

The names of animals in Karachay-Balkar.

A study on semantic changes

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Denominations of animals in Turkic languages is a more or less good revealed subject of Turkology. Bang was the first who dealt with animal names, especially with the names of felines. Later Ščerbak published a more entire work about Turkic names of mammals, their Mongolian and Tungusic correspondences. Recently, Ingeborg Hauenschild's main interest is on the natural phenomena and their denominations in Turkic languages. In this paper I deal with lexicological features of Karachay-Balkar animal names.

As a result of the multi-lingualism of the Caucasian peoples and the history of the language, Karachay-Balkar became very varied. This stands for the Turkic and non-Turkic elements as well. The vocabulary of animals shows this diversity very clear as certain animals have minimum one synonymic name. In this paper my aim is to represent some important features of Karachay-Balkar animal names. In the focus of my research are synonymic and homonymic terms which have at least one original Turkic member. My question is, how the original Turkic word influenced the semantic field of the non-genuine one, and *vica versa*, how the non-genuine term influenced the meaning of the Karachay-Balkar word.

Karachay-Balkar dictionaries and word lists which I took the data from are not concordant respecting to a certain word's meaning. In the Karachay-Balkar-Turkish dictionary of Ufuk Tavkul we can find much more data for animals than in Pröhle's word list or in Tenišev's dictionary. Hence, in the issues I touch upon I always name the source of the certain word. Also, Pröhle's word list can be used as Karachay-Balkar historical source where can be found some lexical (material) and semantical features which are lacking or different in the other two sources. In most of the issues of Ščerbak's study only the so-called Balkar form of a certain animal is shown, in a lot of cases even not correctly.

In this study I didn't expand my research to the analyzation of the frequency of using certain animal names, considering the different dialects and immigrant speech communities of Karachay-Balkar.

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Table 1. Distribution of Karachay-Balkar animal names according to their formal/semantical structure

% structure → origin ↓	Stem	Derivative	Onomatopoeic	Metaphoric complex Term	Adjectival/ possessive phrase
Old Turkic	48.6	38.4	6.4	7.6	-
Inner Kipchak	0.04	36.3	27.2	9.0	27.2
Inner Karachay-Balkar	4.3	16.9	10.0	16.9	44.3
Mongolic	100.0	-	-	-	-
Other	100.0	-	-	-	-
Total:	33.2	17.5	10.02	13.8	24.6

Distribution of word structures is changing according to the origin of the animal names. Implicitly derivatives and complex terms, phrases are dominating among inner developments. Non-genuine elements (Mongolian and Caucasian, Iranian, Arabic, Russian) are considered as word stems as they are global copies from other languages, and in this quality they might be the member of complex terms and phrases. On account of this, the biggest part of Karachay-Balkar animal names are stems, after this, adjectival and possessive phrases, metaphoric complexes are typical.

Tabooistic names for animals as a copy

Among the names of animals, my observation is that non-genuine names could be copied as tabooistic names, too. It is known that Caucasian peoples, besides linguistic contacts, had a strong influence on Karachay-Balkar culture. In Karachay-Balkar lexicon we can find traces of this influence in the terms of religious beliefs, time, numerals, etc. and very intensively in the terminology of hunting. Relating to the latter one, wild animals have usually at least one tabooistic denomination, and in most cases there is a copy from Caucasian languages among them. Also, it is clear that the use of metaphoric complexes has also a tabooistic motivation, especially if the certain animal has an other, non-metaphoric designation.

Table 2. Tabooistic and general designations of animal names

	Taboo name	General name
'bear'	<i>qurta</i> 'old woman' (euphemistic) (Tavkul 282) <i>muhar</i> 'gluttonous' (periphrastic, copy) (Tavkul 301) <i>ullu taban</i> 'big foot' (periphrastic) (Tavkul 417)	<i>ayiw</i> (KBRS 40) ~ <i>ayu</i> , <i>ayū</i> (Pröhle 86) <i>almayir</i> (Tavkul 81) <i>pur</i> (Tavkul 321)
'wolf'	<i>janli</i> 'alive' (periphrastic) (KBRS 225, Tavkul 139) <i>mamu</i> (copy) (KBRS 458, Tavkul 293) <i>örequlaq</i> 'straight ear' (periphrastic) (Tavkul 317) <i>suwuq sürüwčü</i> 'herd of cold' (periphrastic) (Tavkul 357)	<i>börü</i> (Pröhle 95, KBRS 167, Tavkul 128)
'fox'	<i>hïylačï</i> 'cute' + DIM. (periphrastic) (Tavkul 219) <i>tavuču</i> 'hen' + N.ACT. (periphrastic) (Tavkul 385) <i>uzunquyruq</i> 'long tail' (periphrastic) (Tavkul 422)	<i>tülkü</i> (Pröhle 141, KBRS 672, Tavkul 413)
'ant'	<i>ğumuljuq</i> 'boza' + DIM. (metaphoric) (KBRS 191, Tavkul 209) <i>himiljök</i> 'crust' + DIM. (metaphoric) (Tavkul 217) <i>qawnarjök qawnar</i> + DIM. (copy) (Tavkul 249)	<i>ebze</i> (Tavkul 189) <i>qumursça</i> (Pröhle 121, KBRS 422, Tavkul 281)
'mountain goat'	<i>ağalli</i> 'damned' (disphemistic) (Tavkul 67) <i>jawbidir</i> 'fat belly' (periphrastic) (Tavkul 144)	<i>čuv</i> (Tavkul 180) <i>jugutur</i> (Pröhle 149, Tavkul 158) <i>gabukï</i> (Tavkul 197) <i>qašha ečki</i> (Pröhle 116, Tavkul 190) <i>teke</i> (Pröhle 137, KBRS 617, Tavkul 384)

Above I represented examples which show the diversity of tabooistic designations of an animal in contrast of the general names. Genuine tabooistic terms consists of periphrastic, metaphoric, euphemistic and disphemistic terms, while non-genuine tabooistic names are probably copied with the aim of having a new linguistic term for the taboo animal. Characteristically the animals which falls under taboo in the hunting Caucasian peoples beliefs, reflects on the lexicon of Karachay-Balkar taboo names for animals. In the case of 'bear', a copy from a Caucasian language, *muhar*, is perhaps firstly meaning a property, 'gluttonous'. Consequently this word is not the case of copying straightly a taboo name for an animal. For 'wolf', the copied name is *mamu* which doesn't have other meaning in Karachay-Balkar. At the same time, there are two derivations of *mamu* from which one is designating 'bruin' (*mamurač*), the other means 'wolfhound' (*mamučar*). This shows that, interestingly, oppositely to the Common Turkic *börü* which doesn't have derivative forms, the tabooistic name is more productive and has a stronger structure in Karachay-Balkar. *qawnarjök* for 'ant' is strange since the root *qawnar* is not identifiable

in Karachay-Balkar, the diminutive suffix shows analogously use of the word to the other two taboo names for ‘ant’.

Synonymity of genuine and non-genuine animal names

Synonymity of animal names often leads to a subtle range of genuine and non-genuine lexical elements of different animals. Metonymy, of course, has an important role in this phenomenon. At the following examples I represent some Karachay-Balkar synonymic correspondences of animals where the use of the certain designation is distinct from the Common Turkic meanings, or besides the Common Turkic denomination an inner formation or a copy is used for the animal.

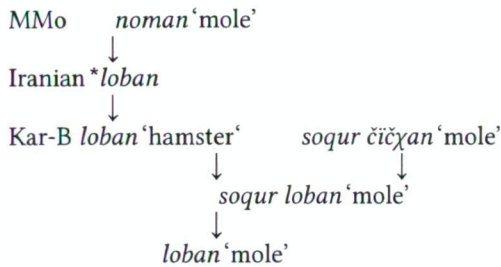
In Old Turkic probably all of the denominations for ‘cat’ (*četük*, *mači*, *müş*, *mışqič*) are copies, which can be found in modern Turkic branches. Besides this, copies from different languages and inner formations are designating this animal in modern Turkic (*kedi*, *pışıq*). Karachay-Balkar preserved *maci* (Tavkul 294), *muş* (Tavkul 302) and an onomatopoeic *miyaw* (Tavkul 300) (see OT *muyav*- ‘to mew’). Besides these old forms we find inner formations *kiştik* (Pröhle 110, KBRS 351, Tavkul 266) and *gıduv* (Tavkul 202). The second one is also an onomatopoeia. *kiştik* is perhaps a derivative from *kiş* (OT *kiş* ‘sable [Martes zibellina]’, ~ Bashk *qıştıq* ‘coat of horn’). However, this inner derivative seems to be the collective noun for ‘cat’ as it is used with adjectives for animals like *suw kiştik* ‘guinea pig (Cavia porcellus)’, *ağaç kiştik* ‘feral cat (Felis silvestris)’, *ermen kiştik* ‘squirrel (Sciurus vulgaris)’, *jaz kiştik* ‘lynx (Lynx)’, *kiştik sokmak* ‘lynx (Lynx)’. The word *kişuv* for ‘kitten’ (Tavkul 266) is probably also related with OT *kiş* and Karachay-Balkar *kiştik*.

Among the complex terms formatted with *kiştik* ‘cat’, we find *ermen kiştik* ‘squirrel (Sciurus vulgaris)’, which is not the primal name for this animal. In the dictionaries we find the following denominations: *ağaç qoyan* (inner formation, ‘forest’ + ‘rabbit’) (Pröhle 85, KBRS 19, Tavkul 271), *tiyîn* (genuine, Common Turkic) (‘eine art Marder’ [Pröhle 139], KBRS 659, Tavkul 397), *erlen* (genuine, **är+län*) (Pröhle -, KBRS 773, Tavkul 194). The latter one’s Turkic correspondences have different meanings: Tat *ärlän*, Bashk *erlen*, Chuv *arlan* ‘hamster’, Kaz *arlan* ‘mole’ and Tkm *arlanñim* ‘gopher’. According to Bang, *erlen* is a derivative with +*lAn* which is a typical suffix on animal names (*arслан*, *qaplan*, *bulan*), its stem is unidentified (Bang 1916–1917: 130). The Common Turkic *tiyîn* designates also the coat of squirrel in Karachay-Balkar.

The most prevalent name of ‘mole’ among Turkic languages is a complex from ‘blind’ + ‘mouse’, also existing in Karachay-Balkar as *soqur čičyan* (Pröhle -, KBRS -, Tavkul 350) although its general name is *loban* which should be a Mongolic copy in Karachay-Balkar, also in Kumyk. The Mongolic form starting with *n-* (MMo. *noman*, Mo. *nomun*, *soqur nomun*) could alternated in an Iranian transmitter code to *l-* (for similar alternation, see Mo. *lačın* → Oss. *načın* ~ *lačın* (Abaev 1958–1989/2: 11). Consequently, *loban* is not a straight copy from MMo. such as Kirghiz *momoloi čičkan* where *m-* ~ *n-* alternation is a Kipchak feature.

The Karachay-Balkar hybrid complex term *soqur loban* (Pröhle 122) is also an inner development, at the same time Mongolian has a similar form (*soqur nomun*) also with the adjective *soqur*, which is a selective copy from the Common Turkic name for ‘mole’.

Table 3.

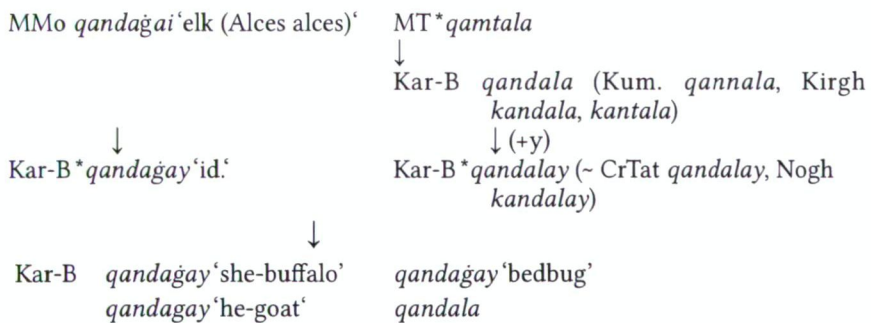


At Pröhle’s word list, *loban* is ‘hamster’ and *soqur loban*, also *loban* means ‘mole’ (Pröhle 122). According to this information, it is also possible that *loban* was copied into Karachay with the meaning ‘hamster’ and the form *soqur loban* came off by adaptating the adjective member of the original Karachay-Balkar word for ‘mole’ (*soqur čičχan*). This makes clearer why *loban* means ‘rat’ in Kumyk. The Mongolic word was copied for denominating different animals in Karachay-Balkar and Kumyk, but only the latter one preserved the meaning.

A complex case of homonymy, polysemy and polynymy

In Karachay-Balkar is given a polysemous word: *qandağay* ‘she-buffalo’, ‘he-goat’ and ‘bedbug’, from which ‘she-buffalo’, ‘he-goat’ and ‘bedbug’ are homonymous.

Table 4.



The polysemous *qandağay* in the source language, Middle Mongolian, had the meaning ‘elk (Alces alces)’. In Karachay-Balkar this meaning does not exist, but the word, besides the original, copied meaning (‘moose’ [KBRS 389]), is used for two other animals ‘she-buffalo’, ‘he-goat’ (Tavkul 241). The word entered to Kirghiz: *kamdagay*, *kandagay* ‘male trousers from the leather of mountain goat (obligatory for epic hero)’ (KirgRu 339), historical correspondences are not known.

The fourth meaning, ‘bedbug’ (Pröhle 115, Tavkul 389) gets here through an inner Turkic phonetic change. In several languages the Middle Kipchak **qamtala* have developed to

qandalay by taking the diminutive suffix *-y*. Karachay-Balkar has preserved the shorter old Kipchak form without *-y*, however it seems that the homonymic form *qandağay* only could have developed through the longer form *qandalay*.

Coming back to the semantic change of the Mongolic word, a Hungarian copy from West Old Turkic can be shown as parallel: West Old Turkic *bülen* ‘elk (Alces alces)’ ~ WOT *bülen* ‘buffalo (Bison)’ (~ EOT *bulan* ‘elk [Alces alces]’) → Hung *bölény* ‘buffalo (Bison)’. The background of this semantic change is to be searched in the history of terminology of animal husbandry among Turkic peoples. It is known that the terminology of bovines is earlier, developed in the south, later this terminology was adapted for the reindeers. From this point of view, the Hungarian copy’s meaning from Old Turkic could be the original. Also, regarding the Mongolian word I am dealing with, the problem seems more complex now. The adaptation of the Mongolian word could come off in four ways:

- (1) Selective copying (morphological): Karachay-Balkar and Kirghiz copied different meanings from MMo.
- (2) Global copying of MMo *qandağai* ‘elk (Alces alces)’ is not likely, Karachay-Balkar have the original T *bulan* ‘elk’.
- (3) Global copying: both Karachay-Balkar and Kirghiz adapted a MMo periphrastic meaning ‘goat’ as a whole. In Kirghiz it has started to be used through synecdoche for the trousers made of its skin. In Karachay-Balkar it has developed the specific meanings ‘he-goat’, ‘she-buffalo’.
- (4) If the terminology of bovines was the original, MMo *qandağai* could have a meaning ‘buffalo’ or ‘she-buffalo’ which later disappeared from Mo, survived in Karachay-Balkar. In this case the Kirghiz data remains unanswered.

Dictionary data, unfortunately, don’t help us in answering this problem, while the three Karachay-Balkar dictionaries have three different meanings for *qandağay*. Notwithstanding, buffalo has no original Turkic denominations almost in none of the modern Turkic languages. Karachay-Balkar *ğammeš* ‘Büffel’ (Pröhle 103, KBRS 197) and *dombay* ‘Kafkas bizonu’ (Tavkul 185), both copies, are the general names for this animal, and as it seems, *qandağay* has only specific meaning ‘diši bizon’ (Tavkul 241). The data from Tenišev’s dictionary (*qandağay* ‘los’ [KBRS 392]) is the only key between the Mongolian and Karachay-Balkar meaning.

Noticeably in numerous cases, Karachay-Balkar and Kirghiz have common lexical features in the terminology of animals, lacking from other Kipchak languages, one of them is *qandağay*. Besides its “South-Siberian type features” (Schönig 2007: 183) which is a substratum, according to my observations, Kirghiz shows similarities with Karachay-Balkar, Kumyk and Noghay lexicon of animal names.

Summary

One of the most outstanding characteristics of the lexicon of animal names in Karachay-Balkar is the multi-synonymy of certain animals. When analyzing examples of syno-

nyms, it is evident that their equivalence is not real. As it is known, in fact there is no real synonym to the effect that one synonym can be substituted by another one.

In the lexicon I analyzed I found the following aspects as tendencies which leads to the formation of synonymic terms of a meaning: 1. Shades of meaning: although usually general denominations of certain animals are participating in the dictionaries, there are surely animal subgenera's designations among them which specific meanings are not represented. 2. We cannot demonstrate the frequency of use through dictionary data, and we cannot attend these data surely as a common used one. 3. Dialectal differences: not only phonetic and morphological, but obviously lexical differences constitute also the Karachay-Balkar dialects spoken in Čegem, Terek and Bahsan valleys of the Caucasus. These dialects are, unfortunately, not categorized from a lexicological point of view. In the Karachay-Balkar-Russian dictionary of Tenišev only the so-called Karachay and Balkar dialects are marked at a certain lexical item, in the other two materials there is no dialect marking. 4. The semantical rule of one meaning – one denomination: weaker synonymic terms of an animal go out of use or get in contact with another meaning. 5. Structural weight: expectably, genuine elements of synonymic designations of a meaning have stronger structure, while non-genuine copies are more likely to be weaker. These aspects show clearly that virtually synonymous items are not commutable. At the same time, in numerous cases the structural weight of synonyms is faulting to the unexpected, weaker copied element.

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