNT 60), *qara'ul* 'storož' (MA),

Written Mongolian data:
qarayul 'karaul, piket, straža, nadzor; sentinelle, garde, piquet, corps-de garde' (Kow 832), *qarayul* 'watch, sentry, guard, scout' (L 933),

Other Mongolian data:
xaruul 'karaul, dozor, straža, ohrana' (KhRS 517), *xarūl* 'Grenzwache, Pickett' (KWb 171), *xarōl* 'karaul' (DagP 97).

As soon as the Mongol Empire advanced to Central Asia we can find Middle-Mongolian loans in Turkic languages. The word **kara.xul* is a major military term of the Mongolian era, it was borrowed by a lot of languages.

The stem of the word is the Mongolian verb *qara-* 'to watch', while *-γul* is a deverbal nomen suffix. There are other words formed with the same suffix borrowed by Turkic languages.
For further data see: Doerfer: (TMEN§276), (RVEW 235), (Egorov 1964:304), (Róna-Tas 1982:110), (Schönig 2000:152), (Schönig 2003:411), etc.

70. *karčïga* 'hawk, falcon' < MMo *qarčiqai*

Tatar data:
karčïga 'jastreb' (TatRS 237), *karčïġa* 'ölyv; bussard (accipiter, astur)' (TatB 46), *karčïga* 'jastreb' (TatJ 88), *qarčïġa* 'jastreb' (GTat), *karčïya, qaržïya* 'Habicht' (PTatD 25), *qarčïya* 'jastreb' (TatT 81), *karčïgan* 'karčïga' (TatDS 232) - 'hawk', *karčïga* 'urta zurïktagï, käkre tomšïklï häm ozïn tïrnaklï ertkïč koš' (TatAS2 64) - 'a medium sized bird of prey with a curved beak and long talons', *qarčïġa* 'hiščnye pticy ili drugie letajuščie, napadajuščie na ptic' (TatTD 131), *qarcïġa* 'karčïga; jastreb' (ST 121), *karčïga* 'krečet' (RTatS 278),

Bashkir data:
qaršïya 'jastreb' (BashkRS 327), *karsaga* 'jastreb', *karsaga söy* 'ohotit'sja s jastrebami' (BashkK 126) - 'to hunt with goshawks', *qarsėġa* 'ölyv' (PBashk 251) - 'hawk', *qarsaġa höyäge* (BashkD1 129) - 'hunting with goshawks', *qarsïġa* 'jastreb' (zoolBashk 134),

Other Kipchak data:
qaršïġa 'jastreb' (Kaz 437), *qaršïġa* 'jastreb' (KrklpRS 381), *karčïġa*[58] 'sólyom; Falke' (KumN 129), *qarčəğa* 'hawk (Accipiter gentilis)' (KumR 88),

58 The word has a synonym in Kumyk: *qïrġïy* → *qarčïġa* (KumN 131).

Early Kipchak and Chaghatay data:
qarčyġa, qarčaġa 'Habicht' (CC 194), *qarčaġa* 'accipiter' (CCk 180), *qarčïġa* 'jastreb' (Bud2 9), *qarčaġa* → *qarčïġa* (KT 128), *qarčïġa* 'Habicht (Astur palumbariusu)' (Č 161),

Chuvash data:
xurčka, xorčka 'jastreb' (Ašm16 236), *khortchka* 'vautour' (Klaproth 1828:243), *hurčăka* 'jastreb' (Egorov 1964:309),

Other Turkic data:
qarčïyæ ~ qa·čïyæ ~ qa:čïyæ ~ qačïyæ 'hawk' (Turki)[59],

Middle Mongolian data:
qarčïyai 'jastreb' (MA 406), *qarčiqai* 'browner Falke' (MNT 61), *qarčiyai* 'faucon' (LHY I 7.), *qarčaqai* 'Falke' (LP), *qarčaqai* 'falcon' (KD200A20),

Written Mongolian data:
qarčayai 'jastreb, lesnoj jastreb; vantour (falco palumbarius)' (Kow 850), *qarčayai* 'falcon, hawk' (L 936), *qarčiya* 'jastreb' (KalmP 89), *qarčayai* 'der Habicht; jastreb (malenkij)' (Schmidt 142b), *xarcagaj* 'jastreb' (Golst2 104),

Other Mongolian data:
karsaga, xarsaga 'Habicht' (BurC), *χartsaG* 'faucon' (Oir 142), *üleg xarcaga* 'accipiter gentilis = vautour des palombes' (VAM 123), *xartsayä* 'Habicht' (KWb 170), *xarcx* 'jastreb' (Nom 43), *xarcgai* 'jastreb' (KhRS 518), *garčagä:* 'autour' (OrdM).

The word is an Old Turkic loan in Mongolian as Doerfer made it clear: *qarčayai* 'Habicht' mo. < tü. OT *qartïqa* > OMo (TMEN§278). *qartiya* and *+i* was added to it though its semantical role is not clear in Mongolian.

After the *-ti* > *-či* development in Mongolian, the word gained a new form: *qarčiyai*, and this was reborrowed with or without the final *-i*. The form of the Mo word alternates like in the case of *malayai ~ malaya, siya ~ siyai,* etc.
Grønbech signed *qarčiya* as of Mongolian origin already in CC.

The word reached the Chuvash by Tatar transmission as we can learn it from Róna-Tas (1982:111), and Poppe (1977).

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59 Jarring (1964:240) gave further references.

We can find the word in two different forms in Pallas's Zoographia: *chartzigan* B 36 'fere omnis gentis, Accipiter Astur' (Kecskeméti 1968:62), *kartscheja* B 36 'fere omnis gentis, Accipiter Astur (Kecskeméti 1968:63), both of them are wrong, most probably misspelt forms.

71. *karū* 'objection' < MMo *qari'u*

Tatar data:
karu 'vozraženie' (TatRS 236), *qaru* 'javap' (TatDS 236) - 'answer', *karu* 'karšïlïk, awïr häl, kïenlïk' (TatAS2 64) - 'opposition, difficult setting, hardship',

Bashkir data:
qarïu 'zato' (BashkRS), *qarïu* 'zamena, voznagraždenie' (BashkK 127), *qarïu* 'γäyrät' (BashkD1 129) - 'daring, courage', *qarïu* '1. jäuap; otvet; 2. kös; vozmožnost', sila; 3. säbäp; pričina' (BashkD2 137),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
qaruw 'recompense' (Rbg), *qarġu* 'otvet, voznagraždenie' (HŠF II.605), *qaru* 'Antwort' (Č 161),

Other Kipchak data:
qaruw 'sila; kuč" (CrTat 154), *qaruw* 'kuvvet, güç' (Krch 246), *q'arū* 'Lust, Vermögen' (KrchP), *qarïw* 'sila, mošč', neposlušanie, mščenie, otmščenie' (Kum), *karū* 'Lust, Fähigkeit' (KumN 129), *qaruw* 'otvet' (Kar), *qaru* 'karşılık' (CrKar), *qarū* 'Kraft, Vermögen, Vermögensverhältnisse, Talent, Begabung' (BlkP 71),

Chuvash data:
hurav, horav, huru 'otvet, otklik, vozraženie, spor, opravdanie' (ChuvF 362),

Middle Mongolian data:
qari'u 'zurück, (in) Vergeltung, in Antwort' (MNT 62), *qariγu : qariγu inu...ǰrlγ ilelegei* (MonPr 316), *γari'ūn* 'otvet' (IMI 437), *qari'u* 'otvet' (MA 294),

Written Mongolian data:
qariγu 'obratno, nazad: vozvjat, vozvraščenie, vozvratnyj, obratnyj, vozvraščajuščeesja: otvet, vozraženie, vozmezdie; de retour: action de retourner, de renvoyer, de restituer, de retour, rétrograde, ce qui revient: réponse, réplique, récompense, rétribution' (Kow 838), *qariγu* 'answer, response, return' (L 937), *qariu* 'obratno, nazad' (KalmP 88), *qariγu* 'zurück, wieder zurück, das Wiederkehrende, die Erwiederung; obratno, nazad, vozvraščajuščeesja, otvet' (Schmidt 140c),

Other Mongolian data:
xärü: 'antwort, bezahlung' (KWb 178), *xar'i-* 'vozvraščat'sja' (DagP 97), *xariu, xariun* 'válasz, felelet, viszonzás' (Khal 561), *xarū* 'réponse, ce qu'on donne en retour de quelque chose qu'on a reçu, rétribution' (OrdM 341).

The basic meaning of Mo *qariγu* is 'turn, return; answer' in Mongolian (Poppe 1955:66). The word is of Mongolian origin in Iranian and in several Turkic languages. It derives from the Mongolian verb *qari-* 'to return' see also Doerfer: *qariγu* 'Erwiderung' mo. (TMEN§258).

In his study on the historical vocabulary of Yakut, Klimovič (1973) pointed out, that many of the Mongolian – Yakut parallels can also be traced in Chuvash. He considered both Chuv. *xurav* 'otvet, otklik' and Yak. *xoruy* 'otvet, vozmezdie' of Mongolian origin. The word was also borrowed by Manchu in the form of *karu* (MT 118).

The word is mentioned by Rybatzki (2003:65) in his study on MMo word formation as a deverbal noun:

"SH *qari-* 'to return': *qari'u* 'return; answer' ".

We can learn it from Benzing also, how disyllables developed in Kalmuck: "*.iγu* > Oir. *.iu/.iγou* (in der Stammsilbe) *-iu* (in nichtersten Silben). Klm. *ü* (in ersten Silben) ~ *ü* (in nichtersten Silben). moL *qariγu* > *Klm. xärü* 'Antwort' = oir. *xariu* (cf. Benzing 1985:60). The word is present in Karachay proverbs as well, e.g.: *Qaruwlu bugub ǰürümez.* 'Güçlü saklanıp yürümez.' (Tavkul 2001:150).

72. *kavïrsïn* 'bird's feather' < MMo cf. WMo **qaurasun*

Tatar data:
kavïrsïn 'mahovye per'ja (kryl'ev pticy)', *koyrïk kavïrsïnnarï* 'rulevye per'ja' (TatRS 202), *qawïr* 'kavïrsïn' (TatDS 1836) - 'bird's feather', *kawïrsïn*

'(Flügel-) Feder' (PTatD 26), *kavïrsïn* 'koš kanatïndagï ere kaurïy' (TatAS2 14) – 'the big feathers in the wing of a bird', *kavïrsïn* 'kaurïy (košnïŋ)', *kanatnïŋ kavïrsïnï töškän* (DSTat 71) – 'feather (of a bird), the feathers of the wing have fallen out', *qauïrsïn II* 'kaurïy; pero' (KST 150), *kavïrsïn* 'kaurïy' (DSTat 71),

Bashkir data:
qauïrhïn 'pero (ptič'e)' (BashkRS 332), *qauïrhïn* 'pero' (zoolBashk 133), *qauïrhïn* 'operenie' (zoolBashk 133), *qauïrśïn* ~ *qauïrhïn* 'pero (ptič'e)' (Aznagulov 1975:11), *qanatlï uq 'qauïrhïnlï uq*; strela iz pera' (BashkD2 132)[60],

Early Kipchak data:
qawursïn 'Federkiel' (CC 197), *qavursïn* 'kuş tüyü sapı' (KT 132),

Other Turkic datum:
qoorasun 'Feder' (YakB 69),

Written Mongolian datum:
quurasun 'der Federkiel, das Stroh, der Strohhalm; pero, soloma, solominka' (Schmidt 202a),

The word has an ancient and huge family, its roots go back to the Old Turkic *qab* → *qap* 'sosud, meh' (DTS 420). There are a great number of its derivatives. It seems that Old Mongolian borrowed the word, added its suffixes and in this form VK languages borrowed it from Mo. There is a synonym of the word in Tatar: *qïrïqlïq* (ST 142) → *qauïrsïn* II. 'pero' (ST 125).

73. *kägel* 'hair, forlock of a horse' < MMo *kekül*

Tatar data:
kägel 'atnïŋ maŋay čäče; volosy na lbu lošadi čelka' (ST 93), *kakul* 'atnïŋ ike kolak arasïnnan maŋgayena töšep torgan yalï (čelka)' (DSTat 73),

60 There is a synonym of the word in Bashkir: *salġïy* 'qauïrhïn – pero ptič'e. *sïlġïy*' (BashkD2 199).

Bashkir data:
kikel 'čelka (u lošadi)' (Bashk 270), *kikel 2.* 'yïlqï malïndağï maŋlay säs' (BashkD1 102), *kikel, kikelek* 'kikrek; grebešok (u petuha), *kikerek II* 'attïŋ maŋlay säse; čelka' (BashkD2 104),

Other Kipchak data:
kekel 'saç parçası, perçem' (Krch 253), *k'ek'el* 'Schopf, bei dem Pferde vorne auf die Stirn herunterhängenden Haare'(KrchP), *kekel* 'Stirnhaar der Pferde' (BlkP 227), *kekel' ~ kokel'* 'hoholok' (CrTat 65), *kekel* 'greben', hohol (obyčno u pticah)' (Kum), *kekil* 'üstök' (KazSK), *kekil* 'hoholok' (RKklp),

Other Turkic data:
kekil 'forelock, topknot, tuft' (Az), *kakïl* 'kakül' (AzT),

Middle Mongolian data:
kekül 'forelock' (KD198B16), SH *kegül* 'tuft of hair',

Written Mongolian datum:
kekül 'long hair, braid, forlock of a horse' (L 446)[61],

Other Mongolian data:
xöxöl 'frufru, homlokon egyenesre nyírt haj' (Khal 607), [kökil], *kökl* (KWb), *güχül* 'id.' (OrdM.).

The word belongs to the terminology of Mongolian horse-breeding.
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:143), Doerfer: (TMEN§320), (Toparlı 2003:136), (Schönig 2000:123).

74. *kïrpak* 'powdery snow' < MMo cf. WMo *qir(a)maq*

Tatar data:
kïrpak : kïrpak kar 'poroša, pervyj sneg' (TatRS 312), *qïrpaq* 'yuka gïna bulïp, töškän berenče kar yäki agarïp töškän kïrau, vak kar' (TatDS 220) - 'rather thin layer of new fallen snow, or strong surface frost in spring or

61 It denotes plaited hair in Kalmyk, on hairdo among Kalmyks see further data in: (Birtalan-Rákos 2002:70).

autumn, very little snow', *kïrpak* 'vak vak börtekle (kar, kar börtege turïnda)' (TatAS2 228) - 'very small flakes (in connection with snow)', *qïrpaq* 'pozdnie osennie sil'nye zamorozki' (TatTD 150),

Bashkir data:
qïrpaq ~ qïrpaq qar 'poroša' (Bashk 397), *qïrpaq* 'sneg' tol'ko čto vypavšij osen'ju' (BashkK 165) - 'new fallen snow in autumn', *qïrpïq : qïrpïq qar* 'täüge qar' (BashkD1 147) - 'fresh first snow',

Other Kipchak data:
taza qïrpaq qar 'poroša' (RKklp 734), *qïrpaq* 'poroša' (KrchT 446),

Other Turkic data:
kïramai ~ kïramaχ 'Neuschnee, Spurschnee' (MEJ 88),

Written Mongolian data:
kirmayla- 'idët sneg, poroša (pri svete solnca)' (Golst3 444), *kiramay* 'fine or fluffy snow, new-fallen snow, first snow' (L 470), *kiramay časun* 'ein geringer schwacher Schneefall' (Schmidt 157a),

Other Mongolian data:
xyarmag 'poroša' (KhRS 597), *xjarmag* 'finom porhó' (Khal 648), *kirmaq* 'der erste, feine schnee' (KWb 232), *kirmg* 'poroša' (Nom 280), *k'irmak* 'petite neige qui parvient à peine couvrir le sol' (OrdM).

Despite the phonetical difficulty of VK *-p-* : Mong *-m-* the two words must be related.

Ramstedt connected these words (KWb 232) and according to Poppe and Kałużyński the Yakut *kïrpaχ* 'grain particles' is a loan from Mo *kirmay*.

75. *kïtat* 'Chinese silk' < MMo *kitat* 'China, Chinese'

Tatar data:
kïtat 'parča, kitajskij šëlk' (TatRS 315), *kïtat* 'nankin selyemszövet; seidenstoff' (TatB 52), *kïtat* 'materiya iseme (borïngï)' (DSTat 109) -'name of a cloth (old)', *qïtat* 'kïymätle materija, parča, yuka yäšel materija, gadi kara materija' (TatDS 222) - 'valuable brocade cloth, thick green cloth, simple black cloth', *kïtat* 'borïngï vakïtta kïtaydan kertelä torgan tïgïz efäk

tukïma' (TatAS2 240) – 'heavy silk cloth, that was let in from China in olden times',

Bashkir data:
qïtat 'kitajka (tkan'); kitajčatyj' (Bashk 401), *qïtat* 'glazet, parča, parčëvyj' (BashkRS 363),

Middle Mongolian data:
Qitad : Qitad-un (MonPr 146), *kitat* 'les Chinois' (LHY), *kitat* 'Jurchen' (MNT),

Written Mongolian data:
kitad 'China, Chinese' (L 473), *kitad* 'der Chinese, der Slave; kitaec, nevol'nik' (Schmidt 158b),

Other Mongolian data:
X'atat 'Chinese' (BurC 129), *xyatad* 'kitaec, kitajanka, kitajskij' (KhRS 597), *kitïD* 'Chin, Chinese' (KWb 233), *k'itat, kïdat* 'Chinesische' (ParMon), *gitat* 'Chinois' (OrdM 267).

The word is of Mongolian origin in the VK languages. There is a Mongolian plural-suffix *-d* (Middle Mongolian *-t*) at the end of the word. It is voiceless in VK as well.

Though the meaning of *kïtat* in VK is not exactly the same as in Mongolian the problem is surmountable. There is an important lessening in the semantics: from the original 'Chinese' > 'Chinese silk' > 'silk'.
For further data see Räsänen: (RVEW 268).

76. *kinät, kinättän* 'all of a sudden' < MMo *genete*

Tatar data:
kinät, kinättän 'vdrug, vnezapno' (TatRS 257), *kinät, kinätten* 'hirtelen, rögtön, egyszerre; plötzlich' (TatB 56), *ki'nät, ki'nättän* "Hič kötmägändä, iskärmästän, kisäktän, kapïl." (TatAS2 101) - 'absolutely unexpected, precipitous, sudden', "Yaz köne ide, kič ide, kinät ällä ni buldï" – 'It was a summer day, it was late and all uf a sudden what happened? – I don't know...'. *kinäktän, kinättän* 'vdrug' (KST 134), *percä* 'kinät; vdrug' (KST

179), *kinät* 'vnezapno' (RTatS 71), *kinät* 'id.' (DSTat 172), *kinättän* 'id.' (DSTat 32), *kinät* 'plötzlich, unerwartet' (MišTat 151),

Bashkir data:
kinät → *qapïl* 'rezko, bystro, vnezapno, neožidanno, vdrug' (Bashk 275), *kinät* 'vdrug, vnezapno, neožidanno, skoropostižno, zapal'čivyj' (BashkRS 261),

Other Kipchak data:
keneten 'vnezapno' (NoghRS 247), *kenet: kenet-kenet* 'izredka' (Kirg 373),

Early Kipchak data:
kenete 'plötzlich' (CC 138), *kenetä* 'similis' (CCK 233), *keskenetä* 'ansïzïm' [sic!] (AQP 152), *kenete* 'aniden, birdenbire' (KT 138),

Chuvash datum:
kinet 'neožidanno, vdrug, srazu' (Chuv 177),

Middle Mongolian data:
genete 'plötzlich, unerwartet' (MNT 49), *genete* 'vnezapno' (MA 170), *genedte : genedte serijü* (AQjÜ 194),

Written Mongolian data:
genedte 'suddenly, unexpected(ly), by chance, by accident' (L 377), *genedte* 'plötzlich, unerwartet; vnezapno, nečajanno' (Schmidt 197a),

Other Mongolian data:
gent, gented 'vdrug, neožidanno' (KhRS 133), *gendkel* 'vnezapno' (DagP 74), *gened* 'plötzlich, unerwartet' (KWb 133), *genedte* 'tout-á-coup, subit' (OrdM).

The Mongolian word derives from the verb *gened-* 'to be surprised' (cf. Poppe 1976:473). It was borrowed by a number of Turkic languages; Räsänen listed them in his etymological dictionary (RVEW 252).

Instead of the Mongolian initial *g-* we find *k-* in the Turkic languages. For further data see also Zajączkowski's article on Mongolian loan words in Karaim (cf. MEKS 299).

There is a derivative of the word in the Middle Kipchak Psalter (AQP 152), with a more intensive meaning: *keskenetä*. Its variant has a misprint

ansïzïm[62] [sic!] 'suddenly, all of a sudden'. There are a few other MMo loans in the text similarly to the Bible translation into the Northern Crimean dialect of Karaim.[63]

The ablative suffix +DAn appears on Turkic data in order to fit them into the system.[64]
We see it in Tungus: *génétéko:n* 'vdrug' (Poppe 1927a:41).

77. *kinǰä* 'youngest child' < MMo cf. WMo *kenye*

Tatar data:
kinǰä ~ *kinyä* 'poslednyj rebenok, posledyš' (TatTD 172), *kincätäy* → *kincä* '1. keče; mladšij; 2. iŋ kečkenä bala; samyj malenkij rebenok, poslednyj' (ST 99), *kincä* → *kincätäy*[65] '1. keče; mladšij[66]; 2. iŋ kečkenä bala, töpček; samyj malen'kij rebenok, posledyš' (KST 134),

Bashkir data:
kinyä 'mladšij (iz detej); (dial.) poslednyj' (Bashk 274), *kinyä* → *töpsök II* 'kinyä; posledyš' (BashkD2 257),

Other Kipchak data:
ginǰi 'gözbebeği; oyuncak bebek, kukla' (Krch 205), *genǰa:* ~ *tay* 'žerebenok (ot kobylicy tret'ego goda)' (KrchT 184), *k'injí* 'Puppe' (KrchP), *ginzi* 'Puppe' (BlkP 221), *kendže* 'mladšij' (CrTatR 66), *kenǰe* 'yaş, genç; jung' (CrKar), *genže* '(po vozrastu) mladšij' (RKklp), *kenǰe* (Kaz), *genže* 'posledyš (o rebenke)' (Kum), *kenǰe* 'mladšij' (CrTat 124),

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62 The word is well known as *ansïzïn* 'birdenbire' (KT9).

63 There are the following MMo loans in the latter text: *narat, qaraŋu(luq), oram, soqur, töle-* (Jankowski 1997:25).

64 See my articles on these lexicalized forms (Csáki 2004).

65 The denominal Mo. adjective suffix is well known, it appears on other Mo. loans without any special meaning, e.g.: *irkätäy* 'kapriznyj, izbalovannyj' (KST 114) cf. *irkä* 'id.'.

66 We have seen in the case of other loanwords that some enter another category of words: e.g. a noun shall turn into adjective or vica versa. We see in the compound *kincä pigä* 'mladšaja sredi starših sester muža' (KST 180) that the original Mo. noun has became an adjective.

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
Kinǰä 'Pn.' (Č 153), *genǰ* 'gizli ve gümülü hazine, hazine' (BL),

Written Mongolian data:
kenye 'child born to old parents' (L 454),

Other Mongolian data:
xénz 'ősszel sarjadt, kaszálás után nőtt fű, (öreg szülőktől) későn született (gyermek)' (Khal 640), *kenǰe* 'spätgeboren; vom vieh: im herbst geboren (und darum klein und schwach)' (KWb 226).

**kenč ~ kenže* 'mladšij iz detej' (Tenišev 2001:657)
Both of the above words go back to Mo *kenje*, but they must have been taken over from different dialects in different times. In Karachay the word is present in the terminology of horse-breeding in the form: *gendža tay ~ gendžetay* 'kısrağın üç yaşında iken doğurduğu tay' (Krch) - see above.
(TMEN§352) *kenjä* 'Nesthäkchen' tü < mo < tü, (Eren 1999:153).
For further Mo data see: (Poppe 1955:36), (Birtalan 1992:38).

78. *koda* 'affiliated relatives addressing each other' < MMo *quda*

Tatar data:
koda 'kum, svat (otec i rodstvenniki ženiha po otnošeniju k roditeljam i rodstvennikam nevesty)' (TatRS 267), *koda ǰïbärü* 'svatat' → *yaučï ǰïbärü* 'asking of hand in marriage', *kodača* 'a nő és férj nővérei egymás irányában, komaasszony; schwestern der frau und des mannes (gegenseitig, gevatterin)' (TatB 59), *qoda* 'svat', *qodaġïy* 'svaha' (TatDS 199), *kuda* 'Freiwerber' (TatC 99), *arġïš qoda* 'töp koda' (Bajazitova 1986:130) – 'the most important person among the in-laws (in general the father of the bride or bride-groom)', *köda* 'Brautwerber' (PTatD), *kuta* 'svat' (GTat), *koday* 'birader, hemşire; Bruder, Schwester' (MishK 253), *koday2* 'Väter, Brüdervon Bräutigam und Braut in ihrem Verhältnis zucinander' (MišTat 152), *koda* 'Öylänäse yeget yagïnnan kïz yaučïlarga, käläš sorarga bargan ir keše, ir yaučï.' (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), *qoda* 'svat' (TatTD 135), *qota* 'koda; svat' (ST 130), *quca* 'abïy (olï kešegä äytelä); djadja (obraščenie k staršemu); 2. atasïnïŋ yäki anasïnïŋ enese; mladšij brat

otca ili materi' (KST 157), *koda* 'svat' (RTatS 606), *baš koda* 'yaučï, dimče' (DSTat 30),

Bashkir data:
qoδa : qoδa gileü 'qïδ yausïlay kileü' (BashkD1 132) – 'to come to a girl with a marriage proposal', *qoδa* 'svat' (Rudenko 1955:259), *qoδayay* ~ *qoδayïy* 'svat'ja' (BashkD2 142)[67],

Other Kipchak data:
quda 'svat' (NoghRS 252), *quda* 'id.' (KazRS), *quda* 'id.' (KrklpRS 406), *quda* 'svat' (CrTat 163),

Early Kipchak datum:
xuda 'druhna, družba, swatka, swat, demoiselle d'honneur, courtière de mariage' (DAK 495),

Chuvash data:
χăDa 'leánykérő, koma; Brautwerber, Gevatter' (ChuvP 43), *χuda* 'test' i svekor meždu soboju' (Zol), *xăta* 'svat (otec odnogo iz suprugov i vse mužčiny ego rodni po otnošeniju k roditeljam drugogo supruga)' (Chuv 549),

Other Turkic data:
xuda 'match-maker' (GT 30), *kuda* 'svat' (RaltS 678), *qodoyoi* 'die beiden Mütter eines Ehepaars im Verhältniss zu einander' (YakB 86), *kuda* 'svad'ba, svatovstvo, svat, svaha' sr. *kudagay* (TuvRS 261), *quda* → *baǰa* (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
quda 'verschwägert, Schwager' (MNT 70), *quda : anda quda* (MonPr 45), *quda* 'les deux familles alliées entre eux par le mariage de leurs enfants' (LHY),

Written Mongolian data:
quda 'rodstvennik; parent d'un nom différent' (Kow 908), *quda* 'the heads of two families related through marriage of their children; father of one's

67 The word *qoδa* 'svat' is also present in the same dictionary but not in this explicit form. It explains the word *tupïy* on p. 263.

son-in-law or daughter-in-law' (also a term of address)' (L 979), *quda* 'svat, svaha' (KalmP 101), *quduγui* 'die Verwandtin, Base; rodstvennica, svojstvennica, tetka' (Schmidt 174b),

Other Mongolian data:
xoad ~ *xoadă* 'svat, otcy bračuščihsja ili suprugov' (DagP 98), *xuda* 'Freiwerber' (BurC 128), *xudu* 'schwagerschaft, verwandtschaft, leute, deren kinder unter sich verheiratet sind' (KWb 194), *xud* 'svat, kum' (KhRS 561), *qud* 'svat, svat'ja' (Nom 68), *χuda* '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' (OrdM).

The word is known in the majority of Turkic languages now spoken, with slight phonetical differences. One of them is: *qoza* 'svat' – in the North-Western Tatar dialect (cf. Kiekbaev 1981:18), *quca* '2. atasïnïŋ yäki anasïnïŋ énese; mladšij brat otca ili materi'; *kincä quca* 'samyj mladšij iz starših brat'ev muža, samyj mladšij brat muža' (ST 136).

Doerfer considers it a Mongolian loan in the Turkic languages and also in Manchu: *quda* 'Schwager' mo. (TMEN§296, MT 81). Räsänen listed the Turkic languages that had borrowed the word from Mongolian (RVEW 296).

There are also differences in the usage of the word. See for instance, the following: "Črezvyčajno interesno to ponjatie, kotoroe vkladyvalos' v termin *qoδa* 'svat', svatami baškir nazyval ne tol'ko mužej rodnyh 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. Zaručivšis soglasiem syna i ženy, otec otpravljal k buduščemu testju svatov (*qoδa*) ili sam otpravljalsja k nemu dlja peregovorov." (Rudenko 1955:259).

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 1963:38), cf. also H.H. Vreeland and K. Vjatkina, etc.

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 Mongolian origin in VK. There is a feminine form of the word to be found in Turkic langugaes: *qudaġïy* 'svat'ja' (CrTat 163), *qotaġïy* 'kodagïy; svat'ja' (ST 130).

It was probably borrowed by Chuvash straight from Mongolian, i.e. without mediation (Róna-Tas 1973-1974:131).
For further data see: (Róna-Tas 1982:112), (Schönig 2000:157).

79. *kodïk* 'well' < MMo *quduq*

Tatar data:
kodïk → *koye* 'kolodec' (TatRS 267), *kutuk* 'Brunnen' (TatC 99), *qodoq, qozoq* 'väke' (TatDS 200) – 'ice-hole', *kodïk* → *koye: Tökermä kodïkka, suïn éčärsen! (TatAS2 125)* – 'Don't spit into the well, you might drink its water!' *qodoq* 'kolodec' (TatTD 136), *qotoq* 'koe; kolodec' (ST 130), *qotoq* 'koe; kolodec' (KST 154),

Bashkir data:
qoδoq 'kolodec' (BashkRS), *qoδïq* 'id.' (BashkK 141), *qoδoq, qotoq* 'mikrogidrografik ob'ekt' (Kamalov 1975:137), *qoδoq* ~ *qotoq* ~ *qoyo* 'kolodec' (Kiekbaev 1981:15),

Other Kipchak data:
kuduχ 'Brunnen' (MEKS 299), *qudïq* 'kolodec' (RKklp 348),

Other Turkic data:
quduγ ~ *quduq* 'well' (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
quduq 'Brunnen' (MNT 70), *quduq* 'kolodec' (MA 308), *quduγ* 'id.' (IMI 445), *quduq* 'well' (KD201C3),

Written Mongolian data:
qudug 'kolodec' (Golst2 131), *quduq* 'kolodec; puits' (Kow 918), *qudduγ* 'well' (L 980), *quduq* 'kolodec' (KalmP 102), *qudduγ* 'der Brunnen; kolodec' (Schmidt 174c),

Other Mongolian data:
hudug 'Brunnen' (KWb 194b), *xudag* 'kolodec' (KhRS 561), *quduγ* 'well, spring' (Krue 117), *xuduk* 'id.' (OrdM).

We can find two words for 'well' in VK languages. One is *koye* (TatRS 267), the other is *kodïk*. The former is the result of the development from Old Turkic *quduy* < *qud-* 'to give water' (DTS 463), (Clauson 1972:598). This word spread on a vast area, can be found in almost every Turkic language, moreover it went through into Mongolian as well.

The other word meaning 'well' was reborrowed from Mongolian both in Tatar and Bashkir languages.
After Poppe (1955:151) Nominhanov put together the Mongolian forms of the word (Nominhanov 1975:235). For further data see Doerfer's handbook (p. 395): *quduy* 'Brunnen' tü., mo. < tü. (TMEN§272).

80. *konaǰïn* 'three years old female animal' < MMo *qunaǰïn, γunaǰïn*

Tatar data:
konaǰïn tana 'ike tapkïr bozaulagan yäš sïyer' (DSTat 92) – 'young cow that has calved two times already', *qunacïn* (BarR IV:60) 'telka po tret' emu godu' (ST 134), *qonaǰïn* 'Pïyïl tana, kiläse yïlğa qonaǰïn, ösönse yäšendä.' (TatTD 138) – 'This year cow, next year *qonaǰïn* in her third year of age.', *qonažïn* 'korova na tret'em godu' (TatTD 138),

Bashkir data:
qonažïn 'kobyla ot dvuh do trëh let' (BashkRS 338), *qonayïn* 'qïšïr, tïy hïyïr; jalovaja korova' (BashkD2 144), *qonažïn* ~ *qonazïn* ~ *qonayïn* 'trehletnjaja kobyla' (Išberdin 1979:20),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
qunačï 'telenok dvuh let; ein zweijähriges Füllen' (Radl3 911), *qunačïn* 'üç yaşına girmemiş dişi buzağı' (KT 163-İM),

Other Kipchak data:
kunaǰïn ~ *kunayïn* 'tëlka (korovy, olenja)' (KirgRS 445), *qunanǰïn* 'netel' (telka do 2-h let, ešče ne telivšajasja)' (CrTat 165), *qunanǰïn* 'telka' (CrTatR 83), *qunaǰïn* 'korova-trehletka; kobylica-trehletka' (KrchT 422),

Middle Mongolian datum:
qunaǰïn 'dreijährig' (MNT 72),

Written Mongolian data:
γunajĭn 'trehletnjaja (o skote)' (KalmP 114), *γunajĭn* 'dreijährig (Femin), trehletnjaja' (Schmidt 202a), *γunajĭn* 'trehletnjaja korova' (Golst2 178),

Other Mongolian data:
gunž(in) 'trëhletnjaja korova, trëhletnjaja (o samke životnogo)' (KhRS 126), *gundžn* 'dreijährig (vonweiblichen haustieren)' (KWb 155), *γunjĭn* 'id.' (Nom 228), *gundžin* 'agée du quatre ans (jument, vache)' (Oir 140), *gunajĭ* 'âge des trois ans (vache, chamelle – On donne aussi le nom de *gunajĭ* à une vache ou chamelle de quatre ou cinq ans)' (OrdM 314).

The word has a Mongolian etymology; it derives from *γunan* 'three-year old male (animal)'. The suffix +**jĭn* occurs as an ending of words indicating the age of female beings. For further Mo data see: (Poppe 1955:240). Concerning its suffix we can get a similar explanation from Benzing: 'Feminina: bei Altersangaben für Tiere durch das Suffix *-jĭn* = oir.*-jĭn*, *γunjĭn* 'dreijährig'- masc. *γunn*, *tūljĭn* 'fünfjährig' – masc. *tūln* (Benzing 1985:42).

The word was borrowed by Ewenki as well: *gunažin* 'trehletnjaja korova' (Novikova 1979:122). We see it in Tungus: *gunacin* 'trehletnjaja korova' (Poppe 1927a:42).

In VK languages we find an intervocalic *-j-* ~ *-ž-* alternation in *qonažïn*, a clear criterion of borrowing. We suspect that the first vowel has become somewhat reduced *-u-* > *-ŏ-*. There is an inorganic +*n*-in Crimean Tatar, which is most probably an areal phenomenon.

It is interesting to mention that we find the word *kunažin* together with the word *tay* in Kirghiz.
For further data see Räsänen's dictionary (RVEW 301).

81. *konan* 'three years old male animal' < MMo *qunan* ~ *γunan*

Tatar datum:
qonan 'trehletnij žerebenok' (TatTD 138),

Bashkir data:
qonan 'žerebec-trehletka' (Bashk 369), *qonan* '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 ügeδ* 'three year old ox' (Išberdin 1986:22),

Other Kipchak data:
kunan 'žerebenok po tret'emu godu' (KirgRS 445), *yunan* → *qunan* (KrklpRS 154), *qunan* 'žerebec do 3 let' (NoghRS 253), *qunan* 'dvuh-trehgodovalyj žerebenok' (CrTat 165), *kūnay* 'csikó; Füllen' (KumN 134), *kunan* 'kon' 2-3 let' (CrTatR 83),

Early Kipchak and Estern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
kunan 'trehletnyj žerebenok; ein dreijähriges Füllen' (Radl2 910), *qunan* 'žerebenok (trehletnij, ot dvuh do treh let)' (K168), *konan* 'žerebenok dvuhgodovalyj, s 3-j vesny' (Bud2 95), *quna* 'iki yaşındaki dana' (KT 163-TZ), *qunan* 'üç yaşındaki tay' (KT 163-TA),

Other Turkic data:
kunan 'ein junger Stier' (MEJ 19), *yunan* 'a three year old foal' (Turki), *kunan* 'trehgodovalyj (o domašnih životnyh)' (Tuv 265),

Middle Mongolian data:
yunan 'trehletnjaja rogataja skotina' (MA 179), *yunan* 'trehletnee životnoe' (MA 404), *qunan* 'drei Jahre alt' (MNT 72),

Written Mongolian data:
yunūn 'trehletnij (o skote)' (KalmP 114), *yunan* 'dreijährig (Masc.), trehletnij' (Schmidt 202a),

Other Mongolian data:
gunun 'âgé de quatre ans (cheval, boeuf)' (Oir 140), *gun(an)* 'harmadfű, harmadik évében járó (hím állat, ló, v. marha)' (Khal 114), *gunn* 'dreijahrig (vom vieh), die dreizahl, der dritte tag (im monat)' (KWb 155), *guna* 'boeuf châtré qui est dans sa troisième année (on donne aussi le nom de *guna* à un boeuf de quatre ou cinq ans)' (OrdM 314b).

The word goes back to the Mongolian word *gurban* 'three'. It is a wide-spread loan in many Turkic languages and can also be found in Manchu: Ewenki *gunan*, Sol. *gunan*, Man. *gûna* (cf. MT 102). We see it in Tungus: *gunan* 'trehletnyj byčok' (Poppe 1927a:42).

In his study on MMo numerals Rybatzki (2003:70) listed this word among other lexicalized numeral derivatives: SH *qunan* ~ C *ghunan* 'three-year-old' (male animal).
For further Mo data see: (Poppe 1955:245).

82. *körän* 'brown' < MMo *küren*

Tatar data:
körän 'buryj, burovato-koričnevyj' (TatRS 328), *körän* 'sötét pej, barna; braun Pferd' (TatB63), *körän, körän at* 'braune (Pferd)' (PTatD), *körän* 'darčïn yäki qïzdïrïlγan kofe tösendäge, qoŋïrt töstäge' (TatAS2 271) -'of the same colour as cinnamon or roasted-coffee, blondish-brownish', *körän* 'koričnevyj' (ST 102), *küräŋ* 'körän; buryj' (ST 110), *küräŋ* 'koričnevyj' (BarTat 161), *körän* 'kükčin; seryj' (TatTD 202), *quŋïr* 'körän; koričnevyj' (KST 155)[68], *körän* 'kara-čalïy' (DSTat 77),

Bashkir data:
körän 'buryj' (BashkRS 282), *körän* 'buryj (o lošadi)' (BashkK 148), *körän* 'sötét pej, barna' (PBashk 254), *körän* 'fioletovyj' (BashkD2 112), *körän* 'buryj, burovato-koričnevyj' (Bashk 301),

Other Kipchak data:
küreŋ 'mast' (lošadi), *küreŋ at* 'lošad' temnoryžej masti' (Kaz 221), *kürөŋ* I (o masti) 'buryj' (KirgRS 470), *güreŋ* 'buryj' (RKklp 69),

Chuvash datum:
kĕren 'sötétbarna; schwarzbraun, dunkelbraun' (ChuvP 64), *kĕren* 'rozovyj; temno-ryžij (o masti lošadi)' (Chuv 171),

Other Turkic data:
küräŋ 'ryžij (mast' lošadi)' (AzRS 118), *küräŋ* 'o lošadjah: buryj, krasnovatyj, solovoj, seryj, sivyj' (YakP 1327), *küreng* → *köran* 'dun horse' (Redh. 697),

Middle Mongolian datum:
küren 'brown, maroon, deep violet' (KD187C7),

Written Mongolian data:
küren, kureŋ 'temnyj, temnoburyj, temnognedoj; obscur, noir, brun, basané' (Kow 2636), *küreng* '(dark) brown, maroon (esp. of fur), deep violet' (L 505), *kürüng* 'buryj' (KalmP 297), *küreng* 'schwarzbraun (von Haar, wie z.b. bei Pferden); temnoburyj (o šersti, kak napr. u lošadej)' (Schmidt 185b),

68 There is a synonym offered by Tumaševa: *sarï* (KST 155).

Other Mongolian data:
xürén 'koričnevyj, buryj (o masti)' (KhRS 577), *küreŋ* 'dunkelbraun, dunkellila; Pferdefarbe' (KWb 248), *küriŋ, küreŋ* 'brun, brun foncé (chevaux)' (OrdM).

The word is a Mongolian loan in Yakut (cf. MEJ 54) and also in several Siberian Turkic languages (RVEW 310). Doerfer gives more data concerning its literature: *küreŋ* 'dunkelbraun' 328 tü. < mo. < tü. (TMEN§328, 1724).

It was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the closing process of the vowels there. *Körän* belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping in the Volga Kipchak and Chuvash. It was borrowed by Chuvash (*küräm*) from Tatar with the meaning 'osoka'.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:130), (Dmitrieva 2001:102).

83. *kunalka* 'shelter for the night' < MMo cf. WMo *qonalya, *qonolqa*

Tatar data:
kunača 'kunarga; nočevat'' (TatTD 142), *kunu* 'nočevka', *kuna (tön ütkärä) torgan urïn yäki jïr* 'nočleg' (RTatS 381),

Bashkir data:
qunalqa 'nočevka; nočleg; → *tönäk* (Bashk 381), *qunalqa* 'nočleg' (Bashk), *qunalqa* 'nočleg' (BashkD2 148),

Chaghatay datum:
qonalγa 'nočleg; das Nachtquartier' (Radl2 910),

Other Turkic datum:
qonov'al- 'to perch' (Turki),

Written Mongolian data:
qono- 'nočevat'' (KalmP 90), *qonu-* 'übernachten; perenočevat'' (Schmidt 161b),

Other Mongolian data:
xonlγa 'das übernachten, nachtquartier' (KWb 185), *xonoglo-* 'megszáll, meghál; megállapodik' (Khal 583), *xonolgo* 'action de passer la nuit' (OrdM 353a).

The stem of the word is the Old Turkic *qon-* 'opuskat'sja, sadit'sja' (DTS 455). This was borrowed by the Mongols, and to it a vowel was added: *qonu-, qona-*. We can find it in this shape also in Dagur: *xono-* 'nočevat', provodit sutki' (DagP 99).

On the Mongolian deverbal nomen suffix *-lġa* see (Poppe 1954:47, 1964:161), (Schönig 2000: 132).
Doerfer gives further data: *qonalγa* 'Nachtlager' (TMEN§292).

84. *kuŋïr* 'dark brown' < WMo *qongγur*

Tatar datum:
quŋïr 'körän; koričnevyj' (KST 155),

Bashkir data:
köŋört 'nejasnyj, tusklyj, nejarkij' (Bashk 300), *köŋgör* 'köränhïu – bordovyj' (BashkD2 110), *köŋgört* 'asïq bulmaġan qarahïu; temno-buryj' (BashkD2 111), *köŋgört sïray* 'töθhöδ' (BashkD1 107),

Written Mongolian data:
qongγur 'fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut (of a horse)' (L 962),

Other Mongolian datum:
xongor 'világossárga, sárgásbarna; fakó' (Khal 582).

The word belongs to the terminology of horse-breeding. There are other words apart from this one, denoting different colour of horses borrowed from Mo. by VK languages. As we see in the case of West Siberian Tatar, the synonym of the word is also a Mo. loan (see the following article).
(TMEN§1536) 'kastanienfarbig'

The suffix on Bashkir data can be the remnant of Mo suffix *+tai*, like in the case of 23. ***bolaŋġïr*** see above.

85. *kur* 'heath-grouse' < MMo cf. WMo *qur*

Tatar data:
kurtay 'košnïŋ ber töre (ayaklarï ozïn, suda yözmi torgan, torna šikelle zur koš' (DSTat 100) – 'a kind of a bird (her legs are long, she can swim in water, is as big as a crane)', *qurtai* 'čelän; caplja' (KST 156),

Bashkir data:
qor 'teterev, teterevinyj' (Bashk 369), *qor* 'teterev' (Išberdin 1986:24), *qur* 'nyíri fajd' (PBashk 255) - 'heath-grouse',

Other Kipchak data:
qur 'teterev' (RKklp 1004),

Written Mongolian data:
qur yuryuul (Wu-Ti 4148), *qur* 'black grouse' (L 987), *qur yuryuul* 'das Birkhuhn; tetërka' (Schmidt 170b),

Other Mongolian data:
xur 'teterev, tetërka' (KhRS 565), *xoro* '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 Monglian loan in VK.
In Tatar the word has a Mo suffix *-tay*.

86. *kükräk* 'brust' < MMo *kökrek*

Tatar data:
kükräk 'Brust' (TatB), *kökräk* 'grud' ; tüš, imčäk' (RTatS 118), *kökräk, kükräk* 'grud'' (BarTat 161), *kökrök* 'verhnjaja čast' tuloviščа' (ST 104), *kükräk* 'grud'' (ST 107), *küköräk, kükräk* 'Brust' (Tat), *kükräkčä* 'nagrudnik, ukrašennyj raznocvetnymi tes'mami, barhatom, pozumentom, nadevaemyj poverh plat'ja' (TatTD 204), *kükräk* 'id.' (DSTat 60), *teveš* 'tüš, kükräk' (DSTat 182), *ümgän* 'hayvan kükräge' (DSTat 257),

Bashkir data:
kükräk 'grud'; grudnoj' (Bashk 312), *kükräk* 'id.' (BashkD1 110), *kükräk* 'mell, kebel' (BashkP 255), *kükräk sitlege* 'grudnaja polost'' (BashkD2 116),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
gökrek 'göğüs kemiği' (KT 87-İH), *kökrek* 'chest' (Rbg), *kökräk* 'grud'' (ChagB 231), *kökrek* 'kadavra, ceset' (Hou 21), *kökürdeş* 'süt kardeş' (Hou), *köküs* ~ *kögüs* 'grud'' (HŠF 618), *kögüz* 'poitrine' (UHy), *köküz* 'breast' (Kor),

Other Kipchak data:
kökürek 'göğüs' (Krch 273), *kökrek, kökürek* 'göğüs' (Karça-Koşay 1954:134), *kökrek* 'Brust, Busen' (BlkP 230), *kökürek* 'grud', grudnoj' (Kum), *kökürek* 'Herz, Busen' (KumN 133), *kokrek* 'grud'' (CrTat 133), (CrTatR 70), *kökürök* 'grud' (každaja iz dvuh ee polovin; töš)' (Kirg 419), *kökirek, kökrek* 'grud'', serdce' (Kklp), *kökirek* 'grud'' (Kaz),

Chuvash datum:
kăGăr 'mell; brust' (ChuvP 67),

Middle Mongolian data:
köke 'female breast' (KD198C23), *köken* (SH, Mu.),

Written Mongolian datum:
kökün 'breast' (L 483),

Other Mongolian data:
xöx, xöxön 'emlő, csecs, kebel' (Khal 607), *kökn* 'id.' (KWb).

There are synonyms in Karachay *öšün* 'göğüs' (Krch 318), *töš* 'göğüs' (Krch407), the latter being an Old Turkic word *tö:ş* 'the chest, the upper part of the chest' (Clauson 1972:558).
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:142), Doerfer: (TMEN§343) *kökeltaš* 'Milchbruder' tü. < mo. (Schönig 2000:128), **kökrek* 'verhnjaja čast' tulovišča' (Tenišev 2001:273, 803).

87. *kümägäy* 'Adam's apple' < MMo cf. WMo *kömegei*

Bashkir data:
kümägäy 'kadyk' (BashkRS 294), *kömägäy* ~ *kömäk* 'ïrġaq' (BashkD2 110), *kömägäy* → *ïrġaq* 'aŋqau[69]; nebo' (BashkD2 311), *kümägäy* 'bögäδ, hïyïr malïnïŋ urtï' (BashkD2 117) – 'throat, cavity of the mouth of cows', *kümägäy* → *kümäy* (BashkD1 111), *kümägäy* → *tamaq* (zoolBashk 131),

Other Kipchak datum:
kömäkäy 'mesto pod nižnej čeljust'ju po obe storony gorla' (KrklpRS 334),

Chaghatay datum:
kömäkäy 'nebo vo rtu, der Gaumen' (Radl2 1320),

Other Turkic data:
kömögöi 'der vordere Theil des Halses' (YakB 58),

Written Mongolian data:
kö:mei 'podborodki (u meha), duška sobol'ja; la peau sous le museau, peau de la poitrine' (Kow3 2609), *kögemei* = *kömei* 'pharynx, throat' (L 479), *kömüg* ~ *kömügei* 'shed, roof over a portico, eaves' (L 487), *kögemei* 'der Bauchteil eines Felles oder Balges; brjučnaja čast' škury ili meha' (Schmidt 181b),

Other Mongolian data:
xöömei 'meh brjušnoj časti skury' (BurRS 593), *kö:me:* 'der hellere bauchteil eines felles' (KWb 239), *xöömii* 'zev, gorlo' (KhRS 553), *kö:m* 'mesto pod podborodkom' (DagP 83).

The word *kümägäy* is living in Bashkir parallel with *kümäy*. Both forms mean 'throat' and 'Adam's apple'. They have a third synonym: *tamaq*. This is well known in other Turkic languages. We can justly suspect that the latter is the original Turkic word (*tamaq* 'gorlo' DTS 529), while the other two are loan words.

There could have been two forms of the word in Middle Mongolian: *köge+mei* and *köge+megei* > *kö:megei, kögemei*.

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69 The Middle Mongolian loanword is explained by another loanword of the same origin.

Mongolian *köge-* could be the stem, meaning 'to swell, distend, foam' (L 478). Because the etymology is not wholly clear, we cannot decide upon the chronology of the metathesis. We can only say that the Bashkir word goes back to a Mongolian *kömegei*. The first vowel became closer in Bashkir later.

88. *makta-* 'to praise' < MMo *makta-*

Tatar data:
makta- 'hvalit', pohvalit'' (TatRS 359), *makta-* 'dícsérni; loben' (TatB 168), *makta-* 'hvalit'' (TatJ 90), *maktancay* → *maktancaq* → *maktančïk* 'hvastun' (KST 164), *makta-* 'övmek; birinin mehasinin, iyi tarafların anmak' (TatN 490) – 'to boast, talk of the best sides of one's merits', *makta-* 'kemneŋ yäki närsäneŋ dä bulsa yahšï, kürkäm, uŋay, faydalï yaġïn huplau, yahšï dip söyläü' (TatAS2 361) – 'to praise or approve of the good, beautiful, comfortable, useful sides of somebody or something', *makta-* 'loben' (PTatD), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (BarTat), *köŋgür-* 'maktan-; hvastat'sja' (ST 104), *makta-* 'hvalit'' (TatYu 90), *makta-* 'hvalit'' (RTatS 715), *ikš-* 'makta-' (DSTat 60), *makta-* 'rühmen, loben' (MišTat 157),

Bashkir data:
maqta- 'hvalit', voshvaljat', rashvalivat'; hvala' (Bashk 418), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (BashkRS), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (BashkK), *makta-* 'dícsérni' (PBashk 257),

Other Kipchak data:
maqta- 'hvalit'' (KazRS), *maqta-* 'praise' (KazDTL 114), *mak'ta-* 'hvalit'' (NoghRS 254), *makta-* 'dicsérni, hízelegni; loben, schmeicheln' (KumN 135), *maχta-* 'preisen, loben' (MEKS 300), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (RKklp 1075), *mahta-* 'övmek, methetmek' (Krch291), *maxta-* 'hvalit', voshvaljat' kogo-čto; proslavljat' kogo-čto' (KrchT), *maχt'a-* 'loben' (KrchP), *mahta-* 'loben, rühmen, preisen' (BlkP 242), *maqta-* 'hvalit'', voshvaljat'' (Kum), *maqta-* 'to praise' (KumR 90), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (CrTat 182), *maqta-* 'rühmen, loben' (CrKar), *maqta-, maqla-, mah'la-* 'hvalit'' (Kklp), *makta-* 'hvalit'' (Kirg 512), *makta-* 'praise' (KirgDTL 114),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
maxta- 'loben, preisen' (CC 162), *mahta-* 'laudo' (CCK 234), *maχta-* 'chwalić się, se vanter, se glorifier de' (DAK 515), *maqta-* 'loben' (Č 170), *makta-* P233, K1998 (Clauson 1960:98), *makta-* 'öv-, öğüşle-, methet-'

(Atalay 1945: 216), *maχta-* 'id.' (AQP 116), *mahta-* 'övmek, methetmek' (KT 176), CC *maktarmen* 234,

Chuvash data:
muχta- 'hvalit'' (Zol 44), *muhta-* 'hvalit', rashalivat'', proslavljat' (Egorov 1964:135), *muhta-* ~ *mohta-* ~ *mokta-* 'hvalit'' (ChuvF), *muχta-* 'dicsérni, magasztalni; loben, rühmen, preisen' (ChuvP 88),

Other Turkic data:
maqta- 'preisen, loben' (YakB 146), *maxta-* 'id.' (MEJ 73), *maχta-* ~ *mïχta-* 'to praise, to eulogize' (Turki), *maqta-* 'praise' (UygDTL 114), *maqta-* 'praise' (UzbDTL 114), *makta-* 'hvalit', odobrjat'' (Tuv 286), *makta-* 'dicsérni, hízelegni; loben, schmeicheln' (KumN 135),

Middle Mongolian data:
mayta- : maytabai (AQjÜ 306), *maqta- : maqtaba emeyi* 'hvalil ženščinu' (MA 233), *mayta- : maytaǰu* (MonPr 21, 108), *maqta-* 'vanter, se vanter, louer' (LHY),

Written Mongolian data:
mayta- 'to praise' (L 520), *maqta-* 'hvalit'' (KalmP 231), *maqta-* 'loben, preisen; hvalit', prevoznosit'' (Schmidt 211c),

Other Mongolian data:
makta- 'loben, rühmen' (KWb 254), *mayta-* 'to praise' (Krue 100), *magta-* 'hvalit' , slavit'' (KhRS 232), *maG't'a-* 'louer' (OrdM).

It is a Mongolian loan in Cuman according to Poppe (1962:336), in Karaim according to Zajączkowski (MEKS 300), and in Yakut, see Kałużyński (MEJ 73), and in Armenian according to Schütz.

Due to the initial *m-* we can consider it to be a Mongolian loan in Tatar and Bashkir as well as in Karachay-Balkar languages.
For further literature see: (Ščerbak 1986:51), Doerfer (1996:174), (Fedotov 1996:364), (Schönig 2000:134), (Csáki 2004:21).

89. *malakay* 'hat' < MMo *malayai, malaqai, maqalai*

Tatar data:
malaxay = *kolakčïn* 'füles sapka; eine Mütze mit Ohrdeckel' (TatB 169), *malaqay* 'id.' (TatDS), *malahay* 'Mehtan tegelgän kolakčïn bürek.' (TatAS2 362) - 'cap made of fur covering the ears as well', *malahay* 'kolaklï bürek, kolakčïn bürek' (RTatS 304),

Bashkir data:
malaχay → *teüätbürek* (BashkD2 167) - 'cap covering the ears', *malahay* 'šapka-ušanka' (Kiekbaev 1981:14),

Chuvash data:
mulaxxay 'šapka' (Chuv 248), *malaχay* 'csücskékkel ellátott téli sapka; wintermütze mit zipfeln' (ChuvP 84), *mulaxay* 'id.' (Ašm8 260), *mulaxxay* 'id.' (Egorov 1964:134),

Other Kipchak data:
malaqay 'šapka' (RKklp 1099),

Middle Mongolian data:
mayala 'šapka' (IMI 441), *maqalai* 'č. pörük 'šapka' (MA 233), *maqalai* 'Hut, Mütze, Kappe' (MNT 106), *maqalai* 'hat, headgear' (KD205B39),

Written Mongolian data:
malaya, malayai 'malakaj, šapka, kartuz, bonnet, casquette, chapeau' (Kow), *malayai* 'hat, cap, headgear' (L 524), *maqalai, malaqai* 'šapka' (KalmP 230), *malayai* 'die Mütze, der Hut, die Kopfbekeleidung, der Deckel; šapka, šljapa, kryška' (Schmidt 211c),

Other Mongolian data:
malgai 'šapka, golovnoj ubor' (KhRS 234), *malgai, malagai* 'Mütze' (BurC 172), *mayal* 'šapka' (DagP 85), *malxā* 'chapeau' (Oir 150), *malayai* 'hat, cap' (Krue 100), *malagai* 'mütze', *maχlä:* 'id.' (KWb 254).

Though the origin of the word is surely Mongolian, we cannot exclude the possibility of Russian mediation into VK languages. On its Mongolian origin see Poppe (1955:84).

The Mongolian word *malayai* seems to have developed from an earlier *mayala* (IMI), *maqalai* (MA) by the help of a metathesis. We find the word both with or without a final *-i*: Written Mongolian *malayai ~ malaya* 'šapka' (Vladimircov 1929:296). It was borrowed by the Manchu without *-i*: Manchu *maxala* 'Kopfschmuck ewenkisch – jukagirischer Fasson' (MT 138), and it went through into the VK languages with a final *-i*.

Similarly to the other borrowings the Mongolian word final *-ai* is reflected by *-ay* being a telling sign of the word's being a loan.
It is also present in the vocabulary of moghol (Ligeti 1954:138). The word is of Mongolian origin in Chuvash (Róna-Tas 1982:99), and also in Kirghiz (Oruzbaeva: O kirgizskih i mongol'skih....p. 459).

90. *maŋgay, maŋlay* 'forehead' < MMo *manglai*

Tatar data:
maŋgay 'lob, lobnyj' (TatRS 366), *maŋġay, maŋay* 'homlok' (TatB 168), *maŋlay* 'lob' (TatJ 91), *manglay : alïn* (TatN 491), *maŋyay* 'Stirn' (PTatD), *maŋġay ~ maŋday ~ maŋnay* 'lob' (ST 148), *maŋġay tänkä* 'nalobnoe ukrašenie, sploš' uvešannoe serebrjanym monetami' (Bajazitova 1986:149), *maŋġay, maŋlay* 'yöznең yäki hayvannar bašïnïŋ küzdän yuġarïġï öleše' (TatAS2 376) - 'the upper part of the face or in the case of animals, the part above the eyes', *maŋay, maŋday, maŋnay* 'lob' (BarTat 164), *maġalay* 'maŋgay; lob' (TatTD 216), *maŋġaysa ~ maŋġayča* 'starinnyj ženskij golovnoj ubor, vyšityj speredi biserom i nadevaemyj poverh platka, taf'ya' (TatTD 221), *maŋġay ~ maŋday ~ maŋnay* 'maŋgay; lob' (ST 148), *maŋlay* 'lob'' (TatYu 91), *maŋay :* 'atnïŋ ike kolak arasïnnan maŋgayena töšep torgan yalï (čelka)' (DSTat 73) – 'horse-hair hanging down on the forehead of a horse between the two ears', *mañgay* 'Stirn' (MišTat 157),

Bashkir data:
maġalay, maġanay 'maŋlay, maŋalay' (BashkD2 165), *maŋnay yalï* (BashkD2 168) - 'mane hanging on the forehead (in connection with horses)', *maŋlay* 'lob' (zoolBashk 137), *manlay, maŋday, maŋġay, maŋnay* 'lob' (Išberdin 1986:24),

Other Kipchak data:
maŋday 'lob, protivopoložnaja storona' (Kirg 516), *maŋday* 'forehead' (Kirghiz Manual 128), *maŋday* 'forehead' (KirgDTL 61), *maŋlay* 'lob'

(CrTatR 89), *maŋlay* 'Stirn' (CrTat 232), *maŋday* 'lob' (Kaz 238), *maŋday* 'forehead' (KazDTL 61), *maŋlay* 'Stirn' (MEKS 300), *maŋŋïlay* 'homlok; Stirne' (KumN 135), *maŋlay* 'lob' KrklpRS 446), *maŋlay* → *alïn* (CrTat 183), *maŋïlay* 'lob, lobnyj' (KrchT 459), *maŋlaiša* [70] 'Überschwelle, Querholz über der Tür im Zelt' (NogR 160), *maŋlay* 'die Stirn' (BlkP 242),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
maŋlay 'Stirn; frons' (CC), *magley* 'frons' (CCK 110), *maŋlay* 'homlok, Stirn' (TGA 319), *maġlay* ~ *manġlay* ~ *manġlayï* ~ *meŋley* 'alın' (KT 175), *maŋlay* 'öncü' (KT 177), *maŋlay* 'Stirn' (Č 170),

Other Turkic data:
maŋnai ~ *magnai* 'zuerst, am Anfang, anfangs' (MEJ 15), *maŋlay* 'lob, čelo' (TkmRS 442), *maŋday* 'lob' (AltV 199), *maŋnai* 'Anfang, zuerst' (YakB 471 [sic! =147), *maŋlay* 'forehead' (Turki), *maŋlay* 'forehead' (TrkmDTL 61), *maŋnay* '(voen.) peredovaja čast' vojsk, avangard' (Tuv 289),

Middle Mongolian data:
manglai 'Stirn, Vorhut, Spitze der Marschtruppe' (MNT 107), *manglai* 'Stirn' (LP), *maŋlai* 'front' (LHY I 23), *manla* → *manglai* (IMM 150), *manglai* (VI 53), *manlai* [sic!] 'lob' (IMI 441), *manylai* 'lob', *manqlai* 'avangard' (MA 405), *manglai : manglay -yin* (MonPr 109, 149), *manqlai* 'forehead' (KD198B17),

Written Mongolian data:
maŋlay, maŋnay 'čelo, lob, glavnyj, verhovnyj, glava, načal'nik; le millieu du front, principal, souverain, suprême : le chef' (Kow 1977), *manglai* 'forehead, front' (L 527), *mangnay* 'lob, čelo' (KalmP 129), *mangnaj* 'die Stirne; lob, čelo' (Schmidt 209c), *manglai* 'die Stirne, das Oberhaupt, der Anführer, das Vorstehende; lob, glava, načal''nik' (Schmidt 210a),

Other Mongolian data:
manlai 'glava, vožd', pervyj, avangardnyj, peredovoj, glavnyj glavenstvujuščij' (KhRS 236), *maŋlai* ~ *maŋnā* 'stirn, vorderkopf' (KWb 257), *maŋnā* 'front, éminent' (Oir 150), *maŋïl* 'lob' (DagP 85), *mognay, magnai* 'Voorhooft' (Wit. 298), *maŋnä:* 'front, éminent' (OrdM).

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70 There is a parallel entry: *maŋlayša (-sa)* 'nalobnik (uzkij remen' uzdečki na lbu lošadi)' (NogR 160).

The first occurrence of the word is in Codex Cumanicus, where Poppe takes it for Mongolian (Poppe 1962:336). Doerfer considers the word to be of Mongolian origin in Persian: *maŋlai* 'Stirn, Vorhut' mo. (TMEN§369). The original meaning of the word was 'forehead' – according to Doerfer -, the other meaning 'vanguard' is a later development.[71]

The combination *-ngn-* often alternates with *-ngl-* in Written Mongolian: *manglai ~ mangnai, mangnuy ~ mangluy* etc. The word meaning 'forehead' was borrowed from the Mongolian both with *-n-* and *-l-* by the VK languages.

Describing the characteristics of Middle Mongol vowels in his study Rybatzki (2003:63) made mention of certain cases, when ..."diphthongoid sequences are represented as long monophthongs in sources recorded in the Arabic script, an apparent early Western dialectal feature, e.g. **manglai* 'forehead' > SH C *manglai* ~ C *mangnai* ~ A *manglai* ~ A *manlaa*."[72] Any way the case in VK languages was different, since there are no long monophthongs in wordfianl position presenr in this word.

For further data see: (Poppe 1955:84, 159, 171), (Birtalan 1992:39), (Kincses Nagy 1997:141), (Schönig 2000:134).

91. *mata-* 'to trouble, torment, disturb' < MMo cf. WMo *mata-*

Tatar data:

mata- 'birini meşguliyeti esnasında rahatsız etmek' (TatN 488) - 'to disturb somebody in his engagement', *mata-* 'komačaulau, uŋaysïzlau' (TatAS2 371) – 'to trouble, disturb', *mata-* → *matala-* 'čualdïr-, čäbäländer-, uŋaysïzlau, avïr häldä kaldïru' (TatDS 300) – 'to interfere, to become mixed up, to intervene, to toss about, to get lost, to leave somebody in difficulty', *mata-* 'pomogat', *matala-* 'okružit', oblepit" (ST 149), *mata-* 'bulïš-, yardäm it-; pomogat"→ *matala-* 'sïrïp al-; okružit', oblepit" (KST 165), *mata-* 'meščat', bespokoit" (TatTD 220), *mata-* 'avïr hälgä töš-' (DSTat 130) – 'to fall ill',

71 The word belonged to the military terminology of the Timurid age, its basic meaning was 'advanced guard, outpost' in Middle Turkic and especially in Persian languages (Csiky 2004:17).

72 It is not possible to skip this tendency, that took place somewhat earlier also in Hungarian vowel-history.

Bashkir data:
mata- '1. krepko privjazyvat' ', svjazyvat' '; 2. svjazyvat' (perednye nogi lošadi; 3. prikrepljat' 'povod' ja lošadi k putam ili verhnemu koncu oglobli (čtoby ne mogla ujti)' (Bashk 423), *mata-* 'vožit', mučit' (BashkRS 379), *mata-* 'id.' (BashkD1 155),

Other Turkic data:
matai- 'hervortreten, sich wöbeln' (MEJ 103),

Written Mongolian data:
mata- 'krumm biegen; sognut'' (Schmidt 213a), *mata-* 'to curve, bend, hollow out in a vault shape' (L 530),

Other Mongolian data:
mata- 'sgibat'', vygibat'', delat' izognutym' (KhRS 238), *mata-* 'meghajlít, (el/meg)görbít, ívet hajlít; áskálódik' (Khal 250), *mata-* 'biegen, bogenförmig machen' (KWb 258).

The word is a Mongolian loan in some Turkic languages (RVEW 330), MEJ 104,108), and also in Ewenki: *mata-* 'beugen' (MT 61).

Its original meaning seems to have been 'to bend' but in the course of time it changed into 'to torture'. The word can be found in the same form with both meaning in the VK languages.

92. *märgän* 'a good marksman' < MMo *mergen*

Tatar data:
märgän 'yahšï atučï, töz atučï' (DSTat 137) – 'a good marksman, one who can shoot straight', *märgän* 'töz atučï, aučï' (TatAS2 420) – 'a good marksman, huntsman', *mérgän* 'ohotnik, horošij ohotnik, strelok (snajper)' (BarTat 166), *märgän* 'ohotnik' (TatČ), *märgän* 'yahšï atučï; metkij sterlok' (ST 150), *mirgän* → *märgän* (ST), *kälmärgän* 'balïk ašïy torgan koš; rybak (rybnaja ptica čajka)' (KST 161)[73], *kanmärgän : kalïn urmanda yäši torgan kügeljem ak yonlï, zur ertkïč koš* (DSTat 75),

73 We see a compound word in the case of the West Siberian Tatar language, the second part is of Mo origin.

Bashkir data:
märgän 'metkij strelok, snajper, metkij, snajperskij, metko' (BashkRS 398), *märgän* 'strelok' (BashkK 172), *märgän* 'metkij' (Kiekbaev 1981:14),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
märgän 'guter Schützer, Held' (Č 171), *mergen* 'fusilier, bon tireur, héros' (Chag 498),

Other Kipchak data:
mergen 'iskusnyj strelok, snajper, ohotnik' (KrklpRS 457), *mergin* 'metkij strelok; snajper' (CrTat 189), *mergin* 'metkij' (CrTatR 90), *mergen* 'treffsicher (beim Schiessen)' (NoghR 160), *mergen* 'ružejnyj ohotnik, strelok; tužejnaja ohota' (Kirg 525), *mergen* 'mesterlövész' (KazSK),

Other Turkic data:
märgän 'der da gut trifft, ein guter Schütze, Geschicklichkeit im Schiessen' → *bärgän* (YakB 148), *mergan* 'strelok, snajper, ohotnik' (UzbRS 259), *mergen* 'sportsman, hunter, spur (of animals), caninetooth' (Turki)[74], *mergen* 'metkij, masterskoj, mudryj, genial'nyj' (TuvRS 293), *mergen* 'metkij strelok, Mergen' (TkmRS 449), *märgän* ~ *bärgän* 'ein guter Schütze, geschikt, brav' (MEJ 41),

Middle Mongolian data:
mergen: mergen gandarvi-yin ökid (AQJÜ 312), *mergen* 'wise, sagacious' (HpP 127), *mergen* 'habile, universellement habile' (LHY I 19), *mergen : mergen-iyer* (MonPr 196), *merged* Pl. : *merged sayin* (MonPr 59),

Written Mongolian data:
mergen 'lovkij, umnyj, učenyj, 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, learned, sage, experienced; apt' (L 537), *mergen* 'strelok, lovkyj, mudryj, artist' (KalmP 233), *mergen* 'weise, kunstvoll, meisterhaft, vollkommen, ein Meister, ein guter Jäger; mudryj, iskusnyj, masterskoj, soveršennyj master, iskusnyj ohotnik' (Schmidt 215b),

74 Jarring (1964:192) noticed that the meaning 'good marksman' was transferred to Turki via Iran.

Other Mongolian data:
mergen 'čempion po strel'be iz luka, métkij strelok, mudryj, prozorlivyj' (KhRS 253), *mergen* 'künstler, geschickt, der sein handwerk versteht, jäger' (KWb 262), *mérgén* 'bölcs, hozzáértő, mesteríjász' (Khal 269), *mergen* 'prudent, sage, avisé, judicieux, sensé, qui à l'esprit très fiu, malin, rusé' (OrdM 463).

The word is considered to be of Mongolian origin in many Turkic languages by Doerfer: *mergen* 'tüchtig' mo. (TMEN§363), by Räsänen (RVEW 335) etc. It was also mediated to Cheremiss by Chuvash even if today it is extinct there, at least we have no example from present day Chuvash (Róna-Tas 1973-1974:127). For the very same reason Poppe considers Tatar mediation more probable than the above mentioned – suggested by Róna-Tas (cf. Poppe: On Chuvash-Mongolian linguistic contacts).
The original meaning may have been 'talented, skilful' as Doerfer considers. As a result of a thorough study on the early Mongolian loan words in Manchu, Ligeti (1959:243), – cf. also Rozycki – suggested another solution.

Ramstedt takes the Mongolian verb *mer-* 'heranschleichen' for the stem, to it a *-ge(n)* deverbal nomen suffix was added. The only problem is that there has never been such a verbal stem, as Kara pointed out.
For further data see: (Róna-Tas 1982:100), (Schönig 2000:135).

93. *mäsekäy* 'sharp' < MMo cf. WMo *mese* 'any edged weapon'

Tatar data:
mäskäy 'komagay, tuymas küz; obžora, nenasytnyj' (ST 151), *mäckäy* 'komagay, tuymas küz; obžora, nenasytnyj' (KST 170),

Bashkir data:
mäsekäy → *asqarin, mäsekäy* 'ütker' (BashkD1 162) – 'sharp', *mäsekäy* 'ostryj' (BashkD2 180), *mäskäy* 'obžora; vampir, upyr', vurdalak' (Bashk 451),

Middle Mongolian datum:
mes-e : qoor-a mes-e yal (AQjÜ 312),

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:
mese 'kurzes schwert' (KWb 262), *mes* 'holodnoe oružie' (KhRS 253), *mese* 'glaive', couteau' (OrdM 463).

Doerfer considers the word to be of Mongolian origin: *mese* 'Schwert' mo. (TMEN§365). No doubt, the stem is a Mongolian loan in Bashkir but there was an additioanl 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', *duskay* 'barát' (PBashk) - 'friend'.

94. *mokït* 'stupid, blunt' < MMo *moqadaq*

Tatar data:
mokït 'glupyj' (TatRS 375), *mokïy* ~ *moqït* 'aŋïra, miŋgeräü, beleksez' (TatDS 306) – 'grown dull, ignorant', *mïkïy* → *mokïy* (TatDS 310), *moqït* 'aŋsïz, aŋγïra, mänsez' (TatAS2 401), *moġa-* 'tupet'; tupoj' (ST), *moqït-* (ST 152), *moqay* ~ *moqoy* ~ *moqot* 'tihij, krotkij, nerazgovorčivyj' (TatTD 224), *moq* ~ *moqïy* 'tupoj (o čeloveke)' (ST 152), *moġa-* 'aŋgïralan-; tupet'' (KST 166),

Early Kipchak data:
moxdaq 'stumpf' (CC), *mohdak* 'obtusus' (CCK 233), *mohdak* 'küt, kör' (KT 185),

Chuvash data:
măka 'tupoj' (Chuv 232), *muga* 'tupoj' (Zol 44), *măka* → *muga* 'tompa; stumpf' (ChuvP 87), *măka* 'tupoj' (Ašm8 294),

Middle Mongolian data:
moqoday: moqoday ǰida (AQǰÜ 318), *moqodaq* 'qui n'est pas pointu, qui n'est pas aigu, qui ne coupe pas' (LHY I 27), *moqadaq* 'tupoj' (MA 238), *moqadaq* 'dull, stupid' (KD203B24),

Written Mongolian data:
moqu- 'to be blunt or dull; to get tired, weaken, exhaust one's strength' (L 544), *moqudaq* 'stumpf, tupoj' (Schmidt 218),

Other Mongolian data:
moxdog 'tupoj, tupogolovyj, bezdarnyj' (KhRS 243), *moxä:, moxā* 'stumpf (zb. Messer)' (KWb 263), *moko* 'stumpf' (BurC 174), *moxo-* 'to give up sg., desist, spend its force' (Darig 166), *muxudak, muxuduk, muxur* 'id.' (OrdM).

In spite of semantical and morphological differences between MMo and VK data 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 (TMEN§376).
Róna-Tas stated that Chuvash borrowed 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 criterion of the word's Mongolian origin. The word derives from a Mongolian verb *moqu-* 'stumpf werden' (KWB 263).

The word was borrowed by some other Turkic languages; Räsänen listed them in his dictionary (RVEW 340). Most probably the Crimean Tatar word *muqayt* 'ostorožnyj', osmotritel'nyj' (CrTat 197) also belongs here, though there is a difference in its meaning.

Similarly to the words ***23. bolaŋgïr*** and ***84. kuŋïr*** (see above) the VK forms show a variant with a preserved Mo suffix.
For further data see: (Róna-Tas 1982:103).

95. *möčä* 'body' < MMo *möče* 'limb'

Tatar data:
möčä 'gäüdä' (DSTat 139) – 'body', *Bötän möčese belän avïp kitte.* 'All its parts disintegrated.' *moca* 'gäüdä; tulovišče' (ST 153), *möcä* 'tazovaja kost'' (ST 154), *möcä* 'oča söyäge; tazovaja kost'' (KST 168) – 'hip bone', *möčä* → *yäüdä* 'gäüdä' (TatDS 317) - 'body'

Bashkir data:
mösä II. '(anat.) organ, člen' (BashkRS 392), *mösä* 'telosloženie' (BashkK), *mösä* 'buy' (BashkD2 174) – 'stature',

Other Turkic data:
müsä 'id.' (YakP 1651),

Chaghatay data:
muča = *müšö* 'člen' tela, okonečnost'; das Glied, das Bein' (Radl4 2200), *müče* 'členy tela' (MA 405),

Middle Mongolian datum:
möčes Pl. (MonPr 227),

Written Mongolian data:
möče = *möči* 'limb (of the body)' (L 544), *müče* 'id.' (Kow 2061),

Other Mongolian data:
müsä 'člen (tela)' (BurRS 309), *möč* I anat. 'konečnost'' (KhRS 247), *möči2* 'glied, die extremitäten (hände und füsse)' (KWb 267), *mö'tš'ö* 'membre (du corps)' (OrdM2 472).

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 are the same word.

Doerfer considers it of Mongolian origin: *möče* 'Glied' mo. (TMEN§371). It is lacking in Old Turkic, and also because of the initial *m-* it is certainly a Middle Mongolian loan word in VK languages. The intervocalic affricate *-č-* was spirantized in Bashkir after the borrowing. The word is present in ST both with palatal and velar vowels with somewhat different meanings.

96. *mölderä-* 'to pour all over' < MMo *mültüre-*

Tatar data:
mölderä- 'nalivat'sja, nalit'sja (slezami)' (TatRS 389), *küzlärennän yaš mölderäde* 'her tears began to flow' (TatRS 389), *mölderä-* 'tulïp tašïrga, tügelergä, čäčelergä toru' (TatAS2 427) – 'to be too full and flow out all over', *mültey-* 'vzduvat'sja, vypjačivat'sja' (TatTD 232),

Bashkir data:
möldörä- : möldöräp tor- '(tol'ko o židkostjah) byt' perepolnennym' (BashkRS 391), *möldörä-* 'tulï bulïp tügelergä torou, yalvarïp qarau'

(BashkD1 158) - 'to overflow, to obtain sg from sy by entreaties', *moldora-* 'möldörä-' (BashkD2 171),

Orther Turkic datum:
mültürüi 'abgleiten' (YakB 151),

Middle Mongolian datum:
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),

Other Mongolian data:
möltr- 'ganz abfallen, frei werden' (KWb), *multr-* 'vyputivat'sja' (KhRS 248), *möltöri-* 'id.' (Ramstedt 266), *möltörö-* 'se détacher, sortir de sa place, échapper' (OrdM).

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 (e.g.: *bilǰira-, mültüre-* etc.).

The initial *m-* preserved in the VK languages is an important feature proving that the Tatar and Bashkir verb *mölderä-* is borrowed from Mongolian.

97. *muyïl* 'bird-cherry' < MMo *moyil*

Tatar data:
muyel → *šomïrt* 'čeremuha' (TatRS 378) – 'bird-cherry', *muïl aġac* 'čeremušnik' (GTat), *muyel* 'šomïrt, šomïrt aġačï' (DSTat 134), *muyel* 'dial. šomïrt' (TatAS2 408), *muyïl* 'id.' (TatDS 308), *muyïl* 'čeremuha' (ST 154), *muyïl* 'šomïrt; čeremuha' (TatTD 225), (KST 168),

Bashkir data:
muyïl 'id.' (BashkRS 393), *muyïl* 'čeremuha' (BashkK 175), *mujėl* 'galagonyafa' (PBashk 258) – 'hawthorn', *muyïlgöl* 'domašnij cvetok',

muyïl mayï 'vid kušan'ja, izgotovlennogo iz čeremušnoj muki i masla' (BashkD2 175) – 'domestic flower, a kind of a food, made of the flour of bird-cherry',

Other Kipchak data:
moyïl 'čeremuha' (Kaz 242), *moyul* 'čeremuha' (Kirg 533), *moyïl* 'čeremuha' (KrklpRS 462),

Middle Mongolian datum:
moyilsun 'eine Frucht' (MNT 111),

Written Mongolian data:
moyilsun 'bird-cherry' (L 542), *moyisun* 'čeremuha' (KalmP 256), *moyil* 'die wilde Kirsche, Traubelkirsche' (Schmidt 217a),

Other Mongolian data:
moil 'čeremuha' (KhRS 241), *moihon* 'id.' (BurRS), *moihaŋ, moihoŋ* 'Traubenkirsche (Prunus Padus)' (BurC 174), *moil* 'espèce de cérise' (Oir 150), *moïl'i* 'čeremuha' (DagP 86), *moïl* 'Faulbeerbaum' (KWb 267).

Due to the initial *m-* this word is also a surely Mongolian loan both in the Tatar and the Bashkir languages. In the donor dialect the word final *-sun* had already disappeared. Vladimircov explained that this alternation took place in Written Mongolian: *moyïl ~ moyisun ~ moyilsun*.

The word was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the process the result of which the vowels became narrow there (*o* > *u* change).
For further Mo data see: Poppe (1955:80, 158), Räsänen (RVEW 340).

98. *nagas* 'collateral relatives' < MMo *naγaču, naqaču* 'maternal relatives'

Bashkir data:
naġasï '1. rebenok, vospityvajuščijsja u rodstvennikov materi (po otnošeniju k rodstvennikam otca), 2. mužskaja rodnja materi (po otnošeniju k rebenku)' (Bashk 453), *nagas* 'rodstvennik v bokovoj linii' (BashkK 176), *naġasï* 'rodina (selo) materi' (BashkRS 400),

Other Kipchak data:
nagašï 'die Verwandten mütterlicherseits' (Kaz – Mo 85), *nag'ašak'a* 'djadja (brat materi), *nag'ašeyi* 'babuška (mat' materi dannogo rebenka)' (Nogh RS 256), *naġašə* 'Verwandte mütterlicherseits' (NogR 160),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
naġačï 'Verwandte mütterlicher Seite' (Č 174), *naġaču* 'djadja po materi' (MA 405),

Chuvash datum:
naGas '(szidószó) lusta, lusta ember; faul, faulpelz' (ChuvP 90),

Middle Mongolian data:
naqaču 'Oheim mütterlicherseits' (MNT 112), *naqaču* '(maternal) uncle' (KD200B29),

Written Mongolian data:
nayaču 'maternal uncle [or aunt], relatives on mother's side' (L 556), *nayaču* 'rodstvenniki so storony materi' (KalmP 63), *nayaču* 'der Oheim mütterlicher Seite; djadja po materi' (Schmidt 800),

Other Mongolian data:
nagac 'rodnye po materi' (KhRS 257), *nagac* 'az anya szülei és testvérei' (Khal 274), *nayats* 'verwandter mütterlicher seite' (KWb 270), *nayats* 'parent du côté maternel' (Oir 151), *naG'ts* 'relative on the mother's side', *n. aχ* 'the brother of the mother', *n. ēDž* 'the mother of the mother' (Darig 166), *nagassa* 'Oheim, Tante (mütterlicher Site)' (BurC 143), *nag'čŭ* 'mladšij brat materi, žena mladšego brata materi' (DagP 86), *nagači* 'parent du côté maternal' (OrdM 480).

Due to the initial *n-*, and to its lack in Old Turkic vocabulary, the word is considered to be a Mo loan in VK.

Doerfer considered the word to be of Mongolian origin in some Turkic languages: *nayaču* 'Mutterbruder' mo., tü. < mo. (TMEN§383), in Manchu: Ewenki *nagaču*, Sol. *nagašu*, Man. *nakču* (MT 103).

The first occurrence of the word in Turkic is in Chaghatay, but in Mongolian we have data already from the Secret History.

"Yesügei the father of Chingis... was an aristocrat with the title of *bayatur*. 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." (Krader 1963:21), cf. Vreeland, de Rachewiltz, Vjatkina, etc.

The Bashkir word has a slightly different meaning, not to speak of the Chuvash, yet they belong here.

Ligeti (1961:35) stating that this Mongolian word was borrowed by Manǰu as well collected many different Mongolian data. He also has a Manǰu datum, where there is a long vocal replacing the Mongolian *-aya-*.

99. *narat* 'Scotch fir' < MMo *narat* plur. of *narasun*

Tatar data:
narat 'sosna, sosnovyj, *narat urmanï* 'krasnoles'e, sosnovyj bor' (TatRS 394), *Naratastï, Naratlï, Naratlïkïčü, Narat'elga, Öčnarat* (TatRS 795) – (placenames), *narat* 'sosna' (TatJ 93), *narrad* 'Tanne', *narrad-čillek* (TatVH 398), *narat* → qaraġay (TatČ), *narat* 'bot. kürkäläre zur bulmaγan, ïlïslï, mäŋe aġač' (TatAS2 434) – 'a coniferous evergreen with comparatively small pine-cones', *narat aġažï* 'Föhre' (MishK 255), *narat agaǰï* 'Kieferbaum' (MišTat 160), *qïr ciyä* 'narat ǰilägä; brusnika' (ST 141), *narat* 'sosna' (RTatS 638), *narat* 'terge' (DSTat 183),

Bashkir data:
narat dial. → *qaraġay* (Bashk 455), *narat* 'vörös áfonya' (PBashk 258) – 'red bilberry', *narat ǰiläge* 'cowberry' (PBashk 258),

Other Kipchak data:
narat 'sosna' (KrchT 481), *narat* 'Fichte' (BlkP 245), *narat* 'el', elovyj' (CrTatR 94),

Chuvash data:
narat, nart 'sosna' (Ašm9 9), *narat* '(csak találós mesében) Pinus sylvestris' (ChuvP 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* (MonPr 150),

Written Mongolian data:
narasun, narasu 'sosna, pin, sapin' (Kow), *narasu(n)* 'conifers (pine, fir etc.)' (L 565), *narasun modun* 'der Fichtenbaum; sosnovoe derevo, sosna' (Schmidt 82a),

Other Mongolian data:
nars(an) 'sosna, sosnovyj' (KhRS 264), *narha(n)* 'sosna' (BurRS), *narasn* 'pin' (Oir 151), *nars* 'sosna' (DagP 87), *narasu* 'pin, sapin' (OrdM 483).

The word is almost unknown among the Turks, except for the VK and the Chuvash languages.

The stem of the Mongolian word seems to be *naran* 'sun' as Poppe suggested.
"...the plant names with the suffix *+sun* belong mostly to such plants which can be separated easily from each other..." (Poppe 1981:383). According to Kara the question is much more difficult.

Rybatzki (2003:66) describing MMo in his chapter on nominal number he says the following: "Nouns ending in *.sU/n* have plurals either in *.D* (especially in earlier texts) or *.sU.D* (especially in later texts). Therefore we consider VK *narat* an earlier borrowing from MMo

Nevertheless the suffix *+sUn* did not reach the Volga-region on this word, because it 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 Mongolian origin see Róna-Tas (1973-1974:128)'s article.
See also: (Róna-Tas 1982:104).

100. *nïq* 'solid' < MMo cf. WMo *niγ*

Tatar data:
nïq 'krepkij, tverdyj' (TatRS 403), *nïk* 'avïr, kïen bulġan, taza ešlängän' (TatAS2 450) – 'hard, difficult, made to be lasting', *nïq* 'erős, kemény, szilárd; Stark' (TatB 147), *nïq* 'plotnyj' (ST 159), *nïq* 'tïgïz, yeš, kuye; plotnyj' (KST 171), *mïqtï* 'taza, nïq' (TatDS 310) – 'fresh, strong', *nïq* 'sploš, postojanno, očen" (TatTD 236),

Bashkir data:
nïq 'krepkij, tverdyj, dobrotnyj' (BashkRS 407), *mïqtï* → *nïq* (BashkRS 395), *nïq* 'tverdyj, krepkij' (BaskK 178), *nïyayt-* 'ukrepit', utverdit'' (BashkK 178), *birq* 'nïq' (BashkD1 42),

Other Kipchak data:
nïq 'krepkij, krepko, plotnyj, plotno' (Kaz 255), *nïyayt-* 'ukrepit' , zakrepit' ' (Kaz 255), *nïq'tï* 'krepkij, pročnyj' (Nogh 256), *nïk* 'krpko, plotno' (NoghRS 238), *nïq* 'krepkij' (RKklp 372), *nïq* 'plotnyj; plotno' (CrTat 210), *nəqta-* 'vollstopfen, vollpropfen' (NogR 161),

Chuvash data:
năk, năkă 'krepkij, tverdyj, zdorovyj, plotnyj' (Ašm9 52), *năGă* 'szilárdan, rendületlenül; fest, unerschütterlich' (ChuvP 90),

Written Mongolian data:
niγ 'solid(ly), dense(ly)' (L 578) > *niγta,*

Other Mongolian data:
nyagt 'plotnyj, tesnyj' (KhRS 288), *niG* 'dicht, hart, fest (zb. Tuch)', *niktï, niktă* 'dicht, fest aneinander, ohne zwischenraum' (KWb 276).

Definitely a Mongolian loan in VK languages with and without the Mongolian suffix *-tai* > *-ta*. On this Mongolian suffix see (Schönig 2000:179).
The initial phoneme *n-* is a safe criterion both in Bashkir and Tatar of the word's Mongolian origin besides its Turkic synonym *birk* (see above). The Tatar mediated the word further to the Chuvash language.

The word is also present as a verb in Crimean Tatar in the shape of *nïqta-* 'uplotnjat'' (210).
See also: (Róna-Tas 1982:21).

101. *nögär* 'companion, friend' < MMo *nökör*

Tatar data:
nügär 'kiyäü yegete' (DSTat 142) – 'best man', *nägär* 'borïŋï törki häm mongol däülätlärendä han gvardiyasendä hezmät itüče gaskeri, gvardijače, tuyda kiyääne saklap, ozatïp baručï häm tuy mäjlese belän jïtäkčelek itüče

keše' (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), *nügär* ~ *nüŋär* 'družka' (ST 159), (KST 171),

Bashkir data:
nögär '1. tovarišč ženiha (soprovoždajuščij ego v dom nevesty); 2. telohranitel' hana, hanskij telohranitel'' (Bashk 463), *nögär* → 'keyäü kösögö' (BashkD2 183) - 'friend and guard of the bride-groom', *keyäü nögäre/mögäre* 'keyäü kösögö/üŋäre' (BashkD2 101),

Other Kipchak data:
nöger 'svita, pridvornyj sluga' (Kaz 255), *nögör* 'sotovarišč' (v étom značenii i u Babura)' (Kirg), (Bud2 296), *nöker* 'vojsko, otrok, voin, družinnik v byvšem, Hwinskom hanstve postupavšij v družinu so svoim oružiem i lošad'ju' (KrklpRS 484), *néger* 'oruženosec, područnyj, rabotnik' (KarRP 421), *nügör* 'servant (male)' (KumR 91), *nökör* '(v épose) sluga épičeskogo bogatyra' (KirgRS 557),

Early Kipchak data:
nöger 'Genosse, Kamerad, socius' (CC 172), *noga(r)* 'socius' (CCK 114), *nöger* 'yoldaş, arkadaş' (KT 202),

Chuvash data:
neger 'družka, žafer' (Zol 45), *neker* 'id.' (Ašm9 18),

Other Turkic data:
navkar 'sluga, soldat nereguljarnogo vojska' (UzbRS 278), *doyor* 'Kamerad, Freund' (MEJ 26), *nuker* 'servant, manservant' (Redhouse 891)[75],

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), *nökör* 'associate, comrade' (KD200C11),

75 This word is a loan from the Persian as marked in Redhouse, but no doubt this goes back to the Mo origin.

Written Mongolian data:
nökör 'drug, tovarišč' (Golst2 46), *nökür* 'tovarišč, prijatel', drug, compagnon, camarade' (Kow 702), *nökür* 'drug, prijatel', tovarišč, priverženec, muž, suprug' (KalmP 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, die eheleute nennen einander oft *nökr*' (KWb 279), *nůgůr* 'muž' (DagP 88), *nük'ür, nöxör* 'Freund, Kamerad, Genosse, der Ehemann heisst auch ~/ ~ ' (ParMon 98), *nökör* 'compagnon, épouse, camarade' (Oir 152), *nökör* 'compagnon' (SoyK 35), *nökör* 'Gefährte' (BurC 145).

The word is of Mongolian origin in VK 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, *üŋer* is used with the same meaning. In the southern and eastern dialects *nögär* and *mögär* stand for "tovarišč ženiha, soprovoždajuščij ego k neveste v pervuju bračnuju noč'" (Aznagulov 1973).

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 *möŋgerä-* ~ BashkD *öŋörä-*, BashkD *ümelderek* ~ Lit. Bashk *kümelderek*, etc.

The Mongolian reached Oghuz Turkic, there is a word *nökär* in Dede Korkut (Schönig (2003:411) even the Hungarian language, first it appears in the shape of *nyögér* after 1285 (cf. Németh 1953:1). According to Németh, the Uzbek datum (see as *navkar*) I cited above seems to be of Iranian origin.
The word has an ample bibliography to mention a few very important articles: (Vladimircov 1929:16), (Pelliot 1920), (Ligeti 1935), (Németh 1954), (Poppe 1955:146), (Róna-Tas 1982:107), Doerfer: (TMEN§388), (1996:174), (Kincses Nagy 1997:143), (Schönig 2000:141, 2003:411).

102. *nukta* 'halter (of horse)' < MMo *noqta*

Tatar data:
nukta 'nedouzdok' (TatRS 402), *nuktala-* 'nadevat' nedouzdok, obuzdyvat', obuzdat'' (TatRS 402), *nuqta* 'kötőfék; halfter' (TatB 147), *noktala-* 'felfékezni, halfter anlegen', *nukta* 'nedouzdok' (TatG), *nuqta* 'obrot' (GTat), *nokta* 'Halfter' (PTatD), *nuqta* 'nedouzdok' (TatJ 94), *nukta* 'avïzlïksïz yögän' (TatAS2 448) – 'bridle without a curb-bit', *nuktala-* 'nukta kiderü' (TatAS2 448) – 'to put on the bridle', *nokta, nukta* 'yuka yögän (avïzlïksïz)' (DSTat 141) – 'thin bridle (without a curb-bit)', *nokta, noxta* 'Halfter' (TatC 104), *nuqta* 'nedouzdok' (ST 159), *nukta* (awïzlïksïz, ber genä tezgenle jögän) 'nedouzdok' (RTatS 363),

Bashkir data:
nuqta 'nedouzdok' (Bashk 463), *nuqta* 'nedouzdok, obrot' (BashkRS 407), *nukta* 'nedouzdok, oborot' (BaskK 178), *nuqït* 'noqot' (BashkD1 164), *nuqta* 'auïðlïqhïð yugän' (BashkD1 164) - 'bridle without a curb-bit', *noqtalï šeš* 'namordnik iz gvozdej' (BashkD2 183), *nukta* 'kötőfék' (PBashk 258),

Other Kipchak data:
noqta 'nedouzdok' (Kaz 255), *nokta* 'id.' (NoghRS 237), *noqta* 'nedouzdok' (RKklp 498), *noqta II* 'nedouzdok' (CrTatR 96), *noqta II* 'nedouzdok' (KrchT 486),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
noχta 'nedouzdok' (MA 405), *noqta* 'yolar, nedouzdok' (K 174), *noqta* 'Halfter' (CC 172), *nocta* 'id.' (CCK 122), *noχta* 'uzdzienica, uzda (bez wedzidet); bride (sans mors)' (DAK 557), *noχta* 'id.' (AQP 59),

Chuvash data:
năkta, (nïkta) 'nedouzdok, obrotka' (Ašm9 53), *năχta, noχta* 'zabola (kötélből készített); zaum (von strick)' (ChuvP 90), *nuχta* 'obrod, nedouzdok' (Zol 45),

Other Turkic data:
nokta, notka 'nedouzdok, obrot' (AltV 212), *nogta* 'nedouzdok, volja' (TkmRS 475), *noχta* ~ *noχtæ* 'muzzle, halter, head-collar' (Turki), *nühta* 'nedouzdok' (UzbRS 292),

Middle Mongolian data:
noxta 'id.' (MA 259), *noqta* 'Halfter' (LP), *noqta* 'halter' (KD187C16),

Written Mongolian data:
nokto 'obrot, nedouzdok; licou, licol' (Kow 695), *noytu* 'halter', *noytula-* 'to halter' (L 588), *noqto* 'nedouzdok, obrot' (KalmP 70), *noyto* 'der Halfter; uzda, povod' (Schmidt 92c), *nogto* 'nedouzdok' (Golst2 43),

Other Mongolian data:
nogt 'nedouzdok', *nogtlo-* 'nadevat' nedouzdok' (KhRS 269), *nokto* 'halfter' (KWb 278), *nogt, noxt, nokt* 'licou' (Oir 152), *noktu, nokta, nokto* 'Halfter' (BurC 144), *nogto* 'nedouzdok' (BurRS), *loht* 'nedouzdok' (Todaeva 1985:86), *lochta* 'kl. Halfter mit nur einem Zügel' (Tenišev 1976:637), *nogt* 'kötőfék' (Khal 290).

This is a Mongolian loan in VK languages, because of its initial *n-*, and because it belongs to the terminology of horse-keeping. About how *nukta* was used, see: "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." (Rudenko 1955:111).

The word *nukta* must have been widely used in the Mongolian era, because it was borrowed by Cuman (cf. Poppe 1962:336), New Persian: **noqta* 'Halfter' tü. < mo. (TMEN§384), Chuvash (Egorov 1964:138), (Róna-Tas 1973-1974:129), and some other Turkic languages (RVEW 354).

The first vowel of the word became closer already in VK languages. We have no criterion to decide whether the verb *nuktala-* was borrowed at the same time with *nukta*, or if it developed in Mongolian and VK languages independently from each others.
For further data see: (Poppe 1955:164), (Róna-Tas 1982:107), (Schönig 2000:140).

103. *očora- ~ očra-* 'to come across sy/sg., meet' < MMo *učira-*

Tatar data:
očra- 'popadat'sja na vstreču, preterpevat' (TatRS 416), *täüge očrašu* 'pervaja vstreča' (TatRS 571), *očra-* 'vstretit', vstrečat'' (TatJ 113), *očora-* 'rátalálni; daraufkommen, antreffen' (TatB 27), *očra-* 'käri kilü' (TatDS

270) – 'to come across sy./sg.', *očra-* 'barġanda, kaya da bulsa häräkät itkändä, kemgä yäki närsägä karšï bulu, turï kilü' (TatAS2 486) – 'to come across sy. or sg. in the way of progress, going to somewhere', *učïra-* 'vstrečat'sja' (BarTat 193), *ocra-, ucra-, ucura-* 'zu finden sein; sich treffen' (MišTat 161),

Bashkir data:
osra- 'vstrečat'sja, vstretit'sja, popadat'sja, popast'sja' (BashkRS 419), *osora-* 'vstretit'sja' (BashkK 184),

Other Kipchak data:
ušïrasï- 'vstretit'' (RKklp 120), *učra-* 'begegnen' (MEKS 302), *učur-* 'katat', kačat'; puskat', vypuskat' (KrchT 690), *učura-* 'vstretit'sja' (KirgRS 813),

Early Kipchak data:
učra-, učira- (Sangl. Ind. V. 94), *učra-* 'rastlamak, karşılaşmak' (KT 291),

Other Turkic datum:
učra- 'to meet, to come across, to find, to encounter' (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
učira- : učirabasu : tülegen-lüge učirabasu (AQjÜ 454), *učira- : učiraǰuγu* (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 begeben, vorkommen; sojtisja, vstretit'sja, slučat'sja, priključat'sja' (Schmidt 61c),

Other Mongolian data:
utšr- 'begegnen, sich treffen' (KWb 453b), *učra-* 'vstrečat', slučat'sja' (KhRS 472), *u'č'ira-* 'recontrer, avoir une entrevue avec quelqu'un, se recontrer dans une existence future' (OrdM 746a).

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 Mongolian having two syllables in the stem and an additional suffix *-ra* (cf. *asara-, abura-, mültüre-*, etc.). The word is of Turkic origin in Mongolian: < OT

učur-, and a reborrowed Mongolian loan in both Tatar and Bashkir languages.

104. *oŋgï* 'socket for the handle of the axe' < MMo *onggi*

Tatar data:
oŋġï 'uško topora' (TatRS 418), *oŋġï* 'baltanïŋ sap utïrtïla torġan urïnï' (DSTat 143) – 'the opening on the hatchet where the handle is inserted', *oŋgï* 'balta küze, sap kiderä torgan tišege' (TatAS2 493) – 'the opening on the hatchet for the handle',

Bashkir data:
oŋġo 'uško topora (v kotoroe vstavljajut toporišče)' (BashkRS 415), *hoŋġo* → *oŋġo "Balta hoŋġoho."* (BashkD1 261), *oŋgo* 'I. zaklepka (na kose)' (BashkD2 187),

Other Kipchak data:
uŋġï 'obuk' (KrklpRS 677), *uŋgu* 'obuh; ta čast' železki (nakonečnika kop'ja), kuda vstavljaetsja drevko' (KirgRS 805),

Chuvash data:
unkă 'kolco; krug, kol'co (po forme); petlja; okruženie; nol'' (Chuv 513), *uŋGă* 'karika; ring' (ChuvP 192),

Other Turkic data:
oŋoi, oŋoyobun 'eine Oeffnung, ein Lochekommen' (YakB 21),

Middle Mongolian datum:
onggi 'Griff' (MNT 124),

Written Mongolian data:
onggi 'otverstie u molota topora, zastupa, lopatki v kotoroe vkladyvaetsja čeren, toporišče, rukojatka' (Kowl 356), *onggi* 'socket or ring for a handle in an axe, spade or hoe' (L 614), *onggi* 'die Oeffnung am Rücken eines Beils und so weiter in welche der Stiel befestigt wird; otverstie na obuh topora i pr. v kotoroe vkladyvaetsja toporišče' (Schmidt 45a),

Other Mongolian data:
oŋggi 'osnovanie, rukojatka, stebel' (DagP 88), *ongi* 'loch, öffnung' (KWb 287), *ongi* 'otverstie ili gnézdo, kuda nasaživajut čerenok, rukojatku; proušina, uško (napr. u topora dlja skreplenija s toporiščem)' (KhRS 299), *ongi* 'virole anneau dans lequel ou fait passer le manche d'un instrument' (OrdM 514a).

The word is considered to be of Mongolian origin in Manchu by Doerfer: Mo *oŋgarqai* 'Loch, Öffnung' > Man. *oŋgola, uŋgala* 'Höhlung, Loch' (MT 111).

The Mongolian word seems to go back to *ongui-* = *ongɣai* 'to become wide open, open up, from 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 Mongolian loan in VK languages.

105. *ölkä* 'area' < MMo *ölke* 'the sunny side of a mountain'

Tatar data:
ölkä 'oblast'' (TatRS 739), *ölkä* 'id.', "Sugïška kadär Harisov Orenburg ölkäsendä éšlägän ide." (TatAS3 701) – 'Until the war, Harisov lived in the Orenburg area.',

Bashkir data:
ölkä 'oblast', oblastnoj', *Irimbur ölkähe* (BashkRS 426) – 'the area of Orenburg', *batial ölkä* 'oblast' batial'naja' (zoolBashk 119),

Other Kipchak data:
ölkö 'country, province' (Kirghiz Manual 132), *ölkö* 'kraj, strana; mestnost'; teploe avetrennoe mesto (udobnoe dlja skota)' (KirgRS 592), *ülkü* 'oblast' (territorija, kraj)' (RKklp 541),

Chaghatay data:
ölkä 'province, ville, pays, fief' (Chag 77), *ölkä* 'strana, kraj, otečestvo, provincija, vladenie, gosudarstvo, imperija, carstvo; die Gegend, das Land, vaterland' (R1 1253),

Middle Mongolian datum:
ölke 'Vorderseite des Berges' (MNT 123),

Written Mongolian data:
ölke, ölöke 'poludennaja storona (gory, holma, doma i pr.); coté méridional (d'une montagne, d'un monticul' (Kow 535), *ölge ~ ölgi* 'sunny side of a mountain' (L 633),

Other Mongolian datum:
ölgij 'napos (hegy)oldal' (Khal 345) – 'sunny side of the mountain'.

According to Doerfer the word *ölkä* 'Gebiet' is a Mongolian loan in some Turkic and also in VK languages.

There is a difference between the meanings; however it is not so great.
For further data see: Doerfer (TMEN§28), (Schönig 2000:145).

106. *sadak, sagaydak* 'quiver' < MMo cf. WMo *sa'adaq*

Tatar data:
sadak 'saadak, saydak, kolčan (dlja luka i strel)' (TatRS 461), *sagaydak, sadak* 'jäya häm uk savïtï.' (TatAS3 830) – 'Quiver for the bow and arrow.', *sâdak* 'Köcher für Pfeile' (TatC 120), *saudaq → sadaq* 'uk savïtï, uk kïnïsï; luk so vsem prinadležnostjami, kolčan' (ST 183),

Bashkir data:
haġïðaq 'osa, osinij' (Bashk 721, BashkRS 614) – 'wasp', *sagadak* 'osa' (BashkD2 197),

Other Kipchak data:
sadak 'luk (oružie)' (Kaz 283), *sadaq* 'bow' (KazDTL 20), *saadak* 'kolčan; saydak; strela' (Kirg 617), *saadak* 'bow' (KirgDTL 20), *sadaq* 'kolčan' (CrTatR 105), *sadaq* 'strela (dlja strel'by iz luka)' (KrchT 533), *sadaq* 'ok' (Krch), *sadaq tart-* 'íjat megfeszít', *sadáq* 'Pfeil' (KrchP), *sadaq* 'Pfeil' (BlkP 249), *sadaq* 'kolčan (dlja luka i strel)' (Kum), *sadak* 'Pfeil' (KumN), *sadaq* 'kolčan' (CrTat), *saadak (kabï)* 'kolčan' (KirgRS 617),

Early Kipchak and Chaghatay data:
sadak 'luk so vsemi prinadležnostjami; der Bogen mit allem Schiessgeräthe, luk i futljar dlja luka, der Bogen und das Bogenfutteral (die Bogentasche)' (R4 383), *sadax* 'sahajdak, sajdak; carquois' (DAK 655), *sadak, sdak, sday* 'carquois' (Chag 334), *sadaq* 'Bogen; Köcher' (Č 176), *sadaq* 'sadak, okluk, ok kuburu' (DK 254),

Other Turkic data:
sādax 'Bogenüberzug' (YakB. 154), *saadak* 'kolčan; ohotnič'ja sumka, jagdtaš; sumka, ranec' (Tuv 358), *saydaq* 'quiver' (Turki), *saadak* 'kolčan; ohotnič'ja sumka, jagdtaš; sumka, ranec' (Tuv), *sedaġ* 'sadak, ok koyacağı' (AzT),

Written Mongolian data:
sayadaq 'sajdak, kolčan; étui d'arbaléte, carquois' (Kow 1294), *sagadag* 'quiver, arrow case' (L 656), *sadaq* 'sadak, samostrel' (KalmP 145), *sayadaq* 'Bogen und Pfeile, das ganze Bogengeräthe, luk i strely, ves' pribor luka' (Schmidt 340b),

Other Mongolian data:
sādag 'bogen und pfeile, köcher' (KWb 316), *saadag* 'kolčan (dlja strel)' (KhRS 338), *sayaday* 'kolčan dlja strel' (Todaeva 1985:18).

Doerfer considers the word *sādaq* 'Köcher' (TMEN§212) of Mongolian origin. Unfortunately I could not find anywhere the Bashkir datum *haðaq* given by him.

The Bashkir data I gave above have entirely different meanings than 'Köcher' yet they may be connected somehow, I believe.

In Tatar we have both a Mongolian and a Russian loan for 'quiver'. Tenišev collected the Mongolian data in his article concerning *sādaq* (Tenišev 1976:636).

There are differences in semantics: the Mo word *sa:dak* < *saġadak* means only the case or box of the arrow, while in Karachay it is the arrow itself that it means.
See also U.Kőhalmi's article in AOH on *sagadag* (1960:293-7).
For further data see: (Kincses Nagy 1997:141), (Schönig 2000:159), **saydaq* 'kolčan' (Tenišev 2001:567), Räsänen: < Mo. *saya-day* 'Bogen und Pfeile', 'Köcher'.

107. *sakau* 'disease of horses' < MMo cf. WMo *saqayu*

Tatar data:
sakau 'dadogó; stotternd, stotterer' (TatB 131), *sakau II* 'atlarda bula torgan yogïšlï avïru' (TatAS2 617) – 'a fatal disease of horses', *saġau* 'telsez;

nemoj' (KST 187), *sagau* 'telsez; nemoj' (ST 183), *sakau* → *sälpe* (DSTat 171), *sakau* → *tïltïk*[76] (DSTat 191),

Bashkir data:
haqau II 'myt' (Bashk 723),

Other Kipchak data:
saqaw 'at hastalığı, ruam (hastalığı)' (Krch326), *saqaw* 'sak' (Kum), *saqaw* 'kosnojazyčnyj; nevnjatnyj, nečlenorazdel'nyj' (CrTatR 106), *saqaw* 'kosnojazyčnyj' (KarRP 461), *saqau* 'peltek' (CrKar), *sağım* 'Fata morgana' (NoghR162), *sakoo* '1. zaika; 2. myt (bolezn' žerebjat); 3. svinka (bolezn')' (Kirg), ~ *mangka* [77] 'atlarda görülen ruam hastalığı' (Krch), *saqaw* 'beszédhibás' (KazSK), *sakau* 'id.' (Kaz),

Early Kipchak data:
sahaw, saqaw 'kekeme' (Toparlı 2003:223-4),

Other Turkic datum:
sakağı 'özellikle atlarda görülen ve insanlara da bulaşan ölümcül bir hayvan hastalığı, ruam' (TS 1889),

Written Mongolian datum:
saqayu 'glanders, farcy' (L 677),

Other Mongolian data:
saqagu 'geschwür' (KWb 308), *saxuu* '(állatorv.) takonykór' (Khal384).

There is another word for the same illness *talaw* 'ruam hastalığı' (Krch 372). The word was borrowed by Serbs from Turkish (Eren 1999:350). Kałużynski ME 31.

76 There is a third synonym of the word: *šipil* → *sakau* (DSTat 229). The Mo. loan is explained here by another Mo. loan, cf. WMo. *teneg* 'stupid, foolish; fool, idiot; stupidity' (L 801).

77 The Mo loan is explained here by another Mo loan: *mangka.* It was borrowed by other Turkic languages, e.g. Chuvash: *maŋGa* 'takony; rotz' (ChuvP 84).

108. *sarana* 'Lily' < MMo cf. WMo *sarana*

Tatar data:
sarana 'dial. bot. saranka' (TatRS 469), *sarana* ~ *sanara* 'lilija sarana – Lilium martagon' (TatDS 602), *sarana* 'töbe sugan tösle, čäčäge zäŋgär ber törle ülän (anïŋ sugan'ïn ašïylar)' (DSTat 159) – 'a grass with a root like a bulb and has blue flowers (its bulb-root is edible)', *sarana* 'bot. sugančalï üsemleklärneŋ ber töre' (TatAS2 630) – 'a kind of a plant with bulb-root', *sargay* 'sarana (üsemlek); želtaja sarana, saranka: Lilium martagon' (ST 186),

Bashkir data:
harïna 'saranka, lilija pestraja' (BashkRS 623), *harïna* 'qïyaq yapraqlï, biš yïlda säskä ata torgan göl' (BashkD1 256) – a kind of a rose, that blooms once in five years, its letters are like the reed-grass', *harïna* 'sibär lälä' (botBashk 112) – 'pretty lily',

Chuvash data:
sarana 'nazv. cvetka, lilija, saranka, carskie kudri' (Ašm9 63), *sarana* 'valamely növény: gyökere sárga, fenyőtoboz alakú, ehető, virágjai szépek, halványpirosak; eine pflanze mit hell-roten blumen, deren gelbe wurzel, die einem tannenzapfen ähnelt, essbar ist' (ChuvP 115), *sarana* 'lilija, saranka, carskie kudri' (ChuvD 103), *sarana* '(bot.) sarana (obščee nazvanie rjada svadobnyh lukovičnyh rastenij)' (Chuv 345),

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), *saraana* 'liliom (Lilium)' (Khal 381), *haraana* 'koren' (ili lukovica) sarany' (Bur).

The word occurs exclusively in the Volga area besides Mongolian territories. Räsänen wrote that 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 may take it for a Mongolian loan.
For further data see: (Dmitrieva 2001: 103).

109. *seläüsen* 'lynx' < MMo *sileüsün*

Tatar data:
seläüsen 'rys' (TatRS 474), *seläüsen* 'hiúz; luchs' (TatB 135), *seläüsen* 'zool. Kübesenčä urmanda yašï torgan, sorgïlt-jïrän yäki timgel-timgel kuye yomšak yonlï, mäčelär törennän bulgan ertkïč.' (TatAS2 642) – 'A beast of pray 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. Tat. 3-5. 250), *seläüsen* → *slaučan* 'Luchs' (im Ms. irrtümlich: 'Maulwurf') vgl. Tat. *selaüsen*' (MishK 256), *seläüčän* → *slaučan* (MišTat 167), *seläü* ~ *seläükäy* ~*seläüsän* ~ *seläüčen* 'kïrt: kïzïl kïrt' (TatTD 265), *sïvalčan* → *seläüčän* (DSTat 167), *sögözmin* → *seläüčän* (DSTat 172), *čulčan, cualčan* → *seläüčän (böj.)* (DSTat 219),

Bashkir data:
seläü 'seläüsen, seläüsän' (BashkD1 180), *mälem* 'heläuehen; rys' (BashkD2 179), *heläüšen* 'heläühen' (Aznagulov 1975:8), *heléühen,* dial. *seläüsen* 'rys' (Išberdin 1986:23),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
šylys 'rys (životnoe)' (Chag 102), *silevsün* 'Luchs und dessen Fell' (CC 218), *silausun* 'felis lynx' (CCK 98),

Middle Mongolian datum:
šilä'ülsün 'Lynx' (LHY),

Written Mongolian data:
silügüsü(n) 'Lynx' (L 708), *silügüsün* 'der Luchs, rys' (Schmidt 359b),

Other Mongolian data:
šilüüs(en) 'zool. rys' (KhRS 652), *šülūsün* 'lynx' (Oir 160), *šülūsün* 'luchs' (KWb 371), *šilüüs* 'Luchs' (ParMon 71), *šilüüs* 'felis lynx' = lynx (VAM 124), *šilûluŋ, šilûhuŋ(n), šilûse* 'Luchs' (BurC 139).

The word *šilegülsün* 'Luchs' is considered to be of Mongolian origin by Doerfer *šilegülsün* 'Luchs' (TMEN§1765), this corresponds to Räsänen's view, (RVEW 421), Ligeti on the other hand considered it to be of Turkic origin.

It is a Mongolian loan word in Cuman (Poppe 1962:338), and also in Manchu *silun* 'zool. rys' (Cincius MT2 85), cf. Rozycki.

We have two more early data of its occurrence. One in Pallas's Zoographia: *slayssen, slylafsin* 'Felis Catus, Felis Lynx' (Kecskeméti 1968:63), and one in Witsen's Noord en Oost Tartaryen...: *Schuli∫un* 'Lux' (Witsen 299).

I think that there is an erroneous datum among the Tatar ones listed above, namely there was something misunderstood in Misher. Beside *seläüsen* 'lynx' Tatar also has *sualčan* 'worm' (TatRS 488) with a dialectal form *seläüčän* (TatRS 474) much resembling the word for 'lynx'.

The corresponding word in a neighbour Volga Kipchak language is: *seläüsän* 'listy, červjak (dlja ryby)' (BashkK). Here we arrived to Bashkir, where we have the most amazing variety of data. The word is known here both with *s-* and *h-*, moreover we have a datum from the Orenburg dialect, where both *h-* and *s-* appear in the same word. We have lots of other examples for these alternating initials from Bashkir dialects e.g.: *saŋγïrau ~ haŋγïrau* (BashkD1 176), *selägäy ~ helägäy* (BashkD1 180), *söyäl ~ höyäl* (BashkD1 188), etc. (see also CC).

Here follows a quotation from Kipchak folklore:

"*Siloüsin* yagi silkip bolmäs / Sirma toŋu bügüp b[ol]mäs" ol y[.....] (cf. the Cuman riddles 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. There is a great variety of parallel *si-* ~ *ši-* forms in certain Mo. dialects in the 13th –14th centuries, however Kitay had initial *š-* much earlier than this in place of *s(i)-*. We can almost be sure that the intervocalic *-g-* had disappeared by that time from the Mongolian dialect that was the source of this word.

110. *selte* 'alkali' < MMo cf. Mo **silte ~ siltü*

Tatar data:

selte 'ščeloč', ščëlok' (TatRS 474), *selti* 'ščëlok' (TatT 585), *selte* 'lúg; lauge' (TatB 136), *sl'te* 'ščelok' (TatJ 51), *selte* 'Berär toz belän kislota kušïluïnnan barlïkka kilgän zahar kimik matdä.' (TatAS2 641) – 'Poisonous

chemical substance that comes into being by combining certain salts with acids.',

Bashkir data:
helte '1. (him.) ščeloč"; 2. ščelok; 3. otzol' (Bashk 730), *köl tonoġo* 'helte; ščeloč" (BashkD2 109),

Other Kipchak data:
silti 'ščelok' (KrchT 560), *silti* 'ščelok' (RKklp 1111), *sil'te* '(him.) ščeloč', ščelok' (CrTat 253),

Chuvash data:
sĕltĕ 'ščelok, ščeločnoj rastvor (obyčno zol'nyj)' (Chuv 360), *sĕltĕ* 'lúg; lauge' (ChuvP 117),

Other Mongolian data:
šült 'šeloč" (KhRS 661), *šült* '(vegy) lúg, lúgos odlat' (Khal 719), *šültü* 'pottasche, lauge' (KWb 371).

The Mongolian word was adopted by Tatar from a Western Middle Mongolian dialect with *si-* instead of the Eastern form with *ši-*.
Because the word is lacking in Turkic antiquity we may take it for a Mongolian-loan.
We see it also in Tungus: *siltü* 'pit'e, prigotovljaemoe iz gniloj serdceviny berezy' (Poppe 1927a:53).

111. *sïltau* 'cause, excuse' < MMo *siltaγ(an)*

Tatar data:
sïltau 'povod, predlog, otgovorka' (TatRS 495), *sïltau* 'ráfogás, másra fogás, kifogás, mentegetődés; andichtung, ausflucht entschuldigung' (TatB 138), *sïltau* 'predlog, otgovorka' (TatJ 50), *sïltau* 'säbäp, yapsaru' (DSTat 168) – 'cause, note', *sïltau* 'Gadättä aklanu yäki bäylänü-hüjüm itü öčen kiterelä torgan nigezsez, formal' säbäp.' (TatAS2 700) – 'It is in general a certifying or unjustified, formal reason for the sake of provocation.'

Bashkir data:
hïltau 'otgovorka, predlog, povod' (BashkRS 644), *hïltau* 'säbäp' (BashkD1 267), *hïltausïq* 'hïltau; predlog' (BashkD2 296),

Other Kipchak data:
sïltau 'blagovidnyj predlog, mnimaja pričina, otgovorka' (Kaz 312), *sïltaw* 'excuse' (KazDTL54), *sïltav* 'Gelegenheit, Angriff' (MEKS 301), *sïltaŭ* 'povod, pričina, predlog' (KrklpRS 603), *sïltaŭ* 'pričina; povod, otgovorka; predlog' (KrchT 583), *sïltaw* 'otgovorka; otneselie na *čej-to* sčet' (CrTat 262), *sïltaw* 'otgovorka' (CrTatR 114), *sïltaw* 'bahane, sebep, vesile' (Krch 341), *kurgak sïltaw* 'boş bahane' (Krch 282), *sïltau* 'Ausrede' (BlkP 252), *šïltoo* 'povod, predlog, otgovorka' (Kirg 919),

Early Kipchak, Eastern Turkic and Chaghatay data:
sïltov 'calumnia' (CCK 233), *šiltaq* 'imputation, mensongére, calomnie' (Chag 381), *sïltaġ* 'predlog, povod' (Fazylov 1971:289), *sıltamak* 'özür, bahane, çare', *sıltalı* 'bahaneli' (Atalay 1945: 237), *şıltak* 'bahaneli, özürlü' (Atalay 1945:247), *sïltow* 'iftira, suçlama' (KT 235),

Chuvash data:
săltav, sălttav 'pričina, povod, predlog' (Ašm10 243), *săltav* 'povod, predlog; zacepka; pričina, motiv, osnovanie' (Chuv 349),

Other Turkic data:
šïltag 'kapriz, kapriznyj' (AzRS 245), *şaltak* 'quarrelsome; noisy, clamorous' (Redh. 1048),

Middle Mongolian data:
siltaya: siltaya bar (MonPr 24, 69, 117, 154), *siltayan: siltayan nököčeldügči čiyulyan* (AQJÜ 392), *šiltayan* (VI 24), *šiltaq kibe tündü ebecinligi* (MA 333), *šiltān* 'cause, motif' (LHY), *šilta'a(n)* 'Ursache' (MNT 140), *siltay* 'subterfuge' (HpP 130),

Written Mongolian data:
šiltay 'otgovorka, uvertka, predlog; defaite, prétexte' (Kow 1501), *siltay* 'cause, motive, excuse, pretext, trick, ruse, stratagem' (L 707), *šiltan, šiltay* 'pričina, povod, obszojatel'stvo, otgovorka' (KalmP 170), *šiltayan* 'die Gelegenheit; slučaj' (Schmidt 360b),

Other Mongolian data:
šaltān 'vorwand, falscher grund, ausflucht, ausgedachte ursache' (KWb 347), *šaltag* 'povod, predlog, otgovorka, uvertka' (KhRS 643), *šaltgaan* 'pričina' (KhRS 643), *šaltag̀* 'ürügy, álok, kibúvó' (Khal 699) – 'pretext, pretence, excuse, plea', *šiltak* 'prétexte, subterfuge, occasion, raison, moyen' (OrdM).

If we consider the Turkic texts only, the earliest occurrence of the word was found to be in CC by Róna-Tas (1973-1974:132) and Zajączkowski (MEKS 301). In spite of this fact, Poppe did not discuss it among the Mongolian loan words in Cuman.

The word was borrowed by the VK languages prior to the Mongolian *si-* > *ši-* development[78]. Because the word has a spirant *š-* for the initial in Chaghatay (cf. *šiltaq*) we may assume that it reached the VK languages via other sources.
The word can be found in other Turkic languages (RVEW 416), (TMEN§236), (Róna-Tas 1982:113), (Schönig 2000:172).

112. *sïrhau* 'sickness, illness; ailment' < MMo cf. WMo *sirxa-n*

Tatar data:
sïrkau 'beteg; betegség; krank; krankheit' (TatB 138), *sïrqaw* 'bol'noj' (BarTat 184), *sïkranulï* 'bol'noj' (RTatS 46), *sïrkaw* 'krank' (MišTat 168),

Bashkir data:
sïrhau II 'bolezn', nedomoganie; bol'noj' (Bashk 565), *sïrhïuat* 'tire auïrïuï' (BashkD1 196), *sirχau* 'betegség' (PBashk 262),

Other Kipchak data:
sïrquw 'yaramaz, şımarık, hoppa' (Krch 344), *sïrkïw* 'bespokojnyj; ozornoj; šalovlivyj (o rebenke)' (KrchT 586), *sïrqaw* 'hvor', bolezn', hvoryj' (Kum), *sïrqaw* 'bol'noj' (RKklp), *sïrkoo* 'bolezn', hvor'; bol'noj, hvoryj' (Kirg), *sərqau* 'Krankheit (NogR 164),

78 On this change see above in connection with the word *šileüsün*.

Chuvash data:
sărhăvat '(dial. obščee nazvanie različnyh kožnyh zabolevanij:) eczema, syp', lišaj i t.d.' (Chuv 354), *sărhăvat* 'valamely gyermekbetegség (vízhólyagocskák a testen); eine kinderkrankheit (wässerige bläschen an dem körper)' (ChuvP 120),

Written Mongolian datum:
sirxa-n 'wound, sore, injury' (L 174).

The word has no Turkic background; the initial *s-* in Bashkir is a telling sign of its being a loan-word.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:174).

113. *soġa* 'present' < MMo *sauqa* 'gift, present'

Tatar data:
soqa 'bäkäl' (ščikolotka, lodïžka)' (TatTD 269),

Bashkir data:
soġa 'tonkoe sukno vysšego kačestva; kant' (Bashk 546), *soġa* 'yugarï sifatlï buθtau' (BashkD1 186) – 'good quality textile',

Other Kipchak data:
savga 'hediye, armağan; mükafat, ödül; prim' (Krch 334), *sawġa* 'dar, podarok; nagosudarstvennaja nagrada' (KrchT 544), *sawġa* 'id.' (Karça-Koşay 1954:140), > *sawġat* 'podarok, dar; premija' (Kum) > *sawgat* (kabard), *saugá* 'Belohnung' (KrchP), *saugа* 'Geschenk, Belohnung' (BlkP 251), *saugat* 'Geschenk' (KumN), *sooga* 'podarok iz voennoj ili ohotnič' ej dobyči' (Kirg 654), *sawġa* 'dobyča, trofej' (KarRP 455), *sawġa* 'podarok' (KarK, Kkalp, Kaz), *sybağa* 'ajándék' (KazSK) – 'gift, present',

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
savġat 'armağan, hediye, ihsan' (DK 261), *sawġat* ~ *sawqat* 'hediye' (AHMA),

Other Turkic data:
sowγat ~ *sawγat* 'a magnificent present made to kings, present' (Turki), *sowqat* 'present; sending' (Az),

Middle Mongolian datum:
saugat 'present' (KD205A33),

Written Mongolian data:
saux-a, saugа, saugad 'gift, present' (L 677).

The original meaning of the word has faded yet it is present in VK languages.

The initial *s-* in Bashkir is a telling sign of the word being a late loan. It is a loan also in South Oghuz. Doerfer considered the word to be of Mongolian origin.

Tavkul (2002:359) mentioned that Abhaz *soga* 'present, gift, award' is a Karachay-Balkar loan. Eren (1972) claims that the word is of Turkic origin in Mongolian.

For further data: *saugat/sauqat* 'Geschenk' tü. < mo. (TMEN§222), *savga* 'podarok' (Tenišev 2001:349), (Schönig 2000:163).

114. *solo* 'oat' < MMo cf. WMo *suli* 'steppe feather grass'

Tatar datum:
solo 'zab; hafer' (TatB 140),

Bashkir data:
holo 'oves; ovsjanoj, ovsjanyj' (Bashk 735), *holo* 'zab' (PBashk 241),

Chuvash data:
sĕlĕ 'oves; ovsjanyj' (Chuv 359), *sĕlĕ* 'zab; hafer' (ChuvP 117),

Written Mongolian datum:
suli 'steppe feather grass' (L 737),

Other Mongolian datum:
sul' '(növ.) homokperje (Psammochloa)' (Khal 396).

There is a minor difference in the semantics of the two sides yet it is a Mo loan in VK.

115. *söyäm* 'span (of hand)' < MMo *sö'em*, WMo *sögem*

Tatar data:
söyäm 'pjad', četvert' aršina (starinnaja mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju meždu koncami bol'šogo i ukazatel'nogo pal'cev)' (TatRS 502), *söyäm* 'kis, vagy bakarasz, (čirek aršin); die bokspanne (cf. *kariš*)' (TatB 140), *söyäm* 'Aršïnnïŋ čiregenä tigez ülčäü berämlege.' (TatAS2 720) – 'Unit of measurement, equaling with the quarter of an *arshin.*', *süwäm I.* 'söyäm; pjad'' (TatTD 281), *söyäm (ozïnlïk)* 'pjad'' (RTatS 561), *söyäm* 'söyäm; četvert' aršina' (ST 195),

Bashkir data:
höyäm 'pjad' (starinnaja mere dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju meždu bol'šim i sognutym ukazatel'nym pal'cami ruki' (BashkRS 633), *höyäm* 'Baš barmaq menän böklängän huq barmaq arahïndagï oðonloq.' (BashkD1 262) – 'the distance between the thumb and the forefinger', *höyäm* 'pjad' (staraja mera dliny)' (Bashk 738),

Other Kipchak data:
süyem 'pjad'' (KrklpRS 593), *süyem* 'eski ölçü birimlerinden elin en kısmı' (Krch 359) - 'old measure for the width of the hand', *süyem* 'rasstojanie v širinu ladoni s otstavlennym bol'šim pal'cem' (KrchT 588), *süyem* 'pjad'' (CrTat 265), *bir süyem* 'pjad'' (RKrklp), *sööm* 'pjad' (mera dliny, ravnaja rasstojaniju meždu koncami vytjanutyx bol'šogo i ukazatel'nogo pal'cev)' (Kirg 660), *süjem* 'kisarasz' (KazSK), *süyem* 'baş parmakla işaret parmağı arasındaki uzunluk' (T), *süyäm* 'četvert', *süyämlä-* 'merit' četvertjami' (ST 195),

Early Kipchak data:
sügüm, süyüm 'bir sele uzunluğunda iplik ve benzeri' (Atalay 1945:243, 244), *süyem* 'bir dikimlik bir sele uzunluğunda iplik' (Atalay 1945:244), *süyem ~ süyüm* 'bir dikimlik iplik' (KT 247),

Other Turkic data:
sööm 'pjad; *mugur sööm* 'malaja/tupaja pjad' (rasstojanie meždu koncami vytjanutogo bol'šogo i sognutogo ukazatel'nogo pal'cev)' (Tuv 386),

Written Mongolian data:
sögöm = sögem 'span (the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger when stretched)' (L 731), *sögöm* 'die kurze Spanne (mittelst des Daumens und Zeigefingers); korotkaja pjad' (prostranstvo meždu bol'šm i ukazatelnym pal'cami)' (Schmidt 373b),

Other Mongolian data:
söööm 'pjad'' (KhRS 360), *hö:m, sö:m* 'Spanne' (BurC 135), *sögem* 'spanne (abstand zwischen dem daumen und dem zeigefinger wenn sie ausgesteckt sind)' (KWb 335), *söööm* 'kisarasz (nyújtott hüvelykujj és mutatóujj hegye közti távolság)' [sögem] (Khal 392) – 'the length of a short span (the distance between the tips of the stretched thumb and forefinger)'.

The word is unknown in most Turkic languages, while it is present in VK languages as well as in Tuva, Kirgiz, Kazakh and Karakalpak (cf. Sidikov 1983:39). It preserved in them the original Middle Mongolian characteristic feature (Schönig 2003:411).

On the other hand we have data from Written Mongolian. Therefore we suspect that it is a Mongolian loan in VK languages. There is a verb based on it in Siberian Tatar: *süyämlä-* 'čirekläp ülčä-; merit' četvertjami' (ST 195).

Measure-names derived from the names denoting parts of the body are also known: *qarï* 'kolun omuzla bilek arasında kalan kısmı; yaklaşık 60 cm'lık uzunluk ölçüsü' (Krch 245). Similarly to the Volga Kipchak data we also find the hints of intervocalic Mo *-g-* in Karachay. It was retained there in the form of *-y-*.

See in many other languages, e.g. Hungarian: *öl* 'cord', *láb* 'foot', *tenyér* 'palm', stb. (Velcsovné 1968:39).
For further data see (Rassadin 1980:21), (Birtalan 1994:42), (Eren 1999:381), (Schönig 2000:170, 2003:411).

116. *suyer* 'capercailzie' < MMo cf. WMo *soyir*

Tatar data:
suyer '(zool.) gluhar'' (TatRS 489), *suyer* 'urman tavïġï' (DSTat 165) – 'id.', *suyer* 'körtleklär sem'yalïgïna kerüče ére koš' (TatAS2 680) – 'a big bird from the family of the grouses', *sämäce* → *soyïr* 'gluhar'' (ST 191), *suyer* 'gluhar'' (RTatS 108), *sämäce* 'suyer; gluhar'' (KST 195),

Bashkir data:
huyïr 'zool. gluhar'' (BashkRS 636), *huyer* 'süketfajd' (PBashk 242) – 'capercailzie',

Written Mongolian data:
soyir 'capercailzie, wood grouse'(L 724), *soyir sibayun* 'das Birkhuhn, polevoj teterev, teterka' (Schmidt 365a),

Other Mongolian data:
söör 'ein vogel: auerhahn (Tetrao urogallus)' (KWb 335), *soir* 'zool. teterev' (KhRS 355), *soyr* 'am'tan taxianï namïn tomooxon šuvuu, max sajn tum ixéd agnana' (C 477) – 'a bird from the family of hens, its meat is edible', *soïr* 'Auerhahn; Tetrao urogallus' (ParMon 60).

The bird has some other names as well in Tatar: *urman tavïğï, kïr tavïğï, körtlek,* etc., therefore we consider *suyer* as a loan word. It appears also in Pallas's Zoographia: *soir* 'Tetrao Urogallus' (Kecskeméti 1968:63), but we do not have data from the other dialects of Turkic.

After it had been borrowed, there took place a narrowing process of vowels in VK, because we find an *-u-* in the first syllable of both Bashkir and Tatar data.

117. *sukïr* 'blind' < MMo *soqor*

Tatar data:
sukïr 'slepoj' (TatRS 490), *sukïr* 'vak; blind' (TatB 142), *sukur devlet* 'kör devlet' (TatN 357), *sukïr* 'id.' (TatAS2 682), *sukïr* 'slepoj' (RTatS 626), *so:ğïr* 'sukïr; slepoj' (ST 191), *dömbe → döm sukïr* (DSTat 51),

Bashkir data:
huqïr 'slepoj, slepec' (BashkRS 637), *huqïr* 'id.' (BashkD1 264), *soqor, soqïr, soqorsa* (BashkD2 212), *kürmä 'huqïr*; slepoj' (BashkD2 119),

Other Kipchak data:
sokur 'blind' (MEKS 301), *sok'ur, sok'ïr* 'bez glaza, krivoj' (Nogh 260), *sokur* 'vak; blind' (KumN 144), *soqur*[79] 'kör' (Krch 350), (Karça-Koşay

79 The word is known in Noghay as well *soqïr* 'slepoj' (Milyh 1949:289).

1954:141), > *sokkur* (Ossetic), *soq'úr* 'blind' (KrchP), *soqur* 'blind' (BlkP 253), *soqur* 'slepoj, nezrjačij' (KrchT 564), *soqïr* 'slepoj' (RKklp 939), *soqur* 'II. slepoj' (CrTat 256), *soqur* → *kör* (CrTatR 112), *soqur* 'kör; blind' (CrKar), *soqur* 'slepoj' (Kum), *soqur* 'blind' (KumR 95), *(közü) sokur* 'slepoj, slepec' (Kirg 651), *sokur* 'blind' (KirgDTL 18), *soqïr, soχïr* slepoj' (Kklp), Karaim: *soqur* 'blind' (Jankowski 1997:73), *soqïr* 'blind' (KazDTL 18),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic, Chaghatay data:
soqur 'schieläugig' (CC 222), *sochur* 'strabo, defioculus' (CCK 116), *soqur* 'einäugig; félszemű' (TGA 322), *soxur, soxur* 'niewidomy, slepy; aveugle' (DAK 690), *soχur bol-* 'devenir aveugle, perdre la vue' (DAK), *soqur* 'slepoj, nezrjačij' (HŠF II. 298), (HŠN I. 87), *sokur* 'blind', *sokor* W135, *sokar* P324 (Cl.1960:98), *naman sokur* 'kör köstebek' (Atalay 1945: 218), *sokur* 'tek gözlü' (Atalay 1945:240), *sokur adam* 'yek çeşm' (LO 349), *soqur* 'tek gözlü' (Kav.), *sokur* 'kör' (AH 43), *soqur* 'kör, tek gözlü, şaşı' (KT 239), *soqur* 'Blind' (Č 180),

Chuvash data:
sukkăr 'slepoj; slepec' (Chuv 380), *sokkïr* 'slepoj' (Zol 61), *sukkïr, sokkïr* 'vak; blind' (ChuvP 125), *sukkăr, sokkăr* 'slepoj' (ChuvF 55),

Other Turkic datum:
soqqor 'einäugig' (YakB. 159),

Middle Mongolian data:
soqor 'blind' (MNT 135), *soqar* 'slepoj' (IMM 138), *soqar* 'blind' (LP), *soqar* 'kör; slepoj' (MA 324), *soqar* 'blind' (KD204A17),

Written Mongolian data:
soqur 'blind' (L 730), *soqur* 'slepoj, slepec'; aveugle, qui est privé de la faculté de voir' (Kow), *soqur* 'blind, slepoj' (Schmidt 367a),

Other Mongolian data:
soxor 'blind, mit einem fehler an dem auge, einäugig' (KWb 329), *soxor* 'slepoj' (KhRS 359), *soxor* 'aveugle' (Oir 156), *hokor, hoxor, soxor* 'blind, leer' (BurC 135), *soxor* 'aveugle' (OrdM).

The earliest occurrence of the word in Turkic is that in the Codex Cumanicus. In his article on the primary long vowels Poppe considered the word to be a Mongolian loan word. It is of Mo origin in Cuman (Poppe 1962:338), in Karaim (MEKS 301), in Manchu: *čokotī* 'slepoj' (Poppe 1927a:59), (Doerfer MT 128).
It appears in folklore as well, e.g. in proverbs: *Sukïr tawïkka bakra da buday.* 'Kör tavuk karamuğu da buğday sanır.' (KT 64) – 'For a blind hen corn is like wheat.'

The word is also present in Ottoman Turkic – as we can learn it from O.N. Tuna. It must be of Mongolian origin (Tuna 1975:305). Räsänen did not say so, but gathered data (RVEW 426).

The word appears also as part of other expressions in Karachay lexicon. *soqur ičegi* 'kör bağırsak' (Krch227), *qaraw soqur* 'kör' (Krch244), *sokur alma* 'ezik elma', *sokur alma kibik* 'çirkin, biçimsiz' (Krch), *soqur süygen saw köz* – körün dileği sağlam göz 'the only desire of the blind is good sight' (Karça-Koşay1954:141).

In Khal. *soχχar* 'id.' we recognize the same feature: long consonants as in Ossetic that was borrowed from Karachay-Balkar.

There is a synonym of the word in Middle Kipchak (TA): *tevlük* 'kör' (Toparlı 2003:272).

Baylïk adamnï sokur eter. 'Zenginlik adamı kör eder.' (Tavkul 2001:75).
Saqlïqga soqurdan üren. 'Dikkatlı olmayı körden öğren.' (Tavkul 2001:199)
See also (Schönig 2000:169), (Tuna 1973-75:305), (Poppe 1962:338).

118. *sulagay* 'left-(handed)' < MMo **soloqai ~ solaqai* cf. WMo *solayai*

Tatar data:
sulagay 'levša' (TatRS 490), *sulaġay* 'Linkhand' (PTatD 38), *sulagay (solagay): solak* 'sol elile iş gören kimse' (TatN 357) – 'somebody doing his work with his left hand', *sulaġay* 'levša' (TatT 610), *selyaguy* → *sulaġay* (DSTat 161), *čulak* → *sulagay* (DSTat 219), *selaguy* → *sulaġay* (TatDS 366), *sulaqay* 'sul, kultïrak, čulak' (TatDS 375) – 'left, left-handed, bandy-handed', *sulagay* 'sul (kul turïnda)' (TatAS2 682) – 'left (in connection with hand)', *sulaġay* 'levyj' (TatTD 271), *sulamay* 'sulagay; levša' (ST 193), *sulagay* 'levša' (TatYu 54), *sulagaj* 'levša' (RTatS 292),

Bashkir data:
hulaqay 'levša, levyj' (BashkRS 637), *sulaq* 'odnorukij, bezrukij' (Bashk 556), *sulaq* 'hïŋar qullï keše' (BashkD1 190) – 'short armed person', *hulaqay* 'hul', *hulaqay ġul* (BashkD1 264) – 'left, left-hand',

Other Kipchak data:
šalaġay 'verhogljad (ne dovodjaščij dela do konca, otnosjaščijsja k rabote poverhnostno)' (Kaz 387), *solağay* 'levša, mankut' (KarRP 478), *solaqay* 'levša' (RKklp 388), *solaqay* 'levša' (CrTatR 112), *solagay* ~ *solakay* 'solak' (Krch 350),

Early Kipchak data:
solaġay 'Linkshändiger' (CC 222), *solagay* 'sinister, laevus' (CCK 226), *solaġay* ~ *solġay* 'solak' (KT 239),

Chuvash data:
sulaxay 'levyj; levša' (Chuv 380), *sulaxay, sulaxxay* 'levyj, levša' (ChuvF 58), *sulaχay* 'bal, balog; link, linkhändig' (ChuvP 125),

Other Turkic datum:
sulagay 'prjamoj, rovnyj (o derive)' (Tuv 391),

Written Mongolian data:
soluγai, solayai 'levyj' (Kow2 1401), *soluγai* 'left side or hand; left handed; awkward; wrong, faulty' (L 726), *soloγoi* 'levyj' (KalmP 154), *soluγai* 'links, levyj, na levo' (Schmidt 369a),

Other Mongolian data:
solγä:, solγā 'linkshändig, linkisch' (KWb 330), *solgoj* ' balkezes, bal oldali, balra forduló' (Khal 387), *solgoj* 'levyj (o ruke)' (KhRS 355), *halgai, salagai* 'link' (BurC 133), *sologö:* 'gauche, gaucher, faute, tort' (OrdM 582a).

It is not very easy to say anything for sure in connection with this word. There are diverse views in opposition concerning *soluγai.*

Doerfer thought, it should be of Turkic origin in Mongolian: Tu. *sol* 'links', > Mo *soloγai* 'links' (TMEN§1302).
We can find the word in several present-day Turkic languages: Turkish *sol* 'left', *solak* = *solakan* 'left-handed' (Redh. 1026).

As for Clauson, we can read the following: "*sola:k* prob. Dev. N/A fr. * *sola-* Den. V. fr. *so:l*, lit. 'situated on the left' or the like. Probably the origin of Mongolian *soloğay* 'left', left hand, left handed' (Kow 1401, Haltod 343). Survives for 'left handed' in SW. Osm., but all other languages seem to use some form of the Mongolian word in this sense...".

The word was borrowed into Manchu as well: MT *salagaj* 'levyj'. Ev. *salagaj* 'id.' (Cincius MT2 57).

Its first occurrence in Turkic is seemingly in Codex Cumanicus. "Die türksprachliche Entsprechung ist *sol* 'link', tsch. *solaq* 'Linkshändiger', dagegen sind tar. *solağai* und kas. *solaqai* 'Linkshändiger' aus dem Mongoliaschen entlehnt." (Poppe 1962:338).

Räsänen considered the word as of Mongolian origin in a few languages (RVEW 427). I would accept Prof. Ligeti's view concerning *soluyai*. After he had gathered all the possible data of this word in Mongolian languages, he stated the following: "Mongol kell legyen sajátos képzésmódja miatt szemben a törökségben elterjedt *sol* 'bal'-lal. (Ligeti 1977:276) – 'Due to the peculiar way its derivation took place it must be Mongolian, as opposed to *sol* 'left' that comes into general use among Turks'.

The word is to be found in the following Karachay proverb: *Solaqayġa čolaq degenley.* (Bittirlanï 1997:274).

For further literature see (Todaeva 1985:69), Nom. 46, (Vladimircov 1929:288), (Birtalan 1992:38).

119. *šïbaga, šobaga* 'dice, lot' < MMo *šibaga*

Tatar data:

šobaga 'žrebij, učast'' (TatRS 661), *šïbaya* 'sors; loos' (TatB 102), *şıbaga* ~ *şubaga* 'kur'a' (TatN 364) – 'a drawing of lots, lot cast or drawn', *šïbaya, šöbaya* 'Los' (PTatD), *šïbaya* → *qanatqï* (TatDS 191), *šobaga* 'žrebij; žiräbä' (RTatS 167), *šobaga* 'Närsägä dä bulsa hokuklï kešene bilgeläü öčen oyeštïrïlgan uyen...' (TatAS3 510) – 'A combined game for any legal entity to single him out in the course...',

Bashkir data:

šïbaya 'žrebyj' (BashkRS 663), *šïbaya* 'dolja, čast'; žrebyj' (Bashk 774),

Other Kipchak datum:
šïbaga 'dolja, čast'; čast' ugoščenija, prednaznačaennaja dlja kogo-libo (napr. Dlja zapozdavšego gostja ili posïlaemaja na dom)' (KirgRS 915),

Chuvash data:
šăpa 'žrebij; sud'ba, učast', dolja' (Chuv 611), *šăpa* 'sors (kocka); loos' (ChuvP 150),

Middle Mongolian datum:
sibayud pl. (MonPr 67),

Written Mongolian data:
sibay-a(n) 'dice, lot (as in games of chance or fortune telling); wedge; spigot' (L 693), *šabaya* 'žerebyj' (KalmP 163), *šibaya* 'die Würfel, das Loos; igral' nyja kosti, žrebij' (Schmidt 353c),

Other Mongolian data:
šawxa 'würfel, kubus, das los' (KWb 352), *šawga* 'žrebij' (KhRS 638), *šawga* 'dobókocka, játékkocka' (Khal 694) – 'die'.

We can find the word also with s- in Bashkir (cf. *sïbayiš* 'žrebij' (Aznagulov 1975: 14)), and also can learn of the way it was played: "Pri vseh gruppovyh igrah igrajuščie konalis' *sïbayas*, delilis' na dve partii." (Rudenko 1955:276).

The word is of Tibetan (*šoo* 'igral'nye kubiki') origin in Mongolian. It was borrowed to the VK languages after the *si-* > *ši-* devolopment.

Räsänen considers it to be of Mongolian origin in a few languages (RVEW 445).

Concerning the Chuvash representation of the word *sïbaya* see *šăpa* 'žrebyj, udel, učast' (Egorov 1964: 334).
On the latter see the comments of Róna-Tas (1986:30).

120. *šïlagay* 'saliva' < MMo cf. WMo *silükei*

Tatar data:
selägäy 'sljuna' (RTatS 628), *selägäj* 'nyál; nyálas; speichel; geiferig' (RTatS 135), *slägäy* 'sljuna' (TatYu 55), *šayïq* 'selägäy; sljuna, sljuni' (ST 248), (KST 226),

Bashkir data:
qarahïu II (BashkD2 136) → *šïlaġay* 'helägäy; sljuna' (BashkD2 305), *šelägäy* 'sljuna, sljunnyj' (Bashk 767),

Early Kipchak data:
şülegey 'saliva' cf. *şilüget* (plur.) 'a dribbling child' W140, *şilügey* H 376. (Cl.1960:99),

Other Kipchak data:
silegey 'salya, kula ya da aft adı verilen bir sığır hastalığı' (Krch 348), *silegey* 'kula; sığır koyun, keçi hastalığı (hayvanların ağzında ve tırnağında)' (Karça-Koşay 1954:141), *silegey* 'sljuna' (Kum), *silegey* 'Speichel' (KumN 143), *silekey* → *silekiy* 'sljuna' (CrTatR 111), *šilekey* 'sljuna' (KirgRS 906), *silekey* 'sljuna' (RKklp),

Chuvash data:
sĕleke 'sljuna (i) sljuni; sljunnoj' (Chuv 359), *sĕleGe* 'tajték, nyúlós nyálka; geifer' (ChuvP 117),

Middle Mongolian datum:
silütkü 'saliva, spittle' (KD199B27),

Written Mongolian datum:
silüsün 'saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber' (L 708),

Other Mongolian data:
sülekei 'das fliessen des rotzes und wassers aus dem munde' (KalmP 160), (KWb 340), *šüls(én)* 'nyál' (Khal 719) – 'saliva'.

The word belongs to the Mongolian horse breeding terminology. There is a Mo suffix on the word we have witnessed also in case of ***kömegey No 87***.

121. *šoŋkar* 'falcon' < MMo *šoŋxor*

Tatar data:
šoŋkar 'krečet' (TatRS 662), *šoŋqar* '(Tob) lačïn' (DSTat 229) – 'hawk', *šoŋkar* 'zool. Lačïnnïŋ ber töre, au košï itep kullanïla.' (TatAS3 514) – 'A

kind of a hawk used for hunting.' *šuŋqar* 'sokol' (BarTat 198) – 'hawk', *šoŋqar* 'lačïn; sokol' (ST 251),

Bashkir data:
šoŋqar 'krečet (samec)' (BashkRS 660), *šuŋqar* 'a *lasen*-nél nagyobb sólyomféle' (PBashk 264) – 'a kind of a falcon, bigger than *lasen*', *šoŋqar* ~ *ätälge* 'krečet', *qara šonqar* 'qara ätälge' (zool Bashk 152) – 'falcon, black falcon', *šoŋqar* 'belyj krečet' (Išberdin 1986:23), *soŋqor* → *soqol* (BashkD1 187),

Early Kipchak data:
šonqar 'Gerfalke (Gyr-falcon)' (Č 184), *šonqar* 'faucon, proprement le gerfaut' (Chag 378), *šunqar* 'sokol' (MN 194), *sonġġur, sonqur* doğan' (Toparlı 2003:239, 243), *šongqar* 'gerfaut' (Hy199), *šunqar* 'sokol' (HšF II 543), *šuŋkur* ~ *sunqur* 'sokol" (IM99), *suŋqor* 'jastreb' (HŠN I.87), *šunqar* 'sokol iz razrjada hiščnyh ptic' (ChagB197), *sunqur* 'sungur kuşu, doğan, şahin' (DK 274), *sunqur* 'Sunkur, özel isim' (Kav), *Sunqur* 'Aksungur (özel ad)' (Hou), *sonġar, sonqur* 'faucon' (Chag 361), *aksankar* 'Weisser Gerfalke' (ChagŠS9),

Other Kipchak data:
Şungar - soyadı (Krch) – 'family-name', *šunkar, šumkar* 'krečet (Kirgizskoe ohotniki različajut šest' vidov' ... (Kirg 913), *suŋġar, suŋqar* 'sokol' (Kklp), *suŋqar* 'sokol' (RKklp), *Šoŋŋurlarï* 'Name einer *Özden*-Familie' (BlkP 255),

Other Turkic data:
šunqar ~ *šuŋqar* 'the Shunqar-falcon (Falco Hendersoni)' (Turki),[80] *šongar* 'id.' (AzT),

Middle Mongolian data:
šingqor 'Edelfalke' (MNT 141), *šingqod* Plur. in Öljeitü's letter, *sonqur* 'gerfalcon' (KD200A19),

Written Mongolian data:
šongqor 'sokol, krečet' (Golst2 415), *šongqor* (Wu-ti 4131), *tuiyun šongqor* (Wu-ti 4132), *šongqor* 'krečet' (KalmP 173), *singqur* 'der Falke, sokol' (Schmidt 353a), *šiŋqor* 'id.' (KowII:1462),

80 Jarring (1964:289) called our attention to Le Coq's work on falconry.

Other Mongolian data:
šoŋxar 'id.' (KWb 361), *šoŋχor* 'eine falkenart' (KWb 364), *šonhor* 'sokol, krečet' (KhRS 656), *šoŋhr* 'krečet, sokol' (KalmRS 679), *šonxor* 'Falke' (BurC 140), *šoŋχor* 'gerfaut, Falco hierofalco' (Oir 159), *singqur* 'falcon' (Krue 123), *šonxr* 'krečet' (Nom 43), *šoŋχor* 'gerfaut' (OrdM).

The word is of Turkic origin – OT *songqur* 'Falke' (UHy199) – in Mongolian, but later it was borrowed back by VK and some other Turkic languages (TMEN 237). Due to the initial *š-* (being a result of Mongolian *si-* > *ši-* development) in Tatar, Bashkir and Karachay 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 these Turkic languages.
The word in Chuvash might be of Tatar transmission: *šankar* (Petrov 1986).
There are a lot of Mongolian loan words in VK that belong to the terminology of hunting with a falcon, cf. also medieval Hungarian *szongor* < Cuman.

Similarly to the word *büdänä* see above, it spread as a family-name of the honorable free Balkars *Šoŋŋur* – (Blk255).
For further data see: *šoŋqor* (Poppe 1955:44), Doerfer: *šoŋqar* 'Gerfalke' tü < mo < tü., (TMEN§237), (Schönig 2000:166).

122. *takïm* 'popliteal joint' < MMo *takim*

Tatar data:
takïm 'teznen ečke yagï' (TatAS3 21) – 'the inner (back) part of the knee', *taġïm* 'tez astï' (DSTat 175) – 'part of the leg behind the knee', *taġïm* 'tez astï; sgib pod kolenom' (ST 199), *taġïm* 'tez astï; sgib pod kolenom' (KST 196),

Bashkir data:
taqïm 'anat. bedro, ljažka' (BashkRS 501), *taqïm* 'ljažka, myšcy bedra' (zoolBashk 143), *taqïm* 'bedro, ljažka; klin' (Bashk 579),

Other Kipchak data:
taqïm 'vnutrennaja storona kolennogo sustava' (KrklpRS 613), *taqïm* 'id.' (Kaz 338), *takïm* 'mesto sgiba nogi u kolena' (Kirg 693),

Middle Mongolian data:
taqïm 'kolennaja čaška' (MA Pril2 407),

Written Mongolian data:
takim 'sgib' kolena; la genou ou la jointure des jambes' (Kow3 1659), *takim* 'the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint' (L 770),

Other Mongolian data:
takm 'die kniebiegung, die innere seite des knies, der untere teil des oberschenkels hinten' (KWb 375), *taxim* 'kolennyj sgib' (KhRS 397), *täkm* 'jointure des pattes de derrière, mollet' (Oir 161).

The word *tayïm* belongs to the same semantic group as *möčä* or *kabïrga* in VK languages. It goes back to a Middle Mongolian word *taqim*. We cannot find it in Old Turkic, but it is well represented among Mongolian dialects.

Räsänen noticed that it is a Mongolian loan in the Kazak, the Teleut and the Šor languages (RVEW 457). Doerfer stated its presence in MT languages: Ewenki *takim*, Manchu *takiya* 'Knie der Tiere' (MT 111).

123. *taŋlay* 'soft palate' < MMo *tanglai*

Tatar data:
taŋlay 'aŋkau' (DSTat 181) – 'soft palate', *taŋγay* → *kamakïš* (TatDS 404) – 'soft palate → hard palate', *taŋġay, taŋnay, taŋlay* 'nebo' (ST 25), *taŋġay* → *qamaqaš* 'aŋqau; nebo' (TatTD 128), *taŋlay* ~ *taŋġay* ~ *taŋnay* → *aŋġay* (ST 202),

Bashkir data:
taŋlay 'anat. mjagkoe nebo' (BashkRS 506), (Bashk 585), *taŋlay* 'nebo mjagkoe' (zoolBashk 143),

Other Kipchak data:
taŋlay 'nebo, podniebienie' (KarRP 512), *taŋday* 'nëbo' (Kaz 340), *taŋlay* ~ *tanlay* 'Gaumen' (MEKS 301), *taŋlay* 'nebo' (RKklp 490), *taŋlay* 'nebo, (anat.) nebnaja kost'' (CrTatR 119),

Early Kipchak and Eastern Turkic:
taŋlau 'szájpadlás; Gaumen' (TGA 324), *tanglay* 'podniebienie, palais (anat)' (DAK 735), *taŋlay* 'id.' (AQP 582),

Other Turkic data:
taŋday 'rubcy vo rtu na neb'u skota' (AltV 332), *taŋday* 'nebo' (RAltS 337), *taŋalai, tayalai* 'id.' (YakP 2550), *taŋalai ~ tayalai* 'Gaumen' (MEJ 25), *taŋalai* 'der harte Gaumen' (YakB 90), *taŋlai* 'nebo, der Gaumen' (R3 811),

Middle Mongolian data:
tanqlai 'nebo' č. tamaq (MA 341), *tangɫai* 'palate' (KD198B30),

Written Mongolian data:
tanglai ~ tangnai 'nebo vo rtu; le palais la bouche' (Kow3 1563), *tanglai, tangnai* 'roof of the mouth, (hard) palate, hillock, hillside, ornamental design resembling the surface of the hard palate' (L 777),

Other Mongolian data:
taŋnä 'gaumen' (KWb 379), *tagnai* '(bonc.) szájpadlás' (Khal 418), *taŋnă* 'nebo' (DagP 92), *taŋalê, taŋalei, taŋalai* 'Gaumen' (BurC 147), *taŋnä* 'le palais de la bouche' (OrdM 646).

In connection with the word *tanglai*, we can read the following: "mong.-pis'm. *tangɫai* > *tangnai* > halh. *taŋnaĕ* 'nebo vo rtu' v mong. – pis'm. nabljudaet'sja čeredovanie *ɫ ~ l ~ n* v seredine slov, posle ng často *ɫ ~ l* assimilirujutsja v *n*, čto peredaetsja i halhaskomu...." (Vladimircov 1929:350).

"The consonant **l* of a suffix becomes *n* when the final consonant of the stem is a nasal, i.e., **m* or * *ŋ*. The consonant *ŋ* in its turn is dissimilated by *n* < **l* of the suffix and becomes *g*. This affects the group Nasal + *l* of any origin. (Poppe 1955:159) On the same page among other examples, Poppe adds the following: Mo. *taŋlai* 'palate', MMo. (Mu.) *tanqlai*, Dag. *taŋna*, Mong. *tãŋlī*, Urd. *taŋnä:*, Kh. *taŋlœ: ~ taŋnœ:*, Kalm. *taŋnä:* 'id.'

It is present in Tungus as well: *taŋgilaj* 'nebo' (Poppe 1927a:54).

It seems that the word entered the VK languages before this development in Mongolian, for all the data are with *-l-* there. From a semantical point of view it belongs to the same group as *aŋqau* 'hard palate' or *takïm* discussed before.

The word is well represented in Mongolian languages old and present-day alike. It was borrowed by Manchu-Tunguz: Ewenki *taŋilai, taŋėlai*, Sol. *taŋa, taŋna* (MT 128), Yakut, Karaim.

Räsänen gives a list of Siberian Turkic languages that had borrowed the Mongolian *taŋlai*.

Here again Mongolian word final *-ai* is reflected as *-ay* in VK languages.

124. *tapkïr* 'times; turn' < MMo *dabqur*

Tatar data:
tapkïr II 'raz' (TatRS 516), *tapkïr* '-szor, -szer; mal' (TatB 106), *tapkır* 'defa, kere': *biş tapkır biş yigirmi biş* (TatN 192)- 'times; five times five equals to twenty-five', *tapkïr* 'id.' (TatAS3 36): *Ul german sugïšïnda öč tapkïr yaralangan...* (TatAS3 423) - 'He got wounded three times in the German war.', *tapqïr ~ tapkïr* 'naprotiv' (TatTD 287), *tapkïr* 'kärrä' (DSTat 33, 79), *tapkïr* '-mal' (MišTat 173),

Bashkir data:
tapqïr III 'raz' (bashk 586), *tapqïr* II 'raz' (BashkRS 507), *tapqïr* 'raz, imet' napravlenie' (BashkK),

Other Kipchak data:
taphïr, tapqïr 'taraça, kademe, çıkıntı, basamak, teras' (Krch 377), *tapkïr ~ tapχïr* 'terrasa, ustup' (KrchT 604),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
dabqur 'Truppe, Heer' (ChagŠS56), *tapkur* 'dapkur dahi yazılır' (LO 368), *dapqur* 'remen' kotoryj prohodit čerez seredinu sedla' (Tenišev 2001:551),

Chuvash data:
tapxăr 'pora, vremja, period; stadija, faza, etap; raz' (Chuv 444), *tapxïr* '-szor, -szer; mal' (ChuvP 157),

Other Turkic data:
dakpyrlyg 'zweifach, doppelt' (Stachowski 1996:224), *dapkïr → dakpïr: iyi ~* 'dvojnoj, dvukratnyj' (Pal'mbah 1955:132),

Middle Mongolian data:
dabqur 'doppelt' (MNT 30), *dabqur : qoyar dabqur jergeber* (MonPr 15), *dabxur* 'double' (LHY I 22),

Written Mongolian data:
dabqur 'dvoe, sugubo, dvojnoj, beremennost'' (Kow3 1605), *dabqur* 'row, tier, layer, stratum; story of a building; double; consisting of several rows or layers (with a preceding numeral), twofold; pregnant; twice, in pairs' (L 214), *dabqur* 'doppelt, mit Versetzung der Grundzahl auch dreifach, vierfach, und so weiter, schwanger; dvojnoj, sugubyj, takže trojakij, četverojakij i pr., beremennyj' (Schmidt 265a),

Other Mongolian data:
dawχar 'verdoppelung, doppelt, schicht, schichtweise, etage, schwangerschaft usw.' (KWb 80), *dabxar* 'sloj, rjad' (BurRS), *dapxar* 'mal' (BurC 153), *dabχŭr* 'dvojnoj' (DagP 75), *davxar* 'sloj, rjad' (KhRS 138), *davxar* 'kettős, kétszeres; szint, emelet; réteg' (Khal 129), *dawxur* 'double, qui a une doublure, superposée' (OrdM).

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 borrowing. However there is a slight difference in meaning, especially if we consider the Mongolian development: *dabqur* 'double, pregnant' (Poppe 1955:244). There is an interesting development of the word also in Chaghatay: *dapqur* 'remen' kotoryj prohodit čerez seredinu sedla' (Tenišev 2001:551)

Ramstedt considered the word to be of Mongolian loan in Tatar (KWb 80).
The word was borrowed by Manchu as well, Ewenki *dapkur ~ dabkur* (MT 101).
Cf. also Hung. *tábor* (EWUng 1469).
For further data see: Doerfer: *dabqur* 'Schicht' mo. (TMEN§848), (Schönig 2000:83).

125. *tasma* 'thong' < MMo cf. WMo *tasam-a*

Tatar data:
tasma 'id.' (TatAS3 51), *tasma* 'temljak; kïlïč totkasïna tagïlgan čuklïtasma, kamčï kebek närsälär sabïna kulga élü öčen tagïlgan bau' (RTatS 667),

tasma 'szalag; das band' (TatB 106), *tasma* 'lenta, polosa' (BarTat 186), *tasma* 'id.' (DSTat 222),

Bashkir data:
taθma 'lenta, lentočka, tesma' (Bashk 592),

Other Kipchak data:
tasma 'ip, sicim, ayakkabı dikmek için keçi derisinden yapılan şerit biçiminde ip' (Krch 381), *tasma* 'tes'ma (iz koži)' (Kum), *tasma ip* 'Pechdracht' (KumN 148), *tasma* 'tes' ma, remešok' (CrTatR 120), *tasma* 'tes'ma (iz syromjatnoj kozlinoj koži)' (Kirg 712), *tasma* 'kayış; Riemen' (CrKar), *ensiz taspa* 'tes'ma' (RKklp),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
tasma 'tasma, halka' (KT 264), *tasm-a* 'courroie' (HyS), *tasma* 'kayış, halka' (LO 370), *tasma* 'cuir cru, courroie; cordeau du tailleur ou du charpentier' (Chag 216), *tasma* 'čïy kayïš, kulan kayïšï' (ChagŠS 183),

Other Turkic datum:
tasma 'rope, strap' (Turki),

Written Mongolian datum:
tasam-a 'narrow strip of leather, thong, tape' (L 784).

Especially the datum from the Kumyk and Balkar wordlist is interesting, for it is a compound word there where both parts mean the same: *tasma* 'strip' + *ip* 'strip' (Németh 1911:148). In Kazan Tatar the word *dilbege* is explained by *tasma* (see above).
For further data see: Doerfer: *tasma* 'Riemen' mo., *tü. < mo. (TMEN§120), (Schönig 2000:178).

126. *tirmä* 'tent' < MMo cf. WMo *term-e*

Bashkir data:
tirmä, ~ tirmä öy 'jurta' (Bashk 615), *tirmä* 'sátor' (PBashk 265), *kirägä* 'tirmägä qabïrġa yaqlap quyïlġan teräü – bokovye žerdi jurty' (BashkD2 106),

Chuvash datum:
tĕrme 'tjur'ma; temnica; ostrog' (Chuv 476),

Written Mongolian data:
term-e 'thin woollen textile, flannel-like fabric; the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent' (L 806),

Other Mongolian datum:
terme(n) 2 '(ojr. nyj.) kereksátor oldalsó rácsfala' (Khal 480).

The word is not documented in OT, but instead there was another word *ča:tïr* 'a (royal) umbrella' → 'a (canvas) tent' (Clauson 1972:403).

127. *tomaga* 'headgear for the hawk' < MMo *tomaqa*

Tatar data:
tomaga 'auga öyrätelgän ertkïč košlarnïŋ küzlären kaplïy torgan kün bašlïk' (TatAS3 114) – 'leather headgear that covers the eyes of the birds of prey being trained for and used in hunting', *tomaq* 'ozïn kolaklï meh bürek; mehovaja šapka s dlinnymi ušami' (ST 212), (KST 202),

Bashkir datum:
tomay 'malaxay (kazahskij)' (Bashk 619),

Other Kipchak data:
tomaya 'kožanyj kolpačok, nadevaemyj na golovu berkuta' (KrklpRS 647), *tomogo* 'sokolinyj naglaznik, kolpačok (gl. obr. na golovu berkuta)' (Kirg 747), *tomaya* 'Lederkappe (mit der man die Augen der Jagdfalken bedeckt' (NoghR 167),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
tomaya 'coiffe, bonnet fourré, capuchon qu'on met sur la tête du faucon, plumes d'oiseau dont les soldats ornent leur tête' (Chag 245), *tomaga* 'Federschmuck an der Mütze des Sultans' (PdC 245),

Other Turkic datum:
tomağa 'wooden ball fastened to a hawk's foot so that he cannot fly away' (Redh. 1180),

Middle Mongolian datum:
tomaġaġ 'hood of predatory bird' (KD200B16),

Written Mongolian datum:
tomoγo 'šapočka, nadevaemaja na balabana' (KalmP 196),

Other Mongolian data:
tomoγa 'mütze, kappe' (KWb 399), *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 jūū* 'suspendre une musette à la tête d'un cheval' (OrdM 667), *tomoo* 'illemtudás, udvariasság, illemtudó magatartás, jó magaviselet, jó modor, mértéktartás' (Khal 441).

We have only one more datum from Turkic vocabularies: *tomoγo* [Tel.] = *tomaγa* 'kolpaček', nadevaemyj na glaza ohotničej pticy; ein Käppchen, das den Jagdvögeln über die Augen gezogen wird' (R3 1237). Räsänen considered the Chaghatay word *tomaγa* 'Federsmuck an der Mötze des Sultans' of Mongolian origin (RVEW 487).

Doerfer considered it also to be Mongolian: *tomaγa* 'Falkenkappe' mo. tü. < mo. (TMEN§131), and so do we due to the word final vowel.

Concerning the Mongolian data Cleaves wrote the following in HJAS: ..."the word *tomuγ-a* 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 deverbal suffix *-γa*." (SMI 96). [81]

There is an interesting development in the meaning: from 'cap' to 'good manner, good behaviour' in Mo
The Turkish datum has a somewhat different meaning yet it belongs here.
For further data see: (Schönig 2000:180).

128. *totkavïl* 'outdoor-guard' < MMo *todqa'ul*

Tatar data:
totkavïl 'tïškï sakčï, kapka sakčïsï / karavïlčïsï' (TatAS3 126) – 'outdoor-guard, guard of the gate', *totqa-* 'totkarla-' (TatDS 420) – 'to arrest sy.',

81 According to Prof. Kara this is not very convincing.

Other Kipchak datum:
toqtaw 'ostanovka, prekraščenie' (CrTatR 128), *tohtawču: ~ jer* 'ostanovka' (KrchT 647),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
toqsawul, toqtawul 'gardien d'une forteresse, porte-enseigne' (Chag 238), *tutqaul* 'kakaja-to dolžnost'; ein Amt' (R3 1487),

Middle Mongolian data:
todqayul 'inspecteurs des relais postaux' (TDM 499),

Written Mongolian data:
toqtayal 'die Verordnung; postanovlenie' (Schmidt 251a),

Other Mongolian data:
totxā- 'abhalten, zu hindern suchen' (KWb 404), *totgor* 'kellemetlenség, akadály, baj' (Khal 448).

The stem of the Mongolian word seems to be **tod-* 'halten, fangen' (KWb 404). There was a Mo *-yul* (Nomina collectiva agentium) suffix added to the verb *todqa-* as Doerfer thought: *todqayul ~ totqavul* 'Straßenwächter' mo. (TMEN§124). On the other hand, there was another word: **tosqaul* 'Wächter' tü. < mo. (TMEN§137). The two words seem to have mixed in the Turkic side (cf. in Chaghatay).

In Chaghatay the word *toktaul* – as Räsänen explained – with the meaning: 'der höchste milit. Rang in Chiva und Kokand' (RVEW 485).
It may have been used in Tatar as a synonym for *karavïl* being a wide spread military term borrowed also from the Mongolian.

129. *tukïm* 'saddle-cloth' < MMo *toqum*

Tatar data:
tukïma 'tkan'' (TatRS 555), *tukïm* 'iyär kieze, iyär palasï, iyär astï kiez' (TatAS3 159) – 'saddle cloth, felt under the saddle' *Yon tukïma, efäk tukïma* 'woollen cloth, silk cloth' (TatAS3), *tuqmaq* 'at muenïndagï yaraga kamït timäsen öčen, kamïtka bäyläp kuele torgan kiez' (TatDS 424) – 'felt attached to the harness in order that it should not hurt the bruise on the body of the horse', *tuġïm → to:ġum II.→ ecerge* 'iyär kieze; potnik' (ST 217, 51), *alača*

'kinder tukïmasï' (DSTat 13), *tugïm* '2. iyär astïna sala torgan kiyez kisäge' (DSTat 189),

Bashkir data:
tuqïm 'čeprak' (BashkRS), *tuqïm → tirðek → ündek* (BashkD1 226), *beše tuqïma* 'tkan' plotnaja' (zoolBashk 119), *bolot hïmaq tuqïma* 'tkan' gubčataja' (botBashk 87),

Other Kipchak data:
toqum 'saddle pad' (Kirghiz Manual 141), *toqïm* 'potnik' (Kaz 352), *toqïma* 'textile' (KazDTL 151), *tokïm* 'tkan' ' (KrklpRS 645), *toqïma* 'tkan' ' (RKklp 107), *toquma* 'tkan'; tkanyj' (CrTatR 128),

Early Kipchak data:
toqum 'bât, couverture d'une bête de somme' (Chag 240),

Middle Mongolian data:
toqum 'potnik' (MA 407), *toqum* 'id.' (IMI), *toqu- : toquǰu: morin-u qayan-i toquǰu abčiraǰu* (AQǰÜ 441), *toqum* 'saddle fender, fender made of felt' (KD205A19),

Written Mongolian data:
toqom 'potnik' (Golst3 123), *toqom* 'potnik', vojlok podstilaemyj pod sedlo, čaprak; 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' (KalmP 193), *toqum* 'Sattelunterlage, die Schabracke; čaprak' (Schmidt 248c),

Other Mongolian data:
doxom 'cloth under the saddle' (Darig 154), *toxom* 'schweisspolster (auf dem pferd)' (KWb 397), *toxom* 'potnik, vojlok (pod sedlo)' (KhRS 414), *toxom* '2-3 Decken auf dem Rücken des Pferdes, auf denen der Gesamtsattel ruht' (ParMon 64), *toxom* 'chabraque sur laquelle repose la selle' (Oir 162), *tokum, toxom* 'Schweissdecke' (BurC 149), *doxom* 'chabraque sur laquelle repose la selle et qui étant traversée par les sangles se place sur le dos de l'animal et est enlevée en mêmer temps que la selle' (OrdM 149).

The stem of the word might be the verb *toqu-* 'to put the saddle on'. It is also present in the Secret History. It was borrowed by the Manchus, cf. Man. *toxo-* 'id.' (MT 104). Poppe gave its original Mo meaning as 'a piece of felt put under the saddle' (Poppe 1955:137).

We see it in Tungus: *tokum* 'vojlok, potnik' (Poppe 1927a:55). Rybatzki (2003:65) listed the word among deverbal nouns: SH A *toghu-* 'to saddle': *toghu.m* 'saddle-fender'.

The word can be found in some other Turkic languages (RVEW485). Both Räsänen and Doerfer considered it to be of Mongolian origin: *toqum* 'Sattelunterlage' mo., tü. < mo. (TMEN§142).

130. *tukta-* 'to stop; wait' < MMo *toqta-*

Tatar data:
tukta- 'ostanavlivat'sja, ostanovit'sja (TatRS 555), *tuktap tor-* 'stojat'' (TatRS 555), *tokta-* 'megállni, megszünni; 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-* 'yörešne, häräkätne bülü, beterü, häräkätsez kalu' (TatAS3 158) – 'to interrupt or stop one's movement, to stand still', *tukta-* 'ostanovit' (TatDS3 425), *toqta-* 'ostanovit'sja' (BarTat 189), *quytïr-* 'tuktat-; ostanovit'' (ST 133), *tukta- : ber tuktausïz yörep toručï'* (DSTat 69), *tokta-* → *tukta-* 'stehenbleiben' (MišTat 176),

Bashkir data:
tuqta- 'ostanavlivat'sja, ostanovit'sja' (BashkRS), *tokta-* 'megállni' (PBashk 267) – 'to stop', *tukta-* 'ostanovit'sja, perestat'' (BashkK 216), *tutqa-* → *tuqra-* 'tukta' (BashkD1 226, 230), *tutqa-* 'tuqta-' (BashkD2 264),

Other Kipchak data:
tohta- 'ostanavlivat'sja, vstavat', perestavat', prekraščat'sja, utverždat'sja, prebyvat', stojat', delat' ostanovku' (KarRP 539), *toqta-* 'ostanovit'sja, stat'' (Kaz 351), *toqta-* 'stop' (KazDTL 143), *tok'ta-* 'id.' (Nogh 263), *tokta-* 'id.' (Nogh 264), *toktav (tokta-)* 'ostanavlivat'sja, prekraščat' delat' čto-l.' (NoghRS 355), *tokto-* 'to hesitate, to break off, to come to a stop' (Kirghiz Manual 141), *tokto-* '1. ostanavlivat'sja, prekraščat'sja, zaderživat'sja; 2. (o detjah) žit', vyživat', ne umirat' v rannem vozraste (etot glagol, kak

poželaniedetjam žit', v starom bytu služil dlja obrazovanija imen); 3. (o kobylice) obguljat'sja' (Kirg 743), *tokto-* 'stop' (KirgDTL 143), *toxta-* ruhen, dauern wohnen, weilen' (MEKS 302), *toqta-* 'ostanovit'sja' (RKklp 590), *tohta-*[82] 'durmak, dinmek, kesilmek, ara vermek, yerleşmek' (Krch 402), *tohta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja, stojat', ždat', zatihat', stihat', prekraščat'sja, perestavat'; brosat'' (KrchT 647), *t'oχta-* 'stehen bleiben, aufhören' (KrchP), *toxta-* 'stehen, bleiben, beharren, aufhören' (BlkP 260), *toqta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja, ždat', ožidat'' (Kum), *toqta-* 'to wait, stop' (KumR 99), *toχta-* 'warten' (KumN 150), *toqta-* 'ostanovit' sja, prekratit'sja, perestavat', perestat'' (CrTatR 128), *toqta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja' (Kklp), *toqta-* 'dur-; stehen bleiben' (CrKar),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
toqta- 'anhalten, hängen bleiben' (Č 190), *toxta-, t'oxta-* 'ustalić się, utrwalić się; établir, se fixer, séjourner, durer' (DAK 771), *toqta-* 'to remain in its place' (Rbg), *toqta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja, otdyhat'' (ChagB 160), *toqta-, toqtaš-* 'trouver le repos, demeurer fixe, être solide' (Chag 238), (Zenker 224), *tok/xta, tohta-* W.150, *tokta-* P.351 (Cl.1960:96), *tokta-* 'sakla-, beklet-, ala koy-' (ChagŠS 192), *tokta-* 'sabit kıl-/ol-' (Atalay 1945:260), *tokta-* 'durup dinlen-' (LO 382), CC tohtarme 228, *toqta-* 'id.'(AQP 144), *toqta-* 'sabit olmak' (KT 279),

Chuvash data:
tăxta 'ždat'; podždat'; vozderživat'sja' (Chuv 462), *tăxta-* 'megállani, megszűnni; stehen bleiben, aufhören' (ChuvP 164),

Other Turkic data:
toqtuo, toqtobun 'nachlassen, anhalten' (YakB 95), *toχta- ~ toχtæ-* 'to stay, to stop, to remain, to abide, to wait, to grow to an end' (Turki), *tokta-* 'to fix, settle, establish oneself' (Redh. 1180), *toqta-* 'stop' (UygDTL 143), *toqta-* 'stop' (UzbDTL 143),

Middle Mongolian data:
toqtaba orandān 'č. toqtadi ornida; ostanovilsja na svoem meste' (MA 351), *toγta- : toγtaγad* (MonPr 73),

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

Written Mongolian data:
toγta- 'to stop, rest, become immobile; to set; to become fixed or established; to become stabilized; to depend on; to assume a shape or form; to come to a decision or agreement; to become engaged; to remain firm (in one's resolution); to decide; to fix' (L 815), *toγta-* 'id.' (Kow 1877a), *toγta-* 'stehen, stehen bleiben, sein Ziel oder seine Grenze finden; stojat', ostanovit'sja, najti predel ili cel'' (Schmidt 251a), *toγta-* 'ostanavlivat'sja', prekraščat'sja' (Ščerbak1986:51),

Other Mongolian data:
toxtā- 'anhalten, haltmachen, festsetzen, bestimmen, gründen, konstituieren' (KWb 398), *togto-* 'ustanavlivat'sja, obrazovyvat'sja' (KhRS 403), *toġto-* 'kialakul, létrejön, megállapodik, megszilárdul, megáll' (Khal 437), *tokto-* 'zurückhalten, hintern' (BurC 149), *togto-* 'anhalten, ruhen, sich wiederlassen, bestimmen' (ParMon 149), *dog't'o-* 'se fixer, être fixé, rester en place, rester au même endroit (bétail au paturage), s'arrêter, se calmer, fixer, prendre une décision' (OrdM 148).

The word is also found in VK languages with metathesis. It was borrowed before the closing process of the vowels took place over there. We cannot find the word in Turkic languages before the Mongolian epoch, while we have earlier data on the Mongolian side.

It is a loan in Manchu too from Mongolian: Sol. *tokto-* 'feststehen, festsetzen' (MT 119).

Doerfer considered the word to be of Mongolian origin: **toqta-, *toγta-* 'feststehen' 141 tü. < mo. (TMEN 141).
For further data see Räsänen's dictionary (RVEW 485), (Poppe 1955:104), (Zajaczkowski 1960), (Schönig 2000:180), (Tenišev 2001:695), (Csáki 2004:25).

131. *tügerek* 'round' < MMo cf. WMo *tögürig*

Tatar data:
tügäräk 'kerek, kör; rund, kreis' (TatB 126), *tügäräk* 'circle, round' (TatTDL 30, 126), *tügärcäk* 'alka' (DSTat 199),

Bashkir data:
tügäräk → *tüŋäräk* 'kruglyj' (Bashk 649), *tügäräk* 'kerek' (BashkP 268), *kruguyïn* 'tüŋäräk yahap teδelep yïrlap uynau; horovod' (BashkD2 113),

Other Kipchak data:
tögerek 'yuvarlak' (Krch 405), *tögerek* 'krug; okrestnost', okruga' (KrchT 627), *döŋgölök* 'rund' (NoghR), *tegerek* 'circle' (KirgDTL 30), *tögerek, tögörek* 'Umkreis' (BlkP 261),

Chuvash datum:
tükerek '(dial.) kruglyj' (Chuv 502),

Other Turkic data:
tegelek 'circle' (TrkmDTL 30), *dügiläk* 'round' (UygDTL 126),

Written Mongolian data:
tögürig 'circle, disk; circular, round' (L 832), *tögürig* 'krug, okružnost'' (KalmP 199),

Other Mongolian data:
tögrög 'kerek; kör' (Khal 451), *tögrög* '2. krug, kružoček' (KhRS 415).

There is another word in Karachay-Balkar for 'round': *gürem* ~ *güren* 'yuvarlak' (Krch211) - 'round'.

132. *tülä-* 'to pay' < MMo *tölö-* ~ *töle-*

Tatar data:
tülä- 'platit', uplačivat'' (TatRS 581), *tülä-* 'fizetni; bezahlen' (TatB127), *tülä-* → *asra-* (TatDS 448), *tülä-* 'id.' (TatAS3 287), *tüläm* 'tüläü; nalog' (ST 220),

Bashkir data:
tülä- 'platit', uplačivat', vyplačivat', oplačivat'' (Bashk 650), *tülä-* 'platit', uplačivat'' (BashkRS 557), *tülä-* 'zaplatit'', rasplačivat'sja' (BashkK 216), *tüläm* → *tülää* (BashkD1 231), *tüläm* 'halïm' (BashkD2 266), *tülä-* 'megjutalmazni, lefizetni, viszonozni' (PBashk 268),

Other Kipchak data:
töle- 'platit', uplačivat'' (KrklpRS 651), *töle-* 'ödemek' (Krch 406), *töle-* 'platit', oplačivat' čto; pogašat' čto' (KrchT 628), *tüle-* ~ *tülö-* 'zahlen, bezahlen, vergelten' (BlkP 263), *töle-* 'to pay, compensate' (KumR 99), *töle-*

'fizetni; zahlen' (KumN 150), *töle-* 'uplatit', zaplatit'' (Kklp), *töle-* 'platit'' (Kum), *töle-* 'platit', otplatit'' (KarRP 541), *töle-* 'platit'' (RKaz), *töle-* 'pay' (KazDTL 108), *tölö-* 'platit', vyplačivat'' (Kirg), *tölö-* 'pay' (KirgDTL 108),

Early Kipchak, Chaghatay data:
töle- 'indemniser, restituter' (HyS 202), *tölä-* 'échanger, permuter' (Chag 242), *töl-* 'borcunu öde-' (Atalay 1945: 262), *tola-* 'payer, payer de retour, récompenser' (DAK), *tölä-* 'id.' (AQP 200), *töle-* 'ödemek, para vermek' (KT 282),

Chuvash data:
tüle 'platit', vyplačivat'; kompensirovat'' (Chuv 502), *tüle-* '(meg)fizetni; (be)zahlen' (ChuvP 176),

Other Turkic data:
tölüö-, tölübün 'bezahlen' (YakB 100), *tölüö-* 'id.' (MEJ 18), *töle- ~ tola-* 'to pay, to make up for loss of property, to compensate' (Turki), *töle-* 'pay' (TrkmDTL 108), *tölä-* 'pay' (UygDTL 108), *to'la-* 'pay' (UzbDTL 108),

Middle Mongolian data:
töleksen kü'ün č. tölegen kiši 'uplativšij čelovek' (MA 352),

Written Mongolian data:
tölö- ~ tölü- 'payer, payer la dette' (Kow3 1922), *tölö-* 'to compensate, pay off, pay a debt, recompensate' (L 833), *tölö-* 'sčitat', isčisljat', vyčisljat'' (KalmP 195), *tölü-* 'bezahlen, zaplatit' (Schmidt 260b),

Other Mongolian data:
töl- 'bezahlen, eine schuld begleichen, ersetzen' (KWb 406), *tölö-* 'platit', oplačivat', vyplačivat'' (KhRS 417), *tölö-* '(meg/ki/be)fizet vmit, fizet vmiért' (Khal 453), *tölö-* 'indemniser; dédommager; dédommager en donnant un objet de méme nature; rendre la pareille' (OrdM II.673).

The origin of the word is debated. The word is to be found in Old Turkic dictionaries: *tölä-* 'platit', uplačivat'' (DTS 579), *töle-* 'to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)' Clauson wrote the following: 'OT *tölä-* 'to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)' almost certainly a loan-word from *tölö-* (Kow)' (Clauson 1972:492).

According to Erdal (1991:425) OT *tölä-* 'to repay a loan; to lamb', the word could be of Turkic origin, but the meaning 'to pay' evolved in

Mongolian. This is what we find in Caucasian Turkic languages. Just like in Volga Kipchak langauges the final Mongolian *-ö/e* is replaced by *-e* in Karachay-Balkar. There are further nouns and adjectives formed from the above word, e.g. *tölev* 'ödeme', *tölevsüz* 'bedava' (Krch).
Doerfer considered the word of Turkic origin in Mongolian: *tölö-* bezahlen mo. < tü. (TMEN§980).

The case is not that, because it is "almost certainly a Mongolian loan word from *tölö-* (Kow 1922), (Haltod 435) the only early occurrences are in late Uyghur texts containing other loan words..." (Clauson 1972:492).
For further data: (Poppe 1962:339), (Ščerbak 1986:51), (Jankowski 1997:76), (Csáki 2004:25).

133. *uba* 'stone heap' < MMo cf. WMo *oboγa*

Tatar data:
oba 'Kurganstein' (TatC 86), *uba 2.* 'Tigez jirdäge kečeräk kalku urïn'(TatAS3 293) – 'a slightly rising place of a plain',
"Yerakta la jirdän, hay, kürenä
Ubalarga salgan taš kala" (TatAS3 293) – 'One can see from a distance, hey, the stone-heaps that were erected.', *uba* → *qaš* 'veršina holma, vozvyšennost'' (TatTD 134), *uba* 'kalkulïk, biyek jir; vozvyšennoe mesto' (KST 211),

Bashkir data:
uba 'kurgan, holm, kurgannyj' (BashkRS 569), *uba* 'bugor', holmuk' (BashkK 220), *uba* 'kurgan' (BashkD2 274),

Other Kipchak data:
oba 'Steinhaufen, Grabhügel' (MEKS 300), *oba* 'kurgan' (Kaz 256), *oba* 'holm; kuča, gruda' (CrTatR 97), *oba* 'mogila; gruda' (KrchT 486),

Early Kipchak data:
oba 'Hügel; podius' (CC 173), *oba* 'podius, grioua' (CCK 88), *oba* 'tepe' (KT 203),

Other Turkic data:
oba 'utes', kamennaja skala' (AltV 213), *ovaa* 'kurgan' (TuvRS 312),

Written Mongolian data:
oboya 'kuča, kupa, gruda kamnej; tas, monceau, amas...' (Kow 370), *oboyan* 'heap, pile, mass' (L 598),

Other Mongolian data:
owā 'monceau, tas de pierre, obo' (Oir 153), *owā* 'kegel, hügelchen, haufen, steinhaufen an der wegseite oder auf einem hügel' (KWb 291), *owoo* 'Kultmal aus Steinen oder Stangen bzw. Hölzern (auf Hügeln, Bergen etc.)' (ParMon 147), *owoo(n)* 'kuča, gruda (kamnej)' (KhRS 291), *owō* 'monceau, tas, pile, obo, mire (de fusil), en grand nombre, en grande quantitē' (OrdM 525).

The word appears in the Codex Cumanicus being a Mongolian loan there (Poppe 1962:336). It was also borrowed by Ewenki *oba*, Man. *obo* 'Gedächtnishügel' (MT 103) and some Turkic languages (RVEW 356).

Due to its meaning it urged several people to write on it. Let me mention some works in connection with *obo* (Bawden 1958a), (Eren 1979), (Gerasimova 1981).
It is considered to be a Mongolian loan also in Persian by Doerfer (TMEN§36).

134. *ugata* 'in particular' < MMo *oγōta*

Tatar data:
ugata 'bigräk, bigräk tä' (DSTat 200) – 'in particular, very much', *uγata* → *bütänčä* 'bik, bigräk' (TatDS 452, 111) – 'otherwise, unusually', *uġata* → *bäläkäy* 'očen'' (TatTD 67), *uktay* 'bik tiz, bik jitez' (TatAS3 304),

Bashkir data:
ifrat 'uγata, bigeräk' (BashkD1 76), *uγata : uγata tihä* 'bigeräk tä' (BashkD1 240), *uγata* 'čerescur, sliškom, očen'' (BashkRS 569), *uγata* 'bigeräk; sovsem, sliškom' (BashkD2 274) - 'in particular',

Other Kipchak data:
oγota 'očen'' (KarRP 423), *oγota* 'sehr' (MEKS 300), *oγada* 'id.' (RKklp 623),

Middle Mongolian data:
oyoyata : oyoyata nigen jug bolyaya (MonPr 321), *oyoyata : idegen oyoyata ülü idekü* (AQjÜ 347),

Written Mongolian data:
oyuyata 'completely, entirely; once for all' (L 603), *oyoyata* 'ganz, vöhlig; sovsem, soveršenno' (Schmidt 48c),

Other Mongolian data:
ogt 'sovsem, soveršenno, vovse' (KhRS 292), *ogt* 'egyáltalán' (Khal318), *ogto* 'soveršënno, sovsem, vovse' (BurRS), *okta* 'durchaus' (KWb 284), *og't'o* 'absolument' (OrdM).

The Mongolian word was developed by the help of a *-tA* adverbial suffix. The second and third syllables had been contracted before the word was borrowed by the VK languages.
The initial vowel became closer after the borrowing.

135. *ulǰa* 'booty' < MMo *olǰa*

Tatar data:
ulǰa 'ganimät, suïšta jïŋep alïngan äyberlär' (TatAS3 307) – 'booty, spoils of war', *Möhämmät han [sugïštan] zur ulǰa ilä kayttï.* – 'Mohammed khan returned [from the war] with much booty.' *ulca* 'fayda, tabïš (ulǰa)' (DSTat 202) – 'benefit, booty', *ulǰa* 'radost' – govoritsja pri tolkovanii, predskazyvanii' (TatTD 329), *ōlǰa* 'sugïš totkïnï, tabïš; voenno-plennyj, dobyča' (ST 162), *ulca 2* 'totkïnlïk; plen' → *o:lǰa* (ST 225)

Bashkir data:
ul'ya 'dobyča (lit. tabïš)' (BashkRS 574), *ul'ya* 'dobyča' (BashkK 222),

Other Kipchak data:
olža 'dobyča' (Kaz 260), *olǰo* 'dobyča, trofej (na vojne, na ohote)' (Kirg 566), *olža* 'Kriegsbeute' (MEKS 300), *olža* 'dobyča' (KrklpRS 492), *olža* 'dobyča, trofej' (NoghRS 245), *oldža* 'dobyča, plennyj' (KarRP 427), *olža* 'asszony, Weib, Frau' (KumN 137),

Early Kipchak data:
olğa 'Kriegsbeute, praeda' (CC 177), *olǰa* 'dobyča' (MA 265), *olča* 'prise, butin, prisonnier' (Chag 75),

Other Turkic data:
olǰa 'victims of war, prisoners of war, war-trophy, war-booty' (Turki),

Middle Mongolian data:
olǰa 'Wertsachen (Beute)' (MNT 123), *olǰa: olǰa-luγ-a nigen-e* (MonPr 64), *olǰa : olǰa eriküi* (AQǰÜ 353), *olǰa* 'plennik, dobyča' (MA 405), *ol-* 'to find' (HpP 128),

Written Mongolian data:
olǰa 'najdennoe, priobretennoe, pol'za, nahodka; ce qui est trouvé, acquis, avantage, profit' (Kow 409), *olǰa* 'finding, find, acquisition, income, revenue, earning, profit, gain, booty, prisoners of war' (L 610), *olǰa* 'die Beute; dobyča' (Schmidt 44a),

Other Mongolian data:
olzo 'fund, gewinn, vorteil, beute (im Krieg), kriegsgefangene und ihre habe' (KWb 285), *oldz(on)* 'nahodka, dobyča, dohod' (KhRS 296), *olǰo* 'butin, gain profit, aubaine, gibier, qu'on prend à la chase, profit illégitime' (OrdM 509).

The Mongolian word is a derivation from *ol-* 'to find' with the help of a deverbal nomen suffix *-ǰa*. Vladimircov wrote that the word had a final *-n* in Old Mongolian, but it gradually faded away: "st. mong.-pis''m. *olǰan* 'dobyča, priobretenie', nov. mong.-pis'm. *olǰa*" (Vladimircov 1929:356), but according to Kara, it was not true.

It is used in Mongolian as early as in the Secret History: "*čöl olǰa'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' (Rachewiltz 1985).

As a military term belonging to the Mongolian loan words does the word survive in VK languages.
For further data see: Poppe 1955:119, 157), Doerfer (TMEN§27), (Kincses Nagy 1997:143), (Schönig 2000:142).

136. *uram* 'street' < MMo **oram ~ *orom ~ *horum*

Tatar data:
uram 'ulica' (TatRS 590), *uram kütärep kičkïru* '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* '...ozïnča ačïklïk, yul' (TatAS3 311) – 'long and widened open place, way', *uram* → *azbar* (TatDS 455), *uram* 'street' (TatTDL 144), *uram* 'ulica', *uramnan yörü* 'vyhodit' na horovod' (TatTD 330), *oram* 'ulica' (BarTat 169), *tübä* → *uram* (DSTat 199), *uram* 'Straße' (MišTat 181),

Bashkir data:
uram 'ulica' (BashkRS 578), *uram* 'id.' (BashkK), *suq* → *uram* (BashkD1 189),

Other Kipchak data:
uram 'ulica' (Kaz), *oram* 'utca, tér, Gasse, Platz' (KumN 138), *oram* 'ulica' (Nogh 257), *oram* 'ulica' (KrchT 500), *oram* 'sokak, cadde', *ara/keng oram*[83] 'ana cadde' (Krch 310), *oramčï* 'csavargó', *orám* 'Gasse' (KrchP), *oram* 'Strasse' (BlkP 246), *oram* 'ulica' (Kum), *oram* 'street' (KumR 92), *oram* 'ulica' (Kar), *oram* 'street' (Jankowski 1997: 68), *oram* > *uram* 'sokak; Gasse' (CrKar),

Early Kipchak and Chaghatay data:
oram 'rue, faubourg ' (Chag 53), *oram, orom* 'ulica, plac, rue, place' (DAK 584), *uram* 'ulica' (M), *oram* 'town quarter' (BF), *oram* 'muhıt, semt' (YA), *oram* ~ *uram* 'ulica' (HšF II 171), *oram* > *uram* 'selenie' (Tef), *oram* 'sokak, mahalle' (ChagŠS 151),

Chuvash data:
uram, oram 'ulica, rjad obrazuemyj na bazare podvodami ili torgovcami' (Ašm3 268), *ăram, uram* 'utca; gasse, strasse' (ChuvP 14,193), *uram* 'ulica' (Chuv), *uram, oram* 'ulica' (ChuvF 284),

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83 The word was borrowed from Karachay by other Caucassian languages e.g. Adige, Kabard in the form: *uram* (cf. Tavkul 2002:365), by Avar language in the form *oram* 'i.e.' (Tavkul 2002:367).

Middle Mongolian data:
horum 'Seitenweg, Nebenweg' (MNT 77),

Written Mongolian data:
orum 'sled, čerta, ostavšijsja znak, strui, struiki (na vode); metoda, porjadok; hod (v reke); proishoždenie; pričina, osnovanie; trace, vestige, trait, empreinte; sillons, stries; méthode, ordre; chemin, sentier...' (Kow), *orum* 'trace, sign, vestige, footprint, stream' (L 623),

Other Mongolian data:
orom 'sled, otpečatok' (KhRS 306), *orom* 'id.' (BurRS), *orum* 'Spur, Merkzeichen, Platz, Stelle, Amt' (KWb), *orom* 'vestige, trace, apparance, ébauche' (OrdM).

We do not know any pre-thirteenth-century occurrence of the word; presumably it is a Middle Mongolian loan word. As Róna-Tas suggested, the word was probably in connection with the Turkic *oruq*, but we do not know their common predecessor (Róna-Tas 1973-1974:125).

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-* (ČLČ 82).

Räsänen considered the word to be of Mongolian in a few Turkic languages (RVEW 364). It became part of compounds as in the case of *ara oram* 'ana cadde' (Krch).

After Egorov, Fedotov considers it a Tu. word (Fedotov 1996:284), though it is not attested in OT (Clauson 1972). It exists in Kumyk (*oram*) as well, but there is another word in Kumyk for 'street': *tïgïrïq* 'ulica, uličnyj' (Kum 324).

For further data see: (Eren 1951:40), (Tuna 1973-75:302), (Róna-Tas 1982:96), (Schönig 2000:101).

Observations on Tatar and Bashkir phonetics

On the basis of the Middle Mongolian loan words discussed in this 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 (i.e.: all the original open vowels: **e *o *ö* became *i, u, ü*)[84].
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 reflex 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 syllable the stronger the reduction of the vowels is. Besides the overwhelming majority of cases, when *a* is the reflex we have both *ï* and u in VK reflecting MMo *a*.
4. MMo *e* is reflected by *i* in most cases, yet we find *ä* and *ü* as well, both in Tatar and Bashkir.
5. MMo *i* is reflected by *ä* in VK. *ï* and *o* are the reflection when there was a shift from the word's original palatal nature into a velar one, due to a *-γ-* or *-ǰ-* inside the word in question.
6. MMo *o* is reflected by *u* in most cases, yet we have *ŏ* in two cases in Tatar.
7. MMo *ö* became *reduced ö* in four cases in VK, but in most cases it is reflected by *ü*.
8. MMo *u* is reflected by *ŏ* in VK.
9. MMo *ü* is reflected by reduced *ö*, therefore we can justly say, that the closed vowels became reduced ones.
10. MMo diphthongs are reflected by *ay, ey* both in word internal and word final position.

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84 For further details see Schönig (2003:412).

11. MMo *č* is reflected by *č* in Tatar and by *s* in Bashkir in the majority of cases. In fact the former tends to be pronounced rather as a spirant than an affricate.
12. MMo *ǰ* is replaced by *y* in most cases in VK[85].
13. *n* behaves rather strangely in Bashkir. It can disappear (by way of metathesis) from initial position and can enter without any reason[86]. The same is valid for *m*.[87]

Phonetical reflections

Investigating the reflexes of Middle Mongolian vowels in Tatar and Bashkir we find the following:

	Middle Mongolian		*Tatar*		*Bashkir*
a-	abisin	*a-*	abïsïn	*a-*	Aphïn
	abra-		abra-		aγra-
	aγuna		aγuna		
	alisun		alïsïn		
	alus		alïs		
	alǰa-		alǰa-		alyï-
	angkagu		aŋkau		Aŋqau
	angkil-		aŋkïl-		aŋγqï-
	angxar-		aŋγar-		aŋγarï-
	arča		arča		
	arči-		arču-		
	asara-		asra-		asïra-
a-	abisin	*ä-*		*ä-*	Äbehän

85 It is obvious though that both *ǰ-* and *y-* can be found in initial position in the Kazan Tatar language. We have not found a single case in our material when *ǰ-* would appear in Bashkir. MMo *ǰ* is reflected by *ž* or *y* in Bashkir.

86 The MMo word *nökör* occurs at least in two different shapes in Bashkir: one is *nögär*, the other is *üŋer*. The latter in dialectal use. We have other examples at hand to prove that this was not a unique behaviour of this phoneme: e.g. *noyou* ~ *oyou* (BashkD1 163), *nuqra* ~ *uqra* (BashkD1 164). Nogh. *irge* 'base of yurt wall': MMo *irge*, Oirat *irge*, Kalm. *irg*, etc.

87 We find the following examples in the same dictionary: *mäŋgeš* ~ *iŋkeš* (BashkD1 161), *märeü* ~ *ireü* (BashkD1 161).

	adarana				äðernä
	alči		älče		
	arči-		ärče-		ärse-, ärčü-
-a-	bagana	*-a-*	bagana	*-a-*	baɣana
	bātur		batïr		
	baǰa		baǰa		baža
	čabidur		čaptar		sabtar
	jada-		yada-		yaði-
	ǰalga-		yalga-		yalɣa-
	ǰauči		yaučï		yausï
	qaburɣa		kabïrga		qaburɣa
	qabturɣa				qabtïrɣa
	qaɣurasun		kavïrsïn		qauïrhïn
	qanǰuga		qančïɣa		qanyaɣa
	qaragai		karagay		qaraɣay
	qara'ul		karavïl		qarauïl
	qarčiɣa		karčïga		qarsïɣa
	qari'u		karu		qarïu
	maɣta-		makta-		maqta-
	malaɣai		malaxay		malaxay
	manglai		maŋgay		maŋlay
	mata-		mata-		mata-
	nagaca				nagas
	narad		narat		narat
	sarana		sarana		harïna
	takim		takïm		taqïm
	tanglai		taŋlay		taŋlay
	dabxur		tapkïr		tapqïr
-a-	abra-	*-a-*	abra-	*-a-*	aɣra-
	alǰa-		alǰa-		
	angkagu		aŋkau		aŋqau
	angxar-		aŋɣar-		aŋɣarï-
	arča		arča		
	asara-		asra-		
	kitat		kïtat		qïtat
	ɣunaǰin		konaǰïn		qonažin
	ɣunan				qonan
	qirmaq		kïrpak		qïrpaq

	quda		koda		qoda
	oram		uram		uram
	toγta-		tukta-		tuqta-
	saralǰin				haralyïn
	ïrǰayi-		ïržay-		ïržayï-
-ā-	borān		buran		buran
-a-	asara-	*-ï-*	asïra-	*-ï-*	asïra-
	bilčara-		bïlǰïra-		
	būral				burïl
	moqadaq		mokït		
	sarana				harïna
-a-	būral	*-u-*	burul		
-a-	bulanggirtai			*-ä-*	bölänggert
-a-	bilčara-			*-e-*	bäläerä-
-a-	abra-	*-a*	abra-	*-a*	aγra-
-a	aγuna				aγuna
	alǰa-		alža-		
	arča		arča		
	asara-		asra-		asïra-
	bagana		bagana		baγana
	bilčara-		bïlǰïra-		
	bosaγa		busaga		busaγa
	čida-		čïda-		sïða-
	dolana		tulana		dunala
	ilga-		ïlγa-		
	ǰalga-		yalga-		yalga-
	qaburγa		kabirga		qabïrγa
	qabturγa				qabtïrγa
	qonalγa				qunalqa
	quda		koda		qoda
	maγta-		makta-		maqta-
	mata-		mata-		mata-
	noγta		nukta		nuqta
	oba		uba		uba
	oγōta		ugata		uγata
	olǰa		ulǰa		ul'ya
	sarana		sarana		harïna
	učira-		očra-		osra-

-a	aγūna	*-ä*	aγunä	*-ä*	
	adarana				äðernä
	bilčara-		bälǰerä-		
	dolana		dülänä		
-a	alǰa-	*-ï*	alǰï-		alyï-
	jada-				yaðï-
	quralta		karaltï		qaraltï
e-	eǰegei	*ä-*	äzegäy	*ä-*	äžekäy
e-	erke	*i-*	irkä	*i-*	irkä
	erkele-		irkälä-		irkälä-
-e-	begelei	*-i-*	biyäläy	*-i-*	
	čeber		čiber		sibär
	čer		čir		sir
	delbege		dilbege		dilbegä
	dem		dim		dim
	genete		kinättän		
-e-	čečen	*-ä-*	čäčän		säsän
	mese				mäsekäy
	mergen		märgän		märgän
-e-	betege	*-ü-*	bütäkä	*-ü-*	bütägä
-e-	itelgü	*-ä-*	ätälge	*-ä-*	
	bödene		büdänä		büdänä
	čöregei		čüräkäy		sürägäy
	dönen				dünän
	döneǰin				dünäžen
	erkele-				irkälä-
	küren		kören		körän
	sileüsün		seläüsen		heläüsen
	sö'em		söyäm		höyäm
-e-	itelgü	*-e-*	itelge	*-e-*	
	berket-		berket-		
	mese				mäsekäy
-e-	čöregei			*-a-*	suraγay
-e	bödene	*-ä*	büdänä	*-ä*	büdänä
	büldürge		böldörkä		böldörgä
	betege		bütäkä		bütägä
	delbege		dilbegä		dilbegä
	erke		irkä		irkä

	möče		möčä		mösä
	ölge		ölkä		ölkä
-e	bölbē	*-e*	bülbe	*-e*	bülbe
	betege		büteke		
	ǰüde-		yöde-		
i-	itelgü	*ä-*	ätälge	*ä-*	ätälge
i-	ilga-	*ï-*	ïlγa-	*ï-*	
	irǰayi-		ïržay-		ïržayï-
i-	ilga-	*o-*	olγa-		
i-	itelgü	*i-*	itelge		
-i-	čirai	*-i-*	čiray		
-i-	bilčara-	*-ï-*	bïlǰïra-, mïlǰïra-	*-ï-*	
	čida-		čïda-		sïða-
	čilbur		čïlbïr		sïlbïr
	čirai		čïray		sïray
	qirmaq		kïrpak		qïrpaq
	niγ		nïk		nïq
	siltaγ		sïlatu		hïltau
-i-	bilčara-	*-ä-*	bälǰerä-		
	čida-		čäda-		
	čilbur		cälbär		
	čirai		čäray		
-i-	čilbur	*-e-*	čelber	*-e-*	
	sileüsün		seläüsen		heläüsen
	siltü		selte		
-i-	šibaga	*-o-*	šobaγa		
-i-	angkil-	*-ï-*	aŋkïl-	*-ï-*	aŋqï-
	moyil		muyïl		
	sojir			*-ï-*	huyïr
	takim	*-ï-*	takïm		taqïm
-i-	čabidur		čaptar		saptar
	učira-		očra-		osra-
-i-	mojil	*-e-*	muyel	*-e-*	muyel
	sojir		suyer		huyer
-i-	saralǰin	*-ï-*		*-ï-*	haralyïn
	γunaǰin		konaǰïn		qonažïn
-i-	dönejin			*-e-*	dünäžen

-i	arči-	*-ï*	arčï-		
	ǰauči-		yaučï		yausï
	qaiči		kayčï		qaysï
	onggi		onγï		
-i	arči-	*-e*	ärče-	*-e*	ärse-
	demči		dimče		dimse
-i	onggi			*-o*	onγo
-i	arči-	*-u*	arču		
-o-	bolǰal	*-u-*	bulǰal	*-u-*	bulyal
	borān		buran		buran
	bosaγa		busaga		busaγa
	dolana				dunala
	qonalγa				qunalqa
	moyil		muyïl		muyïl
	noγta		nukta		nuqta
	sojir		suyer		huyïr
	soqur		suqïr		huqïr
	solaγai		sulagay		hulaqay
	togta-		tukta-		tuqta-
	toqum		tukïm		tuqïm
o-	oba	*u-*	uba	*u-*	uba
	oγōta		ugata		uγata
	olǰa		ulǰa		ul'ya
	oram		uram		uram
-o-	šongxar	*-o-*	šoŋkar	*-o-*	šonqar
	todka'ul		totkavïl		
-o-	dolana	*-ü-*	dülänä		
ö-	ölke	*ö-*	ölkä	*ö-*	ölkä
-ö-	dömögö-	*-ö-*	dömeg-	*-ö-*	dömögö-
	möče		möče		möse
	sö'em		söyäm		höyäm
-ö-	bödene	*-ü-*	büdänä	*-ü-*	büdänä
	bölbē		bülbe		bülbe
	börtü		bürtä		bürtä
	čö'üče		čüäčäy		
	čöregei		čüräkäy		sürägäy
	dönen				dünän
	dönejin				dünäžen

	dönggö		dümgäläk		düŋgäläk
	kömegei				kümägäy
	nökör		nügär		üŋer
	tölü-		tülä-		tülä-
-ö-	čöregei			*-u-*	suraγay
-ö-	dömögö	*-e-*	dömeg-		
-ö-	nökör	*-a-*	nägär		
-ö	dönggö	*-ä*	dümgä	*-ä*	düŋgä
u-	učira-	*o-*	očra-	*o-*	osra-
-u-	bulanggir	*-o-*	bolaŋγïr	*-o-*	bolaŋqïr
	quda		koda		qoða
	quduq		kodïk		qoðoq
	γunajin		konajïn		qonažin
	γunan				qonan
	qur				qor
-u-	quralta	*-a-*	karaltï		
-u-	bulanggirt			*-ö-*	böläŋgert
-u-	abisun	*-ï-*	absïn	*-ï-*	aphïn
	alus		alïs		alïs
	alisun		alïsïn		
	bātur		batïr		
	čilbur		čïlbïr		sïlbïr
	qaburγa		kabïrga		
	qabturγa				qaptïrγa
	qaγurasun		kavïrsïn		
	dabxur		tapkïr		tapqïr
	soqur		suqïr		huqïr
	toqum		tukïm		tuqïm
	quduq		kodïk		
-ū-	aγūna	*-u-*	aγunä		
-u-	čabidur	*-a-*	čaptar	*-a-*	saptar
-u-	čilbur	*-ï-*	čïlbïr		
	alisun	*-u-*	alsun	*-u-*	
	qur		kurtay		
	qaburγa				qaburγa
-ü-	büldürge	*-ö-*	böldörkä	*-ö-*	böldörgä
	ǰüde-		yödä-		
	küren		körän		körän

	mültüre-		mölderä-		möldörä-
-ü-	büldürge	*-e-*	mölderkä	*-e-*	müldergä
	mültüre-		mölderä-		
	sileüsün		seläüsen		heläüsen
-ü-	Čö'üče	*-ä-*	čüäčäy		
-ü-	sileüsün	*-ü-*	seläüsen	*-ü-*	heläüsen
-ü	itelgü	*-e*	ätälge	*-e*	ätälge
	siltü		Selte		
-ü	Börtü	*-ä*	Bürtä		bürtä
	tölü-		tülä-		tülä-
	Disyllables, diphthongs:				
-aγa-	čaγān	*-aga-*	čagan	*-aγa-*	saγan
	qaraγai		karagay		qaraγay
	nagača				nagas
	šibaγa		šibaga		šibaγa
	solaγai		sulagay		
	saγadaγ		sagaydak		saγadaq
-aγa-	malaγai	*-aka-*	malakay	*-aqa-*	malaqay
	solaγai				hulaqay
-ā-	saγadaγ	*-a-*	sadak		
-au-	ǰauči	*-au-*	yaučï	*-au-*	yausï
	qara'ul	*-avï-*	karavïl	*-auï-*	qarauïl
	qaγurasun		kavïrsïn		qauïrhïn
	todka'ul		totkavïl		
-ai-	qaiči	*-ay-*	kayčï	*-ay-*	qaysï
-ai	malaγai	*-ay*	malakay	*-ay*	malaqay
	manglai		maŋay		maŋlay
	čirai		čïray		sïray
	qarāčai		karačay		
	qaraγai		karagay		qaraγay
ege>ē	ējegei	*ä-*	äžegäy	*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
-iγa	qarčiγa	*-ïγa*	karčïga	*-aγa*	qarsaγa
i'u>ū	qari'u	*- ū*	Karu	*-ï'u*	qarï'u
u'u>ū	būral	*-u-*	Burlï	*-u-*	burïl
-uga	ganǰuga	*-uga*	qanǰuγa	*-aγa*	qanyaγa
-uga	ganǰuga	*-ïγa*	qančïγa		
-ügü-	büldürge	*-ö-*	böldörkä	*-ö-*	böldörkä

From this list above we can draw the following lesson concerning the vowels of the Volga Kipchak languages.

The majority of Middle Mongolian words with initial *a-* are reflected by *a-* in Tatar and Bashkir.

MMo.		*Tatar*	*Bashkir*
a-		*a-*	*a-*
a-		*ä-*	*ä-*
-a-	1st syll.	*-a-*	*-a-*
-a-	2nd syll.	*-a-*	*-a-*
-ā-	1st, 2nd syll.	*-a-*	*-a-*
-a-	2nd syll.	*-ï-*	*-ï-*
-a-	2nd syll.	*-u-*	
-a-	2nd syll.		*-ä-*
-a-	2nd syll.		*-e-*
-a		*-a*	*-a*
-a		*-ä*	*-ä*
-a		*-ï*	*-ï*

Middle Mongolian words with *e-* are reflected the following way:

MMo.		*Tatar*	*Bashkir*
e-		*ä-*	*ä-*
e-		*i-*	*i-*
-e-	1st syll.	*-i-*	*-i-*
-e-	1st syll.	*-ä-*	*-ä-*
-e-	1st syll.	*-ü-*	*-ü-*
-e-	2nd syll.	*-ä-*	*-ä-*

-e-	2nd syll.	*-e-*	*-e-*
-e-	2nd syll.		*-a-*
-e		*-ä*	*-ä*
-e		*-e*	*-e*

Middle Mongolian words with *i-* in Tatar and Bashkir:

MMo.		*Tatar*	*Bashkir*
i-		*ä-*	*ä-*
i-		*ï-*	*ï-*
i-		*o-*	
i-		*i-*	
-i-	1st syll.	*-i-*	
-i-	1st syll.	*-ï-*	*-ï-*
-i-	1st syll.	*-ä-*	
-i-	1st syll.	*-e-*	*-e-*
-i-	1st syll.	*-o-*	
-i-	2nd syll.	*-ï-*	*-ï-*
-i-	2nd syll.	*-e-*	*-e-*
-i-	3rd syll.	*-ï-*	*-ï-*
-i-	3rd syll.		*-e-*
-i		*-ï*	*-ï*
-i		*-e*	*-e*
-i			*-o*
-i		*-u*	

Conclusions

My research has not come to an end but the opportunity arose to publish my MA dissertation, based on my previous university work (a BA dissertation) entitled: *Középmongol eredetű jövevényszavak a tatárban* [Loan-words of Middle-Mongolian origin in Tatar]. I discussed some fifty words there in 1979. The next stage in 1989, reached 118 words, while now the number is above 130. This could easily be enlarged with the ones also present in my papers on the Mongol elements of Karachay-Balkar, one of my latest researches.

It is not the quantity that matters most, what I want to propose is that there can be many more MMo loans in VK than those present in my study. The long - lasting nearness of Mongol and Volga Kipchak peoples resulted in mutual cultural effects. The Mongolian loan words discussed in my study are of great importance from the point of view of other languages such as Russian, Arabic or Finno Ugrian, etc. which also influenced VK languages. Many of these VK words are the earliest records preserved.

From the research of Sipos[88] we know that music and language belonging to any ethnic group do not necessarily have the same roots, on the contrary, music in most cases is influenced by trends of fashion and prestige. If we consider the whole Turkic world, the folk-music of Tatars[89] shows the deepest similarity with that of the Mongols inspite of the distance between the two peoples.

There are well distinguished semantic groups of Mo loanwords in VK languages borrowed in the Chingisid era. They reveal much concerning the details of the culture, the social system of the Mongols as well as of their habits and traditions. In addition structural interaction of Turkic and

88 Most of his work is based on reliable field-work research among Turkic peoples (e.g. Turkish, Kazakh, Azeri, Kirghiz, etc.).

89 Even though pentatonism can be observed among Turks, the overwhelming character of pentatonism embellished by quintile shift that characterizes Mongol folk-music, can be seen only in the case of Tatars and Bashkirs (Sipos 2001).

Mongolian is observed. Unlike in Chaghatay[90], we can observe the effects of Middle Mongolian on different domains of language (e.g. phonetics, morphology, etc.) in VK.

Since these languages investigated - MMo and VK - belong to the Altaic group and they share several characteristics, we suppose bilingualism there that was the result of the lasting proximity[91]. This can serve to answer why not only stems, but suffixes were also borrowed. The latter could not have happened without the VK people understanding the full meaning of Mo stems and endings.

The earliest MMo VK contacts could have occurred sometimes in 1237, while the latest ones at the beginning of the 16th century. The earlier a language contact starts, the more verbs are borrowed. This tendency was observed in the case of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. There are three chronological layers of Turkic loanwords in Hungarian. The most verbs (some ten percent) were borrowed in the first stage.

In the case of MMo and VK we note almost the same: seven percent of the words borrowed are verbs. Verbs are stable in any language as compared to other parts of speech. They are rarely borrowed, especially when the languages in contact are not of the same type. Their semantics is not so easy to wholly describe, nor as exact as that of the nouns.

These words offer a solid basis for a chronology of the language history for both sides. This concerns sound changes, the history of morphology and semantics among other things. Systematic research has not yet been carried out in the field of syntax.

The loanwords discussed in my study are not elaborated on the same level partly due to the lack of documentation and also due to my own limitations, yet I tried to find access to as much material as possible.[92]

Similarly to the well-described Hungarian tendency[93] of the vowels in second open syllables in longer words, they drop out in VK languages as

90 In Chaghatay the Mo influence was restricted to loanwords belonging mainly to the terminology of warfare and administration (Boeschoten – Vandamme 1998:167).

91 This was the case of the Turks with Hungarians prior to the latter's conquest in the Carpathean Basin.

92 The Middle Mongol corpus is large (Rybatzki 2003:57) and the documents we can handle are limited because of several reasons.

93 The process started early in the period of Ancient-Hungarian that came to an end in 896, known in Hungarian language history as *Horger's Law*.

well: *abïsïn* > *absïn, abura-* > *abra-, alïsïn* > *alsïn, asara-* > *asra-, äzegäy* > *äzgäy, čabidar* > *čaptar, serekäy* > *serkey, osora-* > *osra-*, etc. On the other hand we read about the occasional reduction (loss) of vowels in non-initial open syllables of late Middle Mongol (Rybatzki 2003:62).

Róna-Tas underlined the importance of the question of direct and indirect borrowings. In some cases we can be sure of direct contacts, but in many a cases we can not. Then the question rises: what about the mediator?

Another group of words reflects the complexity of the question of an Altaic protolanguage. Words of Turkic origin are reborrowed easily with a Mongol marker by new Turkic languages.

There is a great variety of Mo derivatives, deverbal and denominal alike, documented in VK: *asa-ra-, kara-vïl, abï+sïn, alï+sïn, dünä+žen, kona+ǰïn, etc.* There is a precise summary of Mongolic morphological borrowings in the manual of Mongolic languages (Schönig 2003: 415).

In many cases we witness the effort of the VK people to fit the loan by the help of a suffix into their own system, as for instance in the case of VK *düŋgä+läk* 'kolco; zveno (cepi)' (Bashk 172) < Mo *döngge* 'cangue, heavy wooden collar worn around the neck by convicts, shackles, fetters, irons, stock (for criminals)' (L 268). A denominal suffix is added to the stem, though it does not change the meaning. The tool is of Chinese origin, it was mediated by Mongols to the Volga-region. It is remarkable that the Mo verb *dömü-* 'to be barely able to make a living, etc.' (L 267), also borrowed by VK (see No 46), has a synonym: *döngge-* 'to be barely able to do something, etc.' (L 268) which can be traced in the following form: VK *düŋgäläklä-* 'kolcevat'' (Bashk 72), a term used especially in connection with bird-catchers.

Sometimes the loan is hidden in a compound, e.g. *asqabïrġa* (Bashk DS2 31) consists of *as* 'pustoj' + *qabïrġa* 'stolb'; *aθïrauinäy* 'staruška, živuščaja na iždivenii čužoj sem'i. *Asrauinäy*' (BashkD2 32) consists of the following two parts: *asrau* (see *asara-* No10 > *asrau* like in the case *yada-* > *yadau* No 56-57) + *inäy* 'mat''; etc.

The original Mo form can be deformed in cases e.g.: the Mo word *nökür* (L 593) serves as the second part of the compound in Bashkir *keyäü nögäre/mögäre/üŋgäre* (Bashk D2 101).

Since my research is ongoing, I have not come to a final conclusion yet. In 1967 Sinor[94] wrote the following: ..."There are a lot of demonstrable

94 Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 58. p. 197.

Mongol effects in the Finno-Ugric-Chuvash-Turkic basin around the Volga about which, as far as I know, little if anything has been written." There have been a lot of discoveries published since then.

Hopefully others will tread on the path on which I am proceeding, opened by our predecessors and will cast more light on the Turkic and Mongolian language contacts wherever and whenever they took place.

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