



Published in the Russian Federation
 Oriental Studies (Previous Name: Bulletin of the Kalmyk Institute
 for Humanities of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
 Has been issued as a journal since 2008
 ISSN: 2619-0990; E-ISSN: 2619-1008
 Vol. 18, Is. 5, Pp. 1134–1146, 2025
 Journal homepage: <https://kigiran.elpub.ru>



УДК / UDC 811.512.1

The Suffixes $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ and $\{+ \check{c}An\}$ in the Karachay-Balkar Language: Structure and Function

*Adilhan Adiloğlu¹,
 Fatih Erbay²,
 Fatih Numan Küçükballı³*

Структура и функция суффиксов $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ и $\{+ \check{c}An\}$ в карачаево-балкарском языке

*Адилхан Адилгоглу¹,
 Фатих Эрбай²,
 Фатих Нуман Кючукбаллы³*

¹ Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Turkish Language and Literature Department (Campus, Dumlupınar Blvd., Pınarbaşı, 07070 Konyaaltı, Antalya, Republic of Türkiye) Государственный университет им. Акдениз (кампус, район Пынарбашы, ул. Думлупынар, 07070 Коньяалты, Анталья, Турция)

PhD (Philology), Associate Professor


доктор филологических наук, доцент

 0000-0002-7317-1500. E-mail: [adilhanadiloglu\[at\]hotmail.com](mailto:adilhanadiloglu[at]hotmail.com)

² Selcuk University, Faculty of Letters, Turkish Language and Literature Department (369, Yeni Istanbul St., Alaeddin Keykubat Campus, Akademi, 42130 Selçuklu, Konya, Republic of Türkiye) Государственный университет им. Селчук (369, ул. Ени Истанбул, кампус им. Алаеддина Кейкубата, 42130 Селчуклу, Конья, Турция)

PhD (Philology), Associate Professor

доктор филологических наук, доцент

 0000-0001-6086-9558. E-mail: [fatih.erbay\[at\]selcuk.edu.tr](mailto:fatih.erbay[at]selcuk.edu.tr)

³ Selcuk University, Faculty of Letters, Turkish Language and Literature Department (369, Yeni Istanbul St., Alaeddin Keykubat Campus, Akademi, 42130 Selçuklu, Konya, Republic of Türkiye) Государственный университет им. Селчук (369, ул. Ени Истанбул, кампус им. Алаеддина Кейкубата, 42130 Селчуклу, Конья, Турция)

PhD (Philology), Associate Professor

доктор филологических наук, доцент

 0000-0003-4319-7299. E-mail: [fatihnumankb\[at\]selcuk.edu.tr](mailto:fatihnumankb[at]selcuk.edu.tr)

© KalmSC RAS, 2025

© КалмНЦ РАН, 2025

© Adiloğlu A., Erbay F., Küçükballı F. N., 2025

© Адилгоглу А., Эрбай Ф., Кючукбаллы Ф. Н., 2025

Abstract. Goals. The study compares the suffix $\{+ \check{c}An\}$ used as a noun derivational suffix in most Turkic languages — and the suffix $\{ - \check{c}An\}$ which forms participles and is used as a verb conjugation

suffix in the Khakas and Shor languages, with an emphasis on the relationship of these suffixes to the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ which is used as a verb conjugation suffix in the Karachay-Balkar language. The structure and origin of the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ in Karachay-Balkar is then discussed. *Results.* When analyzed in the context of historical sound events, it is clearly understood that the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ in Karachay-Balkar undoubtedly arose as a result of a merger of the suffix $\{-(V)G\}$ which was used to form nouns from verbs in the Old Turkish period — and the suffix $\{+čAn\}$ which forms nouns from nouns and whose exact time of emergence cannot be determined. In brief, it is possible to explain this as $\{-(V)G\} > \{-(V)w\} + \{+čAn\} > \{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ with the historical $\{G\} > \{w\}$ sound change seen in many Turkic languages. Based on this information, the development of the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ which is used as a verb conjugation suffix in Khakas and Shor can also be clarified. The analysis into Karachay-Balkar-language literary writings shows that the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ is used only as a verb conjugation suffix, losing its noun-forming and participle-forming features. The work also addresses the participle-forming phase of this suffix (before it became a verb-conjugation suffix) and identifies traces of this function in present-day discourses. As a verb conjugation suffix, this suffix is mostly used in expressions in the simple present tense with simple and compound verb conjugations and sometimes, particularly in conditional sentences, as a tense modal expressing the present continuous tense.

Keywords: modern Turkic languages, Karachay-Balkar language, Khakas language, Shor language, $\{+čAn\}/\{-čAn\}$ and $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ suffixes, noun formation, verb conjugation

For citation: Adiloğlu A., Erbay F., Küçükballı F. N. The Suffixes $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ and $\{+čAn\}$ in the Karachay-Balkar Language: Structure and Function. *Oriental Studies*. 2025. Vol. 18. Is. 5. Pp. 1134–1146. (In Russ.). DOI: 10.22162/2619-0990-2025-81-5-1134-1146

Аннотация. В нашем исследовании рассматривается сравнение суффикса $\{+čAn\}$, который в большинстве тюркских языков используется как словообразовательный именной суффикс, с суффиксом $\{-čAn\}$, выполняющим функцию причастного суффикса (партиципа) и суффикса спряжения в хакасском и шорском языках. Кроме того, уделяется внимание его связи с суффиксом $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$, который используется как суффикс спряжения в карачаево-балкарском языке. Далее рассматривается структура и происхождение суффикса $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ в карачаево-балкарском языке. Анализ в контексте исторических звуковых изменений показывает, что суффикс $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ в карачаево-балкарском языке, несомненно, образовался в древнетюркский период в результате объединения суффикса $\{-(V)G\}$, который использовался для образования существительных от глаголов, и суффикса $\{+čAn\}$, предположительно, образующего существительные от существительных. Это можно объяснить историческим звуковым изменением $\{G\} > \{w\}$, наблюдаемым во многих тюркских языках: $\{-(V)G\} > \{-(V)w\} + \{+čAn\} > \{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$. Соответственно, также объясняется развитие суффикса $\{-čAn\}$, используемого как суффикс спряжения в хакасском и шорском языках. В результате анализа литературных произведений на карачаево-балкарском языке было установлено, что суффикс $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ утратил функции образования имен существительных и причастий, сохранив только функцию суффикса спряжения. Также рассматривается этап, на котором он функционировал как причастный суффикс, и выявляются следы этой функции в современном языке. Как суффикс спряжения этот элемент в основном используется для выражения значения настоящего времени в простых и составных формах, а иногда, особенно в условных предложениях, выражает настоящее время.

Ключевые слова: тюркские языки, карачаево-балкарский язык, хакасский язык, шорский язык, суффиксы $\{+čAn\}/\{-čAn\}$ и $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$, словообразование, спряжение глаголов

Для цитирования: Адилгоглу А., Эрбай Ф., Кючукбаллы Ф. Н. Структура и функция суффиксов $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$ и $\{+čAn\}$ в карачаево-балкарском языке // *Oriental Studies*. 2025. Т. 18. № 5. С. 1134–1146. (In Russ.). DOI: 10.22162/2619-0990-2025-81-5-1134-1146



1. Introduction

In the Karachay-Balkar language, the simple present tense conjugation of verbs is standardly realized with the suffix $\{-(V)r\}$. In ad-

dition, there are two other suffixes, $\{-(V)w\check{c}U\}$ and $\{-(V)w\check{c}An\}$, with which the simple present tense is conjugated. The former developed from the suffix $\{-(V)γ+čİ\}$, which was used

in Old Turkic as a suffix to create nouns from verbs. In Karachay-Balkar today, this suffix continues to be used as a tense suffix for nominalization and the formation of adjectives from verbs, in the formation of participles with simple present tense expressions, and in the simple and compound conjugation of verbs. This suffix has similar forms in other Turkic languages, such as {-wčĭ}, {-wsU}, {-wšĭ}, {-wšU}, {-OOčU}, {-UUčU}, {-İžĭ}, and {-UžU}.

As for the other suffix, {-(V)wčAn}, which is the subject of this study, it should first be noted that this suffix is unique to the Karachay dialect. While the suffix {-(V)wčU} is used in both Karachay and Balkar dialects, {-(V)wčAn} is used only in Karachay. However, since the common term “Karachay-Balkar language” is used in the literature for these two very closely related languages, that term is also used in the present study. Although U. Aliyev [Aliyev 2010: 237–262] provides some insights into the durative function of the suffix {-(V)wčAn} in Karachay-Balkarian, no comprehensive study detailing the full range of its functions has been identified to date. As for the structure of the suffix {-(V)wčAn} in Karachay-Balkar, it is clear that this suffix is a combination of the suffix {-(V)w}, which forms nouns from verbs, and the suffix {+čAn}, which forms nouns from nouns. The first part of this compound suffix, {-(V)w}, developed from the Old Turkic suffix {-(V)G}, which formed nouns from verbs (on the process of /g/ > /v/ see: [Erdal 2004: 123–124]). The coexistence of both *istä-gü+čĭ* and *istä-w+čĭ* ‘requester’ forms in the Chagatai literary language, which was used after the Old Turkic period, indicates that the two suffixes (-GU+čĭ and -w+čĭ) function as distinct morphemes [Radloff 1893: 1533]. In Karachay-Balkar, the suffix {-(V)w} is used as a verbal noun suffix as well as in nominalizations. The origin of the second part of the compound suffix {-(V)wčAn} — {+čAn} — is problematic and has not yet been clarified.

There are no {-(V)γ+čAn} structures of {+čAn} suffixes in Old Turkish texts. The attestation of the form *unutčay* ‘forgetful’ in the *Codex Cumanicus* [Argunşah, Güner 2022: 695, 717], precludes the classification of the relevant suffix as a recent innovation. Moreover, considering that the lexeme derives from

a verbal base and likely developed through the morphological sequence *unut-uw+čay* > *unutčay*, it becomes necessary to posit an origin for this suffix that predates the *Codex Cumanicus* itself.

2. Origin of the suffix {+čAn}

Many views have been put forward regarding the origin of the suffix {+čAn}. Among these, some important hypotheses should be briefly mentioned. G. J. Ramstedt associated the origin of this suffix with the Chinese word *čjan* ‘master’ with the meaning “one who does something successfully, one who is skillful in doing something”. The suffix {+čAn} does give such meanings to the words to which it is attached. Ramstedt cited the words *sözčän* ‘orator, eloquent speaker’, and *iščän* ‘hard worker’, as examples [Ramstedt 1957: 210]. M. Räsänen, in one of his studies, repeated Ramstedt’s view [Räsänen 1957: 93–94].

J. Deny argued that this suffix came from the word *čay* with the meaning “time, era”, but that it also originated from the much older word *čay* [Deny 2012: 573]. Regarding the structure of this suffix, W. Kotwicz suggested that there may be a relationship between the Mongolian {+ača}, Turkish {+ča}, and Manchu {+či} suffixes and the word *čay* ‘time, era’, and that this suffix may have come from an older word or a suffix in the form of *čay* [Kotwicz 1962: 191–192].

Z. Korkmaz did not accept any of the views given above; he suggested that the suffix in question may be a form of the suffix {+čA}, which creates nouns, extended by {+n}, an instrumental case suffix. He also stated that this suffix may have come from a common derivational suffix belonging to a common period of Turkish and Mongolian [Korkmaz 1959: 337–340].

A. Kononov stated that no satisfactory view had been put forward yet on the origin and development of this suffix. However, he argued that this suffix was functionally identical to {+čAK} and that there may be a genetic link between these two suffixes, and that both suffixes may have derived from an older {+čAn} suffix [Kononov 1980: 85–87].

When the views presented above are evaluated in general, Kononov’s theory seems to

be more acceptable than the others. Indeed, in Turkic languages where the suffix {+čAn} does not exist, the suffix {+čAk} serves the same function. It is highly probable that these two suffixes derived from a single older suffix.

Although Kononov's proposal is noteworthy, associating the suffix {+čAn} with the suffix {+čAK}, based on phonological alternations, does not seem plausible. Regarding the suffix {+čAn}, the Mongolic suffix {+čIn} — which expresses meanings such as possession, occupation, or repeated actions — should also be taken into consideration by researchers: *giyčIn* 'guest', *äbädčIn* 'infectious disease', *ogčIn* 'offended, hurt' [for examples, see: Lessing 1960].

3. The suffix {+čAn} in today's Turkic languages

As can be understood from the arguments explained above, there is no definite or generally accepted conclusion regarding the origin of this suffix. In its current status, in almost all Turkic languages today, this suffix is used as a noun derivational suffix in various forms including {+čAn}, {+čAŋ}, {+čOn}, {+sAn}, and {+šAn} depending on the vowels and consonants of the words to which it is added. By adding this suffix to noun stems derived from a noun root or verb, it forms nouns and adjectives that express the successful and continuous performance of a quality that has become a habit, and it also expresses meanings of attachment, fondness, inclination, predisposition, and tendency in relation to the meaning of the noun to which it is attached. In one of his studies, A. M. Shcherbak identified words formed with this suffix in today's Turkic languages [Shcherbak 1977: 112–113]. However, his examples were limited and he omitted some Turkic languages. Expanding on his work, the present study offers further words formed with this suffix in today's Turkic languages.

In Altaian, one of the Turkic languages of the Siberian group according to the classification of Turkic languages generally accepted today, the following words are encountered: *soyuščaŋ* 'warrior, fighter'; *ärikčäŋ* 'melancholic, sad'; *kiriščaŋ* 'argumentative'; and *uruščaŋ* 'fighter, combative' [Baskakov, Toshchakova 1947: 106, 129, 168]. This suffix is not

used as a noun-derivational suffix in Khakas or Shor, other Turkic languages of the Siberian group.

In Uzbek, one of the Turkic languages of the Karluk-Uyghur group, the following words are encountered: *uyčan* 'thoughtful'; *sözčän* 'talkative, eloquent'; *gayratčän* 'diligent, energetic'; *küngilčän* 'voluntary, willing'; *küyläkčän* 'shirted'; *sinovčän* 'experienced, seasoned, insightful'; *unutuvčän* 'forgetful'; *uyatčän* 'shy'; *boyčän* 'tall'; and *iščän* 'hard-working' [Abdurakhmonov et al. 1992: 136]. In Uyghur: *iščan* and *išlāmčän* 'hardworking'; *sözčän* 'talkative'; *köyümčän* 'compassionate'; *küräščän* 'struggling'; *uykičän* 'sleepy, slothful'; *uyatčän* 'shy'; and *iščän* 'hardworking' [Najip 1960: 113].

In Tatar, one of the Turkic languages of the Kipchak group from the Volga-Ural region, the following words are encountered: *halikčän* 'populist'; *tormiščän* 'vital'; *tilčän* 'eloquent'; *süzčän* 'talkative, chatty'; *iščän* 'hardworking'; *davčän* 'fighter'; *yokičän* 'sleepy'; and *uyčän* 'worried' [Salakhova 2007: 98–99]. In Bashkir: *buysan* 'tall'; *küldäksän* 'shirted, wearing only a shirt'; *huyışsan* 'warrior, fighter'; *hüzsän* 'talkative, chatty'; *işsän* 'hardworking'; *uysan* 'thoughtful'; *uyalsan* 'shy'; and *aşıyışsan* 'hasty' [Absalyamov et al. 1981: 174].

In Kyrgyz, the following words are encountered: *atčän* 'horseman, sitting on horseback'; *nayzačän* 'armed soldier'; *oorukčän* 'constantly falling ill'; *ötükčön* 'with boots'; and *tončön* 'with fur, coat' [Abdullayev et al. 1987: 162–163]. In Kazakh: *aşuwşan* 'angry'; *sözşan* 'talkative, chatty'; *boyşan* 'tall'; *tärşan* 'sweaty, sweating a lot'; *kirşan* 'dirty, constantly dirty'; *köyläkşan* 'shirted'; and *uyalşan* 'shy' [Bekturov 2006: 92]. In Karakalpak: *işşan* 'hard-working'; *aşıwşan* 'angry, furious'; *oyşan* 'thoughtful, pensive'; *köyläkşän* 'shirted'; and *özgärüwşan* 'changeable' [Baskakov 1952: 182, 412]. In Nogai: *avirşan* 'slow-moving, sluggish, lethargic'; *aşuwşan* 'angry, irritable'; *işşan* 'hardworking'; *korkuwşan* 'constantly afraid, frightened'; *oyşan* 'thoughtful'; *soyışşan* 'warrior'; *sözşan* 'talkative'; *tärşan* 'sweaty'; and *uyalşan* 'shy' [Kalmykova, Baskakov 1963: 24, 55, 173; Kalmykova, Strueva 1973: 35, 129].

In Crimean Tatar, one of the Turkic languages of the Kipchak group from the Black Sea-Caspian region, the following words are encountered: *halkčan* ‘populist, pro-people’; *yaşawčan* ‘alive, lively, combative’; *iščän* ‘hardworking’; *aşikčan* ‘hasty, fussy’; *sözčän* ‘talkative’; *uyatčan* ‘shy’; and *oyčan* ‘thoughtful’ [Memetov 2013: 365–368]. In Kumyk: *boyčan* ‘tall’; *taburčan* ‘distinguished, noble’; *oyčan* ‘thoughtful’; and *koşulčan* ‘mixed, hybrid’ [Bammatov, Gadzhiakhmedov 2013: 61, 181, 224, 282; Abdullayeva et al. 2014: 210, 224]. This suffix is not used as a noun-derivational suffix in Karachay-Balkar or Karaim, other Turkic languages from the Black Sea-Caspian region.

In Turkmen, one of the Turkic languages in the Oghuz group, the following words are encountered: *aržan* ‘honorable, dignified’; *başaržan* ‘successful, hardworking, capable’; *gaharžan* ‘angry, frustrated, irritated’; *gövünžän* ‘willing, eager, enthusiastic’; *höväsžän* ‘enthusiastic, eager’; and *işžän* ‘hardworking, skilled’ [Kyýasowa et al. 2016: 73, 126, 383, 478, 583, 619]. Although this suffix is not used in the written language of Turkish, it is used in dialects: *dilžan* ‘chatterbox’; *gövşän* ‘bluish’; *güržan* ‘grayish’; *kilžan* ‘sparsely haired’; *kilčan* ‘sackcloth made of goat hair’; *käkäžän* ‘lisp, stutter’; *darižan* ‘sparrow’; and *güpčän* ‘cube-shaped water cellar’ [Güzel 2019: 101–102].

Finally, in Chuvash, the only representative of the Bulgarian group of Turkic languages today, there are only three words formed with this suffix and it is assumed that they were borrowed from the Kipchak languages because there is no such suffix in Chuvash: *iščän* ‘hardworking’; *varaščän* ‘quarrelsome, angry’; and *šarčän* ‘sensitive, fragile’ [Levitskaya 1976: 140].

3.1. The suffix {+čAn} in Khakas

As evidenced by the examples provided above, the suffix {+čAn} functions as a relatively productive nominal derivational suffix across nearly all Turkic languages. However, in Khakas, Shor, and Karachay-Balkar, this suffix is employed exclusively as a participial and verbal inflectional suffix. This divergent usage sets Khakas, Shor, and Karachay-Balkar apart from the other Turkic languages. Accordingly,

the present study will focus on examining this specific morphological distinction in the aforementioned languages.

In Khakas, there is no suffix {+čAn} with a noun-forming function. For this function, the suffix {+žAx, +žAk} is used: *tarinžax* ‘angry’; *küržäk* ‘shovel’ [Arkoğlu 2011: 37]. Khakas has {-čAn}, which forms participles and is also used as a verb-conjugation suffix. It is also seen that participles created with this suffix form adjective clauses by preceding nouns and acting as adjectives. Some participles formed with this suffix express the future tense and some express the simple present tense: *parčan kişi* ‘the person who will go’; *kilčän aalčir* ‘the guest who will come’; *at palgačän čir* ‘the place where the horse is tied’ [Dyrenkova 1948: 76]. As for the function of the verb-conjugation suffix, in grammatical studies of Khakas, {-čAn} is presented as a suffix for the ‘seen’ past tense for simple verb conjugation. However, examples such as *alžanmın* ‘I would take’, or *al-bažanmın* ‘I would not take’, show that this conjugation expresses the continuity of a past action. Although it appears to be a simple verb conjugation in form, this conjugation is actually a compound verb conjugation and the equivalent of this conjugation in Turkish is the reported simple present conjugation [Kara 2013: 101]. This conjugation, which is called simple past in Khakas, probably developed from the past tense compound conjugation of an auxiliary verb with a participle in the present tense formed with the suffix {-čAn} [Baskakov et al. 1975: 212].

3.2. The suffix {+čAn} in Shor

The situation of the suffix {+čAn} in Shor is the same as that in Khakas. There is no such suffix in the Shor language that can be added to nominalize noun roots or stems. This task is performed with the suffix {+čAk} [Chispiyakov 1992: 59]. The suffix {-čAn} in Shor creates participles in both the simple present tense, denoting a continuous and repeated action or a state, and the future tense, denoting an action or a state that is expected to occur: *iščän kişi* ‘working person’; *iščän sug* ‘drinking water’; *käsčän agaš* ‘tree to be cut down’; *atčän kuš* ‘bird to be shot’ [Dyrenkova 1941: 132]. As in Khakas, verb conjugation with this suffix

in Shor is referred to as the “seen” past tense. However, examples such as *kälčäŋziŋ* ‘you would have come’, and *albačäŋziŋ* ‘you would not have bought’, show that this conjugation expresses continuity in the past tense. Therefore, it is a reported simple present conjugation [Kurpeško-Tannagaševa, Akalın 1995: 136].

4. The status of {+čAn} and {-(V)wčAn} in Karachay-Balkar

There are no {+čAn} or {-čAn} suffixes in the Karachay-Balkar language. The noun-forming function of {+čAn} in Turkic languages is served by the suffix {+čAk} in Karachay-Balkar. In Karachay-Balkar, this suffix is used only as a verb-conjugation suffix in its original form, {-(V)wčAn}. The “original form” serves to indicate why the suffix {+čAn} is used in the Khakas and Shor languages as a participle-conjugation and verb-conjugation suffix added directly to verb roots and stems. As explained above, the suffix {+čAn} is a noun-forming suffix that can only be applied to noun roots and stems. In other words, this suffix cannot be added directly to verb roots and stems. The reason why the suffix {+čAn} can be added directly to verb roots and stems in Khakas and Shor is that this suffix was previously preceded by the suffix {-(V)w}, which forms a noun from a verb. This suffix has both the ability to create a noun from a verb and the ability to create a verbal noun. In other words, a verb root that takes this suffix can become both a noun that can take noun-forming suffixes and a participle that can take noun-conjugation suffixes. It can also enter compound verb conjugations via an auxiliary verb, and in the final stage, it can become a verb-conjugation suffix. In other words, this suffix, used as a verb-conjugation suffix in Khakas and Shor, was initially {-(V)w+čAn}. Later, the suffix {-(V)w}, which formed the first part of this suffix as used in verb conjugation, was dropped and its duty was assigned to the remaining second part, {+čAn}. This suffix, which is a noun-forming suffix, has thus become a verb-conjugation suffix in the form of {-čAn}. In Karachay-Balkar, on the other hand, the suffix {-(V)w} preserved itself and continued to form {-(V)wčAn} until today.

In Karachay-Balkar, the suffix {-(V)wčAn} has lost its ability to form participles and is

used only as a verb-conjugation suffix. That is, no structure formed with this suffix can create a participle or an adjective phrase to describe the following word [Urusbiyev 1963: 125]. For example, in Karachay-Balkar, *uyalıwčän* ‘shy’, or *uyalıwčän kiši* ‘shy person’, cannot form an adjective or a participle. Instead, the suffix {-(V)wčU}, which, like {-(V)wčAn}, is used as a conjugation suffix and can also form participles, and the suffix {-čAk}, which forms a noun from a verb, is seen: *uyalıwču* ‘shy’; *uyalıwču kiši* ‘shy person’; *uyalčak* ‘shy’; *uyalčak kiši* ‘shy person’.

In addition, the negative form of the verb conjugation with the suffix {-(V)wčU} can be made with both the suffix {-mAwčU}, which is formed by introducing the negative suffix {-mA-}, and {-(V)wčU tül ~ tüyül}, which is formed by introducing *tül* ~ *tüyül* as the preposition “not” after the suffix {-(V)wčU}. However, the negative form of the verb conjugation with the suffix {-(V)wčAn} can only be made with the suffix {-mAwčAn}, which is formed by adding the negative suffix {-mA-}. It cannot be made with the preposition *tül* ~ *tüyül* ‘not’, in the form of {-(V)wčAn tülmä ~ tüyülmä}.

In Karachay-Balkar, there is an exception to the loss of this suffix’s function to form a participle. The analyzed literary works show that sometimes a participle group was formed in a sentence by introducing the conjunction *da* between the main verb, which had received a verbal adverb suffix in descriptive verb conjugations, and the auxiliary verb conjugated with the suffix {-(V)wčAn}:

Anam bir-birdä söläšä turyan sözün unutup da qoyuwčandi ‘My mother also sometimes suddenly forgets what she’s talking about’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 215].

Žolda güttü satib da alıwčandi ‘She also buys muffins on the way’ [Bayramuklani 1990: 155].

Although the suffix {-(V)wčAn} does not form a participle in the literal sense, it forms a participle group with the conjunction *da*, showing that this suffix once formed a participle in Karachay-Balkar. However, it should be emphasized here that without the conjunction *da*, this structure becomes a direct descriptive verb conjugation.

tion. It should also be noted that this structure is not frequently used in the analyzed works.

Of course, this suffix was initially added to nouns and verb-based noun stems to form new nouns and adjectives, and later participles. In particular, the suffix $\{-(V)w\}$, which is the first part of the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{A}n\}$ and turns verbs into nouns, first became a participle and then began being used as a verb-conjugation suffix thanks to its ability to form a verbal noun at the same time. In the end, this suffix lost all of these features over time and retained only its function as a verb-conjugation suffix.

4.1. Simple tense verb conjugation: simple present ~ present continuous

In Karachay-Balkar, as in other Turkic languages, simple tense verbs are conjugated with a verb stem that has a tense suffix attached. The simple present tense is a tense structure that indicates that an action or a situation takes place in the past, present, and future. The simple present tense does not indicate when an action or situation begins or ends. In the examples obtained from the analyzed works, it was observed that the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{A}n\}$ used in simple verb conjugations sometimes expresses the simple present tense, sometimes the present continuous tense, and sometimes both. As can be understood from the following examples, if the action in the sentence expresses continuity and habit, it expresses the simple present tense, and if the action is conditional, it expresses the present continuous tense:

Kün tayaqlaya köb qarawčanma ‘I gaze at the sunlight a lot’ [Appalani 2014: 34].

Adamnı bätinä qarasam bir zatlanı ağılawčanma ‘When I look at a person’s face, I understand things’ [Appalani 2005: 5].

İmportdu žanıñ importdu, käsibiznikiläni män hazna kältirmäwčänmä ‘It is imported, my dear, I don’t bring our own (often)’ [Aliylani 1991: 54].

Sän anamlaya barırğa süyüwčänsä ‘You like going to my mom’s’ [Korkmazli 1974: 204].

Žašawda žanjilič da boluwčandı ‘Mistake(s) happen in life too’ [Kebeklani 1977: 149].

Äki adam birča aytxan zat ötürük bolmawčandı ‘The same thing said by two people would not be a lie’ [Appalani 2005: 12].

Žolnu uzaqlıyı bla qıyınlıyı, mürzawnı bayalıyı, arıışxa baryanlanı quwandırmawčandı ‘The distance and difficulty of the road and the high price of grain do not make those who go to the grain market happy’ [Silpagarlani 1974: 74].

Bir-birdä bawurlarıbizdan soylanıb, suwnu ol žanıña, älgä qarawčanıbiz ‘Sometimes we lie face down and watch the village, the other side of the river’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 177].

Biz adamla kimdän ayırılanıbiznı artadan ağılawčanbiz ‘It is only afterward that we humans realize who we have separated from’ [Appalani 2008: 145].

Biz bilayda arısaq da solumawčanbiz ‘We do not rest here even if we get tired’ [Kagiylani 1988: 311].

Siz afändilä irgažik ätärgä wa usta boluwčansız ‘You imams become masters of deceit’ [Appalani 1958: 104].

Žäkdän žuwuq qoymawčansız tärslikni, sadaqlanı onowları sizniki ‘You insist on not turning back from adversity, you have the determination of arrows’ [Mamchulani 2006: 236].

Patčaxla, xanla kätiwčändilä, millätlä a qalıwčändilä ‘Sultans and khans go, but nations stay’ [Silpagarlani 1993: 157].

Tamadala čuruqların batmaq ätärgä izlämwčändilä ‘Managers don’t want to get their shoes muddy’ [Appalani 1985: 147].

4.2. Conjugation of verbs in compound tense: reported simple present

The compound tense conjugation is structurally a verb conjugation with two separate verbs and two separate conjugation suffixes. The first verb stem, called the main verb, receives a simple tense conjugation suffix, and another verb stem, called the auxiliary verb, receives another simple tense conjugation suffix. Thus, a compound tense verb conjugation is realized. In Karachay-Balkar, this verb conjugation is performed by conjugating the main verb with the suffix $\{-(V)w\check{A}n\}$ and the auxiliary verb $\{ä-\}$ with the simple past tense $\{-dI\}$ suffix. This conjugation expresses the continuity of an action performed in the past. The following examples obtained from the analyzed works are precisely in line with the formation of this tense:

Qızla azdila däb qıynalıwčan ädim ‘I used to feel sad that girls were few’ [Hubiylani 1990: 241].

Čirik adätlä äntda tübäydilä dägändä iynan-mawčän ädim ‘I used to not believe it when I was told that rotten (harmful, old) customs were continuing again’ [Korkmazli 1979: 102].

Tişirîw şaytannî da aqılîndan çîyarîr dâwčän ädiñ ‘You used to say that a woman surprises even the devil’ [Appalani 1996: 64].

Sän billay naqîrda ätmâwčän ädiñ ‘You used to not joke like that’ [Korkmazli 1974: 173].

Gokkažan atasîz bolıanîñ aytiwčän ädi ‘Gokkacan used to say he was an orphan’ [Hubiyani 1988: 392].

Bu bilay žaññil žürümâwčän ädi ‘It used to not go so fast’ [Kobanlani 1972: 15].

Alanî üygâ qaytîrîqlarîñ saqlawčän ädik ‘We used to wait for them to come home’ [Appalani 2014: 130].

Sayatla bla süyâliwčän ädigiz da bâš-on minutxa nâ bollukdu ‘You used to stand for hours, (so) what’s five or ten minutes (more)?’ [Appalani 1996: 164].

Mušturay saw zamanda gitčä toprakbaš üyčükgä älçilä köb kâliwčän ädilä ‘When Mušturay was alive, villagers used to come a lot to the small house with a small earthen roof’ [Kebeklani 1982: 6].

Äki mîdixtan köbnü almawčän ädilä ‘They used to take no more than two embers’ [Bayramuklani 1996: 291].

As can be seen from the examples given above, in the written Karachay-Balkar language, the reported simple present tense is conjugated with the form {verb}+{-(V)wčAn}+{ä-}+{di}+{person suffix}. In the spoken language, there are some non-standard changes in the structure of this conjugation entailing the reduction of the “seen” past tense suffix {-dî}, which enters the conjugation with the auxiliary verb. Thus, this structure takes the form {verb}+{-(V)wčAn}+{ä-}+{person suffix}. Although this structure is specific to the spoken language, it can also be seen in the written language in poems and old folk songs that have been transcribed:

Toyalmayîñ qarawčänäm türsününğä ‘I used to (not be able to) prevent myself from looking at your figure’ [Mamchulani 2006: 56].

Ariyannî nâ bolıanîñ bilmâwčänäm ‘I used to not know what it was to be tired’ [Semenlani 2014: 97].

Sän pismo žazsañ alay žaziwčänäñ bulutladila mâni üyüm dâb ‘You used to write letters like that, that the clouds were my home’ [Karachay Folk Songs 1969: 154].

Ol ayibdi dâmâwčänäñ čirt ‘You used to never say it’s rude’ [Batchalani 2012: 420].

Mañña žomaq aytiwčänäd qart atam ‘My grandfather used to tell me stories’ [Suyunchlani 1973: 132].

Käräk gündä turmawčänäd čirtda kâñdä ‘He used to never stay behind on a day of need’ [Hubiyani 1985: 85].

Äşikgä çyib olturuwčänäk ‘We used to go out and sit’ [You Are 2009: 285].

Äski gabaşlarîñ žamariq bolsala da bizgä žalinîwčänällä ‘They used to beg us even if just to patch their old sandals’ [Laypanlani 1971: 167].

4.3. Descriptive verb conjugation

Descriptive verb conjugations are compound verb conjugations formed by the fusion of a verb that has received a verbal adverb suffix and an auxiliary verb in a way that creates a special meaning. In this type of conjugation, while the main verb retains its meaning, the auxiliary verb loses its meaning. The task of the auxiliary verb here is to describe the style of the action in the main verb. In the Karachay-Balkar language, auxiliary verbs such as {al-}, {bil-}, {tur-}, {qal-}, {qoy-}, {iy-}, {kât-}, {kâl-}, {bar-}, and {bär-} are commonly used.

4.3.1. Simple present in the category of adequacy

The suffix {-(V)wčAn}, conjugated with the auxiliary verbs {al-} and {bil-}, which are commonly used in the adequacy category of descriptive verb conjugation, expresses the simple present tense. This conjugation expresses that a person always has the ability to perform an action. This conjugation was used very rarely in the works analyzed for this study:

Mân başimi žula biliwčänmä ‘I can take care of myself’ [Silpagarlani 1974: 20].

4.3.2. Reported simple present tense in the category of adequacy

This conjugation expresses that a person always had the ability to perform an action in the past tense. In the category of adequacy, this conjugation is again used very rarely:

Ol sözläni mayanalarin añilayalmawčan ädim ‘I couldn’t understand the meaning of those words’ [Appalani 1968: 25].

4.3.3. Simple present tense in the category of continuity

The suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$, which is conjugated with the auxiliary verb $\{tur-\}$ used in the continuity category of descriptive verb conjugation, expresses the simple present tense. With this conjugation, the continuity of an action is expressed. This conjugation was not used very frequently in the analyzed literary works. Since the second example below is a conditional sentence, it expresses the present continuous tense:

Quwančima äki qat quwanib, buşuwuma da äki qat qıynalıb turuwčansa ‘You keep on being doubly glad about my happiness, and doubly sad about my sorrow’ [Kobanlani 1968: 146].

Allındayın boşasa wa adamča közüma qarab toxtawčandı ‘When he finishes what is in front of him, he keeps looking at me like a human being’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 135].

4.3.4. Reported simple present tense in the category of continuity

This conjugation expresses the continuous realization of an action in the past. In the analyzed works, the compound conjugation of the reported simple present tense was used more frequently in the category of continuity:

Säni suratlarıñı gazätläda körä turuwčan ädim ‘I used to keep seeing your pictures in the news’ [Kebeklani 1988: 125].

Bilayı alyın žillada adamdan tolub turuwčan ädi ‘In previous years this place used to be packed with people’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 420].

Anda patariyızda bila bla aşay içä turuwčan ädigiz ‘You used to keep eating and drinking with them in your apartment there’ [Appalani 2014: 360].

Sabiyläri käčä-kün da bizgä kälä-kätä turuwčan ädilä ‘His children used to keep coming and going to us day and night’ [Bayramuklani 1996: 87].

4.3.5. Simple present tense ~ present continuous tense in the category of immediacy

The suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$, conjugated with the auxiliary verbs $\{qoy-\}$, $\{qal-\}$, and $\{kät-\}$, which are commonly used in the immediacy

category of descriptive verb conjugation, expresses the simple present tense. In this conjugation, a person performs an action very quickly. In other words, in this conjugation, the action both starts and ends in a very short period of time. In addition, the action can also occur spontaneously at an unexpected moment without being dependent on any person. In the analyzed literary works, in this conjugation, the suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$ generally expresses the simple present tense and rarely, especially in conditional sentences, expresses the present continuous tense. This conjugation is used more frequently than other descriptive verb conjugations:

Žili üynü içindä žaññil oyna qalqıb qalıwčandı ‘He quickly falls asleep in the warm house’ [Kebeklani 1982: 184].

Biz sabañña žätär žätmäz itleri da bizgä žätib kalıwčandıla ‘As soon as we reach a field, their dogs quickly catch up with us’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 81].

Män da täñlärimdän biri aytmasa unutup qoyuwčanma ‘And I quickly forget if one of my friends doesn’t tell me’ [Appalani 2005: 307].

Alay a bir-birdä qıyıyña barib kalıwčansa ‘But sometimes you quickly get on the bad side of (someone)’ [Bayramuklani 1996: 223].

4.3.6. Reported simple present tense in the immediacy category

This conjugation expresses that an action happened quickly and suddenly in the past. This conjugation is also used relatively more frequently than others:

Žaññiz körgänläy süyüb qoyanma däğän qızlanı xilikkä ätib qoyuwčan ädim ‘I used to quickly make fun of girls who said they fell in love at first sight’ [Kobanlani 1975: 29].

Başı žastıqqa tiygänläy жуqlab qoyuwčan ädi ‘He would fall asleep on the spot when his head hit the pillow’ [Kobanlani 1975: 29].

Qolunğa işläğän zamanımda bilay xini buyurub qoyuwčan ädiñ ‘Even when I worked for you (i. e., under you), you would not order me suddenly in such an angry manner’ [Appalani 2005: 14].

4.3.7. Present continuous tense in the category of movement

It is observed that the suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$, conjugated with the auxiliary verb $\{kät-\}$, which is used in the movement category of descriptive

verb conjugation, is not used as a function. The examples identified in the analyzed works express the present continuous tense because they involve conditional sentence structures:

Sän ot alır̄ya kălsăñ, bütăw otnu kôltürüb kătiwčănsă ‘When you come to take embers, you take all the embers and leave’ [Bayramuklani 1964: 70].

Kăsiñi içiñ tutmasa, alay aytib kătiwčănsă ‘When you don’t feel comfortable, you just say so and leave’ [Korkmazli 1979: 10].

4.3.8. Reported simple present tense in the category of movement

This conjugation is also not very common. Only one example was identified:

Tansiñimî alır̄ya dăb üyügüznü tögărăgindă aylanib kătiwčăñ ädim ‘I used to walk around your house to satisfy my longing’ [Kobanlani 1968: 6].

5. Conclusions

The suffix $\{+čAn\}$, which is used as a noun-forming suffix in most Turkic languages today, is not present in the Khakas, Shor, and Karachay-Balkar languages. In these languages, $\{+čAn\}$ is replaced with $\{+čAk\}$, which is very similar in form and function. The suffix $\{+čAn\}$, which used to exist in Khakas and Shor and completely lost its noun-forming function, later became a participle-forming and verb-conjugation suffix and turned into $\{-čAn\}$. However, there is an apparent problem here: the suffix $\{+čAn\}$, which creates a noun from a noun, cannot be added directly to verbs to form a participle, and it cannot be conjugated with verbs to become a tense suffix. The structural status of the suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$, which is used as a verb-conjugation suffix in the Karachay-Balkar language, provides a solution to this problem.

The reason why the suffix $\{+čAn\}$ can be added directly to verb roots and stems in the Khakas and Shor languages is that this suffix was previously preceded by the suffix $\{-(V)w\}$, which forms a noun from a verb. This suffix has both the ability to form a noun from a verb and the ability to form a verbal noun. In other words, a verb root that takes this suffix can become either a noun that can take noun-forming suffixes or a participle that can take noun-conjugation suffixes. It can also enter compound verb conjugations through the auxiliary verb, and in the final stage, it can become a verb-conjugation

suffix. This is why the $\{+čAn\}$ suffix can be affixed directly to verb roots as a verb-conjugation suffix in Khakas and Shor. In other words, this suffix, which is used as a verb-conjugation suffix in Khakas and Shor, was initially $\{-(V)w+čAn\}$, as it is in Karachay-Balkar today. Later, the suffix $\{-(V)w\}$, which constitutes the first part of this suffix used in verb conjugation, was dropped and its function was assigned to the remaining second part, $\{+čAn\}$. This suffix, which was originally a noun-forming suffix, thus became a verb-conjugation suffix in the form of $\{-čAn\}$. In Karachay-Balkar, on the other hand, the suffix $\{-(V)w\}$ preserved itself and continues to form $\{-(V)wčAn\}$ today.

The suffix $\{+čAn\}$ and the structure $\{-(V)wčAn < -(V)γ+čAn\}$ have not been detected in Old Turkish texts to date. However, in the *Codex Cumanicus*, from the Middle Turkish period, we see that the $\{+čAn\}$ suffix and $\{-(V)w+čAn\}$ structure were used in the formation of two words. Thus, it is understood that this suffix is not a suffix that has emerged recently. Although many opinions have been put forward about the origin of this suffix, no fully convincing explanations have been offered. However, it is possible that $\{+čAn\}$ and $\{+čAk\}$, which are very similar in form and function, may have derived from a much older $\{-čAn\}$ suffix.

There is no $\{+čAn\}$ suffix in Karachay-Balkar and $\{-(V)wčAn\}$ has lost its ability to form participles. This suffix is only used in Karachay-Balkar as a verb-conjugation suffix. Of course, this suffix may have initially formed new nouns and adjectives and later participles by being added to nouns and verb-based noun stems. However, as time passed, it lost these features and remained only a verb-conjugation suffix. Examples from various Karachay-Balkar literary works show that this suffix is mostly used in simple and compound verb conjugations for a simple present tense, and sometimes, especially in conditional sentences, for a tense modal expressing the present continuous tense. It has been observed that the suffix $\{-(V)wčAn\}$ is used quite extensively in the simple conjugation of the simple present tense and the compound conjugation of the reported simple present tense; it is rarely used in the categories of adequacy, continuity, immediacy, and movement of the descriptive verb conjugation.

Sources

- Aliylani 1991 — *Aliylani Sh.* Laughter and Tears (= Кюлкю да, джыламукъ да). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1991. 126 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 1958 — *Appalani H.* The Black Chest (= Къара кюбюр). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 1958. 338 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 1968 — *Appalani B.* Two Loves (= Эки суймеклик). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1968. 120 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 1985 — *Appalani B.* Strange People (= Къуджур адамла). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1985. 224 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 1996 — *Appalani B.* Welcome (= Джууукъ болугъуз). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 1996. 371 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 2005 — *Appalani B.* Complaints of the Mountains (= Таулары тарыгъылары). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 2005. 336 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 2008 — *Appalani B.* Wings of the People (= Халкъны къанатлары). Cherkessk, Stavropol: Stavropolye, 2008. 288 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Appalani 2014 — *Appalani B.* Mountain Passes of Life (= Джашауну ауушлары). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 2014. 192 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Batchalani 2012 — *Batchalani M.* My Home is Close to the Stars (= Мени юйюм джудузлагъа джууукъду). Moscow: Elbrusoid, 2012. 584 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Bayramuklani 1964 — *Bayramuklani H.* Years and Mountains (= Джылла бла таула). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1964. 543 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Bayramuklani 1990 — *Bayramuklani H.* The Fourteen Years (= Онтёрт джыл). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1990. 272 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Bayramuklani 1996 — *Bayramuklani H.* My Life (= Джашауум). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 1996. 328 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Hubiylani 1985 — *Hubiylani N.* The Song Makes the Star Shine (= Джыр джудузну джандырады). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1985. 160 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Hubiylani 1988 — *Hubiylani O.* Assy (= Ассы). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1988. 400 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Hubiylani 1990 — *Hubiylani O.* Amanat (= Аманат). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1990. 400 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kagiylani 1988 — *Kagiylani N.* The Light of Teiri (= Тейри джарыкъ). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1988. 432 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Karachay Folk Songs 1969 — Gochiyalani S., Ortabaylani R., Suyunchlani H. (eds.) Karachay Folk Songs. Moscow: Nauka, 1969. 276 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kobanlani 1972 — *Kobanlani A.* Sun Rays (= Кюн таякъла). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1972. 262 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kobanlani 1968 — *Kobanlani D.* Two Times (= Эки заман). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1968. 256 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Korkmazli 1974 — *Korkmazli K.* The Sword of Revenge (= Горда бычакъ). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1974. 278 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kobanlani 1975 — *Kobanlani A.* The Test of Years (= Сыналгъан джылла). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1975. 297 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Korkmazli 1979 — *Korkmazli K.* The Defeated Death (= Хорланган аджал). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1979. 183 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kebeklani 1977 — *Kebeklani B.* The Revived Land (= Джангыртхан джер). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1977. 159 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Kebeklani 1982 — *Kebeklani B.* The Winding Roads (= Айланч джолла). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1982. 248 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)

- Kebeklani 1988 — *Kebeklani B.* Red Dawns (= Къызыл тангла). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1988. 248 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Laypanlani 1971 — *Laypanlani S.* Gurgumlu (= Гургумлу). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1971. 185 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Mamchulani 2006 — *Mamchulani D.* In the Land of Alans (= Аланны джериндеме). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 2006. 544 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Semenlani 2014 — *Semenlani I.* Aktakmak (= Акътамакъ). Moscow: Elbrusoid, 2014. 495 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Silpagarlani 1974 — *Silpagarlani K.* Whirlpool (= Кёмеуял). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1974. 145 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Silpagarlani 1993 — *Silpagarlani K.* Comprehension (= Тюшюнюю). Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 1993. 176 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- Suyunchlani 1973 — *Suyunchlani A.* Constellation (= Илкер). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1973. 165 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)
- You Are 2009 — *Hubiylani M.* (comp.) You Are My Unsung Song (= Сен джырланмагъан джырымса). Moscow: Elbrusoid, 2009. 519 p. (In Kar.-Bal.)

References

- Abdullayev et al. 1987 — *Abdullayev E., Kudaybergenov S., Zakharova O. V.* Grammar of the Kyrgyz Literary Language. Pt. 1: Phonetics and Morphology. Frunze: Ilim, 1987. 399 p. (In Russ.)
- Abdullayeva et al. 2014 — *Abdullayeva A. Z., Gadzhiakhmedov N. E., Kadyradzhiev K. S.* et al. Modern Kumyk Language. N. Gadzhiakhmedov (ed.). Makhachkala: Tsadasa Institute of Language, Literature and History (Dagestan Scientific Center RAS), 2014. 548 p. On: Dagestan State University (website). Available at: https://cathedra.dgu.ru/Content/files/Филологический%20факультет/Кафедра%20дагестанских%20языков/elibrary_24321242_85621316.pdf (accessed: 5 April 2025). (In Russ.)
- Abdurakhmonov et al. 1992 — *Abdurakhmonov Kh., Rafiev A., Shodmonkulova D.* Practical Grammar of the Uzbek Language. Tashkent: Ukituvchi. 1992. 256 p. (In Uzb.)
- Absalyamov et al. 1981 — *Absalyamov Z. Z., Akhtyamov M. Kh., Garipov T. M.* et al. Grammar of the Modern Bashkir Literary Language. A. Yuldashev (ed.). Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1981. 495 p. (In Russ.)
- Aliyev 2010 — *Aliyev U. B.* Dialects of the Karachay-Balkar Language. In: Dybo A. V. (ed.) Dialects of Turkic Languages. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura RAN, 2010. Pp. 237–262. (In Russ.)
- Arikoğlu 2011 — *Arikoğlu E.* Hakas Türkçesi Grameri. Ankara: Bengü, 2011. 130 p. (In Turk.)
- Argunşah, Güner 2022 — *Argunşah M., Güner G.* Codex Cumanicus. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2022. 1491 p. (In Turk.)
- Bammatov, Gadzhiakhmedov 2013 — *Bammatov B. G., Gadzhiakhmedov N. E.* Kumyk-Russian Dictionary. Makhachkala: Tsadasa Institute of Language, Literature and History (Dagestan Scientific Center RAS), 2013. 406 p. On: Dagestan State University (website). Available at: <https://cathedra.dgu.ru/Content/files/Филологический%20факультет/Кумыкско-русский%20словарь.pdf> (accessed: 18 March 2025). (In Kum. and Russ.)
- Baskakov, Toshchakova 1947 — *Baskakov, N. A., Toshchakova T. M.* Oirot-Russian Dictionary. Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1947. 312 p. (In Oir. and Russ.)
- Baskakov 1952 — *Baskakov N. A.* Karakalpak Language. Vol. 2: Phonetics and Morphology. Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1952. 544 p. (In Russ.)
- Baskakov et al. 1975 — *Baskakov N. A., Grekul A. I., Chankov D. I.* et al. Grammar of the Khakas Language. Moscow: Nauka, 1975. 418 p. (In Russ.)
- Baskakov et al. 1975 — *Baskakov N. A., Grekul A. I., Chankov D. I.* et al. Grammar of the Khakas Language. Moscow: Nauka, 1975. 418 p. (In Russ.)
- Bekturov 2006 — *Bekturov Sh. K.* Kazakh Language: Vocabulary, Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax. Almaty: Atamura, 2006. 336 p. (In Kaz.)
- Chispiyakov 1992 — *Chispiyakov E. F.* Textbook of the Shor Language. Kemerovo: Kemerovo Book Publ., 1992. 318 p. (In Russ.)

- Deny 2012 — *Deny J.* Türk Dil Bilgisi (Osmanlı Türkçesi). Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2012. 953 p. (In Turk.)
- Dyrenkova 1941 — *Dyrenkova N. P.* Grammar of the Shor Language. Moscow, Leningrad: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1941. 306 p. (In Russ.)
- Dyrenkova 1948 — *Dyrenkova N. P.* Grammar of the Khakas Language: Phonetics and Morphology. Abakan: Khakass Oblast Publishing House, 1948. 124 p. (In Russ.)
- Erdal 2004 — *Erdal M.* A Grammar of Old Turkic. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004. 575 p. (In Eng.)
- Güzel 2019 — *Güzel F.* Türkiye Türkçesi ağızlarında yapım ekleri. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2019. 680 p. (In Turk.)
- Kalmykova, Baskakov 1963 — *Kalmykova S. A., Baskakov N. A.* Nogai-Russian Dictionary. N. Baskakov (ed.). Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1963. 562 p. (In Nog. and Russ.)
- Kalmykova, Strueva 1973 — *Kalmykova S. A., Strueva M. F.* Grammar of the Nogai Language. Pt. 1: Phonetics and Morphology. N. Baskakov (ed.). Cherkessk: Stavropol Book Publ. (Karachay-Cherkessia Branch), 1973. 320 p. (In Russ.)
- Kara 2013 — *Kara M.* Hakas Türkçesinde Fiil. Ankara: Grafiker, 2013. 139 p. (In Turk.)
- Kononov 1980 — *Kononov A. N.* Grammar of the Language of Turkic Runic Monuments, Seventh–Ninth Centuries CE. Leningrad: Nauka, 1980. 254 p. (In Russ.)
- Korkmaz 1959 — *Korkmaz Z.* Türk dilinde +ça eki ve bu ek ile yapılan isim teşkilleri üzerine bir deneme. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*. 1959. Vol. XVII. No. 3–4. Pp. 275–354. (In Turk.)
- Kotwicz 1962 — *Kotwicz W.* A Study in the Altaic Languages. N. Baskakov (ed., foreword), G. Sanzheev (comment.). Moscow: Foreign Literature Press, 1962. 371 p. (In Russ.)
- Kurpeşko-Tannagaşeva, Akalın 1995 — *Kurpeşko-Tannagaşeva N. N., Akalın Ş. H.* Şor Sözlüğü. Adana: Türkoloji Araştırmaları, 1995. 141 p. (In Turk.)
- Kyýasowa et al. 2016 — *Kyýasowa G., Geldimyradow A., Durdyýew H.* Explanatory Dictionary of the Turkmen Language. Vol. 1: A–Ž. Ashgabat: Ylym, 2016. 658 p. (In Turkm.)
- Lessing 1960 — *Lessing F. D.* Mongolian-English Dictionary. M. Haltod, J. G. Hangin, S. Kassatkin, F. D. Lessing (eds.). Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. 1217 p. (In Mong. and Eng.)
- Levitskaya 1976 — *Levitskaya L. S.* Historical Morphology of the Chuvash Language. Moscow: Nauka, 1976. 206 p. (In Russ.)
- Memetov 2013 — *Memetov A.* Crimean Tatar Language: History of Research, Lexicology, Phonetics, Morphology. Simferopol: Krymchepedgiz, 2013. 575 p. (In Russ.)
- Najip 1960 — *Najip E. N.* Modern Uyghur Language. Moscow: Oriental Literature Press, 1960. 133 p. (In Russ.)
- Radloff 1893 — *Radloff W.* Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte. Band 1. Hague: Mouton & Co., 1893. 1914 p. (In Russ., Germ., etc.)
- Ramstedt 1957 — *Ramstedt G. J.* Introduction to Altaic Linguistics: Morphology. Moscow: Foreign Literature Press, 1957. 254 p. (In Russ.)
- Räsänen 1957 — *Räsänen M.* Materialien zur Morphologie der Turkishchen Sprachen. Vol. 21. Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1957. 256 p. (In Germ.)
- Salakhova 2007 — *Salakhova R. R.* Homonymous Suffixes of the Tatar Language. Kazan: Gumanitarya, 2007. 190 p. (In Russ.)
- Shcherbak 1977 — *Shcherbak A. M.* Essays in Comparative Morphology of the Turkic Languages: Noun. Leningrad: Nauka., 1977. 191 p. (In Russ.)
- Urusbiyev 1963 — *Urusbiyev I. Kh.* Verb Conjugation in the Karachay-Balkar Language. Cherkessk: Karachay-Cherkessia Book Publ., 1963. 231 p. (In Russ.)

