

Language and History

Contributions to Comparative Altaistics

By

András Róna-Tas

studia uralo-altaica

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ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS

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P R E F A C E

To my best knowledge, Hungary is the only country in the world where one has to write and defend a diploma-work and three dissertations. This dissertation-centric procedure, which is combined with a hierarchy of titles, has been vividly criticized in recent years and with reason. The system is roughly as follows: On finishing five university years one has to present a diploma-work. The university diploma can be approximately equated with the MA level of Anglo-Saxon universities. Then follows the university doctorate which is awarded by the university. A subsequent dissertation has to be written to acquire the title of Candidate of Sciences. For the last dissertation one gets the title of Doctor of Sciences. The level of the Candidate of Sciences is now considered to be equivalent to the PhD level of the Anglo-Saxon university system.

I wrote my diploma-work in 1955, defended my university doctorate in 1958, my dissertation for the Candidate degree was accepted in 1965, and I defended my last dissertation in 1971. My work for the university doctorate was published in 1955 /Social Terms in the List of Grants of the Tibetan Tun-huang Chronicle: *Acta Orient. Hung.* V, 249-270/, and my dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Sciences appeared in 1966 /*Tibeto-Mongolica. The Hague-Budapest*, 232 p/. The third dissertation had a somewhat clumsy Hungarian title which can be translated as "The Foundations of the Research of the Altaic Linguistic Relationship. The Theory of the Linguistic Relationship and the Relation of Chuvash and Mongolian". It consisted of 1025 densely typewritten pages. It was divided into two parts. In the first part, I dealt with the theory of linguistic relationship. This part has been published in Hungarian /*A nyelvrokonság Budapest* 1978, 488 p/. The second part dealt with the relationship of the Chuvash and Mongolian languages. At this point I was fed up with preparing bulky monographs for printing, and so it remained in manuscript. This manuscript is used by my students and colleagues. Instead of publishing the whole of it, I decided to select some of the topics dealt with and publish them in separate papers, bringing, of course, the relevant material up to date.

I have always tried to focus my interest on the history of the Altaic languages as a source of the history of these peoples. I consider myself rather a historian who predominantly uses language to

reconstruct the past than a linguist who is interested in linguistic changes for its own sake. This approach is reflected in the title of this volume. It contains a selection of those papers which are within the framework of the second part of my dissertation, and have been published in different, in some cases hardly accessible, places, with the exception of those which appeared in an earlier volume: *Studies in Chuvash Etymology I*. *Studia Uralo-Altaica* vol.17. Szeged 1982.

It is my kind duty to acknowledge the permission of the respective publishers to reprint these papers. My sincere thanks are due to Á. Molnár for the editing work.

A. Róna-Tas



HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS, LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY, LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP

BY
A. RÓNA-TAS

I think, if linguists were called upon to state in one word the most important methodological device of the scientific investigation of language, the answer would be in the overwhelming majority of cases: *comparison*. It is not without interest that structural linguistics revolting against historical comparative linguistics has evolved its own comparative method: *typology*. Having now two comparative linguistics the question arises what is common to both of them and what is different in them; if metalanguage is the language of languages, *metatypology* is the typology of all possible linguistic typologies. I shall deal now only with one theoretical and one practical question: what is common and different in historical linguistics (HL) and linguistic typology (LT) and what typology can contribute to the problem of linguistic relationship in one special case.

1.1 Method and aim. HL and LT both compare linguistic structures or sub-structures but the aim of HL is to reconstruct historical identity and contact, while LT establishes types of linguistic structures or sub-structures. Both have the common method of choosing identities and differences for the basis of comparison, but HL looks after material, LT after logical identities.

1.2 Classification. Both HL and LT establish higher classes on the basis of common constituents in lower sub-classes, but HL is interested in historically developed sub-classes while LT establishes the higher classes on a mere formal basis.

1.3 Causes and approach. Similarities in two or more languages can have the following causes: 1.31 Similarities caused by chance, 1.32 Similarities caused by convergent development inherent in the structures of the given languages, 1.33 Similarities caused by the elementary principles of using linguistic signs for information, 1.34 Similarities caused by areal factors, 1.35 Similarities caused by an adstratum (sub- or superstratum) common to the languages compared, 1.36 Similarities caused by mutual or unidirectional influence, 1.37 Similarities caused by common genetic origin.

LT is interested in all causes while HL only in 1.34-1.37. But HL for ascertaining which similarities or identities are the results of historical causes has also to deal with the non-historical causes, otherwise HL cannot exclude them. Thus the approach of HL is restrictive and that of LT is extensive.

1.4 Material and typological identity. Both HL and LT try to establish identity on the basis of similarities. We can investigate – as Roman Jakobson has formulated it – the change of initial identity and the identity of

change. In the first case we have to do with a material identity, in the second, with a typological identity — both historical features.

1.5 Time-place continuum. Since development necessarily takes place in a time-place continuum, the object of both HL and LT is in the time-place continuum but in the case of HL with, and in case of LT not necessarily with, material contact.

1.6 Historical and general laws. The laws established by HL are or aim to be historically determined laws, while the laws stated by typology have the aim of being general or quasi-general. With HL we approach the history, with LT, the thinking of mankind.

1.7 Interdependence of history, thinking and language. History and thinking are two very pregnant manifestations of the *homo sapiens*, both HL and LT investigate them through their linguistic expression. History, thinking and language are interdependent, since none of the three is possible without the other two.

1.8 Same method and object — different aspect. The interdependence of history, thinking and language is based on the fact that they are special forms of motion of the same object. Thus HL and LT with the same method (comparison) investigate the same object (the forms of motion of the expression of the *homo sapiens* through linguistic signs) but from two different aspects: the historical and the logical.

1.9 Language is a form of motion. It is one of the greatest mistakes of modern linguistics to think that language in its synchronic state is static. This statement — as so many others — goes back to F. de Saussure: "Le changement opéré n'appartient à aucun des deux états: or les états seuls sont importants".¹ Neither is his famous analogy with chess-game valid. The situation in a chess-game is a dynamic and not a static one. The value of each piece depends not on its static characteristics but on the possible forms of its motion. If movement is impossible, chess cannot be played. Motion is present in each synchronic linguistic system. The meaningful signs of language follow each other in time, language is realized in repetition, the synchronic system is built up by the interaction of different subsystems (old and new forms, forms of territorial, dialectal and social groups, forms of the common and literary language); the validity of a linguistic structure is based on its possible transformation, that is: the synchronic system of the language is a dynamic and not a static one. The dynamics of language in synchrony is more important than its statics: as Schuchardt has already pointed out, "*Werden*" is more important than "*Sein*". Thus LT has as its ultimate aim to investigate the general rules of the dynamics of the language, irrespective of its diachronic or synchronic aspects. HL investigates the historical realization of the same rules.

2.1 I should like now to give an example of how typology can help in solving a historical problem and try, at the same time, to give an illustration of what has been said earlier.

It is well known that the genetic relationship of the three branches of the Altaic languages is a debated and still unsolved question. In the dis-

¹ F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris 1922, 126.

cussion, from very early on, the typological argument has been used in favor of the genetic relationship. Moreover, the typological similarity was perhaps the first argument. Now let us choose a sub-system, the system of the bilabial stops. The question of the bilabial stops has a special place in the discussion on the Altaic linguistic family — it is enough if I refer to the works of Ramstedt, Poppe, Aalto, Clauson, Ščerbak, Iljič-Svityč and others, so it is convenient to select just this problem for investigation. For the sake of simplicity I single out one language from each branch: Ottoman Turkish from the Turkic group, Kalmuck from the Mongolian group, and Nanai from the Tunguso-Manchurian group.

Phonemic opposition of bilabial stops. In all of the three languages $p : b : m$ are in a threefold opposition. 2.11 Ottoman: *bala* "baby" : *pala* "scimitar, paddle" : *mala* "bricklayer's trowel" ; *kab* "cover" : *kap* "mantle" : *kam* "cam" ; *taban* "sole, heel" : *tapan* "harrow" ; *kamış* "reed" : *kapış* "manner of seizing". 2.12 Kalmuck: *bar*'s "dark" ; *par*'s "sail" ; *bā* "sign, mark" : *pā* "share" ; *mā* (*temēn*) "dromedary", *bal* "honey" : *mal* "livestock". 2.13 Nanai: *biu* "moon" : *pia* "birch" ; *bodoko* "abacus" : *modoko* "blunt" ; *mongo* "combustible" : *pongo* "bush".

2.2 Typological similarities. The opposition of the bilabial stops is 2.21 *three-dimensional* in all the three languages because bilabiality is present in these three phonemes and only in these three phonemes in each of the three languages. 2.22 The oppositions $b : p$, $b : m$ and $m : p$ are *heterogeneous oppositions* because in none of the three languages do we find such one-dimensional oppositions which could be placed between each of the constituents of the phonemic pairs. 2.23 The oppositions of the bilabials are *proportional* in all the three languages because the opposition-types of the bilabials are paralleled in each of the three languages by the dental series ($d : t$, $d : n$, $t : n$). 2.24 The oppositions of the bilabials are *privatives* in all the three languages because the presence and absence of characteristics give the difference between the two constituents of the oppositions: voicedness and/or nasality. 2.25 The threefold opposition $p : b : m$ as a type is opposed to other types of three-fold oppositions, e.g. Khalkha $p^c : B : m$, and it is opposed to two-, four-, five- and manifold oppositions as e.g. Chuvash $p : m$, Tibetan $p : p^c : b : m$, Sanskrit $p : p^c : b : b^c : m$ etc.

2.3 Typological differences. The system of bilabial stops is not the same in respect of their possible positions in the structure of the morpheme: 2.31 $p : b : m$ are in phonemic opposition, in Ottoman Turkish in word-initial, intervocalic and word-end position, except for $p : b$ before and after consonants, where they are neutralized and opposed to m . In Kalmuck b and p are in phonemic opposition only in word-initial position, in all other position they are neutralized and opposed to m . In Nanai $b : p$ is neutralized word-finally and before but not after consonants. Word-finally the opposition of the neutralized $b + p$ and m is restricted to non-substantives and non-verbs. 2.32 The system of the bilabials differs in the three languages according to the etymology of the words in which they occur. In Ottoman $p : b$ opposition in word-initial position is possible only in word-pairs of which one or both are of non-Turkish origin, while the same opposition is possible in other positions between words irrespective of their origin.

In Kalmuck the $p:b$ opposition occurs only in word-pairs where one or both of the words are of non-Mongolian origin and — as it has been said — in initial position. In Nanai p and b occur in words irrespective of their origin. 2.33 The system of the opposition of the bilabial stops is different in the three languages according to the historical antecedents of the phonemes in question. Ottoman Turkish b, p, m in original Turkish words correspond to one phoneme in the proto-system: b . Kalmuck p — as I have pointed out — is of non-Mongolian origin, while b and m have b and m as their antecedents in the proto-system. Nanai p, b and m go back to the same separate phonemes p, b and m in the proto-system. 2.34 The functional frequency of the three phonemes is different in the three languages. The frequency (in per cent) of lexical types in initial position:

	p	b	m
Ottoman	13	32	55
Kalmuck	2.5	70	27.5
Nanai	35	30	35

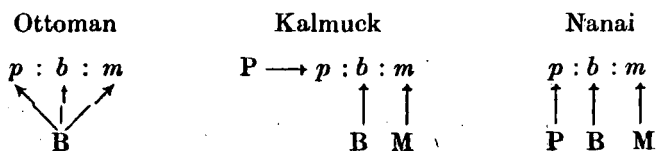
Ottoman has a great functional load on the phoneme m , Kalmuck an even greater on b , while the system of Nanai is well balanced. Ottoman would give a quite different picture if we investigated the same feature in words of only Turkish origin. In this case b has a higher and m a lower frequency percentage. In the case of pure Mongolian words, Kalmuck would have zero percentage for p , but this would not influence the distribution of b and m . In Nanai the exclusion of non-Nanai words would give no difference. It would be very interesting to investigate the frequency of the given phonemes in non-initial position, further to calculate the token-frequency in several types of texts. To this we have not enough preliminary work at our disposal, but the results would not be essentially different.

2.4 *Historical comparison.* For two of the three languages we can give an earlier segment. For Turkish I chose the lexical stock of the work of Kāşyārī (1072 A.D.), for Kalmuck the lexical stock of the Secret History of the Mongols (13th century). For Nanai we would have to give the figures of Juchen but the material is not yet processed.

	p	b	m
Kāşyārī	0.5	87.5	12
Secret Hist.	—	78	22

As can be seen, Kāşyārī corroborates our analysis of Ottoman, b has 2.5 times greater frequency than m . The Secret History has practically the same distribution as present-day Kalmuck. If we investigate the lexical stock with bilabial initials of Kāşyārī, we find that m is present in initial position only in three cases: (a) in words which have nasal consonant in the second syllable, (b) in words which have as variant forms with initial b - and (c) in words of non-Turkish origin. These show the obviously secondary origin of the phoneme m in initial position and allow us to state that m was not an independent phoneme in initial position in the earlier phase of development.

2.5 Three types of development. We can state three types of development:



The diachronic dissimilarity is reflected by the positional and functional analysis of the synchronic system.

2.6 Conclusions. We have found significant typological similarities in the structure of the phonemic oppositions of the bilabial stops in the three investigated languages. (2.2) But behind the similarities — which are all of static character — we found important differences both in the static and the dynamic typology of the structure of the bilabial stops. These typological differences show a divergency. The present similar situation goes back to a historically antecedent dissimilar situation. The course of development in the three languages was also entirely different from the typological point of view. Kalmuck *p* is a loan-phoneme from Russian, Ottoman *p* is a secondary phoneme, the development of which was probably caused primarily by internal processes of the development of the Ottoman phonemic-system and only secondarily evoked by the massive influence of Arabic and Persian. Both Ottoman and Kalmuck *p* in initial position had not yet become organic parts of the respective phonemic systems but in different measure, while Nanai *p* is an 'organic' phoneme, as has been proved by the positional and functional analysis. Kalmuck *p* is restricted to one single, Ottoman *p* to more positions, while Nanai *p* is not restricted at all. Our analysis has shown that the system of bilabials in the three languages is not the result of a common genetic origin. I wish to emphasize that the above typological analysis does not constitute a sufficient argument for rejecting the genetic relationship of the three languages and of their groups. It is only one vote against it, but a vote to be counted.

My concrete example can be perhaps also taken as an illustration of my theoretical statements. Dynamic typology and historical linguistics are two aspects of one and the same science having the same object and the same method.

SOME PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT TURKIC

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

Budapest

For anyone working in the field of Altaic linguistic history, it is essential to form some definitive views about the point of departure. Leaving aside the vexed question of the Altaic proto-language for each of the three Altaic language groups, a hypothetical Common Language is used for reconstruction: Common Turkic, Common Mongolian and Common Manchu-Tungusian. On the other hand, the period of the oldest monuments of these language-groups is usually labelled as Old Turkish, Old Mongolian and Old Manchu-Tungusian.¹ Old Turkish can be divided into three sub-periods: Early Old Turkish from the time of the formation of the Turkish Khaganate up till the first known linguistic monuments in Runic script, Middle Old Turkish from these times till the arrival of the Arabs in the Turkish world, and Late Old Turkish till the time of the Mongols of Chingis khan.²

¹ From the fact that the "Old" period is a period of the first documents of the language, it is clear that Old Turkish, Old Mongolian and Old Manchu-Tungusian are not necessarily overlapping periods. All end in the 13th century with the events of the rising Mongolian Empire, but the beginning of Old Mongolian, including Tu-yü-hun and Kitai, and the beginning of Old Manchu-Tungusian, including Juchen, is an open question.

² There is also an other usage which marks the end of Old Turkish or *Altürkisch* with the appearance of the Arabs, and calls Middle Turkish or *Mitteltürkisch* the later period. A. von Gabain (*Altürkische Grammatik*, pp. 1-3) uses the term *Altürkisch* in the sense of the language "der noch nicht vom Islam berührten Türken Mittelasiens," which means that the late Uigur documents of Turfan (13th century) are *Altürkisch* while Käsya's *Divân* (1074) is *Mitteltürkisch*, as it is also called by Brockelmann. Poppe uses Ancient Turkic for our Old Turkish, but for the period 8th-10th centuries, Middle Turkic begins with the 10th century and lasts till the 15th (see *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 59-67). According

But what was there before Old Turkish, that is earlier than the 6th century? Was this period—which we could call Ancient Turkic³—a linguistically homogeneous one? Are we confronted with a Common or Proto-Language from which all the phenomena of the later periods can be definitively and unambiguously interpreted? It is clear that the Turkic languages prior to the 6th century were far from being homogenous. Theoretically, we can divide this Ancient Turkic language into two periods. The one nearer to Old Turkish was a period when the peoples and languages, later forming the Turkish Empire, were already independent but still in close contact with each other, or some of each other.⁴ This was bound to result in early linguistic contacts among the Turkish languages and language-groups.

In the earlier period of Ancient Turkic, the later languages were only dialects and these dialects existed in a more or less continuous but vast territory. This period must have lasted for a very long time, and if there ever was a homogeneous Proto or Common Turkic language, it could only have existed prior to this.

to Sinor (*Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*, Wiesbaden 1963, p. 86) "turc-ancien" or "vieux-turc" covers the period from the 8th till the 14th century. Baskakov (*Vvedenie v izučenie tjurkskikh jazykov*, Moscow 1962, p. 123) uses the term *drevnetjurkskij* for the epoch lasting from the 5th till the 10th century with subperiods such as Tu-chüeh (5th–8th centuries), Old Uigur (8th–9th centuries) and Old Kirgiz (9th–10th centuries). Malov (*Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*, Moscow-Leningrad 1951, p. 3) uses the same term *drevnetjurkskij* for the periods from 5th till the 15th centuries. Similar inconsistencies could be quoted from many other works, but I do not consider the question of periodisation very important. It is merely a methodological help to arrange events, and each periodization can have good arguments in its favour.

³ I use the Ancient and Old Turkish terms for the so called *x*-languages, and Turkic for the combined *x*- and *r*-languages. Poppe's Turkish is Modern Ottoman Turkish. We also have to speak about Old Bulgarian from the 6th till the 13th centuries (including the Danube and the Volga Bulgarians); thus Old Turkic means Old Turkish and Old Bulgarian. Ancient Turkic was called by Baskakov (*op. cit.*, p. 118) and Poppe (*op. cit.*, p. 57), the period of the language of the Huns. According to Baskakov, it lasted from 3rd century B.C. till the 4th century A.D. Since we know practically nothing about the language of the Huns, which was surely a more ethnical and political than a linguistic designation, I consider it more convenient to use the term Ancient Turkic.

⁴ Late Ancient Turkic is practically the same epoch as Baskakov's "Hun period."

I have sketched all this merely to make it clear that it is surely an oversimplification to assume a homogeneous Common Turkic—not to speak of Altaic—without taking into account Ancient Turkic and trying to interpret on its basis phenomena in Old Turkish, Middle Turkish and New Turkish. It could be counter-argued that we know nothing about Ancient Turkic. This is not a valid argument, since Common Turkic is also a reconstructed form, and if any period can be reconstructed from Turkish linguistic monuments and the present languages and dialects, then it is surely that form which is the nearest to Old Turkish and not that which is the farthest from it.⁴

It seems to me, that quite a few problems of Turkish linguistic history can be solved more easily from a heterogeneous Ancient Turkic than from a homogeneous Common Turkic. To make this clear: if in a language *B* we find a phenomenon *b* and in a language *C* we meet a feature *c*, it is not certain that this can be interpreted if we only suppose a proto-language *A* with the feature *a* from which features *b* and *c* can be deduced genetically. This is the old problem of the "Wellentheorie" versus the "Stammbaumtheorie."⁵ The two theories do not necessarily exclude each other; they can be combined, and general linguistic experience teaches us that they must be combined. I would like, now, to put aside the question of a hypothetical, homogeneous Common

⁴ It could be argued that there is no need to distinguish between Ancient and Common Turkic. I consider the difference between the homogeneous and heterogeneous (dialectal) stages essential.

⁵ The "Stammbaumtheorie" was put forward on the influence of Darwin by Schleicher (*Die Darwinische Theorie und die Sprachwissenschaft*, Weimar 1863). The filiation of the languages was symbolized by the genetical tree similar to that of the living world. This theory was widely accepted, mainly by the influence of Max Müller. The "Wellentheorie" was outlined by Johannes Schmidt in his book *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Weimar 1872, and independently, similar ideas were pointed out in an early but then unpublished work of Schuchardt. Schmidt stressed that many features of the Indoeuropean languages can not be interpreted by the family-tree. The IE protolanguage had dialects, and some linguistic innovations spread over this dialectal territory as waves in the water. Although Schleicher never denied that there could have been contacts among the languages already separated, and Schmidt never denied that there was a homogeneous pre-Indoeuropean language, later studies tried to make two separate theories of them.

Turkic, leave sophistication about its reality⁷ to later research and concentrate on Early Ancient Turkic.

Having a more or less continuous linguistic area inhabited by speakers of various Ancient Turkic dialects, theoretically, we have to suppose that, in this period, things happened practically in the same way as they do in all similar cases. There were differences among dialects, but the isoglosses of the dialectal phenomena did not coincide in each case with the borders of the dialects. Moreover, there were features spreading over the territory—phonological, morphological and syntactical—but their isoglosses and the isoglosses of their realisations in concrete words, formatives etc., were not necessarily the same in each case. These are well-known facts to everyone acquainted with the theory of linguistic geography. Linguistic changes began as slowly consolidating tendencies with the old and new features coexisting in one synchronic unity. Some changes created doublets which then became stabilized and continued side by side in later periods as frozen survivals of an old variation. To illustrate what I mean I will now refer to the history of some non-Altaic languages.

In 16th century French there was a tendency in *statu nascendi* for a change: $r > z$. The French equivalent of Latin *cathedra*: *chaire* became, in the Paris dialect, *chaise* as *père > pèse, mère >*

⁷ There is a general controversy about the reality of the protolanguages. The formulation of Bloomfield is ambiguous: "A reconstructed form, then, is a formula that tells us which identities or systematic correspondences of phonemes appear in a set of related languages, moreover, since these identities and correspondences reflect features that were already present in the parent language, the reconstructed form is also a kind of phonemic diagram of the ancestral form" (*Language*, pp. 302–303). Pulgram (*The nature and use of proto-languages: Lingua X* (1961) pp. 18–37) thinks that the protolanguage is only a methodological device, a formula, but not a real language. Reformatskij (*Voedenie v jazykoznanie*, Moscow 1960, pp. 325–326) polemizing with Meillet, stresses that the proto-language was a historical reality. It can not be questioned that, in some cases, the starting point of a set of related languages was a homogeneous linguistic unit, in the measure that homogeneity exists at all. It is another question whether in all cases of related languages we have to depart from a homogeneous proto-language. Trubetzkoy writes: "Der Begriff 'Sprachfamilie' setzt gar nicht die gemeinsame Abstammung einer Anzahl von Sprachen von einer einzigen Ursprache voraus" (*Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem*, *Acta Linguistica*, Copenhagen 1936, p. 81). I try to discuss these problems in a forthcoming work: *Linguistic Theory and Linguistic Relationship*".



mèse, *bericles* > *besicle* etc. But this tendency later lost ground and ceased. Only the doublet *chaire* and *chaise* preserved this dialectal tendency.⁸ In the 4th century B.C. Latin there was a tendency for a change of the intervocalic [-z] to [-r-], as in *pecus* ~ *pecoris*, (< *pecosis*)⁹ *honus* ~ *honoris* (< *honosis* > (*honor*) or *āsa* > *āra* etc. But in the word *positus*, the [-z-] was preserved because of the clear etymological contact with *situs*. Thus, we had later a preserved [-z-] in front of a [-z-] > [-r-] in the same linguistic unity. Corresponding to German *Haselnuss*, we have English *hazel-nut* where intervocalic -z- is preserved while German *Hase* figures in English as *hare*¹⁰ with a sporadic [z] > [r] development, and thus we have historical doublets [-z-] > [-z-] and [-z-] > [-r-].

Doublets preserving older synchronic alternations are evidenced from all languages. In most of the cases, the semantics of the two words diverged. Such well-known examples are: German *Reiter* and *Ritter*, *Bett* and *Beet*, *Rabe* and *Rappe*, French *plier* and *ployer*, Finnish *kaivo* "well, fountain," *kaivu* "pit, cavity"—and so on. It is especially interesting that in Hungarian we have such doublets as *hajlik* "to bend" and *kajla* "bent, awry." The Finno-

⁸ Cf. F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris 1931, p. 214, K. Voretzsch-G. Rohlf, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Sprache*, Halle, 1951, p. 243, G. Gougenheim, *Grammaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, Lyon-Paris 1951, p. 30, Grétsy L., *A szóhasadás* (The word-split), Budapest 1962, pp. 16-17. This latter work is an excellent monograph on the theory and Hungarian realization of the linguistic doublets. I quote here and below examples with *z* > *r* and *r* > *z* developments in the hope that it will be clear from them, that the problem of rotacism and lambdacism can not be solved on pure phonetical considerations. It is a basic rule of historical phonology, that if and where, a phonetical development is possible, the reverse development is also possible. (See also B. A. Serebrennikov, *O nekotorykh spornykh voprosakh sravnitel'noistoriceskoj fonetiki* [Jurkskich Jazykov: *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 1960, pp. 62-72].

⁹ As it is well known, Ramstedt proposed to connect the Mongolian *hūker* < **pūker* with Latin *pecoris*. Since the *r*-form is not older in Latin than the middle of the 4th century B.C., this etymology can surely be dismissed. The Italian languages other than Latin, preserved the IE -s-, as Oskian and Umbrian. See F. Stolz-J. H. Schmalz, *Latelnische Grammatik, Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft II*, München 1890, p. 299, M. Niedermann, *Phonétique historique du latin*, Paris, 1959, pp. 129-130, L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language*, London, (1954) p. 230.

¹⁰ See Bonfante, *On reconstruction and linguistic method: Word I* (1945), p. 130,

Ugrian velar *q*- became, in almost all cases, *h*- in Hungarian, but sporadically *q*- is preserved, as in the case above.¹¹

Let us now suppose that in a period of Early Ancient Turkic, in one area of its linguistic territory, the opposition of old *r*:*z* and *l*:*ʃ* was weakened. What happened? In the epicentre of the phenomenon, the tendency of the fusion of the two phonemes was strong, while in farther places there was only, in a lessening degree, an alternation. In some places and in some words the fusion occurred while in others it did not. If this is true, we have to find the lexical isoglosses pertaining to this feature in the epicentre practically parallel, while in other places they are more or less intersecting. Furthermore, we have to find doublets which conserved this old situation. The study of the words with so-called rotacism and lambdacism fully proves that, in reality, this is what actually happened.

Before presenting my material to show that the distribution of the forms with *z* and *r* and *ʃ* and *l* respectively looks entirely like a dialectal distribution, I must call attention to the fact that it is not in each case that we have to do with the remnants of this Ancient Turkic dialectal variation. In some instances of doublets we have to do with Chuvash or Mongolian loanwords.

In the case of Turkish *küzük* "heddle," the Tatar equivalent of the word (*köre*) must be a Chuvash loanword because of phonological and linguistic-geographical reasons.¹² It is certain that the name of the fish "pike perch, *Lucioperca Sandra*," in Bashkir (*hila*), Tatar and Karakalpak (*sila*) are also of Chuvash origin.¹³ The Jakut word *suru*, "to write," is of Mongolian origin

¹¹ For details and bibliography see Grétsy L., *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19, 178.

¹² *Küzük* (Käşyar), *küsük* (Abū Hayyān), *küzük* (Kırg), *küzük* (New Ulg), *küzük yip* (TurkīT), *guzlg gylış* (Yellow Ulg). The Chuvash form is *kērē*, *kore* and the *r*-form is also present in Bashkir as *körös*. The Altai *kürük* "petlja," Baraba *kürük* "Hacken" and Jakut *kürük*, *külük* "krjuk" or at least the two second are surely Russian loanwords. The absence of the final *-k*, the illabiality of the second vowel and the fact that the word occurs in this form only in languages being in contact with Chuvash are arguments in favour of the loanword character of Tatar *köre*.

¹³ I have dealt with this word during the 27th Congress of Orientalists. The Chuvash form of the word is *šila* < *šila* < *šildäy* < *šiläk* < *šišak* < *tišäk*. Fortunately we have documentation for all stages. *Sila* is present in Bashkir Tatar and Karakalpak, *sildäy* in Hungarian (*šileu* > *šüllő*), all with the meaning "fish with teeth"

(cf. Mongolian *Juru-* < *Jiru-* ~ Turkish *yaz-*) or Jakut *boruo-šku*, "calf," also points clearly to Mongolian *borō* (< *bṛayu* ~ Turkish *bīzayū*). Such examples are numerous, we find them not only in

i.e. "Lucio-perca Sandra," which is calqued by Hungarian *fogas* "fish with teeth," by German *Zahnfish* and Zander "Id.," while the Hungarian word was borrowed by Rumanian (*șalau, șuleu*), by Slovakian (*šil, šilec*), and by Old Bavarian (*Schiele*). The form *šiläk* found its way into Mongolian where it figures as *šile'ü* in the Secret History; later it is present in Elterary Mongolian as *šilüge* and in Buryat as *šülge* with the meaning "two years old lamb," i.e. "the animal with full teeth; which dropped the milk-teeth." The same meaning has the Turkish word *šisäk*, which is present in Husrav and Sīrīn, in Ibn Muḥanna, in the Anonymous of Leiden, Abū Hayyān, Buryat al-Muštāq and the at-Tuḥfat. The modern Turkish languages know the word in the same or similar meanings (Tatar, Bashkir, Osmanli, Üzbek, Turki, Baraba, Šor.) The term is calqued by Mongolian *sidüleng* "two year old lamb" i.e. "the animal with full teeth (*sidün*)." The form with the original *t-* is present in the *Divdn* of Kāšyarl as *tššäk* "two year old lamb," and in Jakut *tššäqä*, *tššäyä* also *tššäse*, *tššäsä* "trechtravnoe životnoe, telenok ili žerebenok po tretemu godu (dvuchletnyj, dvuletok, strigun), tol'ko oseni éтого goda u nich vypadajut moločnye zubü počemu nazyvajut'sja takže *tššir tššäy(ü)ä*" (Pekarskiĭ). The word is a deverbal noun from *tššä*- cf. *tššä*- "nach den Milchzähnen die zweiten Zähne bekommen" (Kazak Radloff Wb III 1395). On the suffix see: E. V. Sevortjan, *Affksy imennogo slovoobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke*, Moscow 1966, pp. 200-217. The word *šisäk* was connected with *šis-* (< **šis-*) "to swell" by Radloff (Wb., IV 1084), by Šcerbak (*Nazvanija domašnych i dikich životnyh v tjurkskich jazykach: Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov*, Moscow 1961, p. 115) and Doerfer (*Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen III*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 328 where the Persian and Armenian forms are also quoted). The counting an animal's age by its teeth is a well known practice among the Turks and Mongols (see K. Uray-Köhalml, *Zwei Systeme der Altersbezeichnungen des Viehes bei den Mongolen: Studia Mongolica I*: 31, Ulan Bator 1959, pp. 3-9.). The Mongolian form was re-borrowed by Hakass (*šileke*) and Tuva (*šilege*), while the Mongolian *sidüleng* was borrowed by Jakut (*šiidüleg*). The history of this word shows that the Mongolian word had to be a loanword from Old Bulgarian, since if we suppose a hypothetical "Altaic" **šil-ek* we would then expect Mongolian **šilüge* or **šilegü*. The word is present in Old Bulgarian with *š-* (cf. Hungarian. In the Chuvash language, "tooth" is *šäl* < **šil* and *šäla* was borrowed by Cheremiss: *šäla* "Pike perch"). The Mongolian form *šile'ü* < *šilegü* clearly shows the Bulgarian origin of the word. The history of this word not only shows a clear and unambiguous example of a Bulgarian loanword in Mongolian, but also gives a hint to a relative chronology. This word could be lent only in a time when animal-breeding was already highly developed. This says no more, but no less than that there was an Ancient Bulgarian and Ancient Mongolian contact. I have no place here to quote the well-known controversy around the "Altaic affinity," nor outline in full my opinion, which I try to do in my forthcoming work on the Altaic hypothesis.

the Siberian, but also in other Turkish languages. It is clear that such examples have to be separated.

In the case of Turkish *baş*, "head," and *köz*, "eye," we expect forms in Chuvash with *l* and *r* respectively. However this is not the case, because we find *puś* and *kuś*. These Chuvash words cannot be loanwords and there is no reason for supposing a complicated starred form as e.g. *baltš*.¹⁴ It simply happened that these two words, having a great functional frequency, did not undergo the fusion $z > r$ and $š > l$, and thus preserved an earlier stage as Latin *positus* or Hungarian *kajla*. The fusion of *z* and *r* and $š$ and *l* respectively was not an "ausnahmsloses Lautgesetz," it was only a tendency which was very strong in the territory of the later Bulgarian languages.

While in the cases above we have *z* and $š$ -forms preserved in Chuvash, in other cases we find *r* and *l* forms in Turkish.

The Turkish word *öğüz* "mucus"¹⁵ has an *r*-form in Kirgiz (*ögör*), in Altai (*ögör*) and in Jakut (*ögür*). It cannot be excluded that these are Mongolian loanwords (cf. Mong. *önggör* "id."), but it is surprising that we also find the *z*-form in Jakut (*ögüs* < **ögüz*) with the same meaning and this can hardly be reconciled with supposing the borrowing of the *r*-form. The Turkish word *izdä* "to seek, search" occurs in most of the Turkish languages with *-z*.¹⁶ Therefore, the Jakut form *irdä*, *irdiä* could, perhaps, be a Mongolian loanword, though we have not yet been able to find it. But, we do find the *-r* form in the work of Kāšyari, and this points to the fact that here we have to do with an old isogloss. The Mishār *kōfōr*, *kiber*¹⁷ "proud," the Kirgiz *kibir* "medlitel'nyj (čelovek), kopuša, mjamlja" seems to be a Chuvash loanword (cf. Chuvash *kapār* "narjad" > Cheremiss: *kovra*, *kovora* "Stutzer," *kaßr* "Stolz"). But if we take into account that we find

¹⁴ See Ramstedt, *Einführung in die Altäische Sprachwissenschaft I. Lautlehre*, MSFOu 104:1, 1957, p. 109.

¹⁵ Cf. Bashkir *ügeđ* "plesen', gribok", Jakut *ügüs*, *ögüs* "vjazkaja sliz', vjazkaja nečistota, pristajuščaja k stenkam moločnoj posudy" (Pekarskij).

¹⁶ The word is a denominal verb of *iz* "trace." The verb can be met with, among other sources, in the Amonymous of Leiden (*äzdä* read *izdä*), in the Qawānīn (*izdä*), in some Armeno-Kipchak documents (*izda*, *izla*, Grunin, Deny).

¹⁷ Cf. *küvez* (Kāšyari), *küvezlū* (Codex Cumanicus), *köyär* (Tatar), *küwäs* (Misher), *küyez* (Nogai), *glüvez* (Osmanli dialect).

an *r*-form in the Qutaḍyū Bilig with Uighur script (Vienna Ms 24:15 *kiber*)¹⁸ corresponding to the form *küvez* of the Namagan MS in Arabic (41:1) then we have to consider the early occurrence of the *r*-form in Turkish. The *l*-forms of the Turkish word *tüş* "dream" in New Uigur (? *džöli*- "to speak while dreaming"), in Yellow Uigur (*tel*) and in Jakut (*töl*) do not seem to be Chuvash or Mongolian loanwords, since in Chuvash we have *tělĕk* (< **töläk*), and in Mongolian *tölge* (< **töleg*), the latter in the sense of "fortune-telling."¹⁹ On the other hand, Tuva *tölge* "fortune-telling" and Kirgiz *tölgö* "id." are Mongolian loanwords. The *l* of Jakut and Yellow Uigur must be very old because we find it in some of the old Uigur records of Turkestan.²⁰

The earliest occurrence of the word *büz*- "to fold, to press together" is found in the work of Abu Hayyān in 1313. The *z*-form can be found only in the Oguz languages, in Turkmen, Azeri and Osmanli.²¹ The *r*-form can be observed in Kāšyari's work, in Tatar, Bashkir, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Osmanli, New Uigur, Turki, Altai, Jakut and derivatives e.g. the word for "headshawl" is found in almost all Turkish languages.²²

¹⁸ But also *kebes* (134:7), *kübes* (86:20). Most of the Turkish *-r*-forms are of Arabic origin (← *kiber*). But Mongolian *köger* has preserved a Turcic *-r*-form.

¹⁹ See Manchu *tolgi*- "träumen", Evenki, Negidal, Nani *tolkin* "sno, snovidenie", Olča *tolĕin* "id.", Manchu *tolgin* "id.", the verbal form is in Evenki *tolkit*- Solon *tolkiti*-, Negidal *tolkiĕi*-, Even *tolkat*-, Oroč *tokiĕi*, Orok *tolĕiĕi*-, Olča *tolĕiĕi*-, Nanaĵ, Manchu *tolkeĕe*-. The Manchu-Tungusian forms go back to a form **tökti*-, which has to be a relatively old Mongolian loanword.

²⁰ Cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica I* 10:5, p. 59, *Uigurica II*, 24:27, 58:1, *Suvarnaprabhasa* 593:23, 594:5, Radloff-Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* 96:79. The verb *tüşä*- occurs in *Uigurica II* 24:27 and Kāšyari where *tüş tüşä*- is recorded. The *š*-form is known in almost all Middle Turkish sources and present languages.

²¹ Türkmén: *büz*- "sokratit", *sušivat*, *sušit* ", Azeri *büz*- "stjagivat", *sžimat* 'mörĕit', Osmanli *büz*- "to contract, constrict, make narrow."

²² *Bür*- "zusammendrücken" (Kāšyari), *büris*- "Falte, Runzel" (Kāšyari), *bürünĕük* "Frauenschelecher" (Kāšyari), *bürünĕüklüg* "woman with veil" (Husrav and Širín), *bürünĕäk*, *bürünĕäk* "shawl for the head" (Chagatal), *bürkü* "slack weather, heat" (Abū Hayyān, Buĥat al-Muštāq), *bürkü* "women's over-dress" (at-Tuhfat), *bür*- "'delat' sborki, skladi" (Tatar, Bashkir), *bür*- "zašivat' na skoruju ruku, ĕnit' ", *bürkō*- "pokryvat' " (Kirgiz), *bür*- "yĕgirmak, hüzmek(1)" (Türkmen), *bürü*- "to cover up, to envelop, to wrap" (Osmanli), *pür*- "delat' skladi" (New Uigur), *bürü*- "to wrinkle" (Turki), *bürme* "skladka, sborka (na plat'e)" (Altai), *pürke*- "nakryvat', pokryt', zabernut' vo ĕtonibud' " (Altai Verbičik) *pür*- "sivivat",

The verb *köši-*, "to make shadow, to cover," occurs in the *Dīvān* of Kāšyari together with the derivatives such as *köšigä* "shadow," *köšik* "shadow, cover." The derivative *köšige* "curtain, cover" is present in Tatar, Kirgiz, Osmanli, Turki, Hakass, Tuva; perhaps, some of them are re-borrowings from Mongolian.²³ The *l*-form in the basic verb is present in Hakass (*köle-*) and Altai (*kölö-*); its derivative *kölik*, *kölügä* "shadow" can be met with as early as Kāšyari, in Middle Turkish documents as the *tefsir* published by Borovkov, in Husrav and Širin, among the Turkmen words of the Leiden Anonym, in Chagatai, at Abu Hayyān in the *Bulyat al-Muštāq*, in the *at-Tuhfat*, in the *Qawānīn*, and in almost all of the present languages.²⁴

In the cases enumerated, which could easily be multiplied, we find no semantic differences or, at any rate, not significant ones, between the doublets. But as I referred to in the cases of *chaire* and *chaise*, or *Rabe* and *Rappe*, etc., it is very common that there is not only a split in the form, but also a split in the semantic field.

skladyvat' (Altai Teleut Verbickij), *pür-* "zavertyvat", *svorašivat'* čto-l. *zat-jagivat'*, *delat' sborki* (Hakass), *bürge-* "overtyvat", *zakoračivat'*, *zavolaktivat'* (Tuva), *bür-* "obkladyvat", *obšivat'*, *opušat'*, *okačmijat'* (kraja sumy), *podrublivat'*, see also Mongolian *büri-* "to cover, envelop, upholster," Evenki *bürki* "svjazyvati tal'niki v vjazanki".

²³ *Köšige* "rideau de lit" (Ulgur vocabulary of the Ming period), *köšegen* (Codex Cumanicus) "Bettgardine", *köšändä* "cupola" (at-Tuhafat), *kölügä* "börentšek, dällän" (Tatar dialectal), *kölögö* "zanaves" (Kirgiz), *köşelik* "a thing or piece for a corner, chimney-cloth" (cf. *köşe* "corner" Osmanli), *köšilik* "setka dlja perevozki sena i solomy" (TurkiKuča), *kölögö* "zanaves" (Altai), *közege* "id." (Hakass), *közege* "id." (Hakass dialectal), *kölögö* "der Vorhang vor dem Bette" (Hakass Kyzyl Radloff Wörb. III301), *közege* "zanaves, štara" (Tuva).

²⁴ *Kölik* "Schatten", *kölügä* "Tiefer Schatten" (Kāšyari), *kölükä*, *kölkä* "ten" (Tefsir), *kölükä*, *kölige* "shadow" (Husrav and Širin), *kölügä* "id." (Turkmen in the Leiden Anonymous), *kölügä* (Chagatai), *kölük* "id.", *kölügä* "id.", *kölügä* "id." (Abū Hayyān), *kölügä* "id." (Bulyat al-Muštāq), *kölügä* (at-Tuhfat), *kölügä* (Qawānīn), *kölügä* (Tatar, Bashkir), *kölökö* (Kirgiz), *kölögökö* (Kazak Radloff II 1271), *kölge*, *kölege* (Turkmen), *kölge* (Azeri), *kerä* (Afšhar), *gölge* (Osmanli), *kölängä*, *kölänkä* (New Ulgur), *kölängä* (Turki Turfan), *kölägeš* (Turki Aksu), *kölängki* (Taranči), *kül'eke*, *kül'eke* (Yellow Ulgur), *kölötki* (Altai), *kölögö* (Altai Teleut Radloff II 1271), *kölögö* "der Hinterhalt, Laueort, Anstand, Wall, die Schanze" (Baraba Radloff II 1272), *kölötki* (Hakass Sagai, Kolbal, Šor Radloff II 1270), *kölök* (Šor, Hakass Sagai Radloff II 1270), *kölö-* "verfinstern, beschatten, schärzen vom Rauche, Russa" (Altai Radloff II 1270), *köle-* "zaslonjat' kogo-čto-l., davat' ten" (Hakass), *zölege* "ten" (Tuva), *külük* "id." (Jakut).

The Turks had, and most of them still do, have two words for "to write." *Biti-* was the word for writing with the brush, and *yaz-* for "cut, score, notch the Runic script." *Yaz-* can be found in the Uigur monuments of Turfan, in *Kāšyari*, in almost all of the Middle Turkish documents and in New Turkish, in the Kipchak, Oguz and Turkestan languages, but not in the Siberian languages and Jakut.²⁵ The *-r*-form (*yar-*) developed in the sense "to split, carve," and occurs in the Runic Irk bitig, in numerous old monuments, and from the recent languages²⁶ in the Kipchak, Oguz, Turkestan and Siberian languages. It is important that these two words did not converge in Chuvash where we find *ſſr-* "write" and *ſſur-* "split."²⁷

The word *tāš-* "to pierce, to make a hole" occurs in *Kāšyari*'s work only in the passive voice (*tāšil-* "durchbort werden"), the stem can be met with in *Husrav* and *Širin*, *Chagatal*, in the work of the Anonymous of Leiden, in the *at-Tuhfat*, in the *Qawānīn*, in the recent languages in the Kipchak, Oguz, Turkestan and Siberian languages and in Jakut.²⁸ The *l*-form of the word shows

²⁵ On the distribution of the words with the meaning "to write" see A. Bodrogligeti, *Early Turkish terms connected with book and writing: Acta Orient. Hung. XVIII* (1965), pp. 93-117 and A. Róna-Tas, *Some notes on the terminology of Mongolian writing: Acta Orient. Hung. XVIII* (1965), pp. 119-147.

²⁶ *Yar-* (Irk bitig, Qutadyu Billig Vienna Ms, *Kāšyari*), *yaril-* "sich spalten" (*Turfantexte VI* 46:375), *yar-* "raskalyvat", *rassekat'* (Tefsir), *yar-* "fendre" (Chagatal), *yarma* "Holzschelt, 'en gespalden holcz'" (Codex Cumanicus) *yaril-* "gespalten werden" (*ibid*), *yar-* "kolot", *raskalyvat*, *rassekat'*, *rasščepļat'* (Tatar, Bashkir), *džar-* "id." (Kirgiz), *yar-* "id." (Türkmen, Azeri, Osmanli), *yar-* (Turki), *d'ar-* "id." (Altai), *tšar-* "id." (Hakass, Tuva).

²⁷ "Rvat", *razryvat'*, *kolot'*, *plilit'*, *porot'*, *razrezat'*, *borozdit'* (cf. Sirotkin, *Čuvaško-russkij slovar'*, p. 369).

²⁸ Cf. *tāšā* "toporik (s lezviem, nasažennym poperek toporica)" (Tefsir), *teš-* "to pierce", *tāš-* "to make a hole", *tāš* "hole" (Chagatal), *dāš-* "to bore" (Leiden), *tešmek* "hole", *tešik* "id." (Codex Cumanicus), *tāš-* "to bore, pierce" (*at-Tuhfat*), *tāš-* "id." (*Qawānīn*), *tešik* "hole" (Armeno-Kipchak, Grunin), *tāš-* "dyrjat". Tatar, Bashkir, *teš-* "prodyrjavit", *protlykat'*, *tešik* "dyra" (Kirgiz), *deš-* "dyrjavit", *sverlit'* (Azeri), *deš-* "prodyrjavit" (Turkmen), *deš-* "to incise, to lay open" (Osmanli), *tešik* "prodyrjavlianija", *tāšük*, "otverstie, dyra", *tāš-*, *tāš-* "dyrjavit", *delat' dyru* (New Uigur), *teš-*, *teš-*, *tāš-*, *tāš-* "to pierce, to perforate, to penetrate, to make hole" (Turki), *tāšük*, *tāšük*, *tāšük* "hole" (Turki), *teš-* "prodyrjavit", *protknut'* (Altai), *tes-* "durchschossen, durchboren" (Hakass Sagal, Kolbal Radloff IV 1097), *tāš-* "prodyrjavliat" (Hakass), *deš-* "prodelyvat' otverstie,

a duality already in the early dialects. In the Turfan documents and in Kāšyari's work, it occurs with the meaning "to pierce, to make a hole," while in the inscriptions of Kül Tegin and Bilge Khagan, it has the meaning: "to split, to open." This duality can also be met with later. In the *Tefsir*, both meanings are present, but in most of the present languages only the meaning "to split" occur, and it also has the meaning "to make long stripes." This shows clearly the influence of the word *til* "tongue." Influenced by the word *til*, the vocalism of the word has also changed, becoming -i- (and its developments), but Azeri and Osmanli preserved the older -ä-.²⁹

The first occurrence of the word *qaşuq* "spoon" is found in the records in Brahmi script; and in the Uigur documents of Turfan, it occurs in almost all Middle Turkish sources and in the Kipchak, Oguz, Turkestan and Siberian Turkish languages.³⁰ The Mongolian form of the word (*qalbaya*) was borrowed by the Altai, Šor, Hakass and Jakut languages.³¹ But the *l*-form *qalaq*

prodyrjavlivat', vykallivat' (glaza)" (Tuva), *lās*- "problivat' (dölbit'), prokalıyvat', prodyrjavıt', prorezyvat'" (Jakut).

²⁹ Cf. Kül Tegin East 22 *lān*- (also Blige E 18), *tāln*- "durchlocht werden" *Turfantexte* I 8:32, cf. p. 18, *Uigurtica* III 37:3, *Heilkunde* I 6:42), *tāl*- "durchboren", *tālik* "Bohrloch" (Kāšyari), *tāl*- "problivat', dyrjavıt'", *tālik*, *tālūk* "otverstie, dyra" (Tefsir), *til*-, *tāl*- "to pierce" (Husrav and Širin), *til*- "to split" (Leiden), *tālik* "hole" (Abū Hayyān), *tālik*, *dālik* "id." (Bulyat al-Muštāq), *tāl*- "to split" (at-Tuhfat), *tel*- "ščepat' (lučnu), razrezat' v dlnu" (Tatar), *tel*- "razrezat', prorozat' (lomtjami ili polosami)" (Bashkir), *til*- razrezat' na uzkie poloski, na lomtiki" (Kirgiz), *dil*- "dillm-dillm edip kesmek, dlik açmak, yirmek" (Türkmen), *dāl*- "probyvat', pronyzivat'" (Azeri), *del*- "to pierce, to perforate" (Osmanli), *til*- "rezat' na kuski, razdeljat'" (New Uigur), *tel*- "rezat' poloskami (napr. dinju)" (Turki Hami), *til*- "to split, to cut anything into strips lengthwise" (Turki Shaw), *til*- "otdyrat', razdyrat' na melkie časti, ščepat', rezat' plastami, remnjami" (Altai), *til*- "otdirat', razdirat' čto-l. na melkie časti" (Hakass), *dil*- "pillit', raspillivat' (drevno na dosku), rezat', razrezat' (kožu ne remni)" (Tuva), *lir*-, *lit*-, *lit*- "razrezyvat', ščepat' (lučnu), rastšepļjat', otdeljat' vdol' po slojam" (Jakut).

³⁰ Cf. *hkaioq* (Brahmi M:24), *qaşuq* (Heilkunde II 18:63), *qaşuq* "Löffel" *qaşıqlıq* "zu Löffeln geeignet" (Kāšyari), *qāşuq* (Ibn Muḥanna), *qāşıq* (Ibn Muḥanna Ist), *qaşuq* (Chagatal), *qāşıq* (Leiden), *qaşuq* (Codex Cumanicus), *qaşuq* (Abū Hayyān), *qaşuq* (at-Tuhfat), *qaşuq* (Qawānīn), *xaşux* (Armeno-Kipchak Deny, Grunin), *kaşık* (Tatar), *qaşıq* (Bashkir), *kaşık* (Türkmen dial), *qaşıq* (Azeri), *kaşık* (Osmanli), *qoşuq* (New Uigur), *qaşuq*, *qoşuq* (Turki), *xazix* (Hakass), *kaşık* (Šor Verbliski).

³¹ Cf. *qalbak* "Löffel" (Kazak Radloff II 270), *kalbak* "id." (Altai), *qalbays*

in the meaning "little spoon, laddle, stirring wood" occurs in the Kipchak, Turkestan, Siberian languages and as a Tatar loan-word in Chuvash.³³

The word *bilezük* "bracelet" is a fusion of the words *bilek* "wrist" and *yüzük* "ring." The earliest data is Kāšyari, and it occurs in the Kipchak, Oguz, Siberian, Turkestan languages and in Jakut. The *-r*-form is present in Kirgiz, Azeri, Sart and Altai. It is remarkable that the Sart form (*bilärzük*) and the Azeri form (*bilerzik*) also contains *-z*.³⁴

The word for "insect" is *qoquz* in the Turkish languages. We find it in the Runic inscription of Toyok, in Uigur records of Turfan, and in Kāšyari's *Dīvān*. It occurs in almost all Middle Turkish documents, and in every recent Turkish language. Important is the Karaim of Troki, where instead of the intervocalic *-ŋ* an *-m-* (*qomuz*), and the Altai where the *-ŋ* disappeared and a secondary long vowel developed (*qōs*, *qōzoq*), we find that the same happened in Hakass (*ḡōs*).³⁴ This word cannot be separated

"širokonosaja utka" (Šor, Hakass, Sagai Radloff II 270), *zalbayas* "vid utki" (Hakass), *zalba* "utka iz širokokljuvich, širokonoska, soksun, *Anas Clypeata Bris*", *zalbu* (*zalbi?*) *kus* = *zalba*, *zalbga* "malaja ložka" (Jakut).

³³ Cf. *kalak* "ložka (metalličeskaja), lopatočka (derevjannaja)" (Tatar), *qalaq* "ložka, lopatka, lopatočka, špatel'" (Bashkir), *kalak* "sovk, doska dlja raskatyvanija testa, veslo" (Kirgiz), *qalaq* "ein Hölzchen mit flachem Ende, das man den Kindern statt eines Löffels giebt (Kazak Radloff II 228), *galam* "ložka" (Türkmen), *qalaq* "a kind of cushion in ring-form used on the pan when boiling food in steam (to prevent the steam from escaping)" (Turki), *kalak* "bol'saja ložka inogda s dirami dlja vylavlivanija rybu i pelmenej, mešalka, točil'naja dostočka dlja propravlenija kos (senokosnych)" (Šor Verbickij), *zalax* (Hakass Sagai), *zalyaz* (Hakass), "mutovka (palka dlja razmešivanija židkogo testa" (Hakass dial), *kalgak* "povareška, čerpak" (Tuva), see also Chuvash *kalak* "lopatočka, mutovka, veslo" (from Tatar).

³⁴ On this word, its history and distribution, see L. Ligeti *Noms turcs pour 'fers; bracelet; bagne' dans les langues slaves et dans le hongrois: Studia Slavica XII* (1966), pp. 249-250.

³⁴ Cf. *qoquz* (Toyok: 29), *qonguz* (Turfantexte III 12:93), *qoguz* (Kāšyari), *qonyuz* (Chagatal), *qonuz* (Bulyat al-Muštāq), *onuguz* (read *oŋuz*, at-Tuhfat), *koggiz* (Tatar), *quqlz* (Tatar Radloff II: 900), *quqlđ* (Bashkir), *koguz* (Kirgiz), *qomuz* (Karaim Trocki, Radloff II: 671), *konguz* (Osmanli), *qonyuz*, *qonyaz* (New Uigur), *qonyaz* (Turki), *qunguz* (Turki Shaw), *kogls* (Altai), *qōz* (Altai Teleut, Tuba Radloff II: 623), *kogus* (Altai Teleut Verbickij), *kogls* (Altai Teleut, Kumandu Verbickij), *qoqlzaq* "ein kleiner Käfer" (Altai Teleut Radloff II 522), *qōzoq* "id." (Altai Tuba Radloff II 630), *zōs* (*Russko-Hakasskij Slovar*).

from the word for "ant": *qomursqa*. This word occurs first in the Runic Irk bitig, then in such Middle Turkish documents as the Anonymous of Leiden, Abū Hayyān, Bulyat al-Mustāq, at-Tuhfat, and in the Modern Kipchak, Siberian languages and in Jakut.³⁵ The Oguz and Turkestan languages have another word for "ant."³⁶ From the available data, I would only point out Hakass *qumusqa*, *qimısqa*, *komıska* "ant" where *-r-* has been dropped, and Jakut *qomurduos*, *xogurduos*, where there is an alternation of *-ŋ- ~ -m-*, we have *-r* but the meaning is not "ant" but "insect."

In most of the Turkish monuments and languages Turkish *qopuz* has the meaning "stringed musical instrument," already so quoted by Kāşyari. This is also the meaning of the word (*quyur*) in Mongolian. In the Siberian languages, there are other words: in Altai, *komuryay* and *kōrok*, in Hakass *kobrak*, in Šor *kobtryay-* having the meaning "pipe". The two words are doublets. The developments of *qopuz* have, in some Turkestan and Siberian languages, the meaning "jew's harp" an instrument with iron tongues on which one plays with the mouth and the fingers. In Jakut, the word *qomus* has the meanings "stringed instrument, Jew's harp and pipe."³⁷

³⁵ Irk bitig: 56 *qomursqa*, see further: *qumursya* (Chagatal), *qumursqa* (Leiden), *qumursaya* (Abū Hayyān), *qimirsayl* (Bulyat al-Mustāq), *qumrāsqa* (at-Tuhfat), *kirmıska* (Tatar), *qimırıqa* (Bashkir), *kumurska* (Kirgiz), *komurska* (Altai), *kumursqa* (Altai Tölös, Čulym Küärlik, Hakass Kalbal Radloff II 1049), *qumusqa* (Hakass Kolbal, Sagal Radloff II 1049), *qimirtaš* (Šor Verbickij), *ximısza* (Hakass), *komıska* (Hakass Verbickij), *kpmıskaš* (Šor Verbickij), *komırska*, *komurska* (Altai Kumandu Verbickij) *zomurduos*, *xogurduos* "dvorošek, skripun nasekomoe žuk vodoljub vodnoj žuk, *Hydrophilos*, žestokriloe nasekomoe, bukaška, bukarka, bucharka, žuk, žučok" (Jakut). The *r*-form is perhaps also present in Chuvash *xurt-zāmr* "pčely" cf. *kurul-koguz* (New Yugur).

³⁶ The word is *qarındza* and its developments.

³⁷ See *qobuz* (Kāşyari), *qobuz* (Husrav and Širīn), *qopuz* (Ibn Muhanna), *qobuz* (Chagatal), *qopuz* (Chagatal Badā'ī al-luyat), *qobuz* (Leiden), *qabuz* (Abū Hayyān), *qobuz* (Abū Hayyān MsD), *qobuz*, *qopuz* (Abū Hayyān Ist.), *kiblz* "komuz (tatarskij gubnoj muzikal'nyj instrument)" (Tatar), *koboz* "violin" (Tatar Ballint), *qublđ*, *qunld* "kubyz" (Bashkir), *komuz* "kumuz (trechstručnyj ščipkovyj muzykal'nyj instrument)" (Kirgiz), *qoblz* "kumuz (derevjannyj smyčkovyj muzikal'nyj instrument)" (Karakalpak), *koblz* "garmon", *kil koblz* "komuz (muzikal'nyj instrument vida smyčkovych)" (Nogai), *qobuz* "Gelge" (Karaim Radloff II 662), *qopuz* "vargan, devičij gubnoj muzikal'nyj instrument" (Türkmen), *kopuz* "lute" (Osmanli), *qovuz* "kubuz, vargan" (New Yugur), *qubuz* "A Turkestan-made Jew's

I do not have space to discuss all similar doublets here. I enumerate only some of them: *bāz* "gland", *bārtš* "gland, udder," *boyaz* "throat," *boyurdaq* "oesophagus," *qız* "girl," *qırqın* and *qırnaq* "female slave," *omuz* "shoulder, shoulder-blade," *omurtay*, *omurya* "collarbone, vertebra," *özek* "pole," *örge* "peg," *söz* "word," *sörtšek* "speech," *tez* "quick," *terk* "quick," *baş* "head," *palışak* "great face, with great head," *aşuq* "knuckle-bone, dice," Russian *альчик* "dice," *yaş* "young" *yaltşıq* "young, young plant," etc.⁸⁸ I would like to quote only one more example:

The first occurrence of the word *tiz* "knee" is found in the Kül Tegin inscription, and it occurs in almost all of the linguistic records as well as in the present languages. The Hakass form with a diminutive suffix (*tizek*, *tistenek*) is remarkable, the same is found in Tuva (*diskek*) and in Jakut (*tisäx* the "end of an object," *tüsäx* "the forepart of the femur, knee").⁸⁹ Its *r*-form

harp" (Turki), *qābuz*, *qupuz* "a Jew's harp, also a rough guitar with horse-hair string" (Turki Shaw), *qobuz* "Brummelsen" (Taranchi, Radloff II 662), *qogts*, *qogus* "muzykal'nyj stručnyj instrument (u ūgurov ja ne videl v 1910, 1911, 1913 gg. muz. instrumentov," writes Malov) (Yellow Uigur), *komus* "vargan (metalličeskij muzykal'nyj instrument v forme nebol'soj podkovski s tonkim metalličeskim jazyčkom, pripajannym k seredine ee, pri ispolnenii vkladyvanetsja v rot, zvuki že izvlekajutsja kolebanijem jazyčka pal'cami)" (Altai), *zomis* "komus (muzikalnyj instrument)" (Hakass), *komus*, *kómus* "muzykal'nyj instrument, balalajka" (Hakass Verbičij), *qobus* Balalajka" (Šor Radloff II 661), *zomus* "komus, vargan, drymba" (Tuva), *zomus* "kobys, kobuz, vargan, dudka" (Jakut), *zamls* "kobyz, edinstvennyj jakutskij muzikal'nyj instrument sostojaščij iz železnoj ramki s pružinoj posredine, na kotoryj igrajut pal'cami, vuvavši ramku v guby i varirua tony pomoščju zubov i jazyka" (Jakut). According to Professor Ligeti (*Un vocabulaire sino-ougour des Ming: Acta Orient. Hung XIX* (1966), p. 168) the form *qubur* "espèce de guitare (p'l-pa)" of the Uigur vocabulary of the Ming-period "remonte au mongol". The Siberian *r*-forms can not be of Mongolian origin because of the vocalism of the first syllable, the diminutive suffix and the meaning.

⁸⁸ I deal with these words in my forthcoming work on the Altaic hypothesis.

⁸⁹ Cf. *tizl'g* "who has knees" (Kül Tegin E2, 15, 18, Bilge E3, 13, N10), *tiz* (Irk bitig 93), *tiz* (Turfantexte V 4:4, Uigurica II 47:78, III 28:12, Uig. Sprachd. 101:6, Sup. 349:2, Heilk. II 32:1), *tiz* (Käšyari), *tiz* (Yugnaki Uigur), *diz* (Yugnaki Arab), *tiz* (Tefsir), *tiz* (Husrav and Širin), *diz* (Ibn Muḥanna), *tiz* (Chagatal), *tiz* (Leiden), *tiz* (Codex Cumanicus), *diz*, *tiz* (Abū Ḥayyān), *tiz* (at-Tuhfat), *tiz* (Qawānin), *tez* (Tatar), *teš* (Bashkir), *tiz* Kirgiz South), *tize* (Kirgiz), *dize* (Karakalpak), *tiz* (Nogai), *diz* (Turkmen), *diz* (Azəri), *diz* (Osmanlı), *tiz* (New Uigur), *tiz* (Üzbeg), *tiz* (Turki), *tiz*, *tiz*, *tuz* (Salar), *tiz*, *tez* (Yellow Uigur), *tize* (Altai), *tizä* (Altai, Teleut, Lebed, Šor Radloff III 1397), *tiš* (Čulyñ Kūārik Radloff III 1401), *tis* (Hakass

is the word *tirsgäk* "elbow" which can be found at Käs̄yari, in the East Middle Turkish monuments, in the Kipchak, Oguz, Turkestan and Siberian languages and in Jakut. The word *tirsek* has the meaning "Achilles tendon" in Kirgiz, "knee-cap" in Küärik. The most interesting feature is that where Hakass *tirsek* also means "the knee of the animal's hind leg," it is a very clear reference to the way of the semantic split; the joints of the fore and hind extremities originally had the same designation, and this split later used both pieces of the doublet.⁴⁰ The Hungarian word *térd* "knee" is a Bulgarian loanword, but it has a diminutive suffix of Hungarian origin.⁴¹

It is not incidental that I have mainly quoted such examples where we find *z* and *r* and *l* and *ʃ* forms respectively within the Turkish linguistic area where there is no morphological opposition of the type *kör-* "to see", *köz* "eye." These examples were recently collected by Pritsak and Tekin.⁴² We have several reasons for not accepting the hypothesis that we have originally morphophonological reasons for such doublets:

1. If the *z > r* or *r > z* development had morphophonological

Kolbal, Kacha, Sagal Radloff III 1394), *tlzek*, *tlstenek* (Hakass), *tis* (Hakass dial), *dlakek* (Tuva), *tlsdz* "konec, konec koncov, v predmete, *tlsdz* "perednaja storona ljažki, kolena" (Jakut).

⁴⁰ Cf. *tirsgäk* "Armknöchel" (Käs̄yari), *tirsäk* "Ellenbogen" (Türkmen in Leiden), *tirsäk* "Id." (Chagatal Zenker, Bada'i'), "llen, jointure du bras, coude" (Chagatal Pavet de Courteille), *tersäk* "lokot", *techn*: koleno, kolenice" (Tatar), *terhäk* "lokot'" (Bashkir), *tirsek* "achillesovo suchožille" (Kirgiz), *tirsek* "lokot'" (Karakalpak), *tirsek* "Id." (Nogai), *tirsek* "Id." (Turkmen), *dirsek* "lokot", *izgib*, *sgib* (Azeri), *dirsek* "elbow, (fig.) knee or angle (of pipe or timber), winding, bend," *dirseklil* "kneel, bent" (Osmanli), *tirsak* "'lokot', (techn.) koleno (truby)" (Üzbek), *tigenek* "lokot'" (Yellow Uigur, Hill), *tirsäk* "Kniekehle" (Čulim Küärik Radloff III 1377), *tirsek* "koleno zadnej nogi životnogo" (Hakass), *tisürges*, *süsürges* "perednaja čast' bedra (ljažki), koleno" (Jakut), see also Chuvash *čēr*, *čērčē*, *čērzi*, *čērkuži*, *čērkuži* "koleno".

⁴¹ The Hungarian word corresponds to an Old Bulgarian form **tr*. The diminutive suffix *-d* was productive in Old Hungarian and goes back to FU **-nt*.

⁴² O. Pritsak, *Der "Rhotaximus" und "Lambazismus"*; UAJb 1964 pp. 337-349. Here I can only refer to the very interesting paper, read by Tekin on the 27th Congress of Orientalists (Ann Arbor, Michigan) where I was also present and had the opportunity to discuss some of the details. I did not have the opportunity to read the full text which will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*.

reasons, what are we to do with such words as: *küzän* "polecat," *azŷy* "molar tooth," *eŷik* "door," *küzük* "heddle," *qozŷ* "lamb," *tiŷäk* "two year old lamb," *yuzaq* "lock," *qazyuq* "stake," *aŷuq* "knucklebone," *eŷid-* "to hear," *köŷek* "camel-colt," *sazayan* "drake," *stzil-* "to tremble," *qāzan* "caldron" etc.? In these words we would have to suppose an infix which is uncommon in the Altaic languages.⁴⁵

2. If the $r > z$ or $z > r$ development were a morphophonological one, then we have to explain the cessation of the opposition of $r : z$ and $ŷ : l$ in the Chuvash phonological system separately. This would mean that we have to work with two hypotheses, instead of one.

3. If the $r > z$ or $z > r$ development were a morphophonological one, how could we interpret that the isoglosses of the separate items of the doublets do not coincide. Why do we have *izdä-* in the Anonymous work of Leiden, in Qawānīn or in the Armeno-Kipchak documents and *irdä-* in Kāŷyarl and Jakut, why *tüŷ* in some Old Turkish monuments and *tül* in others?

⁴⁵ I quote here only some r -forms and l -forms of the words above: *kürene* (Mongolian), *görény* "polecat" (Hungarian); *urlä ŷäl* (Chuvash) *araya* "molar tooth" (Mongolian), *aldäk* "door" (Chuvash), for *küzük* cf. p. 214, *qurayan* "lamb" (Mongolian > Siberian Turkish languages), for *tiŷäk* see pp. 214–216, *sädra* "lock" (Chuvash), *karö* "stake" (Hungarian), *альчик* (Russian, which is not Turkish *alēl* "one side of the dice" < **al*, but Turkish *aŷuq*, cf. the Turkmen expression: *aŷlgi alēl otur-* "bagt getirmek", an Old Bulgarian loan-word in Russian), *ill-* "to hear" (Chuvash), *gölige* "pup" (Mongolian), *kölyök* "id." (Hungarian), *särkány* "drake" (Hungarian), *särdäl-* "to tremble" (Chuvash), *zuran* "caldron" (Chuvash). It can, perhaps, be argued that all these words are derivations and that the r -forms were present in the primary stem. But then we have to solve the following questions: a: the suffixes joined the stem later than the $z/r + X$ fusion, but in such cases the $-r/-$ is preserved, see *kāz* "Kerbe des Pfeiles" *kāzlä-* "einkerben", *kārt-* "einschnitte machen", *kārtik* "Kerbe" (Kāŷyarl), b: this complex had the same history in intervocalic position as on the word-end, but e.g. $-lč-$ is present in intervocalic position (cf. *balčik* "Schmutz," *alčaq* "milde, fein" etc.), and then why not **kölček* "camelcolt" or **elčik* "door"? c: Here the problem raised under 4. below is especially difficult. If there was an X after the word end, which fused with the $-r$ or $-z$ preceding it, what has happened with the words which had other finals? Was this X specific to the stems undergoing rotacism and lambdacism (irrespective of the direction of this development)? Infixation is uncommon to the Altaic languages in the historically detectable past. But I would not adopt a wholly negative attitude to this question for a much earlier period.

4. If the $r > z$ or $z > r$ development were a morphophonological one, how are we to interpret such correspondences as Turkish *öküz* ~ Chuvash *văkăr*? If there has been something unknown x (say *-ti*) after the word-end, be it *-z* or *-r*, why has it disappeared in Chuvash and not in Turkish or *vice versa*. This could only have had dialectal reasons, and thus we have come back to my starting point. On the other hand, if there had been something in the case of the words ending in *r* and *l* or *ʃ* and *z*, then we should also expect it after other word endings. The supposition that this has disappeared in all phonetical situations seems to be too bold in my opinion.

It is another question that in a time, and in some places where the phonological opposition of $r:z$ and $l:ʃ$ was weakened, the economy of the language worked in the direction of using this functionless duality for morphological reasons. As there were semantic doublets, morphological doublets may also have existed. These developed on the dialectal basis sketched above.

It is quite natural that the weakening of the opposition $r:z$ and $ʃ:l$ was not the only dialectal feature which spread with different intensity and isoglosses over the dialectal area of Ancient Turkic. A similar feature was the development of the initial *y*-to *j*-. The fact that we have *j*-languages with *r* and *l* and *j*-languages with *z* and *ʃ* raises the problem of which was the relatively older development. I think that this question is not a necessary one. The *j*-development had a different isogloss from the discontinuation of the $r:z$ and $l:ʃ$ opposition. The *j*-isogloss encircled the dialects from which developed later the Bulgarian, the Kipchak and some Siberian language.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ I have no space here to discuss all opinions concerning the history of the *y*- and *j*- in Turkish, and its relative chronology in respect to rotacism and lambdacism. According to Ramstedt and Poppe (see Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der alttürkischen Sprachen*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 27 with bibliography) "Im Urtürkischen waren *d-, *j- und *y- zusammengefallen und hatten dort ein y- ergeben." This means that *j*- became *y*- in Ancient Turkic, and then later became *j*- in Old Bulgarian and in some Kipchak and Siberian languages. In this case, the Old Bulgarian (a *j* + *r* language) and the Kipchak and Siberian languages (*j* + *z* languages) have a common development in front of the other *y* + *z* languages. But this raises the question: If the *y* > *j* was an earlier development than *r* > *z*, then in the *j*-languages and the *y*-languages, the *r* > *z* development had to be independent. If the *r* > *z*



Nogai. The Chuvash *yāran* (< **īran*) cannot be a loanword from the later period, because of the *r*-form, it is Ancient Turkic. It was a lexical isogloss in a narrower dialectal area. For "sun," in addition to the common word *kün*, the Turkish languages have two other words: *küneš* and *quyaš* (all three have, perhaps, a common origin). The word *quyaš* can be found in the Kipchak languages (Tatar, Bashkir, Karakalpak, Karaim of Troki), in the Turkestan languages (New Uigur, Turki), and in the Siberian languages, Šor and Altai. The word *küneš* is present in some Kipchak languages (Bashkir, Kumük), in the Oguz languages (Turkmen, Azeri, Osmanli) and in the Altai language. The word *quyaš* in the form *xével* occurs in Chuvash.

The word for "stirrup" *üzägi* has labial initial in all available linguistic records: in Tatar, Bashkir, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Azeri, Osmanli, New Uigur, Turki, and Altai; while it has illabial initial in Yellow Uigur, Baraba, Hakass, Tuva and Jakut. The Chuvash equivalent *yārana* can only be connected with the latter, but the correspondence has to be an Ancient Turkic one because of the *r*-form.⁴⁵

Summing up my conclusions: between the very hypothetical Common or Proto-Turkic and Old Turkish, there was a long Ancient Turkic period. In its earlier period, the Ancient Turkic dialects existed in a more or less continuous linguistic area. Several linguistic developments in this area spread over the

⁴⁵ It is clear from the examples above that we have two types of lexical isoglosses: in one case the word is present in some dialects and absent in others, in the second case the word has one form in some dialects and another in other dialects. In the first case, it could be argued that which is not present now could have been present in an earlier period. But the fact that it disappeared in a coherent dialectal area is also a dialectal phenomena. The most important data for *üzägi* "stirrup" are the following: a) with labial initial: *üzegü* "lestnica" (Tefsir), *üzängülük* "strzemle, strzemiona" (Husrav and Širin), *üzägi* (Rabyuzi), *üzängü* (Ibn Muhan-na), *üzki* or *üzägi* "échelle, escalier" (Chagatal, Zenker), *yüzängü* "étrier" (Ibid), *üzägi* (Lelden), *üzägi*, *üzegi* (Codex Cumanicus), *üzengi* (at-Tuhfat), *üzängi* (Qawant), *özänge* "stremja, stremjanka, lestnica" (Tatar), *öðänge* (Bashkir), *üzöggü* (Kirgiz), *üzeggi* (Turkmen), *üzängi* (Azeri), *üzengi* (Osmanli), *üzäggi* (New Uigur), *üzägi*, *öz'ängü* (Turki), *üzegi* (Altai). The forms with illabial initial: *ezengi*, *ezengo*, *ezeggo*, *ezengolax* (Yellow Uigur), *izäggi* (Baraba Radloff I 1538), *izägi* (Hakass Sagal, Kolbal, Kacha Radloff I 1638), *izege* (Hakass), *ezeggi* (Tuva), *isägä*, *igädä* (Jakut).

territory with different intensity and different isoglosses. This more or less synchronic and geographical development crossed the diachronic one. What we have now before us is not a unilateral development and cannot be deduced directly from a homogeneous proto-language. Undoubtedly, this draws a more complicated picture, but I think it is closer to historical reality. Now, we are faced with the task of exploring the dialectal structure of Ancient Turkic.

I would add only one final point. What could the cause of the discontinuation of the *z:r* and *l:ʃ* opposition be? It is always hazardous to seek the "causes" of linguistic changes. Nevertheless, I would venture to suppose the influence of a substratum. This language had to have a phonological system in which the opposition of *z:r* and *ʃ:l* was not present, and it had to be a language which was in a long and close contact with at least some of the Ancient Turkic dialects. Could this language not have been Ancient Mongolian?

C O R R I G E N D A

- p. 209 Note 1, line 1: documents of the read: documents of a
- p. 210 line 7: homogenous read: homogeneous
- p. 212 line 10: realisations read: realizations
- p. 213 line 5: (< honosis > (honor) read: (< honosis > honor)
- p. 214 line 4: opposition read: oppositions
- line 5: was weakened read: weakened
- Note 13, line 1: during read: at
- p. 216 line 17: cannot excluded read: cannot be excluded
- Note 16, line 2: Amonymous read: Anonymous
- p. 217 line 8: *tölāk read: *tülūk
- *töleg read: *tölüge
- Note 18. line 1: Mort read: Most
- Turkisk read: Turkic
- line 2: Turcic read: Turkic
- Note 22 last line below: zabernut' read: zavernut'
- p. 218 Note 24 second line from below: Russa read: Russe
- p. 219 line 1: still do, have read: still have
- line 12: śir- read: śir-
- p. 220 line 7: occur read: occurs
- line 13: script: read: script
- Note 29, line 2: 82, cf. read: 32 (cf.
- second line from below: kožu ne read: kožu na

- p. 221 line 15: -ŋ- an read: -ŋ- we find an
 line 16: (qōs, qōzoq), we find that read: (qōs, qōzoq) that
- p. 222 Note 35, line 3: Altai Tölös, Čulym Kūārik, Hakass Kaibal read:
 Altai, Tölös, Čulym, Kūārik, Hakass, Koibal
 line 6: skripun nasekomoe žuk vodoljub read:
 skripun, nasekomoe, žuk, vodoljub
 Note 37, line 4: instrument" read: instrument)"
- p. 223 line 3: qiz read: qlz
 line 8: al'čpk read: al'čik
- p. 224 line 5: that where Hakass read: that Hakass
 line 14: area where there read: area in which there
 Note 40, last line: čërxi, čerkux, čërkuxxi read: čërśi, čërkuś,
 čërkuśśi
- p. 225 Note 43, line 4: sšara read: ššara
 line 5: al'čck read: al'čik
- p. 228 line 1: iran read: iran
 lines 13-14: available linguistic records read: all available
 old records,
 Note 45, line 2: dialcets read: dialects
 line 6: phenomena read: phenomenon
 line 7: initial" read: initial:

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ON THE CHUVASH GUTTURAL STOPS IN THE FINAL POSITION

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

The history of the final guttural stops (*-k*, *-k̥*, *-g*, *-g̥*, transcribed usually as *-q*, *-k*, *-γ*, *-g*), is not only one of the most debated questions in comparative Altaic linguistics but has remained and seems to remain one of the crucial points.¹ Professor Ligeti summed up the situation in 1935: 'The cause of those frequent irregularities which emerge from the study of not only the Old Turkic elements in Hungarian but also from the modern Turkic languages can be looked for perhaps in borrowings and intercrossings. Without any doubt this situation still exists as it can be demonstrated, and very probably it existed earlier too, perhaps in the source of the oldest Turkic elements of the Hungarian language, i.e. in Old Chuvash, where forms with final *-g* occurred in greater number there where we would expect the Proto-Turkic final *-g*, *-k*. This supposition is also corroborated by the facts of the present Chuvash language'.² Even now not too much can be added to this. I would like to try here to answer the question how old this special Chuvash feature is?

¹ See the works of Bang (*UJb*, XIV, 1934, pp. 208–212), Németh (*NyK* XLIII, 1914, pp. 472–473), Ramstedt (*JSFOu* XXXVIII, 1922–23, pp. 16–17; *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 1957, pp. 130–131), Poppe (*KOeA* II, 1920, pp. 72–73; *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, 1960, pp. 53–58), Räsänen (*Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der Türkischen Sprachen*, 1949, pp. 112–124, 145–152), Ščerbak (*Vop. Jaz.* 1964: 5, pp. 18–19), Ažmarin (*Materialy dlja issledovanija čuvašskogo jazyka*, 1898, pp. 85–88), Ligeti (most detailed in *NyK* XLIX, 1935, pp. 209–214, also in many of his other works, most recently *MNy* LXIII, 1967, pp. 429–437), Benzing (Jean Deny Armağan, Ankara 1958, pp. 53–60; *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, 1959, p. 712) and Menges (*The Turkic Languages and Peoples*, 1968, pp. 84–86), to quote only the most important works on the final gutturals in Turkic. Bang called the problem of the final gutturals 'sein ewiges Sorgekind der Turkologie' (*UJb* XIV, p. 204).

² *NyK* XLIX, 1935, pp. 213–214 (in Hungarian).

The Proto-Turkic final *-q* (*k*) has a double representation in present-day Chuvash:

1. *-χ*: PT *oq* «arrow» ~ Chuvash *uχā*, *tul(aq)* «orphan» ~ *tālāχ*,³ *tuq* «length, width» ~ *tārāχ* (< *tuuruq*), *qaraq* «robbers» ~ *χurax*, *qulaq* «ear» ~ *χālχa* (< *χālaχ*), *yayyuq* «near» ~ *šivaχ*, *āy(aq)* «moon» ~ *uyax*,⁴ *qırq* «fourty» ~ *χērēχ* (< *qırıq*), *uzaq* «long», ~ *vāraχ*, etc.

2. Zero: *yuzaq* «lock» ~ *šura*, *adaq* «foot» ~ *ura*, *qonaq* «guest» ~ *χāna*, *qorq-* «to fear» ~ *χāra-* (< *qorax-*), *qomlaq* «shop» ~ *χāmla*, *burčaq* «pea» ~ *purša*, *bāliq* «fish» ~ *pulā*, *qayraq* «whetstone» ~ *χir'a*, *χāyra*, *tanıq* «witness» ~ *tind*, *bolqa* «porridge» ~ *pāld* (< *bolıq*), etc.

The situation is the same with *-k*:

1. *-k*: *ēšik* «door» ~ *alāk*, *bēl(ik)* «waist» ~ *pilēk*, *erk* «strength» ~ *irēk* «freedom» (< *erik*), *kōk* «root» ~ *kāk*, *kōk* «blue» ~ *kāvak*, *čāčāk* «flowers» ~ *šaška* (< *šašak*), *bārk* «strong» ~ *parka* (< *parak* < *bārāk*), etc.

2. Zero: *ōzek* «the inner part of a tree, shaft» ~ *vara*, *ingek* (not *inek*!) «cow» ~ *ēne*, *bōgrek* «kidney» ~ *püre* (< *pōğrā*), *kōbek* «navel» ~ *kāvapa*, *siyek* «fly, mosquito» ~ *šāna*, *kūrpek* «mush» ~ *kērpe*, *küzük* «hedge» ~ *kērē*, *yüzük* «ring» ~ *šērē*, *tünlük* «vent-hole» ~ *tēnē* (< *tünük*), *tülki* «fox» ~ *tülē* (< *tülük*), *talqı* «champ-breaker» ~ *tilā* (< *talıq*), *dlık* «boots» ~ *atā*, etc.

The double representation is not due to borrowing. In both groups we can find words with clear old Chuvash characteristics: *alāk* ~ *ēšik*: *šērē* ~ *yüzük*, *vāraχ* ~ *uzaq*: *šura* ~ *yuzaq*.

The voiced guttural stops disappeared:

Final *-γ(g)*: *buzay(u)* «calf» ~ *pāru*, *šibay* «dice, lot» ~ *šāpa*,⁵ *adiy* «sober» ~ *urā*, *ariy* «clean» ~ *irā* «good, saint», *asiy* «gain, profit» ~ *usā*, *sāriy* «yellow» ~ *šurā*, *šur*, «white», *saliy* «trade» ~ *sutā*, *buray* «storm» ~ *pāra*, *tātiy* «taste» ~ *tutā*, etc.

³ Cf. Turkic *tul* «widow» in most of the Turkic languages. The final *-aq* is a Chuvash suffix as in the Chuvash *uyax* «moon» ~ Turkic *āy*, *pilēk* «five» ~ Turkic *bēš*, *pilēk* «waist» ~ Turkic *bēl* etc.

⁴ On the Chuvash suffix *-aq* see the preceding note.

⁵ Kazan Tatar *šobaga*, Bashkir *šibaga*, Kazak, Karakalpak *šibaga*, Kirgiz *šibaga* with the same meaning are Mongolian loanwords. See Muqaddimat al-Adab *sibaqla* «to calculate», Literary Mongolian *šibaya* «dice», Literary Khalkha *šavga*, *šid.*, Selenga Buriat *šabga* «finish in a horse race», Kalmuck *šawza* «dice, lot» etc., Since the Mongolian *-γ* is preserved everywhere, Chuvash *šāpa* is either not a Mongolian loanword or a very early one borrowed before the loss of the final *-γ*. In the Mongolian loanwords of Chuvash borrowed after the 12th century the final *-γ* is preserved: *urχamay* «a kind of horse» ← Mong. *aryamay*, *ūpek* «abundance, rest» ← Mong. *elbeg*, *nāχta* «halter» ← Mong. *noχta*. In most cases it is very probable that the Middle Mongolian loanwords in Chuvash were borrowed through Tatar.

Final *g* - : *bätäg* «freckle, ulcer» ~ *pata*,⁶ *küdeg* «son-in-law» ~ *kērū*, *kāčig* «small bridge» ~ *kašā*, *yeg* «good» ~ *ši* «the upper», *kōg* «melody» ~ *kēvē*, *ālig* «fifty» ~ *allā*, *ūlūg* «part» ~ *valē* (< *ūlūg*)?, *būtūg* «pregnant» ~ *pētē*⁸ etc.

These final gutturals are of different origin. We can find among them monosyllabic words where they are in the stem-final position (*yeg*, *kōk*, *kōk*), words which are monosyllabic in Turkic, but disyllabic in Chuvash (*erk*, *bārkk*, *qorq-*). They occur in Common Turkic suffixes (in most examples) or in special Chuvash suffixes (*āyag*, *tulaq*, *bēlik*). They are present in polysyllabic words (*siṇek*, *kōzūk*, *buzay*, *küdeg*) which cannot be analysed further at the present time. They appear in deverbal nouns (*adiy*, *tanīq*, *ūlūg*, *būtūg*), verbs (*qorq-*) and denominal nouns (most of the examples). There is no phonetic difference in the realisation of the final gutturals according to their origin, position or function.

The final *-χ/k* is also present in the Turkic loanwords of Chuvash: *yapaq* «wool» → *yupaχ*, *aryamay* «a kind of horse» (← Mongolian) → *urχamaχ*, *ēšek* «donkey» → *ašak*, *išek*, *emgek* «trouble, grief» → *imkek*, *inkek*, *karmak* «hook» → *karmak*. Most of these words are borrowings from Kazan Tatar. The *-g/γ* > *χ* of Tatar is reflected by *-v*: *azay* «molar» ~ *azav* ← Tat *azaγ*, *alday* «ruse» ~ *ultav* ← *alday*, *bolṣay* «appointment» (← Mongolian) ~ *palčāv* ← *bolṣay*, *siltay* «cause» ~ *sāltav* ← *sāltay*, *qaday* «peg» (← Mongolian) ~ *χutav* ← **qaday* > Bashkir *qaday*, but Tatar *kadak*.

The quality of the Chuvash vowel followed or not by a guttural stop depends on the original closed—open relation of the vowel. If it was originally closed it became «reduced», if it was open it remains a vowel with complete articulation.

The final voiced gutturals disappeared through a *u*-diphthong. This diphthong can still be observed in monosyllabic stems, where it is preserved in the oblique case: *say-* «to milk» ~ *su/sāv-*, *toy*, «to bear» ~ *tu/tāv-*, *tūg-* «to break in mortar» ~ *tū/tēv-*, *yāy* «butter» ~ *su/sāv-*, *yay-* «to rain» ~ *su/sāv-* etc. In polysyllabic stems with *-u/ū*: *buzay* «calf» *pāru/pārāv-*, *kātūg* «stud» ~ *kētū/kētēv-*. The reflexes of the diphthong can also be traced

⁶ From a verb *bete-* «to cover», cf. Kazak *betä-*, Mongolian *büte-*. I have not found the Chuvash word in other Turkic languages.

⁷ The word is a deverbal noun from *ül-* «to separate» which has no long vowel. The Chuvash form reflects clearly an old long front labial: *ūlūg* or rather *öliug*. In Kāšyari we find *ūlūg* (can be read also *öliug*). Türkmen has *ülüs* and *üle* «part», derivatives from the same stem, but there is no *üy* (the Türkmen reflex of PT *ü*) before *l* in Türkmen. In Jakut we find *ülū* and *ölū* «part».

⁸ From *büt-* «to be complete, full».

in some other cases. The Chuvash vowel *u* has developed in some words from an earlier diphthong: *püre* «kidney» < *pöŕe* < *bögrek*, *türë* «even» < *töŕi* < *toŕi* < *toŕi* (not *tüz!*).

The disappearance of the final voiced guttural was already in progress in the Middle Bulgarian period, the time of the Volga-Bulgarian khanate. We find it in Old Permian: *čarla* «sickle» ← MB **čarla* < *čarlay*, *šuri* «spools»¹⁰ ← MB **šuri* < *šuzuk*. It is reflected in the MB loanwords of the Volga-Kipchak languages: Tatar *köre* «hedge» ← MB **kürü* < *kürüg* ~ *küzük*, Tatar *šila* «a coarse linen» ← MB **šila* < *sileg* < *silek*,¹¹ Tatar, Bashkir *täre* «crucifix, icon» ← MB **täri* < *täŕi* ~ *täŕi* «God». The disappearance can be observed in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions: *ala* آلا, *älä* آلا «fifty» < *alig*.

In the Old Bulgarian period, as has been shown by those who dealt with OB loanwords in Hungarian, the final voiced guttural had already been a spirant -*γ* or perhaps even a *u*.¹²

The Chuvash representation is thus as follows:

PT	- <i>k</i>	{	Chuvash	<i>χ</i>	<	<i>k</i>
			Chuvash	zero	<	<i>u</i> < <i>γ</i> < <i>g</i>
PT	- <i>k</i>	{	Chuvash	<i>k</i>		
			Chuvash	zero	<	<i>u</i> < <i>γ</i> < <i>g</i>
PT	- <i>g</i>		Chuvash	zero	<	<i>u</i> < <i>γ</i> < <i>g</i>
PT	- <i>g</i>		Chuvash	zero	<	<i>u</i> < <i>γ</i> < <i>g</i>

In other words, some of the unvoiced gutturals became voiced and then developed as their voiced counterparts.

Turning back to the question of the age of this double representation we have to investigate the Mongolian situation.

* Cf. Zuryen *čarla*. The Votyak *šurlo* is a later and independent borrowing.

¹⁰ Zuryen *šuri*, Votyak *seri* «spools», also Tatar, Bashkir *šüre* «tid». The Chuvash word *šürë* «spool» can scarcely be separated from *šürë* «ring».

¹¹ Derived from the Turkic stem *sil-* «to wipe», cf. Chuvash *šila* *pir* «a coarse linen» and *šil-* «to wipe, clean». This word has nothing to do with *šal* «tooth». It denotes a coarse piece of linen used for cleaning.

¹² See Gombocz: *MSFOu* XXX (1912), pp. 170–174; Bárczi, *MNy* XLVI (1950), pp. 223–230, *MSFOu* CXXV (1962), pp. 23–24; Németh: *MNy* XVII (1921), pp. 24–25, Ligeti: *MNy* LXIII (1967), pp. 429–437; Palló: *UJb* XXXI (1959), p. 246 etc.

The two old Mongolian guttural stops converged in the final position: *g* or *q* (written as *γ*) and *k* or *q* (written as *q*) became *q* (written as *γ*), *g* or *σ* and *k* or *k* became *σ* (written as *g*):

Mongolian	Turkic	Chuvash
<i>turuy</i> «size, breadth»	<i>turuq</i>	<i>tärđχ</i>
<i>aday</i> «lower end»	<i>adaq</i> «foot»	<i>ura</i>
<i>čečeg</i> «flower»	<i>čäčäk</i>	<i>šaska</i>
<i>elkeg</i> «sieve»	<i>elgek</i>	<i>ala</i>
<i>ariγ</i> «clean»	<i>ariγ</i>	<i>irä</i>
<i>čerig</i> «troops»	<i>čerig</i>	<i>šarä, šar.</i>

In these cases the secondary Mongolian development prevent us from detecting the different Mongolian reflexes of the Chuvash final gutturals. But there are cases where the Mongolian guttural stops were not the in final position; they were followed by a vowel. In such cases the original unvoiced: voiced (or aspirated fortis: unaspirated media) opposition has been preserved. It is not without interest that here Mongolian exactly follows the Chuvash pattern and not the PT in the most cases:

PT <i>k/q</i>	Mong <i>k/q</i>	Chuv <i>k/χ</i>
<i>kök</i> «blue»	<i>köke</i>	<i>kävak</i>
<i>erk</i> «strength»	<i>erke</i>	<i>iräk</i>
<i>běl(ek)</i> «waist»	<i>belke-güsün</i>	<i>piläk</i>
<i>bärk</i> «strong»	<i>berke</i>	<i>parka</i>
<i>qulaq</i> «ear»	<i>qulki</i> «middle ear»	<i>χälχa</i> «ear»
<i>saq-</i> «to guard»	<i>saki-</i>	<i>sīχ</i> «guards»
<i>tul(aq)</i> «orphan»	<i>tulaki kümün</i> ¹³	<i>täläχ</i> «orphan»
<i>tiq-</i> «to stuff»	<i>čiki-</i>	<i>čīχ-</i> etc.

¹³ The meaning of the Mongolian *tulaki kümün* is «feeble-minded persons», see also *tulaki kituya* «blunt knife». I think these meanings are secondary and have developed from an original meaning «weak», «needing support» and the word must be connected with *tul-* «to lean on, support». From the factitive form of *tul-* i.e. *tulya-* has been derived the Kalmuck word *tulyū* «alleinstehend, verwaist».

PT <i>k/q</i>		Mong <i>g/γ</i>	Chuv zero < <i>u</i> < <i>γ</i> < <i>q, ɣ</i>
<i>ingek</i>	«cow»	<i>ūniye</i> < * <i>ūnige</i>	<i>ēne</i>
<i>siŋek</i>	«fly, mosquito»	<i>simayul</i>	<i>šāna</i>
<i>sūŋük</i>	«bone»	<i>sinaya</i> «temple, cheek bone»	<i>šāmā, šānā</i> < <i>siŋük</i>
<i>layuq</i>	«hen»	<i>takiyan</i> < * <i>takiyan</i>	<i>čāxā</i> < <i>tīruq</i>
<i>yumdruq</i>	«fist» ¹⁴	<i>nidurya</i>	<i>šāmār</i> (dial) < <i>šāmā</i> < <i>yum-ruq</i>
<i>botqa</i>	«porridge»	<i>budayan</i>	<i>pātā</i> < <i>botīq</i>

It has not escaped the attention of Poppe that to PT (according to him Proto-Altaic) *-q/k* sometimes corresponds to the Mongolian *-q/k*, and sometimes to *-γ/g*.¹⁵ According to him sonorization occurred in four groups of words:

1. In the final *-qa/ke* in trisyllabic words.
2. In the suffixes *-qan/ken*.
3. After *-r, l* and in words with *l* in the vicinity of the originally unvoiced guttural stops.
4. In some cases which are not clear.

It is true that *-qa/ke* is rare on the end of trisyllabic words but there are some examples: *sūyike* «earring», *būleke* «tendon», *erike* «garland», *teūke* «annals», *seūke* «sedan chair», *ōyūke* «the thin flesh of the belly»; the causative *-qa/ke* after *-d, -s*: *iledke-* «to make public», *yekedke-* «to increase», *būridke-* «to take the census», etc. In back-vocalic stems: *γariqa* «ring», *suyiqa* «worm-wood», *quyiqa* «scalp», *aluqa* «hammer», *aluqa* «a male fish» and *bayasqa-* «to cause joy»; *qamtudqa-* «to combine», *batudqa-* «to strengthen» etc. The diminutive *-qan/ken* is very frequent: *ūčūken* «little», *čayaqan* «whitish», *sayiqan* «nice» etc. After *r* and *l* the unvoiced guttural is preserved e.g. in *serke* «castrated goat», *siŋqan* «wound», *sūrkei* «terrible», *talqan* «powders», *tulki-* «to push» and last but not least in *qalqa* «shield, Khalkha». Thus the categories of Poppe can not be maintained. Let us sketch the situation:

¹⁴ This seems to have been the PT form, derived from *yum-* «to press together» cf. Karachay *ʃumduruk*, Hakass *munzuruk*. From *yumdurug*, parallel forms such as *yudrug* and *yumrug* have developed.

¹⁵ See *UJb XXXI* (1959), pp. 270–273.

k_1/q_1	Turkic	$-k/q$
	Chuvash	$-k/q > -k/\chi$
	Mongolian	$-k/q$
k_2/q_2	Turkic	$-k/q$
	Chuvash	$-g/\gamma > \text{zero}$
	Mongolian	$-g/\gamma$

For everybody who is acquainted with the basic problems of Altaic comparative linguistics it is clear that we are confronted here with a clear parallel to the famous «rotacism» and «lambdacism».

r_1	Turkic	r	l_1	Turkic	l
	Chuvash	r		Chuvash	l
	Mongolian	r		Mongolian	l
r_2	Turkic	z	l_2	Turkic	δ
	Chuvash	r		Chuvash	l
	Mongolian	r		Mongolian	l

In recent times there were several attempts put forward to give an interpretation of the theory of Ramstedt on rotacism and lambdacism. Pritsak¹⁶ gave a morphonological interpretation while Tekin tried to offer a phonological solution.¹⁷ I do not wish to go into details here and shall point out only one question which is connected with the problem of the final guttural stops. Ramstedt supposed that the difference between r_1 and r_2 and l_1 and l_2 respectively was their palatalized or non-palatalized quality ($r : \acute{r}, l : \acute{l}$). Poppe suggested that r_1 and l_2 were fricatives. This latter opinion was accepted by Tekin for Proto Altaic and by Doerfer¹⁸ for Proto Turkic. Since the proposed proto-languages must have existed more than a thousand years before our first sources of these languages, it remains a mere specula-

¹⁶ *UAJb* XXXV: D (1964), pp. 337–349.

¹⁷ *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), pp. 51–80.

¹⁸ On p. 99 of his *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* I, 1963, Doerfer writes: «Ob für Urtürkisch] z und δ oder aber \acute{r} und \acute{l} gelten dürfte eine unentscheidbare Frage sein». But in his reconstructions he postulates in each case \acute{r} and \acute{l} respectively, cf. Vol. I, pp. 277, 539, vol. II, pp. 55, 65, 146 etc. In *UAJb* XXXIX (1967), pp. 53–70, Doerfer seems to have changed his opinion and suggests that the loanwords in Mongolian are not from «urtürkisch» but from «frühbolgarisch» and supposes for the latter \acute{r} , e.g. in *tänf* «sea» (p. 65), on p. 55 he hesitates between «urtü.» *bóza* and *bóza*, cf. also *Indogermanische Forschungen* LXXI (1966), p. 115; *UAJb* XL (1968).

tion as to what the actual phonetic value of these sounds could have been. It is more important in the theory of Ramstedt that r_1 and r_2 and l_1 and l_2 respectively must have been in phonological opposition. Neither in Mongolian nor in Chuvash nor in any of their earlier sources do we have two kinds of r , two kinds of l — and two kinds of final k/q . The merger of older phonemically opposed sounds is a common feature in all languages. But it is more than a mere chance if this merger occurred both in Chuvash and in Mongolian in the same phonemic pairs, resulting in the same sounds, in the same words, in three parallel cases. It is impossible here to suppose archaic traits preserved by Chuvash and Mongolian because the archaic oppositions were not preserved but disappeared.

This contradiction in the Ramstedt-theory can only be eliminated by the supposition that we are dealing here with loanwords, and these Chuvash-Mongolian correspondences are due to borrowing. This theory, first formulated clearly by Németh,¹⁹ has also got many adherents but the above argument has not yet been put forward. I would like here to submit, only one additional consideration.

In the list given above for the correspondence of the Chuvash-Mongolian guttural stops in the final position I have quoted no single example in which there is at the same time rotacism or lambdacism. I would like to add one here.

The term for a two-year old lamb in Turkic is *šišek*.²⁰ In the Secret History

¹⁹ ZDMG LXVI (1912) pp. 549—576.

²⁰ Middle Turkic *šišäk* (Husrau and Sürin, Muqaddimat al-Adab, Tarjumān turki, Abū Hayyān, Bulat al-muštāq, Attulḥfat), *sišek* (Ibn Muhanna). In modern languages: Kipchak: *šesäk kaz* 'gusynja vtoroj godu', *šesäk kädä* 'koza v vozraste posle vtorogo okota', *šesäk surik* 'ovca v vozraste posle vtorogo okota' (Tatar), *šesäk qad*, *käzä hariq* 'with the same meanings as in Tatar' (Bashkir), *šesäk evtorogodnyj* (ob ovce i pčel) (Bashkir, Katarinskij), *iš*, *iššek* 'dvuchletnyj valuch' (South Kirgiz, Judachin), *šišek emolodoj nechološčennyj baran* (ibid), *isek echološčennyj (godovalyj) baran* (Karakalpak), *isek* 'gelded rum (two years old)' (Kazak), Oguz: *iššek* 'dvuchgodovalyj baran' (Turkmen), *şıpek* 'lamb in his second year' (Osman Turkish), *işek* 'bir yıllık kuzu, yeni kuzuhıyacac koyun' Osmanli dialectal: SDD II, p. 799), Eastern: *šišäk* 'godovalyj ili dvuchgodovalyj baran' (Üzbek), *šišäk* 'in the second year (sheep or goat)' (turki Shaw), Siberian: *šišik* 'ein zweijähriges Schaf das fett zu werden beginnt' (Baraba Tatar, Shor: Radloff IV, p. 1086). The loss of the initial *š*- is regular of Karakalpak *is* 'to swell' (*šiš-*), South Kirgiz *iši-*, South Kirgiz *iši-* *iši-* *iši-*, Karakalpak *is* 'spits' (*šiš*). The Oguz forms without initial *š*- are loanwords. In Jakut we find *tisayas* 'dvuchtravnij telenok (telka), no toljko s oseni vtorogo goda (do togo on *boruoško*)', do tajanijsa snega, vesnoju, godovalyj telenok, vyrostok, *tisänye*, *tiñese*, *tisäyä*, *tiğäsä* 'trechtravnoe životnoe, telenok ili žerebenok po tretjemu godu (dvuchletnyj, dvuletok, strigun toljko oseni štogo goda u nich vypadajut moločnye zuby počemu nazyvajutsja

of Mongols we find the word *silegü* with the same meaning (§§. 124, 279, 280)²¹. Another word for an animal in its third year in Mongolian is *sidüleg*, a derivation from *sidün* «tooth», *sidüle-* «to teethe», since it is in the third year that the full teeth of these animals develop.²² This arouses the supposition that the Turkic word *šisek* ought not to be connected with *šiš-* «to swell» as was suggested by Radloff,²³ Ščerbak,²⁴ Doerfer,²⁵ and Räsänen,²⁶ but with *tiš* «tooth», *tišä-* «to teethe». The supposed earlier form *tišek* can be actually found in the Divān of Kāšyari with the meaning «zweijähriges Schaf». It is known that the Chuvash word for «tooth» is *šil* from an earlier *šil*. This word has been connected with the Turkic *tiš* by Zolotnickij,²⁷ Paa-sonen,²⁸ and Katona²⁹ as a case of lambdacism. Katona supposed here a sporadic *t > š* development for the initial. I would rather suggest an assimilation, due to the original *-š* final.³⁰ But independently of the interpretation of the initial *t ~ š* correspondence, in the light of the data on *šisek* «animal with full teeth» we have to accept the etymology of Katona in spite of the reservations of Ramstedt, and Poppe.³¹

takže tisir tisäy(η)ä, tišyät oyus (inax) «trech godovalyj, trechtravnyj byk (korova)» (Pekarskij).

²¹ In *silegü gonin* «two-year old sheep», *silegü irge* «id.». In Literary Mongolian we find *silüge*. The word is rare in Mongolian dialects. In Literary Buriat: *šilge* «dvuchletnyj baran (ili kozel)», in Selenga Buriat «dvuchletnjaja ovca». In Khalkha we have the interesting form *šilbe* «dvuchgodovalyj verbljud», also *šar šilbe*. The Mongolian word entered the Turkic languages of Siberia: Kakass *šileke* «chološčennij baran», Kacha *šiläkä* «Hammels» (Radloff IV, p. 711), Sagai *šiläkkä* «id.» (ibid.), Tuva *šilege* «baran (na vtorom godu)».

²² On the relationship between the terminology of age and the teeth of the animals see U. Köhalmi, *Zwei Systeme der Altersbezeichnungen des Viehes bei den Mongolen: Studia Mongolica* I: 31.

²³ *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialekte*, 1911, IV, p. 1084.

²⁴ *Istoričeskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov*, 1961, pp. 115–116.

²⁵ *Türkische und mongolische Elemente* III, p. 328.

²⁶ *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuches der Türksprachen*, 1969, p. 424b.

²⁷ *Kornevoj čuvaško-russkij slovarj*, 1875, p. 109.

²⁸ *Ceuvaa szójegyzék*, 1908, p. 148.

²⁹ *MNy* XXIII (1927), pp. 190–193; *KCsA* II (1930), pp. 379–381.

³⁰ See a similar interpretation by Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, pp. 325–326.

³¹ Ramstedt (*JSFOu* XXXVIII, 1922–23, p. 23) and Poppe (*AM* I, 1924, p. 78; *UJb* VI, 1927, p. 115) connected Chuvash *šil* «tooth» with Turkic *šiš* «spit». This latter word is surely a secondary development since *-š* had not existed in initial position in PT. It is not impossible that *šiš* «spit» also goes also back to a PT **tiš*. I think that Turkic *šiš-* «to swell» was also **tiš-*. This form is preserved in Altai Turkic *tiš-*, *tiži-*, Teleut *tiš-* (Verbickij), Lower Bij dialect *tiži-* (Verbickij), Baraba Tatar *tiš-* (Radloff

If what was said above about the gutturals is valid then we have to expect in front of the Turkic *šišek* ~ Mongolian *silegü*, a Chuvash form *šäla*. In Chuvash there is no special term for an animal two years old with full teeth. But we have a fish-name *šäla* «pike-perch, *Luciperca Sandra*». As Pallas,³² and Räsänen³³ had pointed out and then Katona³⁴ proved, the Hungarian word *szüllő* (= *szüllő* < Old Hungarian *šileu*) «pike-perch» is an Old Bulgarian loanword and has a Hungarian calque: *fogas* (= *fogás*) which is derived from *fog* «tooth», because this fish has extremely developed teeth. That means that Chuvash *šäla* had the original meaning «animal with teeth» (cf. the expression *šäla pulä* «sudak; fish with teeth»).

We have here the expected triad:

Mongolian *silegü* ~ Turkish *šišek* ~ Chuvash *šäla*. In front of the Turkic *-š* and *-k* we find Chuvash the *-l* and *-g* in Mongolian. If this word had been a Proto-Altaic word we would have expected according to the Ramstedt-theory **tilekü* > *čilekü* in Mongolian.

I think this is evidence enough to prove that we have here an Old Chuvash-Bulgarian loanword in Mongolian. By this I gave one of my reasons why I think that the theory of Ramstedt, according to which there were no Old Chuvash loanwords in Mongolian,³⁵ cannot be maintained.

III, p. 1401). The word for «spit» is *tiš* in Tuba-kiži (Baskakov, *Dialekt černevyč. tatar*, 1966, p. 155), and it is *tiš* in the same dialects where *tiš*- «to swell» has preserved its *t*-. (see Verbickij, *Slovarj altajskogo i aladagskogo narečij tjurkskago jazyka*, 1884, p. 356). In Karachay *tiš* «vertelj» is also preserved, while in Balkar we find *šiš*. The initial *č* in Turkmen *čis* «spit» and *čiš*- «to swell» can be interpreted as a dissimilation *š-š* > *č-š*, but also as a sporadic *t* > *č*-development as e.g. New Uigur *čiš* «tooth». If my supposition that *šiš* «spit» goes back to *tiš*, is valid then we have a clear parallel to what was said of Turkic *šišek*. Mongolian *silege*- «to stir with a poker» and Manchu-Tunguzian *šila-/šile-* «to roast on a spit» (cf. Evenki *šilavūn*, *šilavlan*, *šelavūn*, *šilavun*, *šilavūn*, Even *helun*, Nanai *šelon*, *šilepen*, Oroch *šilau*, Manchu *šolon* «spit») pertain to *šiš* in the same way as Mongolian *silegü* to Turkic *šišek*. The etymology of *šäl* suggested by Katona was accepted by Ligeti: *NyK XLIX* (1935), pp. 216–217; Németh: *MNy XXXIII* (1937), p. 139. See also Palló: *UJb XXXV* (1964), pp. 62–63.

³² *Zoographica Russica* II, 1811, p. 246: Tataris Syle unde Hungaris Sylli.

³³ *MSFOu XLVIII* (1920) p. 264.

³⁴ See note 29.

³⁵ Ramstedt's famous sentence: «Es genügt hier klargelegt zu haben, dass das tschuwassische eine regelrechte entwicklung der türk-sprache ist und zwar ohne jede direkte berührung mit dem mongolischen» (*JSFOu XXXVIII*: 1, p. 34) has to be reformulated. Chuvash is a regular development of the Turkic proto-language, and during its early history, before the migration of the Chuvash—Bulgar—Oyur tribes to the West it had a long and close contact with Mongolian.

On the other hand I would like to point out that the fact that there were Old Chuvash loanwords in Mongolian does not defeat the hypothesis that Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tunguzian are genetically related. On the contrary, the removal of the old Chuvash-Bulgarian layer in Mongolian enables us to concentrate on a more archaic group of Turkic-Mongolian and Manchu-Tunguzian correspondences. These are — as can be expected *a priori* — very limited in number and their separated investigation will perhaps open up new possibilities for comparative Altaic studies.³⁰

To sum up: the Old Chuvash loanwords in Mongolian already reflect the sonorisation of the Chuvash final gutturals and thus we can conclude that this phenomenon developed before or during the Old Chuvash-Mongolian contacts.

³⁰ In this point I deviate from the opinion of Németh, Sir Gerard Clauson, Ščerbak, Sinor, Doerfer and others, who deny the genetic relationship of the Altaic Languages. If there was an Altaic protolanguage, this must have existed three or four thousand years B. C. We have to advance to this very far time step by step.

DREAM, MAGIC POWER AND DIVINATION IN THE ALTAIC WORLD

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

In the Old Uigur texts we find an interesting word, the reading and meaning of which seemed to cause some problems for those scholars who have dealt with it.

Radlov quotes a word *täläk* with the meaning «die Macht, das Vermögen, die günstige Gelegenheit».¹ This word is cited from the dictionary of Redhouse where² it figures among the meanings of Osmanli *täläk* «a hen-coop; a bird's perch; a bird's moulting season and condition; a young bird that has reached his first moult», from which it has to be separated. The word is written in Arabic as *tälk* and the second vowel is uncertain. In her *Altürkische Grammatik*³ A. von Gabain lists the word as *tölüg* ?ö, ?k «Kraft». In the *Türkische Turfan Texte* X⁴ she quotes the word as *tölük* (-ü-, -g?) «Kraft». Malov gives in his book *Pamjatniki*⁵ *tölük* with a question mark and renders the meaning as «mečta, ekstaz, sozercanie». As we shall see below F. W. K. Müller read always *tölük* «Stärke, Kraft». The recently published *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*⁶ has on p. 579 *tölük* with the meaning «sila, mošč, iz-za, po pričine», but p. 413, last line reads *tölüg*. In his *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*⁷ Caferoğlu gives *tölük* «dalma, heyecan, süzme, bakma, seyretme huşu: Suv 615, 6. kuvvet, güç: Uig I 43, 12».

The problem will be more clear if we consult the texts in which the word occurs. We find our word in a passage of an Old Uigur text published by F. W. K. Müller in *Uigurica* I and republished in *Uigurica* IV (p. 10: 45—49):⁸

¹ *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 1905, III, 1568.

² *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1890, p. 613 «Power, reach, opportunity».

³ 1950, p. 343.

⁴ 1959, p. 51, on p. 26 she reads *tölük*.

⁵ *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*, 1951, p. 433: *tölük* (tütük). Malov gives two possible etymologies: Kirgiz *tilek* from *tile-* «to ask, to wish» (?) which is phonetically impossible and Chuvash *telek* (read *télék*) «dream» *tüs; tül* «id.». As we shall see below this turned out to be the good solution.

⁶ The *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj* quotes UigII27: 24 with «strength: power» and UigII 25: 25 with «therefore, because of». The texts see below.

⁷ 1968, p. 249.

⁸ *APAW* 1908, p. 43, *SPAW* 1931, p. 10.

anta ötrü Č(a)stani-i ilig bāg bar kūcin öntürüp⁹ tülükün¹⁰ sikriyü barip Urumuki all(i)γ yāk-nin töpüsintäki sačin tutup «Immediately afterwards Čaqtana the king making his strength to grow, springing by (the force of) his *tuluk*, went and the demon with the name Urumukha, he grasped the hair on its head». F. W. K. Müller translated *tulükün sikriyü* as «machtvoller Sprung».

In *Uigurica* II¹¹ (p. 25: 24–25) we can read the following passage: *bu savıy äsidi Kilimbi yāk öpkäsi tülükintä ögsüz teg bolıı*. In the translation of F. W. K. Müller: «Als er dieses Wort vernahm, wurde Hidimbäs des Dämons Zorn in seiner Stärke einem Sinnlosen gleich». The authors of the *Drevnetjurskij slovarj*, who have cited the same passage, gave a somewhat deviating translation: «uslyšav eti slova, demon Hidimba ot jarosti stal slovno bezumnyj» (p. 580). Here our word is rendered with «ot» in the meaning «because of».

A few lines later¹² (p. 27: 24) the word occurs once more in the Uigur text: *vzürliγ lurzi-si äzä Kilimbi yäkig tülükün urup anta oq yirdä qamtı* «with his Vajra-sceptre he hit Hidimba, the demon, by (the force of) his *tuluk* and at the same time he layed him low to the earth». Here F. W. K. Müller translated: «mit Kraft schlug er».

It can be no doubt that in these cases we have to do with a special kind of strength. The context of another Uigur text corroborates our opinion. In *Türkische Turfan Texte* X¹³ (:354–356) we find the following passage: *tumluy yuzlūg Atavaki yāk bāliqtāg tülükün tırı burxanqa yaqın sikriyü barip* . . . «The dark-faced demon Atavaka by his fearful *tuluk* sprung at the god Buddha». A. von Gabain translated: «Mit schrecklicher Kraft».

Our word also occurs in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. In the edition of Radlov and Malov¹⁴ (p. 558, VIII, 33b: 23) we read: *il uluṣ-nuṣ ičinti neče teṇliγ bar erser kiṣi yalaṇuq-lar quvaray-a yitim-siz ikinčsiz tul-aksüz (kūč-)süz küsünz-üz bolur-lar ne iṣ köduq qıldıuq-ta idi(-yin) bātürü ermez-ler*.¹⁵ «As many may be in

⁹ A. v. Gabain in *Türkische Turfantexte* X, 1959, p. 27 reads *üntürüp*. The word can be found in some modern dialects. Türkmen has *ön-* «to be born», Kirgiz *ön-* «to grow», Kazakh *ön-* «to increase, to gain wight, to rise, to succeed». New Uigur has both *ön-* and *-ün* «to rise, to grow» while in Yakut we find *ün-*. The *Drevnetjurskij slovarj* reads *öntürüp*.

¹⁰ F. W. K. Müller always transcribed *tölük*, but for reasons discussed below I transcribed always *tülük*.

¹¹ *APAW* 1910, p. 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³ 1959, p. 28.

¹⁴ *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (Sūtra zolotoγo bleska)* I–II, 1913.

¹⁵ It seems to me that we have here — as in many other places in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* — to do with a verse with alliteration: *il.../yüim.../iṣ.../idi.../idi...*. The Tibetan parallel texts is also in verse.

his country, all the people and the crowd will loose for ever¹⁶ their *tülük* and strength so that they will not be able to remain the lords of their affairs». In the Tibetan text which has been translated from the same Chinese text of I-Ching¹⁷ the expression *tülüksüz küčsüz küsünsüz bolurlar* is: *stobs-čhuñ dpa'-bšor*¹⁸ *med-pas-na*.¹⁹ In an other passage of the same work (p. 359, Va8: 18) *tülük* is an attribute of Buddha Mahasatva (*tülaklūg bodistv mṃastv*). Finally in X9a: 5—9 (p. 615) we find the following passage: *adira ödüre saqinip ötra M(a)qastvi tigin y(a)ti qiniy tülük-tä turup uluy bädük küsüs-kä inip uluy y(a)rti-qančuči köñul turyurup küñul-in köküz-in yaqčirdip*. I would translate this text tentatively as follows: «After having distinctively learned (all these) the prince M. being in a very great *tülük*, submerging in a very great wish and reaching a great graceful thought, roused in his heart». The parallel Tibetan text III has: (ed. Nobel, II, p. 301: 26—27): *de'i che rgyal-bu de šin-tu brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran-dāñ/ smon-lam chen-po btab-nas sñiñ-rfe chen-po bsam-pas sems rias-šiñ 'phel-bar gyur kyañ*. Here *šin-tu brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran* has to correspond to the same Chinese original as *yāti qiniy tülük*. The expression is uncommon. The word *brtul-ba* can not be here «deportment, behaviour».²¹ The expression *dpa'-sran* is known from an Old Tibetan text with the meaning «heroic, enduring».²² The Chinese original has been translated by Nobel as «grosser Heldenmut» (*yung mēng*).²³ In an other Tibetan translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa we have a shorter version:²⁴ *sñiñ-rfe chen-po mčhog-dāñ-ldan-pa'i sñiñ-du gyur-pas de-lar*

¹⁶ The expression *yitimsiz ikinčsiz* is not quite clear to me. I have supposed that *yitimsiz* is written instead of *yitincšiz* «endless» and *ikinčsiz* is «without a second time, once», *yitim* «flax-seed» does not make sense here.

¹⁷ J. Nobel, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die Tibetische Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch I—II*, 1944, *I-Tsing's Chineseische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung I—II*, 1958, p. 251 (443).

¹⁸ Nar-thaṅ: šor.

¹⁹ It seems that *dpa'-bšor med-pa* is here the parallel expression to *tülüksüz* and *stobs-čhuñ* corresponds to *küčsüz küsünsüz*. As we shall see below in an other place *dpa'-sran* corresponds to *tülük*.

²⁰ Nobel has translated the Chinese text as follows (vol I, p. 338, 451C): «Dann liess der Prinz grossen Heldenmut erstehen, äusserte mächtiges Gelübde und mehrte mit dem Gedanken grossen Erbarmens sein Herz».

²¹ Cf. H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan—English Dictionary*, 1949: «deportment, behaviour (according to Csoma) diligence, painstaking (acc. to Schmidt)».

²² Cf. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan II*, 1961, p. 96, A3: *Bod 'bañs dpa'-sran-la stend-pa'i chul btin-du*. Thomas translated this as «... taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet» (p. 102) and on III, p. 41 stubborn heroic: *Dpa'-sran* «heroic, enduring».

²³ Nobel, p. 451, Cf. E. W. Soothill—L. Houns, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 1937, p. 297. I am grateful for the help of Mr. G. Schmiedt (Berlin) in identifying the Chinese original.

²⁴ See Nobel, p. 159: 9—12, This is the version I.

b(r)tul-nas. Where the more detailed Tibetan text has: «strength» (*stobs*) and «heroic behaviour» (*dpa' sran*); in this shorter text, it is said that his heart became provided with the best (virtue, *mčhog*) of the great compassion (*sñiñ-rje*).

The Mongolian translation of Yon-tan bzan-po²⁷ has been made from the shorter text: *degeŋ yeke nigülesküi sedkil-i törögülügen-iyen teyin sedkil-iyen nomoqadqafu bür-ün*. From the Mongolian text it is clear that Tibetan *brtul-ba* (in the shorter text) has been understood as the past tense of '*dul-ba*',²⁸ (in later texts *btul-*) and translated by *nomoqadqa-* «to conquer».²⁹ Thus the expression *brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran* of text Tibetan III has to be translated as «the heroic ability of conquering (himself)» and this is the correct interpretation of the virtue of heroism in Buddhist thought. In the first text cited above from the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa tālak* is the term for the power of the soul and the hendiadys *kuč kasan* denotes the physical strength.

I think that the occurrence of our word in the texts quoted above gives sufficient justification to my supposition that the meaning of the word *talak* in the Old Uigur texts has not been simply «physical strength» but a kind of spiritual strength, a magic power which could be used against enemies and for conquering the wishes of one's own soul.

The fact that the word could not yet be traced in sources other than Old Uigur deprived us from such help in ascertaining the proper reading of the word and in finding its etymology. Perhaps the situation is not so hopeless.

In Yakut we find a word: *talak* the second meaning of which is according to Pekarskij:³⁰ «očenj, vesjma, siljno, čezmerno, pre-». It figures in such expressions as: *t. timni* «očenj siljnyj cholod, siljnaja stuža», *t. kujās* «znoj», *t. ū* «krepkij son». Thus it is a word denoting something very strong, heavy; it is used for expressing a kind of exaggeration. According to Pekarskij this is the same word as *talak* «zavalj, davlenie, tjaželij son, košmar» and he connects it with Yakut *tāl* «son» and Chuvash *telék* «id». I think Pekarskij was right. The word for «dream» in Turkic is *tüş*:

Old Turkic: *tüşä-* «to dream» (UigII24: 27); *tüş tüşä-* «to dream dreams» (Käsari). Middle Turkic: *tüş* (Yugnaki Uigur, Arabic), *tüş* (Tefsir), *düş* (Oyuz-

²⁷ Version II adds *chen-po*. See also the Peking version, *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking edition*, ed. by D. T. Suzuki, 1956, *Bka'-gyur*, Rgyud Pa 275b.

²⁸ Version I: *btul*, Version II *brtul* (also in Peking ed.).

²⁹ See Kara Gy., *Az aranyfény-szútra. Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendrarāja. Yon-tan bzan-po szövege* I—II, 1968 (*Mongol Nyelvemléktár* XIII—XIV), Vol. II, pp. 182—183.

³⁰ Cf. S. Ch. Das, *A Tibetan—English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, 1902: *brtul-ba* «to conquer», pf. and fut. of '*dul-ba*', *brtul-phod* = *dpa'-bo sñeñ stob-čan* «a hero, champion».

³¹ Both Tibetan '*dul-*' and Mongolian *nomoqad-* had the primary meaning «to tame, to make peaceful».

³² *Slovarj jakutskogo jazyka* I—III, 1927.

name), *tuš* (Husrau and Širin), *tuš* (Rabyuzi), *tuš*, *düş*, *tüş* (Ibn Muhanna), *tüş* (Chagatai). New Turkic: Kipchak: *töš* (Tatar), *töš* (Bashkir) *tüş* (Kirgiz); Oguz: *duš* (Türkmen), *düş* (Osmanli), Turkestan: *čüş* (New Uigur), *tüş*, *čüş* (Turki), *tiš* (Salar); Siberian: *tuš* (Altai), *tüş* (Hakass), *düş* (Tuva) etc. In Yellow Uigur we find the verb *tüse-*, *tüsi-*, *tuse-*, *tusi-* «to dream», in Yakut the same verb is *tüş-*, *tüşö-*, *töšö-*. The word came into Chuvash as a late loanword from Tatar: *tüş* in the expression *äyäx tüşšipe* «so sna, sprosonku» (Ašmarin XV, p. 106).

For the noun «dream» we find the form *tül* in the following sources: UigI10: 5, UigII58: 1, UigII24: 27, USuv 593: 23, 594: 5, 633: 15, *UigSprachdenkm.* 96: 79, *Berliner Turfantexte* I D: 298, G: 8.³¹ From the modern dialects the form with *-l* has been preserved by Yellow Uigur: *tel* e.g. in *tel tüse-* «to dream dreams» and by Yakut: *tül* «dream». In Chuvash the word for «dream» is in the Virjal dialect *tölök*, in Anatri and the literary language *tëlek*. The first occurrence of the word known to me is in an unpublished manuscript from 1780–1790³² in the form *тюлюк* (read *tölök*). The Chuvash word goes back to a former **tuluk*. From the fact that Chuvash also has a verb *tëllen-* «to dream, to conjecture, to guess, to speak strange things, talk nonsense, unimportant things» (cf. *tëlek tullen-* «to dream» > Cheremiss *tə'ä-n-*), we can conclude that the primary stem **tül* has also existed in Chuvash, and its final *-k* is the same as in *pilek* «five» (Turkic *bēš*).

When the Uigurs converted to Buddhism they had to use a word for the Buddhistic concept of spiritual power or virtue, and they chose a stem which in the past had been used to denote another, seemingly not a physical activity, the word for dream. And this has not been a unique case in the history of our word.

Before going on and tracing the history of our word I have here to answer one more question. It is a well known fact that in front of the final *-š* in the Turkic languages we find *-l* in Chuvash. But in our case the form with *-l* is present also in Old Uigur, in Yellow Uigur and in Yakut. Similar cases have been collected by Németh, Pritsak and T. Tekin,³³ but there is no common opinion about their cause. As I tried to show on other places,³⁴ most of these cases are due to dialectal isoglosses and this is also the case here. The lexical

³¹ Note that the forms with *-l* i.e. *tül* occur in the same texts as *tülük*.

³² Leningrad, Saltikov-Ščedrin Library, Collection Ermitage, No 222, *Slovarj jazyka čuvašskogo*.

³³ See J. Németh in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XLIII (1914), p. 129, *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, Budapest 1942–1947, p. 70, O. Pritsak: *UJb* XXXV (1964), pp. 337–349, T. Tekin: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), pp. 51–80.

³⁴ *Acta Orientalia Havniae* XXXII (1970), pp. 201–229 and in my yet unpublished dissertation: *The Basic Problems of the Relationship of the Altaic Languages*, Budapest 1970.

isogloss of the forms *tūš*: *tūl* did not coincide with the phonological isogloss *š*: *l* which is a very common feature in the dialectal distribution of linguistic oppositions.

The word *tūlūk* has been borrowed by Mongolian from a Turkic language, most probably from an early Chuvash-Bulgarian idiom. It can be found in Mongolian in the form *tölge* which goes back to an earlier form **tölöge* as e.g. *šulge* 'two years old lamb' < *silüge* ← *šišek* < *tišek* or *balyasun* 'town' < *balayasun* ← *balig*. In some MSS a modern secondary form *tölge* can be found.²⁵ The phonetic correspondence is regular. In one group of the early Chuvash-Bulgarian loanwords of Mongolian, the Turkic closed labial corresponds to an open one. This reflects a phonetic development in the lending language. Let us see some examples:

Turkic	Mongolian
<i>kalkun</i> 'loan'	<i>kölusun</i>
<i>kürt</i> 'snow drift'	<i>kör</i> (<i>čusun</i>)
<i>äme</i> 'help'	<i>öme</i> (<i>čerig</i>)
<i>yük</i> 'to convey'	<i>jöge</i>
<i>bük</i> 'to bend'	<i>bököyi</i> 'to bend down'
<i>münüz</i> 'corn'	<i>mögürestün</i> 'cartilage'
<i>kübez</i> 'proud'	<i>köger</i> ²⁶

The sonorization or rather the weakening of the final *-k* is also regular (see the examples above of *balig* → *balyasun*, *tišek* → *silüge* and my paper on the history of the gutturals in final position in Chuvash).²⁷

The first occurrence of our Mongolian word we find in the *Secret History*. The Chinese translation of the word is *kua* 'to divine', *chan pu* 'to divine by casting lots, to observe signs, to foretell'.²⁸ It occurs twice in the SH. In the first case the story is about Jamuqa a former *anda* or oath-friend of Chingis qan. Chingis qan is going to kill his rival and says: (§ 201) e. . . *anda minu anggida ber yabufu bidan-tur aman dü'ären kelelefu amin-tur qor setkigü-yi inu ese sonosdaba fe surdaqu gū'an büle'e män ülü bolumui ükü'äläye kē'esü tölge-tür ülü*

²⁵ See C. Bawden: *Asia Major* NS VIII: 2, 1959, p. 223, Note 19: *Yistin joyosu-u* (sic) *tölöge orusidai*, MSS 325 and 35 of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

²⁶ G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente* I, p. 99, supposed three Pre-turkic labials: *o*, *q* and *u* resp. *ö*, *q̃* and *ü* where *q* and *q̃* gave *o* and *ö* in Turkic but *u* and *ü* in Mongolian. I think that we have to interpret the fact that to Turkic *o*, *ö* corresponds Mongolian *o*, *ö* and *u*, *ü*, and to Turkic *u*, *ü* Mongolian *u*, *ü* and *o*, *ö* with chronological and dialectal differences.

²⁷ On the Chuvash Guttural Stops in Final Position: *Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, pp. 389–399.

²⁸ E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi) *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig 1939, p. 150.

orumui šilta'an agei amin-tur gor ki'esü'ü'ü jokimui...³⁹ «My anda has deviated from me, he spoke about us with full mouth, but I didn't hear that he had evil thoughts against (my) life. He was the very man from whom one could learn and now he will not be more. To kill him does not fit the *tölge*, to do harm to his life without (any) cause is not appropriate.» Afterwards Jamuqa has been killed bloodlessly.

The second story is about Ögödei, the son and successor of Chingis qan. He got a serious illness, lost his speech and then gave an order for divination: (§ 272) *bö'es bö'es tölgečin-e tölgele'ü'ü'esü*. «By all kinds of shamans and *tölge*-makers he let make *tölge*». There was a special kind of divination (*abitla*-)⁴¹ performed and it was found that somebody has to be offered to the offended spirits of the land of the Kitat. According to the SH Tolui the youngest son of Chingis, the rival of Ögödei, «voluntarily» offered himself and was killed, once more without a drop of blood in this case with poison.

It is not without any interest that in both cases the *tölge* has been consulted for justifying political murders of persons who should have been protected by the old customs. The *tölge*-makers had to contact the transcendental world and thus were able to force by their magic power the acceptance or allowance of something which was against the social order. The basic concept which underlies the divination is that the divinator is forcing the signs — be they cleft on shoulderblades, numbers on a dice, flights of birds, dreams etc. — to reveal something which they would not communicate for an ordinary person.

In the Mongolian sources *tölge* is mostly the divination made with help of signs. In the Muqaddimat al-Adab⁴² we find a sentence: *tölge bariba sibawunla* which is translated into Chagatai Turkic by *fal tutti quş birle*. *Fäl* is a word of Arabic origin with the meaning «omen, sign, fortune-telling», thus the sentence could be translated «(he) made divination with (the help of) birds». In another passage *tölge* is translated by Chagatai *jöng* which is a Mongolian loanword and has the meaning «presage, omen, sign». A third Chagatai word used for *tölge* is *qur'a* which is of Arabic origin and has the meaning «divination dice».

In the dictionaries of the modern Mongolian dialects we find the following meanings: literary Mongolian *tölge* «fortune-telling, divination» (Lessing), Khalkha *tölgö* «znamenie, predznamenie, gadanie», Ordos: *tölgö* «art divinatoire, opération par laquelle le devin découvre quelque chose de caché; instrument qui sert à la divination», Burjat *dölge* «znamenie», Kalmuck *tölgö*.

³⁹ See Ligeti L., *A mongolok titkos története; Mongol Nyelvemléktár III*, Budapest 1964, p. 143.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁴¹ This word cannot be separated from *abid* «intestines».

⁴² N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovarj Mukaddimat al-Adab I—II*, Moscow—Leningrad 1938, p. 353.

«(veraltet) Wahrsagerei, das Wahrsagen mit Knochen, Würfeln, Pfeilen», ? Pao-an *tera- «spatj»*.

From these we can group the following meanings: 1. omen, sign; 2. the action of finding something which is hidden; 3. divination; 4. the instrument of these activities.

The instrument of the divination can be e.g. a coin (*joyos-un tölge*),⁴³ a red thread (*tölgen-ü uluyan utasun*),⁴⁴ shoulder-blade,⁴⁵ dice,⁴⁶ bow⁴⁷ etc. The dream divination is also very old with the Mongols. It would deserve a special study to investigate the function of dreams in the SH. Its term is there *jewudun jewudüle-* (see e.g. § 63 where Dei sečen speaks about his dream of Temüjin) or *ja'arin üfe-* (see e.g. in § 121 where Qorči, the brother of Jamuqa speaks about the divine signs — *ja'arin* — which he saw and foretells the victory of Chingis qan above Jamuqa). In a text quoted by C. Bawden the diagram-*tölge* reveals among other things the dreams.⁴⁸

The Mongolian word entered the Turkic languages of Siberia: Altai *tölgö* «rogatka dlja opredelenija vlažnosti vozducha, roгатka ili luk, lučok (dlja vorožby)», *tölgöči* «vorožaja», Shor *tölgeči*, AltaiK *tölgöči*, Hakass *tölkiči* «gadatelj, vorožaja» (Verbickij), Yakut *tölkö*, *törkö* «rok, sudjba (buduščaja, opredelenie)» (Pekarskij). We come across the word also in Kirghiz *tölgö* «vorožba gadanie na kameškach ili na aljčike kosuli», *tölgöču* «gadaljščik» (Judachin). In this connection it is especially important that in Yakut we find four forms of the same basic word: *täse-* «to dream» (<*täse-*), *täl* «dream», *tulak* «heavy dream, nightmare, very strong, heavy» and *tölkö* «fate, fortune». The first is the original Yakut word; the second is an early isoglossical feature; the third is seemingly a very old Chuvash—Bulgarian loanword, and the fourth has been borrowed from Mongolian. This shows how complicated the fate of a lexical item can be.

I have proposed above that we have to see in Mongolian *tölge* an old Chuvash — Bulgarian loanword. Phonetically the correspondence is regular, but semantically I would like to offer one more argument. The word *tulak* has the meaning «dream» in Chuvash and Yakut and it can be translated in the quoted Uigur texts by «spiritual force, magic power». Now I would add to this that the

⁴³ See C. Bawden: *ZDMG* 108 (1958), p. 335, *CAJ* IV (1958), p. 27.

⁴⁴ C. Bawden: *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 228, Note 43.

⁴⁵ C. Bawden, *On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols: CAJ* IV, 1958, pp. 1—31.

⁴⁶ C. Bawden: *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 221.

⁴⁷ See the Altai Turkic data below. Besides the works of C. Bawden which contain a rich material for the study of the divination and fortune-telling of the Mongols, see also recently A. Sárközi, *A Pre-classical Mongolian Prophetic Book: Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIV, 1971, pp. 41—49.

⁴⁸ *Ene tölge-yi doluyan jüil-iyer üfögülkü bui: ... yambar jегünün jегüdülküi ...*, see *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 226, Note 31.

meaning «to find out» which could be the bridge between «dream» and «divination» can be found in Chuvash. In the modern Chuvash-Russian dictionary edited by Sirotkin we find a verb with the meaning «ugadyvatj, to find out». This word has the form *tul-*. The *-u-* of the present-day Chuvash literary language is not the regular correspondence to an earlier *-u-*. This would force us to exclude this word from the discussion -- if this *-u-* is authentical. The fact that there is no example or expression quoted in Sirotkin's dictionary rises the suspicion that this word has been simply overtaken from earlier lexicography. It is indeed to be found in Ashmarin's Thesaurus (XIV, p. 205) where it is neither provided with examples but in this case the source is given, it is quoted from the *Načertanie pravil čuvaskago jazyka i slovarj sostavlennaja dlja duchovnyh učilišč Kazanskoj ėparchii*, published in Kazan 1836. Here on page 176 we find *молецъ* «ugadatj». In the orthography of the *Načertanie* the Cyrillic letter *ю* is used to render two Virjal phonemes, the reduced front labial *ö* (Anatri, literary *ɛ*) and *u*. See: *молюкъ* «son» (literary *tělek*), *молянась* «vo sno videtj» (*těllen-*), *моля* «vstreča» (*těl*), *молюне* «otdušina dlja dymu» (*těne*), *молю* «дно» (*těp*) etc., resp. *молекъ* «mir, mirno» (*tulek*), *молясь* «platitj dolg» (*tule-*), *молю* «pravda, prjamo» (*türe*), *молюя* «dolja» (*türe*), *молюжъ* «čerina» (*tüşek*), *молюжъ* «terpetj» (*tüş-*) etc. The fact that the seemingly rare or even obsolete word has not been transcribed in the system of Ashmarin by *ɛ* but by *u* may to be traced to this ambivalence.⁴⁹

The divination by dreams has been common among the Chuvash. Mészáros, who wrote a monograph on the old religious beliefs of the Chuvash, discusses the dream divination in a special chapter.⁵⁰ The interpreter of the dreams (*tělek kujlakan*) tells the meaning of the dreams which she had seen (*tělekre kur-*) while putting an object of the person inquiring the future under her pillow. What had been seen (*päx-*) in the dream can be solved (*uś-*) also by common men. During the dream the soul of the man is leaving the body and wandering freely in the world. According to the Christian Chuvash, an angel is showing the world and the future to the soul.

Mongolian preserved only a secondary and special meaning of our word while it has a special word for dream: *següdü*. In the third group of Altaic languages in the Manchu-Tunguzian the basic word for dream is connected with a root which hardly can be separated from Turkic *tüş* ~ *tul*. The Common Manchu-Tunguzian word for «to dream» can be reconstructed as **tölki-*. Our

⁴⁹ After having given this paper into print I got a letter dated of 6th July, 1971 from A. A. Alekseev, Cheboksary, who was so kind as to have checked the word *tul-* of Sirotkin's dictionary. He writes that *tul-* is a dialectal form of the literary and Anatri *těl-* and is still living. Its Virjal form is *töl-* and it has the same form as the word *těl* «aim, place etc.». According to him *tělek* *těllen* has also the meaning «to find out, to foretell, to solve problems by dreams».

⁵⁰ *A csuvas ősvallás emlékei*, Budapest 1909, pp. 398--400.

first data is from Juchen, where we come across the form *tolxing*. The other Manchu-Tunguzian forms are the following: Manchu: *tolgin*, *tolzin* «Traum», Nanai *tolki(n)*, *tolkičín* «son, snovidenie», *tolkiči-* «videtj son», NanaiU, Or *tolkiči-* «id.», NanaiU *tolčín* «son», NanaiNh, KU *tolí* «id.», NanaiBk *tolki(n)* «id.», Uloha *tolči(n)* «snovidenie», *tolkiči-* «videtj son», Oroč *tokkiči* «son» *tokki* «id.», *tokkiči-* «videtj son», «Orok *tolčín* «son», Ude *tosí-* «videtj son»; Solon *toliši-* «snitsja, videtj son, breditj, govoritj vo sne», Negidal *tolkit-*, *tolkič-*, «videtj son», Even *tolkat-*, *tolkač-* «videtj son». Evenki *tolkin* «son, snovidenie», *tolkit-*, *tolkič-* «videtj son», EvenkiTit *tolki-* «videtj son».⁵¹ This wide-spread word has to be very old in the Manchu-Tunguzian languages, but not necessarily original.⁵²

The long and complicated history of the word — all details of which we are not in a position to see clear — is pointing to one of the sources of the supernatural concepts of the Altaic people. Dream, magic power, divination are going back to the same basic concept, something which is out of the physical every-day life, which is another kind of reality in the consciousness of the primitive Altaic people. We are at the sources of the religious beliefs of the Altaic world.

⁵¹ I have to offer here my sincere thanks to the Altaic Group of the Linguistic Institute, Leningrad and especially to V. I. Cincius for making it possible for me to consult the manuscript of the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Manchu-Tunguzian Languages compiled under her direction. This valuable work is in print and we can only hope that it will be published in the near future.

⁵² A clear example of early borrowing from Mongolian is Manchu-Tunguzian *k'orin* «twenty», the regular development of which is present in each Manchu-Tunguzian language and which is an early Mongolian loanword, see L. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960), p. 243.



A. Róna-Tas

DID THE PROTO ALTAIC PEOPLE KNOW THE STIRRUP?

The metal stirrup is one of the most important technical inventions in the history of the nomadic peoples. Its appearance was connected with a new technique of riding and fighting. The age of the object is therefore an important question and deserves our special attention. From this point of view it is an essential question: did the Altaic languages have a common word for the stirrup? If they had, it is highly plausible that, in case if it is not a loanword, the Altaic proto-language lasted till the invention and use of the stirrup, or with other words, the stirrup has to be as old as the proto Altaic language.

In 1912 Z. Gombocz¹ equated the Turkic üzängi "stirrup" with Chuvash yărana and Mongolian dürüge (sic) with the same meanings. Ramstedt in 1916² reconstructed a Turkic proto-form *yüzänü and accepted the Chuvash and Mongolian parallels suggested by Gombocz. The Proto Turkic form *yüreŋi was put forward by Poppe in 1927³. Later Ramstedt succeeded in finding a corresponding word in Tunguz⁴. Joki reconstructed⁵ the Proto Altaic form as (?) *ŋ.üfängi, the Proto Turkic, as *üfängi. The word has been quoted since then as one of the most certain Proto Altaic words. Poppe in his paper⁶ read at the 24th International Congress of Orientalists in Munich in 1957, chose just this example to show the basic rules of comparative Altaistics. In his newly published etymological dictionary,⁷ Räsänen considered the Turkish, Mongolian and Tunguzian words genetically related.

Only G. Doerfer⁸ did not accept the equation. He had the following objections: 1. The Mongolian form is not dürüge but dörüge. 2. There does not exist a Turkic form with y-, i.e. yüzängi. 3. Mongolian ö does not correspond to Turkic ü. 4. There are difficulties in the correspondence of the word endings.

Doerfer's first objection has to be accepted and Räsänen already gives the correct form dörüge. But we find forms with y-, i.e. in Chagatai (Zenker: yüzängü) and Gagauz (yözenji). Mongolian ö can correspond to Turkic ü in a group of words:

Mongolian	Turkic
<u>kölüsün</u> "loan"	<u>külčün</u>
<u>kör</u> (<u>časun</u>) "snow drift"	<u>kürt</u>
<u>öme</u> (<u>čerig</u>) "help"	<u>üme</u>
<u>ýöge-</u> "to convey"	<u>yük-</u>
<u>mögüresün</u> "cartilage"	<u>münüz</u>
<u>köger</u> "proud"	<u>kübez</u>
<u>tölge</u> "divination"	<u>tülük</u> etc.

The Turkic -g- sometimes has a -q/χ- correspondence in Mongolian:

Mongolian	Turkic
<u>mögüresün</u> "cartilage"	<u>münüz</u>
<u>seger</u> "backbone"	<u>senir</u>
<u>nočosun</u> , (<u>n</u>) <u>ungčasun</u> "wool"	<u>yun</u>
<u>siqira</u> "shank. leg"	<u>sinir</u>
<u>mögere-</u> "to moo"	<u>münre-</u>

It is remarkable, that in all of these cases where there is a labial vowel, we find the correspondence: Mongolian open: Turkic closed.

Thus the objection of Doerfer is not strong enough to disregard this equation. But we can give other reasons which support the view that the stirrup had not a common word in the Altaic languages.

The Chuvash form yärana cannot be reconstructed as Poppe did in a proto-form *üräni⁹. Its oldest form had to be *iräñä. The protetic γ- only joins words with initial illabial vowels: PT idig "saint" ~ Chuvash yērēx, PT ikiz "double" ~ Chuv. yēkēr, PT ilge "loop" ~ Chuv. yälä, etc. All words with illabial initial got a prothetic γ-. PT üt- "to burn" ~ Chuv. vēt-, PT üč- (elsewhere uč-) ~ Chuv. věš-, PT ür- "to bark" ~ Chuv. vēr-, etc. The form with illabial can be found in the Turkic dialects: Yellow Uighur ezenqo, Baraba izäñgü, Khakass izeñe, Tuvinian ezenqi, Yakut isäñä. The fact, that all the archaic dialects have an illabial vowel shows that this form has to be a very old one. The forms with initial γ- and ü- are later developments, even if we find üzäñü in the Namagan MS of the Qutadğu Bilig /1069/13th century).

The Turkic *izäñä, Chuvash *iräñä cannot be connected with Mongolian dörüge neither as corresponding forms to a common Proto Altaic form, nor as loanwords.

The Mongolian word for stirrup has a clear etymology. It is a denomininal derivation from the word dörü "iron or rope ring". For the -ge suffix see: seke "opening" sekege "id.", sirui "earth" siruga "id.", baɣaɣal "preparation" baɣaɣalta "id.", bodü "smallpox" boduga "id.", čime "noise"

čimege "id.", from the same word dörü has been derived dörübči "halter, dog leash, makeshift rope stirrup", dörügebči "rope stirrups for donkeys or camels". Since we know that the metal stirrup has developed from rope loops, this etymology reflects historical facts. Similar developments have been suggested for the Hungarian word for stirrup: kengyel (kégy "ring" + el "former part"), for the English word itself stirrup (OE stigan "climb" and rap "rope"); for German Stegreif (OHG stegareif: stigan "climb" and reif "rope"). Middle Latin streupa, straffa are German loanwords. The Solon düränki and the Evenki forms duriki (evkK, SB Nro), dureki (evkK), duraki (evkK), duriki (evkSB, Nro) are clearly loanwords from Mongolian. The old word for stirrup in Jurchen and Manchu was tufu(n).

The archeological data corroborate our opinion. According to Vajnsajn¹⁰, who investigated the historical sources, the archeological material and the earlier literature, the metal stirrup appeared not earlier than the Turk Empire in the 6th century. All data supposed to be earlier were either erroneously dated, or were not stirrups. It is reasonable to suppose that the rope stirrup preceded the metal one, and it had to have been older a few hundred years, than the metal one. But even if we suppose that the word for stirrup denoted earlier the rope stirrup neither the object, nor the word can be earlier than the beginnings of our era. This is also clear from the fact, that neither metal, nor rope stirrup was known to the Romans who surely would have overtaken it, if it had been known in the East.

It is impossible to suppose that the hypothetical Proto Altaic language lasted till the beginnings of our era. Thus we have phonological, etymological and historical reasons which authorize us to reject the hypothesis that the Proto Altaic people knew the stirrup¹¹.

On the other hand it is of importance that Chuvash has a common word "stirrup" with the other Turkic languages. From this fact we can conclude that the separation of the old Chuvash-Bulgarian-Ogur tribes from the other Turkic groups occurred after the invention of the stirrup. Since Chuvash has a regular r-form (*iränä) in front of the Turkic z-form (*izänä ~ *üzänä) we have a help for dating the famous Rhotacism. It has to be younger than the invention and use of the stirrup.

Notes

1. Zur Lautgeschichte der altaischen Sprachen: Keleti Szemle XIII, p. 5.
2. Zur mongolisch-türkischen Lautgeschichte: Keleti Szemle XVI, p. 74.

3. Altaisch und Urtürkisch : Ungarische Jahrbücher VI, p. 106.
4. Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, p. 99.
5. Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamjedischen: Memoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 103, p. 128.
6. Einige Lautgesetze und ihre Bedeutung zur Frage der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachbeziehungen: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher XXX, pp. 95-97.
7. Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen, p. 524.
8. Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen II, pp. 148-149.
9. Poppe: UJb p. 106.
10. Nekotorye voprosy istorii drevnetjurskoj kul'tury: Sov. Etn. 1965: 3, pp. 60-81.
11. According to Ramstedt, the Tunguz, Korean, Mongolian and Turkic languages and peoples had been separated already in 4000 B.C., see Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft I, 1957, p. 15.

ДИСКУССИИ И ОБСУЖДЕНИЯ

А. РОНА-ТАШ

ОБЩЕЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ ИЛИ ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ?

(К проблеме родства алтайских языков)

Среди многих причин того, что старая проблема родства алтайских языков еще не разрешена и дискутируется весьма остро¹, две являются особенно важными. Первая — историческая. Как сторонники, так и противники генетического родства алтайских языков, признают существование исторических контактов между алтайскими народами и языками после XIII в. Однако те, кто защищает идею генетического родства, склоняются к отрицанию возможности более ранних контактов и считают все соответствия, датируемые периодом до XIII в., общим наследием из протоалтайского языка. В то же время противники генетического родства полагают, что все соответствия, которые возникли ранее XIII в., являются заимствованиями. Они не пытаются при этом дифференцировать различные пласты заимствований и не ставят перед собой вопроса: не может ли древнейший слой этих общих черт быть обусловлен генетическим родством?

Другая причина — методологическая. Соответствия между языками могут быть обусловлены следующими факторами: 1) случайность; 2) типологическое сходство; 3) конвергенция из независимых исходных пунктов; 4) исторические условия. В свою очередь исторические причины многочисленны, и к ним относятся, например: а) генетическое родство; б) ареальные взаимоотношения (родственных и неродственных языков), обуславливающие общие ареальные черты, которые могут развиваться в систему вторичных соответствий (языковой союз); в) общее влияние третьего языка (субстраты, внешнее влияние); г) исторические контакты, отражавшиеся в заимствованиях. Все факторы (за исключением случайности) порождают или могут породить регулярные соответствия, таким образом регулярность сама по себе не является критерием, с помощью которого можно было бы различать типы соответствий.

Необходимо разработать специальные методы исследования, а это особенно трудно в отношении алтайских языков, многие из которых не имеют древних языковых памятников и располагают довольно небольшим числом своих ветвей по сравнению с другими языковыми семьями. Ниже предлагается методика, большая часть приемов которой хорошо известна и используется в других отраслях исторической лингвистики, а некоторые из

¹ См.: А. М. Щербак, Об алтайской гипотезе в языкознании, ВЯ, 1959, 6; Дж. Клоусон, Лексикостатистическая оценка алтайской теории, ВЯ, 1969, 5; Н. А. Баскаков, Ареальная консолидация древнейших наречий и генетическое родство алтайских языков, ВЯ, 1970, 4; Л. Лигети, Алтайская теория и лексикостатистика, ВЯ, 1971, 3; Г. Дёрфер, Можно ли проблему родства алтайских языков разрешить с позиций индоевропеистики?, ВЯ, 1972, 3.

них привлекались также в алтайских исследованиях. Однако здесь эти методические приемы применялись в совокупности и на относительно однородном материале.

Одной из самых трудных проблем является разграничение общего наследия и древних заимствований. Те, кто придерживается точки зрения на заимствованный характер древнеалтайских соответствий, должны привести свои доводы. Несколько таких аргументов будет предложено ниже. Здесь будут рассмотрены, главным образом, чувашско-монгольские параллели и, в первую очередь, известные соответствия так называемого ротацизма и ламбдаизма, поскольку они принадлежат к гомогенной, с точки зрения фонологической, группе (конечно, подразделяемой на несколько хронологических и географических подгрупп, которые не всегда легко разграничить). Кроме того, эти соответствия, несомненно, относятся к более раннему периоду, нежели XIII в., и именно они рассматривались алтаистами как общее наследие. Со своей стороны, я не считаю их самым ранним общим фондом в алтайских языках.

Подчеркнем далее, что аргументы, приводимые ниже, разумеется, не могут быть признаны «абсолютными». Использование одного из них поможет только с большей или меньшей степенью вероятности отделить древние соответствия от заимствований. Но с показаниями совокупности этих аргументов, полученными в результате анализа значительного по своему объему материала, исследователь обязан считаться.

Этимологический аргумент. Если слово встречается в языках А и Б в регулярно соответствующих формах, но в языке А для него нет этимологии, тогда как его основа (и словопроизводный аффикс) могут быть найдены в языке Б, то это, скорее всего, заимствование в языке А из языка Б. Здесь всегда могут быть сделаны возражения, что основа слова и аффикс также существовали в языке А, но были там утрачены. Теоретически такая возможность не исключена; однако чем больше мы сможем представить примеров такого рода, что материалы для этимологии слов не имеют в языке Б и отсутствуют в языке А, тем меньше вероятность «случайной» утраты соответствующих основ и аффиксов.

Рассмотрим несколько примеров²: М *boyorla* «перерезать горло; задупить» ← ПБ *boyorla* < ПТ *boyaz* «горло»; М *iktire* «близнецы» ← ПБ *ikir* < ПТ *ekiz* «двойня» (о людях) < *eki* «два»; М *kiraya* «сумерки перед рассветом» ← ПБ *qiray* < *qirag* < ПТ *qiz* «покраснеть»; М *türel* «голеница» ← ПБ *türel* < ПТ *tizel* < *tiz* «колено»; ПМ *uran* «мастер» ← ПБ *ur* < ПТ *uz* < *ü* «уметь»; М *uñur* «ступка» ← ПБ *uñur* < ПТ *uñuz* < *uñ* «крошить; молотить»; М *añurqai* «дыра, шахта» ← ПБ *añur* < ПТ *añiz* < *añ* (Kaşg.) «рот; щель; отверстие»; М *quluñibci* «шапка-ушанка» ← ПБ *quluñ* < ПТ *qulqaq* «уха», и др.

Семантико-исторический аргумент. Если слово встречается в языках А и Б в регулярно соответствующих формах, но имеет только одно конкретное или специализированное значение в языке А и в то же время гораздо более широкий круг значений в языке Б, то, вероятнее всего, что язык А заимствовал его из языка Б, хотя вполне возможно и другое объяснение, а именно — что вторичное ограничение значения могло произойти на почве языка А. Однако если число примеров с подобными семантиче-

² Ниже мы ограничиваемся приведением формы, которую мы считаем самой древней и которая восстанавливается на основе фактов данной языковой ветви. Эти реконструкции, однако, не могут быть отнесены к одному хронологическому уровню. Принятые сокращения: М — монгольский, Т — тюркский, тунг. — тунгусо-маньчжурский, ПБ — протобулгарский, ПМ — протомонгольский, ПТ — прототюркский, чув. — чувашский, ПТунг — прототунгусо-маньчжурский, ПА — протоалтайский, ДТ — древнетюркский.

скими соотношениями достаточно велико, то такие слова с большой долей вероятности можно рассматривать как заимствования в языке А из языка Б. Примеры: М *samsa* «крылья носа» ← ПБ *samsa* (> чув. *sāmsa* «нос»); М *qulki* «внутреннее ухо», М *quluṣi* «ушная сера» ← ПБ *qulqaq* ~ *quluṣ* < ПТ *qulqaq* «ухо»; М *dül* «полдень, полночь» ← ПБ *dül* < ПТ *tüs* «время; место»; М *tölge* «гадание» ← ПБ *tölüg* < ПТ *tüs* «сон»; М *siri* «закаливаться» (о металле) ← ПБ *sir* < ПТ *siz* «плавиться»; М *tala* «равнина, степь» ← ПБ *tal* < ПТ *taš/tiš* «внешняя сторона».

Свидетельство синонимов. Если два синонима обозначают один предмет в языке А и один из этих синонимов наличествует также в языке Б, то вполне возможно, что он является заимствованием в языке А. Конечно, могут быть возражения и здесь. Прежде всего, в языке нет абсолютных синонимов; в то же время синонимы могут развиваться также в пределах одного языка. Тем не менее, при условии всестороннего анализа синонимов этот критерий также может быть применен для разграничения генетических соответствий и заимствований. Например: М *körü* «камень» и М *čilaṣ* «камень» ← ПБ *til* < ПТ *tāš* «камень»; М *jilbi* «молозиво» и М *uṣuray* «молозиво» ← ПБ *uṣur* < ПТ *aṣur* «молозиво»; М *elesün* «песок» и М *qumaki* «песок» ← ПБ *qumaq* < ПТ *qum* «песок»; М *sidüleng* «трехлетнее животное с полным набором зубов» и М *silüge* ← ПБ *šilüg* < ПТ *išek* «зубастое животное»³; М *qasi* «железо» (← др.-кирг.) и М *temür* «железо» ← ПБ *temür* < ПТ *temür* «железо»; М *on* «год» (календарный) и М *jil* «год» (возраст) ← ПБ *jil* (< ПТ *yāš*) → ДТ *yil* «год».

Аргумент основного словарного фонда. Чем больше соответствий может быть найдено в основном словарном фонде языков А и Б, тем больше возможность их генетического родства. Естественно, что даже это положение не может быть принято безоговорочно. Основной словарный фонд имеет два определения: 1) слова, обозначающие самые элементарные реалии; 2) слова, употребляемые наиболее часто.

Элементарность и частота, однако, также исторически обусловлены, и скорость их изменения — вопреки мнению представителей школы глоттохронологии — отнюдь не постоянная. Мы также должны иметь в виду, что языки не обозначают один сегмент действительности одним и тем же словом, например, в одном языке слово «рука» обозначает часть конечности от кончика пальцев до запястья, а в другом — от кончиков пальцев до локтя. В некоторых языках одно и то же слово обозначает «синий» и «зеленый» (например, в древних тюркских и старовенгерском), в то время как в других языках (например, в русском, других индоевропейских, современных тюркских), имеются особые слова для обоих цветов и т. д. Имея это в виду, мы не можем применять лексикостатистическую методику, хотя и должны признать ее важность в привлечении внимания к историческому анализу основного словарного фонда.

Мы вправе полагать, что теоретически любое наудачу выбранное слово основного словарного фонда может оказаться заимствованным, но с точки зрения языковой истории существенно лишь свидетельство большого количества связанных между собой слов. Правильным методом является не показ того, что не соответствует в двух языках, а раскрытие природы соответствий. Если постоянные эквиваленты большинства основных слов, имеющих в языке Б, существуют в языке А, но они здесь не принадлежат к основному словарному фонду, то это обстоятельство можно рассматривать как весьма важный аргумент, подтверждающий, что эти слова заимствованные. В качестве примера приведем так называемый аргумент обозначе-

³ См.: A. R ó n a - T a s, On the Chuvash guttural stops in final position, сб. «Studia Turcica», Budapest, 1971, стр. 396—397.

ния частей тела: ПТ *ayüz* «рот» → М *aγurqai* «дыра, шахта», но М *aman* «рот»; ПТ *baş* «голова» → М *tarbalji* «лысоголовая птица», но М *terigün* «голова»; ПТ *boγaz* «горло» → М *boγorla-* «перерезать горло; задушить», но М *qoyulai* «горло»; ПТ *čeke* «виски; лоб; кость с ямкой» → М *čege* «плоская часть лодыжки с ямкой», но М *čimarqai* «лоб»; ПТ *tüz* «зуб» → М *silüge* «животное с полным набором зубов», но М *sidün* «зуб»; ПТ *tüz* «колени» → М *türei* «голенщик», но М *ebüdüg* «колени»; ПТ *adaq* «нога» → М *aday* «конец чего-либо», но М *köl* «нога»; ПТ *qil* «волос» → М *kilyasun* «конский волос», *kilayana* «stipa glauca», но М *hüsün* «волосы»; ПТ *qaš* «бровь» → М *qalja* «украшение лба», но М *kömsüke* «бровь»; ПТ *boyun* «шея» → М *boyčuyur* «высокоплечий», но М *küjügün* «шея»; ПТ *bilek* «запястье» → М *bilečüg* «браслет», но М *bayul* «запястье»; ПТ *burun* «нос» → М *buruntay* «вожжи» (для верблюда), но М *qamar* «нос» (ср. чув. *samsa* «нос» → М *samsa* «крылья носа»); ПТ *qudruq* «хвост» → М *qudurγa* «подхвостник», но М *segül* «хвост»; ПТ *qan* «кровь» → М *qana-* «пускать кровь», но М *čisun* «кровь»; ПТ *qulqaq* «ухо» → М *qulki* «внутреннее ухо», но М *čikin* «ухо», и т. п.

Характерная черта этого типа соответствий состоит в том, что тюркское слово, обозначающее ту или иную часть тела, в монгольском представлено в определенной форме, но имеет вторичное (или переносное) значение, а для обозначения той же части тела используется другое, собственно монгольское слово. В отдельных случаях можно допустить, что имело место развитие вторичного значения, но данные слишком очевидны, чтобы принять это предположение для всей приведенной группы.

Не исключены также случаи, когда фонетически схожие тюркское и монгольское слова семантически полностью совпадают: Т *qari* «рука» — М *γar*; Т *topiq* «коленная чашечка» — М *toyiy* < *toβiy*; Т *bügräk* «почка» — М *bögere*.

В этих примерах, однако, фонетический критерий подсказывает, что для монгольского это заимствованные слова. В случае тюрк. *qari* ~ монг. *γar* непонятно, почему в тюркском имеется -i и почему он опущен в монгольском, ибо часто бывает как раз наоборот: монгольские слова имеют дополнительный гласный по сравнению с тюркскими (Т *tüz* — М *düli* «полдень»; Т *ikiz* — М *ikire* «двойня»). В примере Т *topiq* ~ М *toyiy* монгольское слово показывает озвончение конечного, что может быть результатом эволюции и на монгольской почве (в монгольском сильный глухой согласный не может стоять в ауслауте). А в случае Т *bügräk* ~ М *bögere* конечный -k в монгольском примере уже исчез, что напоминает чувашский тип развития, где звонкие гутуральные также исчезли (см. об этом ниже). О соответствии Т *ü* ~ М *ö* также см. ниже). Слово *topiq*, несомненно, имеет тюркское происхождение и произведено от *top* «нечто круглое». Подчеркнем, что на заимствование и здесь указывает снова система слов, а не отдельные слова.

Аргумент числительных. Числительные также составляют часть основного словарного фонда. Тот факт, что у алтайских числительных обнаруживается крайне незначительное количество общих черт и практически нет соответствий, был замечен давно. Г. Рамстедт⁴ пытался разрешить эту проблему, предполагая, что тюркские языки разработали новую систему числительных в силу культурно-исторических и социальных предпосылок (в частности, потребностей, вызванных торговлей и развитием животноводства). Эта теория, которая не может быть доказана, содержит

⁴ G. J. Ramstedt, Über die Zahlwörter der altaischen Sprachen, JSFO., XXIV:1, 1907; его же, Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft. II, Helsinki, 1952, стр. 62—67; Г. И. Рамстедт, Введение в алтайское языкознание. Морфология, М., 1957, стр. 64—68. См. также последнюю по времени публикацию: Е. Р. Намп, On the Altaic numerals, «Studies in general and Oriental Linguistics», Tokyo, 1970.

несколько противоречий. Во-первых, в тюркских числительных соответствия чув. *l* ~ Т *š* и чув. *r* ~ Т *z* встречаются очень часто (в нижеследующих примерах слово, приводимое перед его переводом, тюркское, после перевода — чувашское): *bēš* «пять» — *pišēk* < *bēš*; *sākiz* «восемь» — *sakār* < *säkiz*; *toqiz* «девять» — *tāxār* < *toqur*; *altmīš* «шестьдесят» — *utmāl* < *altmīl*; *yetmīš* «семьдесят» — *šitmēl* < *jetmīl*; *yūz* «сто» — *šēr* < *jūr*.

Согласно теории Рамштедта, в этих случаях чув. *r* и *l* сохранили первоначальную форму; однако ученый в то же время считает числительные поздним вторичным явлением. А это означает, что в истории тюркских языков *-r/-l* формы не обязательно унаследованы из протоязыка. Если это верно, существует теоретическая возможность того, что слова с *-r/-l* были заимствованы позже. Во-вторых, как мы увидим ниже, лексика развитого животноводства является в значительной степени общей как в тюркском, так и в монгольском языках. Если же принять объяснение автономной эволюции тюркских числительных потребностями животноводства и торговли, тогда остается непонятным, почему же эта эволюция не была синхронна с развитием животноводческой терминологии.

Были сделаны попытки доказать, что основы некоторых числительных существуют в обоих языках. Например, Рамштедт сравнивал Т *bir* «один» и М *büri* «все, все, каждый», Т *toqiz* «девять» и М *tokir* «с негнущимися (от судороги, холода) пальцами»⁶, но они не эквивалентны семантически. М *ikire* действительно соответствует Т *ikiz* < *eki(iki)* «два», но это животноводческий термин (первоначально оно означало двойню у животных); в этом случае в тюркском сохранилась основа слова *(eki)* «два», а в монгольском *ikire* является заимствованием. Итак, остается только один сомнительный пример тюркско-монгольских соответствий в области числительных: Т *tört*, М *dörben*, тунг. *dügün* «четыре».

Отсутствие соответствий у числительных, конечно, могло быть только доказательством против родства алтайских языков, если допустить, что алтайский протоязык существовал и тогда, когда развивалась система десятичных числительных. Если же предположить, что десятичная система не была развита ко времени распада алтайского протоязыка, тогда этот аргумент бесполезен в разрешении проблемы: родство или заимствование? Собственно, точнее было бы ставить эту проблему не так: являются ли алтайские языки родственными друг другу или нет, а по-другому: или алтайский протоязык распался очень рано, или же он не существовал вообще.

Аргумент местоимений. Личные местоимения также являются важной частью основного словарного фонда языка. Сопоставим три реконструированных системы:

	Тюркский	Монгольский	Тунгусский
«я»	<i>bi ~ bän(män)</i>	<i>bi ~ mīn</i>	<i>bi ~ mīn</i>
«ты»	<i>si ~ sän</i>	<i>ti ~ tīn</i>	<i>si ~ sīn</i>
«он, она, оно»	<i>ol ~ an</i>	<i>i ~ in</i>	<i>ni ~ nīn</i>
«мы»	<i>biz</i>	<i>ba ~ maп (эскл.)</i> <i>bida (инкл.)</i>	<i>büä (эскл.)</i> <i>mūnī (инкл.)</i>
«вы» (мн. ч.)	<i>siz</i>	<i>ta ~ lan</i>	<i>süä</i>
«они»	<i>anlar</i>	<i>a ~ an</i>	<i>ti</i>

В алтайской системе местоимений наибольшее число соответствий приходится на 1 и 2-е лица ед. числа; известная соотносимость может быть замечена также в 3-м лице ед. числа (Т *ol* является вторичным, первоначально местоимение 3-го лица ед. числа, вероятно, было *i ~ in*); *n*-овые формы скло-

⁶ Г. И. Рамштедт, указ. соч., стр. 65—66.

няемых основ также соотносимы. Но во мн. числе наблюдается полное расхождение, причем не только фонетическое, но и морфологическое. В тюркском представлено мн. число на *-z* и *-lar*; в монгольском наблюдается явление, похожее на аблаут; в монгольских и тунгусских местоимениях 1-го лица мн. числа можно обнаружить эксклюзивные и инклюзивные формы, которые не имеют следов в тюркском. Итак, ясно, что в системе алтайских местоимений мн. число развивалось в отделившихся языках. В сепаратной жизни тюркского языка развилась форма мн. числа на *-z*, однако это случилось до распада тюркских языков, потому что в чувашском регулярно проявляется *-r*-соответствие (*epër < a + bir*; *eşer < a + sir*). Этот факт наводит на мысль, что независимая жизнь алтайских протоязыков должна рассматриваться как долгий исторический процесс.

Культурно-исторический аргумент. Если данный комплекс терминов культуры, экономики и социальной истории совпадает в языках А и Б и если этот комплекс начал существовать позже, чем разделение общего протоязыка на языки А и Б, то можно предполагать, что рассматриваемая терминология была заимствована или в языке А, или в языке Б, или же в обоих этих языках. Разумеется, и здесь речь должна идти никак не об отдельных словах. Может легко случиться, например, что в двух родственных языках термин «молодой олень» превратится в термин «теленку», в этом случае мы должны считать это результатом конвергентного развития. Однако целый комплекс явлений может сделать факт заимствования очень вероятным, если доказательства недвусмысленны.

В тюркском и монгольском языках существует терминология высоко развитого животноводства, которая связывается регулярными фонетическими соответствиями. В приводимых ниже парах первое слово — тюркское, второе — монгольское: *ayuz* — *уузау* «молозиво»; *aşuq* → тунг. *al-šika* «кость лодыжки»; *azıy* — *агауа* «скоренной зуб»; *biş* — *büli-* «сбивать (масло)»; *bişaγ*, *bişaγu* — *birayı* «теленку»; *boγazla-* — *boyorla-* «закалывать; задушить» (животное); *buγuz* — *tögüresün* «схрип»; *eşäk* — *eljigen* «сосел»; *ikiz* — *ikire* «близнецы, двойня»; *köşek* «молодой верблюд» — *gölüge* «щенок»; *otuz* «сплечо» — *отигуиш* «склющаца»; *höküz* (ср. уйг. *höküz*, узб. *xūyuz*, гагауа. *yöküz*) — *hüker* «бык»; *qimiz* — *kimir* «кумыс»; *qozı* — *qurayın* «ягненок»; *qaş* — *qaljan* «белое пятно на лбу животного»; *qazı* — *qarbing* «подбрюшный жир»; *qoñış* — *qoγulı* «горло»; *tışek* — *silegü* «стрежлетнее животное с полным набором зубов»; *süz* — *sör-* «спрыгивать с противоположной стороны» < «бодать»; *tüş* (ст.-уйг.) — *töl* «плод; приплод; потомок»; *yaş-* «прятать» — *dal* «укрытие для крупного рогатого скота»; *böz* — *boro* «серый» (о масти животных); *yaγız* — *dayır* «бурый; олень»; *küz-* «бродить; ходить» — *kerü* «бродить, странствовать»; *tüz* — *tar*, *taragai* «лысый, лысая часть».

Вышеуказанные слова были подобраны с учетом явлений ротацизма и лабдаизма. Но факт заимствования происходит независимо от фонетической формы слова. Поэтому мы вправе ожидать подобной картины и в остальной части животноводческой терминологии, где ротацизма и лабдаизма не наблюдается. Итак, мы должны допустить следующее: или единство алтайского протоязыка сохранялось и тогда, когда появилось высокоразвитое животноводство, или эти слова должны считаться заимствованиями. Поскольку исторические и археологические исследования исключают возможность первого объяснения, следует принять второе. Эта возможность увеличивается, если принять во внимание то, что говорилось выше об основном словарном фонде. Помимо животноводческой терминологии, рассмотрим важные термины металлообработки в тюркском и монгольском (первый компонент пары — тюркский, второй — монгольский): *tarqan* «рабочий-металлист» (> титул) — *darqan*; *qoγaşın* «свинопас» — *qoγoljin*; *jez* «медь» — *jer* (*jebe*) (монг. *jes* более позднее заимствование); *süz* — «плавать»;

— *sire* «закаливаться (о металле)»; *ayız* «рот; устье» — *ayurqai* «шахта, рудник; дыра»; чув. *tuxlan* < *toqlan* «свинец» — *tuquylan*.

Итак, лингвистические данные подтверждают то, что уже известно по истории: отдельные алтайские языки были уже развитыми в позднем бронзовом веке, и между ними существовали исторические контакты, что нашло отражение, между прочим, и в булгаро-тюркских заимствованиях в монгольском языке.

Аргумент многоязычных заимствований. Если два соответствующих слова имеются в языках А и Б и если можно доказать, что в языке Б это слово является заимствованием из третьего языка, тогда оно должно быть заимствованием и в языке А. В калмыцком языке имеется словосочетание *demşü tāmka* «тюркский табак»; уже само значение подсказывает, что мы, по-видимому, имеем дело с заимствованием. В казахском и в новоуйгурском имеется слово *dämsil* «безвкусный» (*däm* «вкус» + привативный аффикс *-siz*), оно встречается и в других тюркских языках. Основа этого слова — *däm* — арабского происхождения (араб. *t'am* «вкус»). Если оно является заимствованием в тюркских языках, то оно должно быть заимствованием и в калмыцком; вопрос только в том, каким образом *T-siz* превратился в калм. *-sir* > *-şü*. Это слово вошло в калмыцкий язык благодаря торговым связям, через посредство булгаро-тюркских купцов. В современном чувашском языке оно существует в форме *tämsär* < *temsir* (ср. татар. *tämsöz*), которая является производной от заимствования из арабского и образована при помощи чувашского привативного аффикса *-sär* < *-sir*⁶. В калмыцком это слово может быть довольно новым, но во всяком случае оно не могло быть заимствовано после переселения калмыков на Волгу: во-первых, к этому времени начальный булгарский *d* превратился в *t*; во-вторых, булгарские купцы играли важную роль на Волге до XIII—XIV вв. (об этом может свидетельствовать, например, широкое распространение слова *bulğar* «сорт кожи»). В монгольском, несомненно, есть слова булгарского типа, заимствованные благодаря торговым связям.

Но имеется также большое количество древних слов булгарского типа, заимствованных в более ранний период. Т, М, тунг. *yes* ~ *jes* ~ *jes* «смедь; бронза» — индоевропейского (тохарского) происхождения. М *jes* имеет также параллель булгарского типа в сочетании *jer jebe* «(бронзовое) оружие». И.-е. форма основы этого слова *yes* (лат. *aureum* < *aureus*, сабшск. *aizot*, литов. *aizau*, др.-прусс. *aizis*); оно проникло также и в уральские языки (*čieski* ~ *čiaski*), откуда через южносамодийское и древнекргизское посредничество попало в монгольский⁷ (др.-самодийск. *yes* > южносамодийск. *quas* → др.-кырг. *quas* → старомонг. *qasi*). Индоевропейская первоначальная форма доказывает, что здесь Т-я является первичным по отношению к М-г, а так как это слово является в тюркском заимствованием, то оно должно быть заимствованием и в монгольском.

Аргумент лингвистической географии. Если языки А, Б и В генетически родственны, соответствия, унаследованные ими от общего протоязыка, должны быть распространены в них более или менее одинаково. Таким образом, когда в языках А и Б большое количество соответствий, которые не являются общими для языков Б и В, а в свою очередь Б и В имеют много соответствий, которые не являются общими для языков Б и А, и, наконец, если практически в языках А и В нет соответствий (или их очень мало), то, вероятнее всего, что эти соответствия — результат заимствований. В ли-

⁶ Ср. чув. *harsär* «старательный, смелый» от араб. *'ar*; *zalsär* «слабый, больной» от араб. *hal*.

⁷ См. об этом: L. Ligeti, Mota de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise, «Acta Orient. Hung.» I, 2, 1950; P. Aalto, Ein alter Name des Kupfers, UAJb, XXXI, 1, 1959.

температуре уже указывалось⁸, что именно так обстоит дело с тюркскими, монгольскими и тунгусскими языками. Имеется достаточное количество тюркско-монгольских и монгольско-тунгусских соответствий, но очень мало тюркско-монгольско-тунгусских и тюркско-тунгусских соответствий; к тому же большинство из тех, которые существуют, являются поздними заимствованиями. Эти соответствия точно согласуются с историко-географическим положением соответствующих языковых групп, так что возможность заимствования поддерживается и лингвогеографической дистрибуцией.

Аргумент фонемной системы. Языки А и Б родственны, если каждый элемент их древнейшей реконструированной фонемной системы совпадает. Реконструкция фонемной системы алтайских языков во многих отношениях все еще является дискуссионной (именно поэтому проблема внутренней реконструкции и вопрос об алтайском родстве нераздельны). Прежде всего бросается в глаза, что реконструируемые тюркская, монгольская и тунгусская фонемные системы существенно различаются между собой. Рассмотрим начальные согласные в этих трех системах:

	Тюркский	Монгольский	Тунгусский*
лабиальные	p ^h , b-	p ^h , B-, m-	p-, p ^h -, b-, m-
дентальные	t-	t ^h -, D-, n-	t-, t ^h -, d- n-
гutturальные	k-	k ^h -, G-	k-, k ^h -, g-, ɣ-
аффрикаты	t-, f- ~ y-	t ^h -, DZ	t-, f-, n-
спиранты		y-	y-
сibilанты	s-	s-	s-
латеральные			l-

Итак, рассмотренные три системы отличаются одна от другой по своей структуре: к тому же они несовершенны в самих себе, являясь результатом более раннего развития. Эти два обстоятельства наводят на мысль, что следует предполагать долгий путь индивидуального развития каждого протоязыка. Приведенные выше реконструкции являются древнейшими вероятными формами, которые восстанавливаются из диалектных данных и языковых памятников отдельных языковых групп. Эти реконструкции фонемных систем ранних, уже независимых языков отстоят друг от друга

⁸ См., например: Ligeti L., Az uráli és altaji nyelvek viszonyának kérdése, «A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia nyelv-és irodalomtudományi osztályának közleményei», IV, 1953, стр. 348 (отд. отт.).

⁹ Реконструкция прототунгусской фонемной системы идентична с системой, которую предложила В. И. Цинцаус в своей «Сравнительной фонетике тунгусо-маньчжурских языков» (Л., 1949). Я предпочел бы только p^h вместо p^h, постулируемого В. И. Цинцаус, и k^h вместо ее k^h. Наиболее трудным является вопрос о придыхательном t^h, который отсутствует в системе В. И. Цинцаус. В. М. Иллич-Свитыч (см. его «Алтайские дентальные: t, d, ɖ», ВЯ, 1963, 8, стр. 51—52) предлагал: ПА t- = тунг. t-; ПА d- = тунг. d-, ПА ɖ- = тунг. d-, в то время как в «Опыте сравнения ностратических языков. Введение. Сравнительный словарь», [1] (М., 1971, стр. 168) читаем: ПА t- = тунг. t-; ПА t- = тунг. d-, ПА d- = тунг. d-. Возможно, что t^h и t совпали в тунгусском, а оппозиция сохранилась только в маньчжурском в таких случаях, как: маньчж. *sinfa* «пять» ~ тунг. **sin'-ɣ-a*, маньчж. *gal* «вытягивать» ~ другие тунг. **gal* или M *t'ergen* → маньчж. *sefen* «повозка, телега», в то время как маньчж. *targe* является поздним заимствованием (об этом последнем слове см.: L. Ligeti, Les anciens éléments mongols dans le mandchou, «Acta Orient. Hung.», X, 3, 1950, стр. 243).

¹⁰ После того, как были выявлены халаджск. h- (см.: G. Doerfer, Khalaï materials, The Hague, 1971, стр. 163—167) и тибетская транскрипция др.-тюрк. h- (см.: L. Ligeti, A propos du «Rapport sur les rois demeurant dans le Nord», «Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de M. Lalou», Paris, 1971, стр. 188—189), не может быть сомнений в том, что в прототюркском был начальный согласный, который развивался в h-. Вероятнее всего, это был *p-, хотя при этой гипотезе несколько вопросов остаются неразрешенными. См.: Э. В. С е в о р т я н, К источникам и методам пратюркских реконструкций, ВЯ, 1973, 2, стр. 39—41.

на целый эволюционный период. Если исходить из предположения, что тунгусская система сохранила лучше всего основные черты древней алтайской фонемной системы, тогда сначала придется наметить в общих чертах путь, пройденный тюркской и монгольской системами до того, как они достигли указанной выше стадии. Необходимо попытаться восстановить отнюдь не точную, а если это возможно, то и абсолютную хронологию этого процесса. И эта работа еще нам предстоит.

Сравнительная алтаистика доказала наличие очень старых соответствий между тюркской, монгольской и тунгусской системами начальных согласных, причем появились они, вероятно, раньше XIII в. Таковы соответствия тюрк. *j-y* ~ монг. *d*-, *j*-, *n*-; тюрк. *t* ~ монг. *t*-, *d*-.

Вопрос в том, к какому времени эти системы начального консонантизма отнести? И принадлежат ли они одному хронологическому пласту? Согласно утверждению сторонников алтайской гипотезы, они относятся к одному периоду, и соответствия возводятся к общему протоязыку. Противники генетического родства алтайских языков полагают, что слова, в которых представлены указанные соответствия, заимствованы монголами из древнетюркского языка. Если это верно, мы должны предположить, что тюркский язык — источник заимствований — имел более богатую систему начальных согласных, чем реконструированная выше.

Сама рассмотренная подсистема наводит на мысль, что инвентарь тюркских начальных согласных был, несомненно, богаче (отсутствие в этой подсистеме звонких зубных, гортанных и носовых звуков).

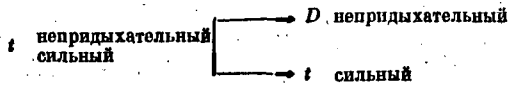
Единственным затруднением является то, что выдвинутые соответствия противоречивы. М *d*- соответствует как Т *y*- ~ *j*-, так и Т *t*-. Например, Т *yaŋiz* ~ М *dayir* «скоричневый; олень»; Т *tās* ~ М *dūli* «полдень». Это противоречие можно разрешить двумя путями. Во-первых, предположить, что в алтайском протоязыке были три зубных фонемы: Т₁ = М, Т *t*-; Т₂ = М *d*- ~ Т *t*-; Т₃ = М *d*- ~ Т *y*- ~ *j*-¹¹. Во-вторых, допустить, что различные соответствия относятся к нескольким пластам заимствований. Во втором случае приходится предположить, что язык — источник заимствований — подвергся развитию, в то же время монгольский показывает два различных этапа этого развития: Т *d'* → М *d*-, Т *d'* > *j* → М *j*-, Т *n* → М *n*-, Т *n* > *j* → М *j*-.

Первое из этих соответствий могло восходить к протоязыку, но могло также возникнуть и за счет заимствования, второе же из этих соответствий не может быть ничем иным, как заимствованием. Второе предположение может быть доказано теми фактами, когда одно слово заимствовалось монгольским языком из тюркского дважды. Такие случаи редки, но не беспрецедентны: Т *d'eg* «случший» → М *dege-dū* «верхний»; Т *d'eg* > *jeg* → М *jegū* «споднимать»; Т *n'al* «смолодой» → М *nilqa* «смолодой»; Т *n'al* > *jā* → М *jālayu* «смолодой».

Эта гипотеза дает ответ на вопрос, почему иногда монг. *d*- и *j*- противопоставлены тюрк. *y*- < *d'*-, но не объясняет, почему в монгольском появляется то *d*-, то *t*- как соответствие тому же самому тюрк. *t*-. В тюркском *t*- был непродыхательным глухим врывным звуком, в то время как в монгольском он был придыхательным глухим врывным звуком, противопоставленным глухому непродыхательному слабовзрывному: [t'] : [D]. Итак, тюрк. *t*- соответствует монгольскому *t*- как глухой сильный и в то же время монгольскому *d*- как непродыхательный. В итоге возникает возможность двойной субституции фонемы. Двойственное соответствие также может быть

¹¹ См.: Z. Gombocz, Zur Lautgeschichte der altaischen Sprachen, KSz, XIII, 1912—1913, стр. 22—37; В. М. Иллич-Свитыч, Алтайские дентальные: *t*, *d*, *δ*, стр. 37—56.

объяснено различием тюркской и монгольской консонантных систем, а не только древним единством этих двух систем:



Система начальных согласных трех протоязыков различается также другими своими аспектами, причем отдельные начальные консонанты не имеют вообще никакой аналогии. Так, монгольские слова с начальным *m*- можно разделить на две группы. В одной из таких групп *m*- произошел из более древнего *b*- под влиянием последующего носового: *T biḡ > miḡ* → *M mingyan* «тысяча»; *T bi «я» > min* (склоняемая основа). В словах второй группы нет носового во втором слоге. В этой группе ни одно из слов не имеет тюркской параллели. Следовательно, если допускать существование общего тюрко-монгольского протоязыка, то необходимо объяснить, откуда развился *M m*- и во что превратился первоначальный звук в тюркском¹².

Из вопросов о неначальных согласных остановимся лишь на многократно обсуждавшейся проблеме ротацизма и ламбдаизма. Здесь также существуют две противоположные точки зрения, которые можно продемонстрировать в виде двух схем, которые не показывают никаких фонологических различий, отличаясь одна от другой только фонетически¹³:



Из обеих схем видно, что в алтайском протоязыке имелись две оппозиции, в то время как в чувашском и монгольском только одна. Итак, с точки зрения фонологической в чувашском и монгольском представлена инновация, в то время как тюркский сохранил старую систему. При этом возникает вопрос, происходили ли отдельно и независимо чувашский и монгольский процессы или же нет.

¹² Н. Поппе (см.: N. P o p p e, Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Tl. 1, Wiesbaden, 1960, стр. 34–36) полагает, что протоалтайский *m*- «...хуже всего сохранился в тюркских языках». Он также заметил, что *m*- перед носовыми является вторичным, таким образом он предполагает развитие *m > b > m*, но добавляет: «Во многих случаях довольно неясно, представлен ли в соответствующем корне первоначальный или вторичный *m*». Поппе привел восемь примеров монгольско-тюркских соответствий, в шести из которых за начальным *b*- следует носовой гласный звук. Компонент *meriyen* в *M eriyen-meriyen* «разноцветный, пестрый» является словом-апо и не имеет ничего общего с *T bāza*- «украшать». Единственное оставшееся соответствие — ПТ *biḡi* «бедро, бок» ~ М *miḡa* «мясо» — вызывает семантические и фонетические трудности при его объяснении. В то же время существует много обоснованных соответствий *M m*- ~ тунг. *m*-.

¹³ См. об этом: А. Р ó н а - Т а ш, указ. соч., стр. 396.

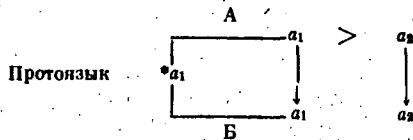
Если иметь в виду другие характерные черты, общие для монгольского и чувашского языков, возможность независимого развития должна быть признана незначительной. Но если эти два параллельных изменения связаны между собой и они не консервируют древние алтайские черты, а являются инновациями, тогда они должны быть результатом исторических контактов. Здесь могут быть предложены несколько гипотез, объясняющих, каким образом возникли эти чувашско-монгольские общие черты. Можно допустить, что в монгольском двойной оппозиции никогда не было, и в результате долгого чувашско-монгольского сосуществования чувашский также утратил одну из оппозиций. Не исключено, однако, что обе оппозиции когда-то были представлены и в монгольском, а изменение в двух языках произошло одновременно. И, наконец, можно принять во внимание влияние третьего языка (= субстрата). В любом случае явление ротацизма и ламбдаизма доказывает, что задолго до XIII в. существовала тесная связь между предшественниками чувашского и монгольского языков, что и отражается в заимствованиях.

Аргумент исторической фонологии. Если фонема языка А имеет два регулярных соответствия в языке Б, то этому факту могут быть даны следующие два объяснения.

1. Фонема a_1 в языке А является результатом конвергенции двух старых фонем a_1 и a_2 :



2. Можно допустить развитие (историческое, диалектное или то и другое) $a_1 > a_2$ в языке А. В этом случае фонема a_1 в языке Б может быть наследием или заимствованием, но синхронная фонема a_2 в языке Б может быть только заимствованием.



Следует принять то объяснение, которое подтверждается и другими аргументами.

Между тюрко-монгольскими губными гласными обнаружены следующие типы соответствий:

Тюрк.	Монг.	Тюрк.	Монг.
ö	ö	öyüz	«налет» önggür
ö	ü	höküx	«бык» hūker
ö	ü	kūzen	«хорек» kürene
ü	ö	kūvez	«гордый» köger

Здесь также можно предположить четыре алтайских передних губных¹⁴, но можно допустить и следующие соотношения: $T \delta \rightarrow M \delta$; $T \delta > \ddot{u} \rightarrow M \ddot{u}$; $T \ddot{u} \rightarrow M \ddot{u}$; $T \ddot{u} > \delta \rightarrow M \delta$.

¹⁴ Г. Дёрфер (см. его «Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen», 1, Wiesbaden, 1967, стр. 99) предполагал в прототюркском шесть губных: $\alpha, \phi, \mu, \delta, \ddot{u}, \ddot{u}$. О тенденции сужения см. также: G. D o e r f e r, Ein Kompendium der Türkologie, UAIb, 40, Hf. 3—4, 1968, стр. 244.

Последнее решение подтверждается тем фактом, что в группе тюркских языков (в чувашском и некоторых кыпчакских) могут происходить переходы $\delta > \dot{u}$ и $\dot{u} > \delta$, т. е. сужение открытых гласных и, наоборот, сокращение и расширение узких.

Другой пример — тюркский конечный $-k$ имеет два эквивалента в монгольском: а) Т $-k$ (*kök* «синий») → М $-k + V$ (*köke*); б) Т $-k$ (*ingek* «корова») → М $-g + V$ (*üntge > üntyē*). Здесь также можно предположить существование двух $*-k$ в алтайском протоязыке, один из которых совпал с монгольским $*-g$. Но это предположение можно подтвердить только исходя из алтайской гипотезы, которая сама, как известно, требует доказательства. Аналогичные два соответствия наблюдаются в чувашском: Т *kök* > чув. *kăvak*, но Т *ingek* > чув. *ēne*. Мы знаем, что в этом случае чувашский конечный $-g$ исчез, превратившись предварительно в спирант, следы которого остались в венгерском: др.-чув. *iney* → венг. *üney* > *ünö*. Здесь можно допустить следующее развитие: Т $-k \rightarrow$ М $-k + V$; Т $-k > -g$ ($> -y > \emptyset$) → М $-g + V$ ¹⁸.

Что М $*üntge$ является заимствованием, подтверждается не только тем фактом, что М $-g$ показывает более позднюю болгарскую g -стадию. В тюркском протоязыке в середине слова часто имеется звук $-g$, который в чувашском, как и в некоторых других тюркских языках, утрачен. Например: Т *qazıuq* > др.-чув. *qarıu* → венг. *karó* «кол», Т *qāzıan* > др.-чув. *qaran* > чув. *xуran* «котел». Тот же $-g$ исчез в слове *ingek* как в монгольском, так и в древнечувашском (→ венгерском); разумеется, не существует он и в современном чувашском. Монгольский, следовательно, отражает форму, более развитую, чем в прототюркском, причем даже в двух отношениях.

Мы видели, что первоначальный $-k$ стал звонким $-g$, затем — спирантом, а позднее исчез вообще, как и первоначальный $-g$. Этот процесс прослеживается и в монгольском; ср., например: Т *bögrek* «почка» → М *bögere*; Т *bürtük* «крошка» → М *börtü*, Т *köbek* «пуп» → М *küyi-sün* < *küßt*, Т *köpek* «пена» → М *köge-sün*, Т *qarsaq* «стенная лиса» → М *kırta*.

Анализ приведенных выше примеров показал, что несмотря на большие трудности, вызванные объективными и субъективными условиями изучения алтайских языков, мы располагаем методами для доказательства того, что монгольский язык имел тюркские заимствования раньше XIII в. Важно подчеркнуть, что это доказывается не анализом изолированных слов и не использованием разрозненных аргументов, а взятыми в систему соответствиями и аргументами, которые усиливают друг друга.

Многие из рассмотренных слов подходят почти под все сформулированные выше аргументы; например, М *üntye* (фонетические аргументы: ПТ $-k \sim$ М $-gV$, ПТ $-g \sim$ М \emptyset ; географический аргумент: отсутствие слова в тунгусском; исторический аргумент: слово принадлежит к терминологии развитого скотоводства) или *hüker* (фонетический аргумент: ПТ $-ö \sim$ М $-ü$; фонемная структура: ПТ $-z \sim$ М $-g$; иноязычное происхождение слова: тохар. → Т → М; исторический аргумент: слово принадлежит к терминологии развитого скотоводства).

Примеры можно было бы умножить, но, думается, картина уже ясна. Тюркские заимствования в монгольском до XIII в. вполне определенно свидетельствуют о том, что заимствовались они из множества различных тюркских языков в различные исторические периоды. Одним из тюркских языков — источников подобных заимствований должен был быть язык, принадлежащий к чувашско-болгарской группе. Надо думать, что после-

¹⁸ См.: А. Рона-Таш, указ. соч., стр. 224.

дующие исследования выявят еще больше пластов древних булгаро-монгольских контактов.

Роль гипотез. Как известно, наука не может существовать без гипотез, которые она стремится обосновать и превратить в доказательные законы. Одной из основных ошибок современной алтаистики является то, что она занимается очень многими гипотезами одновременно, причем это характерно особенно для тех исследователей, которые разделяют идею генетического родства. Проиллюстрируем это лишь двумя примерами.

В своем весьма полезном этимологическом словаре М. Рясänen предложил следующие соответствия¹⁶: Т *ayıl* «загон» ~ М *ayıl* «соседний шатер» ~ маньчж. *faiga, falka* «семья», «деревня», «улица» ~ венг. *falu* «деревня» ~ хант. *pöyöl*, манс. *päöl*.

Но чтобы принять это урало-алтайское соответствие, нужно допустить, но крайней мере, 11 гипотез: 1) угорское слово должно быть уральского происхождения, хотя слово встречается только в венгерском, мансийском и хантыйском; 2) мы должны допустить метатезу *l* и *y* в венгерском или в обско-угорских языках; 3) если в венгерском была эта метатеза, тогда обско-угорская форма должна была сохранить неизменной форму уральского протоязыка; 4) рассматриваемое слово, имея такую структуру, не может представлять собой непронизную основу; если же это производное слово, то мы должны предположить, что оно было сформировано во времена урало-алтайского единства; 5) но в этом случае должны быть выделены основа и суффикс; 6) если уральская протоформа была такова, то придется также допустить метатезу *-l* и *-g* в маньчжурском; 7) М *ayıl* могло развиваться из более древнего *ayıl*; допустить форму *payıl* было бы возможно только при ср.-монг. *hayıl* и монгorsk. *xaııl*; но на самом деле в среднемонгольском имеем *ayıl*, а в монгorskом *ayıl*; 8) чтобы преодолеть эту трудность, можно было бы считать монгольское слово заимствованием из тюркского (что очень вероятно), но тогда из цепи доказательств выпадает один из членов алтайского единства, и нам опять придется объяснить, почему слово исчезло из монгольских языков и почему они должны были заимствовать его; 9) если маньчж. *faiga* и *falka* считать результатом метатезы (*faiga* < *faliy* < *paliy* < *payıl*), тогда следует отделить это слово от маньчж. *jalan* «закрытое пространство», «округ» и от нанайск. *palan* «пол»; 10) в этом случае придется исключить возможность того, что маньчжурское слово является членом большого гнезда слов со значением «плоское место» и связано с тунг. **paııan* «ладонь», также родственным М **palayan* > *halayan* > *alayan* (то же). Если же оно относится к этому гнезду слов, тогда корень здесь **pal*, и все соответствие окажется несостоятельным; 11) тюркское слово следовало бы тогда отделить от гнезда слов *ay-* «поднимать», *ayıt*, *ayıl* «высота», что было бы очень трудно, потому что первоначально слово означало «забор, огораживающий животных», «каменное укрытие, воздвигаемое для защиты от ветра» и т. д.

Уже теперь можно было бы принять во внимание одну или две из названных гипотез; возможно также, что некоторые из них будут доказаны в ходе дальнейших исследований. Тем не менее, очень рискованно иметь дело сразу с таким множеством гипотез.

В. М. Иллич-Свитыч в посмертно опубликованной работе «Опыт сравнения ностратических языков» представил очень важные и новые для алтаистики результаты¹⁷, хотя его итоговые заключения не во всем убедительны.

¹⁶ М. R ä s ä n e n, Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türk Sprachen, I, Helsinki, 1969, стр. 8.

¹⁷ «Опыт сравнения ностратических языков», [1], М., 1971, стр. 254. Иллич-Свитыч был одним из ученых, глубоко понимавших фундаментальные проблемы сравнительного изучения алтайских языков. Он писал (там же, стр. 69): «Родство трех алтай-

тельными. В частности, пытаюсь установить родство, например, М *oga*-«войти» и Т *δr*-«подниматься», по необходимости он вынужден был принять следующие гипотезы:

1) В алтайском протоязыке не было гармонии гласных; 2) противопоставляемая монгольской форме древняя монгольская форма была не *ogo*-, а *oga*-, потому что Иллич-Свитыч исходит из ностратической формы *Horā*; 3) в монгольском имело место семантическое развитие «подниматься» > «войти»; 4) или М *δrni*-«расти» не связано со всеми названными словами, или это тюркское заимствование, или же существовало древнемонгольское развитие (или «вариация») *oga* > *δr*-; 5) в этом последнем случае придется также допустить различие в значениях монгольских слов-пар; 6) М *üre* «семя; плод; растение» или не относится к этому гнезду слов, или это заимствование; 7) или долгий гласный в туркменском глаголе *δr*-«расти» не отражает древний долгий гласный, или в монгольском произошло вторичное сокращение, потому что в монгольском, по мнению В. М. Иллича-Свитыча, древняя алтайская долгота должна была сохраниться, а в форме *иго*- гласный является кратким; 8) нанайск. *ouā* «верх» восходит к форме **oga*, но оно не родственно следующим тунгусским словам: эвенк. *ouo*, негидальск., ульч., уд., орокск. *ouo*, эвенск. *ou*, маньчж. *oule* «верхняя часть»; 9) долгий гласный *ā* в нанайск. *ouā* является результатом вторичного удлинения; 10) баргуз. *ogo*-«войти», «вторгнуться» — не монгольское заимствование.

Помимо того, нельзя забывать, что постулированное исследователем родство рассматриваемого алтайского слова с индоевропейскими и дравидийскими формами само по себе требует новых гипотез.

В то же время было бы ошибкой отрицать, что эти гипотезы возбуждают мысль и полезны именно этим, однако всегда существует опасность, что они не помогут алтаистам обнаружить реальные связи.

Родственны ли алтайские языки генетически? После того как первоочередная, на наш взгляд, задача отграничения заимствований от общего наследия будет выполнена, появится возможность ответить на вопрос: останутся ли такие алтайские соответствия, которые являются более ран-

Алтайские		Прототюрк.	Протомонг.	[Прототунг.]
<i>amyā</i>	«отверстие»	<i>an</i> ~ <i>aγ</i>	<i>angga</i> * ~ <i>aman</i>	<i>amyā</i>
<i>boγ</i> ~ <i>boy</i>	«узел», «кость»	<i>boγ</i>	<i>boγi</i> **	<i>moγgo</i>
<i>top</i>	«пыль, земля»	<i>top</i> ~ <i>toγ</i>	<i>toγo</i> ***	<i>toba</i> ~ <i>toka</i>
<i>teγ</i>	«равный»	<i>teγ</i>	<i>teng(ge)</i> ****	<i>teγ</i>
<i>sa-</i>	«думать»	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-</i>
<i>qa-</i>	«соединяться»	<i>qa-</i>	<i>qa-</i>	<i>ka</i> - ¹⁸
<i>al-</i>	«взять»	<i>al-</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>al-</i>
<i>d'a-</i>	«класть»	<i>ya-</i>	<i>da-</i>	<i>da-</i>

Примечания. *М *ayurqat* является заимствованием из ПБ *ayir* < *ayiz* < *ay*.

**М *boyorla*-«перерезать горло, задушить» является заимствованием из ПБ *boyor* < *boyas* < *boy*.

***М *toro* «пыль» (← ПБ *tār* < *tās*) и *tobray* «пыль, земля» (← *toprag* < *top*) являются заимствованиями.

****М *tenggis* «море» — заимствование (← *teγiz* < ? *teγ*).

ских языковых групп, несомненно, является весьма отдаленным. К такому выводу приводит, в частности, анализ основного словарного фонда соответствующих языков и глёттохронологическое исследование. Алтайская языковая общность, по-видимому, распалась значительно раньше других пяти больших языковых общностей, сравниваемых в этой работе. Примечательно, что большинство этимологий, признаваемых сторонниками генетического родства алтайских языков, не принято В. М. Иллич-Свитычем, и не без основания.

¹⁸ Ср.: И. В. Кормушин, «Лексико-семантическое развитие корня **qa* в алтайских языках, сб. «Тюркская лексикология и лексикография», М., 1971, стр. 9—29.

ними, чем древнейшие заимствования? В настоящее время было бы преждевременным отвечать определенно на этот вопрос, но не хотелось бы исключать возможность такого «остатка»; при этом следует сослаться на выше перечисленные соответствия (см. стр. 44).

Теоретически можно допустить, что: 1) такие соответствия не будут очень многочисленными; 2) соответствия будут действительны только для корневых морфем (ср. примечания *—****); 3) мы вправе предположить, такие соответствия, которые не всегда согласуются с фонетическими правилами, постулированными до сих пор. Например, *T berl* ~ *M p'eki* ~ тунг. *p'eki* «голова» не является «регулярным» из-за *b* в тюркском.

В заключение подчеркнем: если алтайские языки генетически родственны, то доказывается это не на основании соответствий, а вопреки соответствиям, приводимым до сих пор в пользу алтайской гипотезы. Важнейшей задачей в изучении алтайских языков в историческом плане и условием для разрешения проблемы генетического родства алтайских языков является исследование исторических контактов в течение периода между началом второго тысячелетия до н. э. и началом второго тысячелетия н. э.

Перевел с английского В. С. Сергеев

A. RÓNA-TAS

Tocharische Elemente in den altaischen Sprachen?*

1. Bisher hat man zwei türkische Wörter mit mehr oder weniger Grund für tocharisches Lehngut gehalten: *öküz* „Ochse“ ~ toch. *okso* und *tümen* „10000“ ~ toch. *tumane*.

2. Das Wort *öküz* kann jedoch nicht aus dem 6.–8. Jahrhundert stammen, als sehr enge Kontakte zwischen den sogenannten tocharischen Dialekten in Turkestan und den türkischen Stämmen in ihrer Nähe bestanden.

3. Die tocharische Etymologie von *öküz* bereitet auch viele phonetische Schwierigkeiten, aber das größte Problem bestand darin, daß das Wort bisher isoliert erschien. Damit fehlte uns die Möglichkeit, die phonetischen Probleme mit Hilfe von Analogien zu lösen. Man ist also im Zweifel, ob man es nicht mit einem reinen Zufall zu tun hat. Beim Vergleich zweier beliebiger Sprachen kann man immer einige zufällig ähnliche Wörter finden.

4. In der reichhaltigen Literatur der tocharischen Forschung der letzten Jahrzehnte kann man zahlreiche tocharische Wörter finden, über deren etwaige türkische Parallelen man zumindest nachdenken müßte. Wir müssen natürlich die urtocharischen Formen mit Hilfe der tocharischen Angaben von der Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends unserer Zeitrechnung und mit Hilfe der indogermanischen vergleichenden Sprachforschung rekonstruieren. Urtocharisch A und Urtocharisch B bestanden ungefähr am Anfang des ersten Milleniums v. u. Z. Diese beiden urtocharischen Dialekte gehen auf ein noch älteres Stadium, auf das Prototocharische, zurück.

5. In der Beilage sind 36 Etymologien angeführt (Nr. 18 ist ein Beispiel für späte Entlehnung). Der Vortrag faßt einige Hauptzüge der etymologischen Vergleiche zusammen.

6. Wir finden mindestens vier Zahlwörter, deren Übereinstimmung phonetisch und semantisch einwandfrei erscheint: Nr. 29, 3, 36 und 30 („vier“, „fünf“, „zwanzig“ und „zehntausend“). Die ersten drei könnten auf ein Zwanzigersystem hindeuten. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß der Vergleich Prototürkisch (PT) *sekiz* „acht“ ~ UTochB **säks* | TochB *škas*, TochA *šäk* < Idg. **syeks* „sechs“ phonetisch einwandfrei ist, aber semantische

* Ich lege hier einen kurzgefaßten Auszug meines Vortrages vor. Der vollständige Text wird in englischer Sprache an anderer Stelle veröffentlicht werden.

Schwierigkeiten bereitet, während bei PT *yēti* „sieben“ mit UtochB *seyte*, TochB *sukt*, TochA *spāt* < Idg. **septm* „sieben“(1) die Schwierigkeiten phonetischer Natur sind.

7. In der Liste finden wir zwei Metallnamen (Nr. 1, 35), fünf zur Großviehzucht gehörende Termini (Nr. 4, 9, 11, 12, 21, vielleicht auch 19 und 25), vier Wörter zum semantischen Bereich von „Wohnung“ (Nr. 23, 25, 27, 28) und drei mit der Jagd verbundene Ausdrücke (Nr. 15, 20, 24).

8. Von der phonetischen Seite her können wir folgende Bemerkungen machen:

8.1. Den prototürkischen Langvokalen entsprechen in drei Fällen Urtocharisch B-Diphthonge:

tōre ← *tyere* (Nr. 28)

tōr.t ← *styer* (Nr. 29)

sōl ← *syal* (Nr. 31).

Das kann man vielleicht so deuten, daß sich einige Langvokale des PT früh aus Diphthongen entwickelt haben oder daß die Langvokale des PT phonologisch mit den tocharischen Diphthongen gleichwertig waren. In drei anderen Fällen (Nr. 8, 21, 27) gehen die PT-Langvokale auf tocharische Langvokale zurück.

8.2. Der regelmäßige Schwund der nasalen Konsonanten vor den palatalisierten in Tocharisch B kann gut in Nr. 3 und 24 beobachtet werden. In beiden Fällen haben wir es mit einem Langvokal zu tun, der mit dem Schwund des Nasallautes im Zusammenhang steht.

8.3. In Tocharisch B steht regelmäßig der Anlaut *y*- anstelle von Tocharisch A und Prototocharisch *ɣ*-. Dieses *y*- findet sich in Nr. 34, 35 und 36.

8.4. Der berühmte idg. Laryngallaut, der im Hethitischen und Armenischen als *h*- im Anlaut erscheint und der im Spätocharischen noch als Langvokal und in anderen Erscheinungen nachweisbar ist, spiegelt sich in den PT-Lehnwörtern als *h*- (Nr. 7, 8, 9 und vielleicht auch Nr. 1, siehe monguorisch *zardan* „Gold“ < *halkan*) wider. Dazu sei bemerkt, daß diese Erscheinung nicht unbedingt gegen die Annahme spricht, daß das *h*- in den altaischen Sprachen sekundär sein und sich aus **p*- entwickelt haben könnte.

8.5. Die regelmäßige Palatalisierung und Spirantisierung der idg. gutturalen Verschußlaute in der tocharischen Sprache kann an den Beispielen Nr. 3, 15, 29, 31 beobachtet werden.

8.6. Der urtocharische Vokalismus ist in Nr. 3, 6, 10, 35 bewahrt, wo Tocharisch B schon eine Weiterentwicklung zeigt.

8.7. Das PT hatte im Gegensatz zum Urtocharischen eine hintere und eine vordere Reihe der Vokale. In der Umgebung von Urtocharisch -*k*-, wo PT auch zwei *k*-Laute hatte (*k* und *q*), gab es zwei Möglichkeiten. Entweder hatte PT den hinteren Vokalismus eingesetzt und das tocharische -*k*- durch -*q*- substituiert (*oquz*, *quñ*), oder es hatte den -*k*- Laut beibehalten und dem Vokalismus angepaßt, also das Wort vordervokalisch gestaltet

(*öküz, küñ*). An den Beispielen Nr. 9 und 16 kann man beobachten, daß das PT beide Möglichkeiten parallel realisiert hat.

8.8. Die Konsonantenhäufung *st-*, *st-* war im Türkischen zu *t-* reduziert worden, weil das PT keine Doppelkonsonanten im Anlaut duldete (Nr. 27, 29).

8.9. Der stimmlose Anlautkonsonant *p-* wurde durch *b-* substituiert, weil das PT keinen *p-* Laut hatte (Nr. 3, 4, 5).

8.10. Die auslautenden Konsonantenhäufungen wurden in PT aufgelöst, und zwar mit dem Einschub eines Vokals, wie in Nr. 9, 19 und vielleicht *sekiz*.

9. Die phonetischen Besonderheiten der angeführten Wörter weisen klar auf eine urtocharische Quelle, die Tocharisch B näher stand als Tocharisch A.

10. Einige der angeführten Wörter helfen uns, die strittige Frage zu lösen, ob *l* oder *š* bzw. *r* oder *z* die primären Laute waren. Dazu sei bemerkt, daß dem PT-Laut *š* immer ein palatalisierter urtocharischer *ś-* oder *š-* Laut entspricht (wie auch in den türkischen Brahmi-Texten), während dem *z-* Laut des PT in der tocharischen Ursprache ein *-s* gegenübersteht:

10.1. UtochB *koš* → PT *qoš* > Urbulgarisch *qol* (Nr. 25)

UtochB *pēs* → PT *bēs* > Urbulg. *bēl* (Nr. 3)

UtochB *peš* → PT *biš* > Urbulg. *bił* ~ *bāl* (Nr. 4)

UtochB *kis* → PT *kis* > Urbulg. *kil* (Nr. 15)

10.2. UtochB *yas* → PT *yaz* > Urbulg. *jar* (Nr. 34)

UtochB *yes* → PT *yez* > Urbulg. *jer* (Nr. 35)

UtochB *kās* → PT *qāz* > Urbulg. *qar* (Nr. 24)

UtochB *omso* → PT *omuz* > Urbulg. *omur* (Nr. 19)

UtochB *hokso* → PT *hoquz, hōkūz* > Urbulg. *hōkūr* (Nr. 9).

11. Zur chronologischen Seite kann folgendes gesagt werden: PT *yam* (Nr. 32) erscheint schon in den Topa-Glossen, die Mehrzahl der Wörter kommen im Urmongolischen (← Urbulgarisch), einige im Ursamojedischen (← Urbulgarisch), andere im Altungarischen (← Altbulgarisch) vor. Das weist auf das relativ hohe Alter der Entlehnungen hin. Zwei Wörter (Nr. 24 und 35) sind in einem noch früheren Stadium in die uralischen Sprachen eingedrungen (uralisch **kyar* „Gans“ und **yes* „Eisen“). Letzteres Wort ist durch südsamojedische und paläoasiatische (altkirgisische) Vermittlung ins Altmongolische gelangt (*qašu* „Eisen“). Diese Angaben ermöglichen ein relatives chronologisches Netz aufzustellen:

Älteste Entlehnungen:

Prototocharisch → Uralisch

Samojedisch → Altkirgisisch → Altmongolisch

Alte Entlehnungen:

Urtocharisch B → Prototürkisch

Urtürkisch

Urbulgarisch

Ursamojedisch

Urmongolisch

Altbulgarisch → Altungarisch

Späte Entlehnungen:

Urtocharisch

Tocharisch A, B → Uigurisch → Mittelmongolisch:

12. Zum Schluß sei bemerkt, daß die Stichhaltigkeit dieser Etymologien von der richtigen Rekonstruktion der urtocharischen Formen abhängt. Da ich kein Tocharologe bin, möchte ich die Stellungnahme von Fachleuten, die in der Tocharologie zu Hause sind, abwarten. Solange nicht kompetente Meinungen von Tocharologen geäußert werden, muß das Fragezeichen in der Überschrift meines Vortrages beibehalten werden. Als Diskussionsmaterial dürften die angeführten Beispiele einstweilen ausreichen.

Türkisch-tocharische Parallelen

PT – Prototürkisch, Idg – Indogermanisch, PToch – Prototocharisch, UTochB – Urtocharisch B (West, Kutscha), TochB – Tocharisch B, TochA – Tocharisch A, WE – Windekens, *Lexique étimologique des dialectes tokhariens*, 1941, PE – Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1959.

1. PT *altun* „Gold“ ← UTochB **antu* „Metall“ | TochB *enču.wo*, TochA *and.waṣi* (adj.) „Eisen“ < PToch **antu.yes* < Idg **ond-* „Stein“ (PE 778), *yes* (of. *yez*), of. Oset *aendon* „Stahl“.
2. PT *aus(aq)*, *aps(aq)* „Espe“? ← UTochB **ausa* < Idg **apsā* „Espe“ (PE 55), tocharisch nicht belegt.
3. PT *bēs* „fünf“ ← UTochB **pēs* „fünf“ | TochB *piś*, TochA *pān* < PToch **pānś* < Idg **penk^e* (WE 90, PE 808).
4. PT *biś* „butter“ ← UTochB **peṣ-* „f.“ | TochB *peṣ.ke* „Butter“ < Idg? **bhei(ə)-*, **bhi-* „schlagen“ (WE 94, PE 117).
5. PT *bil-* „wissen“ ← UTochB **pel-* „denken“ | TochB *pal.s.k-*, *pāl.s.k-*, TochA *pāl(t).s.k-* < PToch *pel.s.k-* < Idg **bhel-* „glänzen“ (WE 85, PE 118–119).
6. PT *čāk-* „ziehen“ ← UTochB **tsāk-* „ziehen“ | TochB *tsāk-*, TochA *tsāk-* < Idg **theg-* (WE 146).
7. *halaq* „flache Hand“ ← UTochB **hal-* „flache Hand“ | TochB *āl*, TochA *āle* < Idg *(*h*)*el-* „biegen“ (WE 11, PE 307), cf. Hett. *hāliya-* „Knie biegen“ (Juret, *Voc. etym.* 20), das PT Wort ist nur im Mongolischen belegt.
8. PT *hōt* „Feuer“? ← UTochB **hōt* < Idg *(*h*)*āt* „Feuer“ (PE 69), im Tocharischen nicht belegt. Zu *h-* cf. Chaladsch *hot*.
9. PT *hōkūz*, *hoquz* „Ochse, Rind“ ← UTochB **hokso* „Ochs“ | TochB *okso* < PToch **hokso* < Idg *(*h*)*uk^esen* „Stier“ (WE 79, PE 1118) < ? **hauksen* < **hauk-* „wachsen“.
10. PT *kele-* „sprechen“ ← UTochB **kālā-* „hallen, nennen“ | TochAB *kāl(n)-*, TochB *kal(n)-* „widerhallen“, TochAB *klāw-*, TochA *klaw-*

- „melden, nennen“ < PToch **kele-* < Idg **kel-*, *kelē* „rufen, schreien“ (WE 25, 39, PE 548–9).
11. PT *keu* „Stute“ ← UTochB **keu* „Kuh“ | TochB *keu*, *kewiye*, TochA *ko*, *ki* < PToch **kewi* od. **gewi* < Idg **g^uou.io* (WE 38, PE 482–3), das PT Wort ist nur im Mongolischen belegt als *geu*.
 12. PT *kev-* „kauen“ ← UTochB **keu-* < Idg **ǵ(i)eu-*, **g(i)eu-* „kauen“ (PE 400), tocharisch nicht belegt, oder: *bu-*, *kwatsi-* „essen“? (WE 133).
 13. PT *kes-* „schneiden“ ← UTochB **kes-* „schneiden“ | TochB *kās-* < Idg *kes-* „schneiden“ (WE 35, PE 586).
 14. PT *kert-* „schneiden“ ← UTochB **kert-* „schneiden“ | TochB *kār.s.t-* „schneiden“, *kert.te* „Schwert“, TochA *kār.s.t-* „schneiden“, < PToch *ker.s.t-* < Idg *(*s*)*ker-* „schneiden“ (WE 27, PE 938, 945).
 15. PT *kiš* „Zobel“? ← UTochB **kiš* < Idg **kek* „Wiesel“ (PE 543), tocharisch nicht belegt, cf. Ursamojedisch **kili*.
 16. PT *kūn*, *quñ* „Tag, Sonne“ ← UTochB **kun* „Tag, Sonne“ | TochAB *kom*, TochB *kaun*, plur.: TochB *kañi*, TochA *koñi* < PToch **kun* < Idg *kēu.n* „leuchten“ od. *kāu-* (WE 43, PE 594) oder *kāw-* (Winter Aspects of Altaic Civilisation 247).
 17. *kūrū* „Stein“ ← UTochB **kurū* „Stein“ | TochB *kārweñe* < Idg *k^urā.yon*, vgl. Schneider IF 1967, 241. Das PT Wort ist nur im Mongolischen belegt.
 18. Uig. *madar* „Ungeheuer“ ← TochB *mādār* „Ungeheuer“, späte Entlehnung, via Uigurisch auch Mongolisch.
 19. PT *omuz* „Schulter“ ← UTochB **omso* „Schulter“ | TochB *āntse*, *onī*, TochA *es* < PToch **omso* < Idg **om(e)so* (WE 22, 82, PE 778).
 20. PT *oq* „Pfeil“ ← UToch *ok* „scharfer, spitzer Stein“ | TochB *ak.watse* „scharf“ < Idg **ok* „scharf, spitz, Stein“ (PE 18), zu *-watse* vgl. Sieg-Siegling, Toch. Gram. 19.
 21. PT *ōt* „Gras“ ← UTochB **ōti* „Gras“ | TochAB *āti* < Idg **ados* „Getreideart“ (WE 15, PE 3).
 22. PT *qap-* „fassen, fangen“ ← UTochB *kap-* „fassen“ | TochB *kapci* „Daumenmaß“ < Igd **kap-* „fassen“ (PE 352), wegen onomatopoeischen Aussehens nicht entscheidbar.
 23. PT *qarāi* „Palast“ ← UTochB **karci* „Palast“ | TochB *kerc(i)ye* < PToch **ker.t-* < IG *ger.t-* (WE 37, PE 385–6).
 24. PT *qāz* „Gans“ ← UTochB **kās* < Idg **ǵhans* „Gans“ (PE 412), tocharisch nicht belegt.
 25. PT *qoš* „Hütte, kleines Zelt“ ← UTochB **koš* „Hütte“ | TochB *koš.kiye*, *koš.ko* (Thomas, Elementarbuch II, 187) < PToch **keu.s.k* < Idg **geu-*, *keu-* „biegen“ (Windekens, KZ 1952, 111, PE 393; oder iranisch?).
 26. PT *qomursqa*, *qormusqa* „Ameise“? ← UTochB **kurmīs* < Idg *k^urmī.s* „Wurm, Made“ (PE 649), cf. Lit. *kirmis* „Wurm“, **skirvis* „Ameise“ (Vasmer III, 318, PE 649). Tocharisch nicht belegt.

27. PT *tām* „Wand“ ← UTochB **stām* „Baum, Stamm“ | TochB *stām*, TochA *stām* „Baum“ < Idg *stām.en* < *stā-* „stehen“ (WE 117, PE 1004, 1008).
28. PT *tūr(e)* „Ehrenplatz gegenüber der Tür“ ← UTochB **tūere* „Tür“ | TochB *twere* < PToch **tūere* < Idg **dhyér-* (WE 144, PE 278).
29. PT *tūr.t* „vier“ ← UTochB **štūr* „vier“ | TochB *štwer*, TochA *štwar* < PToch **setwer* < Idg **kʷetuer* (WE 133, PE 642).
30. PT *tūmen* „zehntausend“ ← UTochB *tumane* „zehntausend“ | TochB *tumane*, *tmāne*, TochA *tman* < PToch **teu-man* < Idg **tēu-* „schwellen“ (WE 143, PE 1080, 1082).
31. PT *sāl* „links“ ← PTochB **syāl* „links“ | TochB *šwal.yai* (acc. sing.), TochA *šāl.yi* < PToch **šua.l* < ? Idg **gēu-* „biegen, krumm“ (WE 134, PE 393).
32. PT *yam* „Weg“ ← UTochB **yaṃ* „Bahn, Pfad“ | TochA *yotiya* „Pfad“, TochA *yom* „Spur“ < PToch *ya.n* < Idg **iā.n* (WE 171, PE 296), cf. Skr. *yāna* „Pfad“.
33. PT *yap-* „machen“ ← UTochB **yap-* „tun, machen“ | TochA *yp-*, cf. TochA *yām-*, TochB *yam-*, TochA *ya-* etc. < PToch **yap-* < Idg **iabh-* „ergreifen“ (Schneider, IF 1942, 41–44).
34. PT *yaz* „Sommer, Frühling“? ← UTochB **yas* „Frühling“ < Idg **yes-* „Frühling“ (PE 1174), tocharisch nicht belegt.
35. PT *yez* „Kupfer“ ← UTochB **yes* „Gold“ | TochB *yasā*, TochA *wäs* < PToch **yes* < Idg **ues*, **uos* (WE 158, PE 86).
36. PT *yigirmi* „zwanzig“ ← UTochB **yikṛmi* „zwanzig“ | TochB *ikām*, TochA *wiki* < PToch *wiki.mi* < Idg **yikṛti* (WE 161, PE 1177).

Some Problems of Uralic Vocalism from an Altaist's Point of View

Andrew RONA-TAS

Szeged

From the earliest times, those who have worked in the field of Altaic linguistic history have followed with the greatest interest the developments in Uralic studies. This interest has only been strengthened by the latest discussions of the problems of Uralic vocalism. I have personally learnt much from it in two respects: it was instructive from the theoretical point of view and it raised new problems in the field of the historical contacts of some Uralic and Altaic languages. Among the latter especially important are the connections of the Cheremis language with the Turkic languages of the Volga region.

It is well known that the questions of Cheremis vocalism have a key position in the recent discussions of the vocalism theories of Steinitz and Itkonen. The Common Cheremis vocalism is one of the rare points where Steinitz and Itkonen are of the same opinion. They both suppose reduced vowels there. On the other hand it has been long ago stated that the Volga Turkic (VT) languages, Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash, have reduced vowels too. The interpretation of these facts, however, gave rise to a lively discussion. Steinitz thought that the reduced vowels of Cheremis reflect an archaic state of FU vocalism. According to Itkonen these vowels are a secondary development. Décsy denied the reduced character of these vowels and interpreted them as very short (*überkurz*). Also Gruzov stressed that the relevant feature of these vowels is their shortness. This was denied by Itkonen. In the opinion of Steinitz the VT reduced vowels developed under Cheremis influence while Kazancev and Bereczki argued that the Cheremis reduced vowels are of Turkic (according to Bereczki, of Kipchak) origin.

Itkonen wrote: "Letzten Endes haben die Turkologen zu entscheiden, welcher Wert Bereczkis Hypothese zukommt, wonach die tschuw. Vokalreduktion auf tat. Einfluß beruhe" (UAJb. 41 1969, p. 219). I would join the discussion on this point.

What I am going to say is based on a yet unpublished monograph on the history of the Chuvash language. For the understanding of the history of the Chuvash vocalism we have to deal briefly with the system of Tatar-Bashkir vocalism. This can be outlined as follows:

PROTOTURKIC (PT)	TATAR AND BASHKIR (VK)	GRAPHICS
Open	Close	
*a	ä	a
*ä, *e	i	u
*o	u	y
*ö	ü	Y
Close	Reduced	
*ī	ä	u
*i	ë	e
*u	ö	o
*ü	ö	ö
ya-	ä	a

We can observe here a clear shift of the whole system. The original PT opposition *open* : *close* has been replaced by a new one: *close* : *reduced*. In the meantime two old phonemes converged and a new open phoneme *ä* has developed. Phonetically speaking, the four vowels of the highest position of the tongue (*ī, i, u, ü*) were pushed from their earlier place of articulation by those of the lower tongue position respectively. The former close vowels became reduced in their articulation, somewhat more central and open. Their duration is shorter than the duration of those which had been originally open. This system can be observed only in the Volga-Kipchak (VK) languages (Tatar, Bashkir). In the other Kipchak languages all vowels are closer than their counterparts in other Turkic languages, the originally close vowels are somewhat more central and none of them is reduced. That means that the tongue position of the VK vowels differs essentially from that of the other Kipchak languages, and there is a difference in articulation and length.

How old is the VK system? The answer to this question is given by the Middle Mongolian (MMo) loanwords of the VK languages. These loanwords entered the VK languages after the 13th century:

MMo *bödüne* 'quail' → **bödüne* > Tat *büdäne*, Bashk *büđänä*;

MMo *böldürge* (<*bögöldürge*) 'leather handle of a whip' → **böldürge* > Tat **büldürge* → Kazak *büldürge*, Kirg *büldürge*;

MMo *delbege* 'reins' → **delbege* > Tat, Bashk *dilbegä*;

MMo *dem* 'help, counsel' → **dem* > Tat, Bashk *dım*;

MMo *noyta* 'halter' → **noyta* > Tat, Bashk *nuqta*;

MMo *bosaya* 'threshold' → *bosaya* > Tat, Bashk *busaya*.

In later loanwords the MMo vocalism is already preserved:

MMo *moqu-* 'to be dull' → Tat *moqıt* 'dull';

MMo *nöker* 'consort, associate, comrade' → Bashk *nöger*.

This agrees with the results of Wichmann (MSFOu XXXVI 1915, pp. 26, 31, 38, 48—49) according to whom the oldest Tatar loanwords in Votjak had been borrowed before the present Tatar system had developed.

We shall now move on to the Chuvash system. It is well known that the ancestors of the Chuvash, the Onogur-Bolgar tribes came to the West about the end of the 4th century A. D. Earlier they lived in North Central Asia. According to my latest investigations the Onogur-Bolgars had before their departure to the West a close contact with the Mongolian tribes. I call this period Ancient Bolgarian (AB). The famous parallels between Chuvash and Mongolian are not a common heritage from an Altaic protolanguage as Ramstedt and Poppe suppose, but AB loanwords in Mongolian. These loanwords were borrowed during a relatively long period and during this time the vocalism of AB changed. This is reflected by the AB loanwords:

- AB I. *o* → Mong *o*: PT **qoš-* 'to unite' > AB **qol* → Mong *qolbo-*;
 II. *ō* > *u* → Mong *u*: PT **qopuz* 'musical instrument' > AB **qoður* > **quður* → Mong *quyur*;
 I. *ō* → Mong *ō*: PT **ōñüz* 'coating on the tongue, etc.' > AB **ōñür* → Mong *ōnggür*;
 II. *ō* > *ü* → Mong *ü*: PT **höküz* 'ox' > AB **hökür* > **hükür* → Mong *hüker*;
 I. *ü* → Mong *ü*: PT **küzen* 'weasel' > AB **kürenz* → Mong *kürene*;
 II. *ü* > *ö* → Mong *ö*: PT **tüş* 'dream' > AB **tül* > **töl* → Mong *tölge* 'fortune-telling';
 I. *e, ä* → Mong *e*: PT **kāz-* 'to wander' > AB **kärz-* → Mong *kerü-*; PT **bediz* 'decoration' > AB **bedir* → Mong *beder*;
 II. *e, ä* > *i* → Mong *i*: PT **ekiz* 'twin, double' > AB **ekirz* > **ikire* → Mong *ikire*; PT **kāndir* 'hamp' > AB **kāndir* > **kin-dir* → Mong **kindir* > *kinjir* 'rope'.

The developments under II were sporadic and probably dialectal but we can observe here the genesis of a process where the AB vowels became closer.

After the 4th century the Onogur-Bolgars came into contact with the Hungarians. The above-mentioned process can be followed further in the Old Bolgarian (OB) loanwords of Hungarian.

In such words as Hung *ökör* 'ox' the original OB form has been reconstructed as **ökür* on the basis of the vocalism of this word in other Turkic languages (cf. Gombocz, BTLw., p. 111). But it is known that in Old Hungarian there prevailed a strong tendency according to which the close vowels became open ones. The present Hungarian *ökör* goes back to an earlier *ükür* which is attested in the sources of the 13th—14th centuries. Unfortunately Ancient Hungarian had no *ō* and thus the *ü* in *ükür* can be also a substitution. But Ancient Hungarian had both the phonemes *o* and *u*. In such cases as PT *bor* 'wine' ~ Hungarian *bor* id., Hungarian had borrowed a form **bur* which then developed into *bor*. In case of PT *bors* 'badger' Hungarian took over a form **burs* and developed the present form *borz*. On the other hand the close labials have close correspondences in Hungarian. PT *yüzük* 'ring' is in Hungarian *gyűrű*, PT *bus* 'vapour' is in Hungarian *bűsz*. It is not quite impossible that here we have to do with earlier Hungarian forms **györű* ← OB *jörēü*, **bos* ← OB *bos* and we can assume a process of narrowing which was rarer in Hungarian linguistic history but which nevertheless occurred.

It seems to be very probable that the OB vowel system was not yet consistent but perhaps slightly more developed than at the end of the AB period. From this point of view we have to reconsider the question of the vocalism of the OB loanwords in Hungarian.

The developments in the Middle Bulgarian period (MB) can be first studied in the Volga-Bulgarian loanwords of Common Permic (CP). These loanwords entered CP before the CP denasalization but they cannot be earlier than the Moslem influence in the Volga region. That means that they date from the 9th–10th centuries. The process of narrowing can be observed also here: PT *qomda* 'basket' > MB **xumda* → CP *kumda* > Komi *kud*, Udm *kudi*.

Three hundred years later the Volga Bulgars came into contact with the newcomers to the region, the Tatars. The last dated source of Volga Bulgarian is from 1357; the earliest inscription written in a non-Bulgarian Turkic language is from 1311–1312. The Volga Bulgarian loanwords in the Volga Kipchak languages show that in the 14th–15th centuries the VK languages had already undergone this change and their vocalism has from these times remained practically the same:

PT **küzük* 'hedge' > MB **kōrū* → Tat *kōrō*;

PT **būydai* 'wheat, spelt' > MB **borai* → Tat, Bashk *borai*;

PT *jumirt* 'Padus, a kind of berry, Russian *черемуха*' > MB *šomirt* → Tat *šomirt*, Bashk *šomort*.

The process can be well observed in the case of Old Russian *gōba* 'mushroom'. This word had been borrowed by MB before the denasalization in Russian, i.e. before the 10th century in the form **gōmbe*. The word passed through MB to CP as **gomba* and became in Komi *gob*, in Udmurt *gubi*. The same word was later borrowed by the Tatars and has survived as *gōmbe* (cf. Chuvash *kōmba*).

Let us now sketch the history of the present Chuvash vocalism (in the first syllable and only from the point of view here discussed):

PT	MB	Virjal	Anatri
<i>*a</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>*e</i>	<i>*ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>*o</i>	<i>*u</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>*ō</i>	<i>*ū</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>*ī</i> ↓	<i>*ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>*i</i>	<i>*ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>*u</i>	<i>*ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>*ū</i>	<i>*ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>*ā</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>*ā</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>

It is clear from this scheme that the MB system was the same as the present VK system. In other words, the VK system preserved the MB stage of the history of the Chuvash vocalism. The modern Chuvash development went further. In Virjal there occurred a second narrowing

(**ä* > *o*, **o* > *u* > *ö*, **ö* > *ü* > *ø*), and in Anatri a third one (**o* > *u*, **ö* > *ä*, **ø* > *ë*).

In this connection I think the statements of Itkonen are proved when he wrote: "Es dürfte wohl nichts der Annahme entgegenstehen, dass die tschuw. reduzierten Vokale ein болгарisches Erbe wären... Falls es also im Bulgarischen schon ca. im 11.—12. Jh. reduzierte Vokale gab, lässt sich denken, dass sie damals aufgrund der vorhandenen Kontakte auch in alle kiptschakischen [I would say: Wolga-Kiptschakischen] Sprachen gelangen konnten" (UAJb. 41 1969, p. 219).

Confronted with these facts we have to decide the question of the origin of the reduced vowels in Cheremis. This has to be done by experts in Uralic studies but I wonder whether there can be another solution than that the reduced vowels in the Volga region are of Middle Bulgarian origin. Here I would draw attention only to three points:

1) Most of the Chuvash loanwords in Cheremis were borrowed at a time when the Cheremis dialects already existed in some measure. The loanwords entered one dialect and spread from it gradually over the Cheremis territory. This can be one of the causes of the variegated Cheremis dialectal representations of the Chuvash vowels.

2) In Chuvash there were two, chronologically different, processes of reduction: an earlier reduction of the originally close vowels and later a second one of the secondary close vowels.

3) There is a difference in Chuvash between the reduced vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. In the stressed position the reduced vowels have a more perfect articulation than in the unstressed syllables. But in both cases they are shorter and more central than the full vowels. There is stress on a reduced vowel only if there is no full vowel in the word. In case of suffixes with a full vowel, the stress moves to the latter even if the stem has no full vowel, e.g. *šätäklä* 'having an opening' with the stress on the first syllable, but *šätäklä-* 'to make an opening' with the stress on the full vowel of the last syllable.

ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS

Böz in the Altaic World

According to an earlier suggestion of Pelliot now made plausible by Ecsedy¹ the Chinese transcriptions *p'o* 勃 ~ *po* 𣎵 denoting a kind of linen cloth and given by the Turk kagan Tu-lan to the Chinese court as a gift in 588, is reflecting the word *böz*. This Altaic word had been connected long ago with Greek βύσσος.² The history of this word is important because it reflects the role played by the Altaic people in the early connections between China and the Western World. Two questions, however, have to be solved: What did the word actually denote, and how old is it in the Altaic languages?

1.

The earliest occurrences of the word can be found in the Uigur monuments. In a Buddhist text published by F. W. K. Müller (*Uigurica* II p. 70 ll. 4–5) we read that one has to write the sacred text . . . *toz-ta, yapırqaq-ta, kâgdâ-tâ, böz-tâ, ban-ta* . . ., i. e., "on birch-bark, (palm)-leaves, paper, *böz* and (wooden writing) tablet". F. W. K. Müller translated *böz* as „Baumwolle“ and Sir Gerard Clauson (*EDPCT* 389) as "cotton cloth". In the Chinese text from which the Uigur text has been freely translated, we find only three names of material: *hwa-p'i* 桦皮 "birch bark"³, *po-tieh* 白𣎵 "white cloth"⁴, and *shu-p'i* 樹皮 "the bark of a tree"⁵. It is highly probable that *böz* of the Uigur text is a rendering of the Chinese *po-tieh*, but due to the fact that, in this case, we do not have to deal with a verbatim trans-

¹ See the paper of H. Ecsedy above. On our teamwork see her note 1.

² W. Bang, in: *APAW* 1921, 14.

³ *Hua* is translated in Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary No 2219 as "a kind of birch found in Manchuria".

⁴ On *po-tieh* see the paper of Ecsedy above, pp. 149–150 and Hamilton, in: *BSOAS* 31 [1968], 332, 335.

⁵ I do not understand why there is made a difference between the two kinds of bark while there is no mention of paper, palm-leaves and the wooden tablet *ban* which is a Chinese loanword in Uigur. On the latter see Sir Gerard Clauson's excellent new etymological dictionary: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972 (= *EDPCT*), 346. In any case the Chinese text seems to be corrupt and only *po-tieh* and *böz* correspond, which can also be due to the fact that the Uigur translator had another Chinese text before him, and/or he translated it very freely.

lation, the only certainty we can gain is that *bōz* denoted in this text a material on which one could write and which was most likely of white colour.

In another text which is a translation of letters written to and by Hsüan-tsang (d. 664) we again encounter the word *bōz*. From a letter of Jñānaprabha from Middle-India we learn that he sent a poem on the *Rgveda* with two *bōz* (ll. 1809–1810: *ritiwiḍ śloka iki bōz birlā*)⁶ which had been acknowledged by Hsüan-tsang in his answer (ll. 2047–2052): *yana iki bōz, bir qap ritiwiḍ sudur ślokin itmiṣ siz tāgdi*, “further your dispatch of two *bōz* and one bundle of *Rgveda*-sudur poems reached me”. The Chinese original has in the first case *tiēh*, in the second *po-tiēh*. I do not think that this text is giving an argument in favour of *bōz* being fabricated in and imported from India. The Uigur translation is at least two hundred years younger than the Chinese original,⁷ and the Uigur translator simply rendered the Chinese word with an Uigur one which he thought to be equivalent in his time. Yet it seems to be highly probable that *bōz* for the Uigur translator was the name of a kind of valuable cloth suitable for a gift given by distinguished people to people of a similar social status.

A very interesting passage of the Uigur *Säkiz yūkmäk*⁸ gives some more hints as to the nature of *bōz*. I quote here the translation of Bang-Gabain-Rachmati: „Wie auf dieser Welt (l. 391) die Kette und der Schuß beide längs und quer gehend sich bindend zu Seide (*torqu*), Brokat (*eḡirti*), Baumwollzeug (*bōz*) (l. 392) usw., (d. h.) zu einer Materie werden und den Wesen Kleidung (Hend.) und andere Vorteile bietet, (l. 393) so werden auch die Lebewesen – indem die in diesem Sūtra befindlichen achterlei Bewußtseinsarten die Kette (l. 394) und das Glanz-Wissen (skr. *amala-vijñāna*?) der Einschlag (Schuß) sind und sich ständig binden – verstehend, (l. 395) begreifend und wissend den Buddha-Weg betreten und (anderen) Vorteil bringen“ (op. cit. 139). *Bōz* is here a material which is like silk and brocade and woven with woof and warp. It was used for clothing and “other benefits” and must have been a kind of valuable material. But – at least for the translator – it was already not an exotic kind of cloth whose technique of manufacturing should be miraculous to him.

An Uigur medical text advises those who have a tooth-ache⁹ to put the following things in a small bag made of *bōz* (*bōz qapčuy-ta*): dung of a black ox cooked with vinegar and dung of a camel of the salty meadows (mixed)

⁶ Cf. A. von Gabain, Briefe der uigurischen Hsüan-tsang Biographie, in: SPAW 1938, 375, 384.

⁷ Cf. A. von Gabain, Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hsüan-tsangs, in: SPAW 1935, 162.

⁸ W. Bang-A. von Gabain-G. R. Rachmati, Das buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz Yūkmäk, in: SPAW 1934, 138 there written *torqu, iškirti*. The Mongolian and Tibetan parallel texts at my disposal do not contain this passage. But in case there should be such texts it would be irrelevant for our purposes, since they would reflect the Chinese original.

⁹ G. R. Rachmati, Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren I, in: SPAW 1930, 458–459.

with reddish salt. These had to be ground, mixed with wine, and then warmed in a pot. Finally the whole bag had to be treated with the oil of sesame-seeds and put on the aching tooth. At the times when this text was written *böz* had already been a kind of material common enough for use in everyday life. It could not have been woven very loosely since otherwise it would not have been suitable to put the *böz*-bag with its contents into the mouth.

In the Uigur version of the legend of the princes Kalyāṇapākara and Pāpākara this word also seems to occur. In the text transcribed by Hamilton¹⁰ we read: *āmāri tīnlīy-lar čiyārī āpīrār yuḡ āpīrār kentir āpīrār: böz bertätip qara toqiyur taqī yemā adruq uzlar kántū kántū uz işläyür*. Huart read *č(i)qri* and translated it as «rouet» while Pelliot supposed a name of a textile unknown to him and preferred the reading *č(a)yay*. Sir Gerard Clauson (EDPCT 412) writes: "The context indicates that it means some kind of textile fibre. Perhaps survives in SE Türki *çiçe* 'wild hemp, a cord made of wild hemp'." The cited Uigur word is back-vocalic, the Turkic is front-vocalic.¹¹ Hamilton is turning back to Huart's translation and quotes an inedited Tun-huang MS. where *ekki čiyar-ī böz* is mentioned which Hamilton translated als «deux pièces de toile (tissée avec des fils filés) au rouet». The word *yuḡ* has been translated by Pelliot as «cotton», while by Hamilton as «laine». Kāšyari knows both meanings, in Uigur texts *yuḡ* is also disseminated (*larī-*), therefore it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing here with wool or cotton. Its original meaning was "down, soft feather"¹² and it has been only secondarily extended to new materials sim-

¹⁰ R. J. Hamilton, *Le conte bouddhique du bon et du mauvais prince en version ouïgure*, Paris 1971, 9; cf. P. Pelliot, *La version ouïgure de l'histoire des princes Kalyāṇapākara et Pāpākara*, in: TP 15 [1914], 230–231.

¹¹ I should like to quote here only New Uigur *čig-* "to tie together (with a knot), to plait, to weave", *čig, čigik, čigič* "knot", *čigā* "cord", see also M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1969, 110 (= EtWb) where the verb *čig-* and the noun *čigā* „Pflanzenfasern, wilder Hanf, Bindfaden" are separated.

¹² The early occurrences of the meaning "feather" are quoted in EDPCT 910, 941. Sir Gerard supposes a contamination between *yuḡ* "wool" and *yūḡ* "feather" while Räsänen (EtWb 211) lists the two words under one heading. I think in this case Räsänen is right. The Chuvash word *šūš* "hair" cannot be the continuation of *šād* as it is commonly thought (so Räsänen EtWb 391; Egorov, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* 224) but reflects an earlier *jūlē*, see Kāšyari *yūlēš* "fine goat's hair". The Soyot *yūm*, Altai *šum, šun, šum*, "feather, down, animal hair" point to a PT *yūḡ* ~ *yuḡ*. The word has an extensive family and *yumšaq* "soft" also pertains here. It is a derivation from **yumuš* preserved in Chuvash as *šāmāl*, cf. Chuv. *šām* "wool". The latter figures in the compound *šām kayāk(š)* "name of several birds of prey" and denotes "feather(ed)". *Kayāk* is PT *kāyik* "wild animal" which became later in Chuvash "bird" from the compound "feathered animal". The original meaning of *kayāk* is preserved in many other compounds as, e. g., *kayāk šēna* "boar, wild pig". Another word for "wool" is *tūk* < PT *tūk*. This word also has the meaning "feather" in Chuvash and in many other Turkic languages (see the data in Räsänen EtWb 503). As a semantical parallel to "feather ~ animal hair ~ soft" see also Chinese *ts'ui* 絨 "the fine hair on

ilar to it: wool and cotton. It is evident that the meaning "wool" became established with the nomads and entered the Mongolian language.¹³ The puzzle of the word read by Pelliot as *gar(i)š* was solved by Hamilton, who corrected the reading to *qars* fixing its meaning and the history of the word.¹⁴ The word read by Hamilton as *bertätip* had been transcribed by Pelliot as *butätip*, by Clauson as *bodut*-. Pelliot was uncertain of the translation, Clauson suggested "having dyed". In the facsimile I do not see the -r-, it is either *b't'ip* or perhaps *bwt'ip* (the ligated *waw* would be in this case unusually small). Perhaps the expression has to be read as *bqz bytütip qars toqiyur*. "have produced a *böz* and weaved a *qars*" where *bütüt*- would be the causative of *büt*- "to bring to an end, make, produce etc.". In any case, if this word has to be read as *böz* - which seems certain - it was in some relation to *qars*.

From a late Uigur document (USp 73: 4, EDPCT 390) we learn that a slave-smith (*temirci qarabaš*) and a female slave *bözči* (*ebči qarabaš bözči*) got married. It is sure that *bözči* is here "cotton cloth weaver" and not "seller of *böz*", the former is the meaning of the word not only in Sanglax quoted by EDPCT but also in Modern Kirgiz. Definitively in this case and perhaps also in the former one, we already meet with the fabrication of *böz*. It became a common material.

In texts of the 11-13th centuries *böz* denoted among others a material for a shroud (cf. Qutadū Bilig, Yugnaki, Nahcu'l-Faradis quoted by EDPCT 389, DTS 97 and Fazylov Starouzbekskij jazyk I, 269). This fact is very interesting, because, according to L. Kákosy,¹⁵ the word ultimately originated from Old Egyptian and denoted there a "whitish-green material used for wrapping the corpse for mumification".

In the modern languages *böz* denotes a kind of coarse cotton. In most of the Turkic-Russian dictionaries it is rendered with "bjaz" which itself is the same word occurring first in 1589 in the Russian sources,¹⁶ and denoting "cotton cloth or material from Persia or Buchara". In some other Turkic

animals, the down on birds. Downy, soft" (Mathews No 6883). See Ecsedy's paper above, note 20.

¹³ There are two Mongolian words for "wool": *noyosun* and *ungyasun*. The two words are synonymous (cf. A. Róna-Tas, Feltmaking in Mongolia, in: AOH 16 [1963], 200) and of the same origin: *noyosun* < *nungyasun* > *ungyasun*, and this doublet pertains to Turkic *yuy*. The Mongolian words do not have the meaning "feather", which is a semantical argument in favour of its being a Turkic loanword in Mongolian. The original Mongolian word for "feather" is *hedün* ~ *hödün*. It is a problem to be investigated whether it has anything to do with *hüsün* "hair".

¹⁴ J. Hamilton-N. Beldiceanu, Recherches autour de *qars*, nom d'une étoffe de poil, in: BSOAS 31 [1968], 330-346. This very interesting paper gave much inspiration to our work.

¹⁵ Here I refer to an unpublished paper of L. Kákosy.

¹⁶ Cf. M. Fasmer, *Étimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* 1, Moscow 1964, 261.

dictionaries (e. g., Kirgiz, Türkmen, New Uigur) it is defined as "mata", "a kind of home-manufactured coarse cotton cloth". In Hakass it is a generic name for textiles, cloths.

I think that the above data give some hints to the history of the semantical side of the word. The phonetical side will offer some conclusions for its chronology.

2.

The first problem which has to be investigated in connection with the phonetic problems of the history of the word böz is its representation in Chuvash. It has long been known that the Chuvash word *pir* "choist, polotno; linen" is the same word according to its origin¹⁷ as böz. Since here a Chuvash -r corresponds to -z in other Turkic languages the word is of special importance. If -z has been in such cases the original sound and -r is secondary in Chuvash as it is supposed with good reason by some scholars¹⁸ then it could be argued that böz had entered Chuvash before the $z > r$ development. This would be of mutual importance both for the history of the word böz and for the history of the $z > r$ development. Benzing supposed that böz is a relatively late loanword in Turkic, and thus he found a chronological basis for his assumption that $z > r$ occurred late in the history of Chuvash: first the original intervocalic -d- became -ö- and -z- and then both this and the original -z- became r.¹⁹ Biišev has correctly pointed out that the development $z > r$ and $d (\delta) > z > r$ have occurred in different times, the second not earlier than the 11th–12th centuries, the former already in Proto-Turkic times. This is also clear from the Old Chuvash loanwords in Hungarian where Turkic z is r, but Turkic d is d and z,²⁰ never r. For r we have the earliest data from 1230.²¹ Now we have two possibilities: the word

¹⁷ Cf. H. Paasonen, *Csuvás szójegyzék*, Budapest 1906, 103; Egorov, *Étimologičeskij slovar'* 161.

¹⁸ As I tried elsewhere to point out the essence of the question of the so-called rhotazism is not the quality of the original sounds $X_1 > r$ and $X_2 > z$ but the fact that in Chuvash the opposition $X_1 : X_2$ disappeared and also does not exist in Mongolian (cf. *Acta Orientalia Havniae* 32 [1970], 229; *Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, 396).

¹⁹ J. Benzing, *Tschuwasschische Forschungen II*, in: *ZDMG* 94 [1940], 391–398. On p. 398 we read: „Wir kommen somit zum Ergebnis, daß im Altschuwaschischen das alte urtürkische δ als z ausgesprochen worden sein muß (bzw. sich im Lauf dieser Sprachperiode in z verwandelt hat) und daß sowohl dieses z wie auch das ursprüngliche z gemeinsam zu r verschoben wurden.“

²⁰ A. Biišev, *Sootvetstvie R/Z v altajskich jazykach*, in: *Issledovanija po uigurskomu jazyku*, Alma Ata 1965, 192–205. For the Hungarian representations of Turkic d see most recently L. Ligeti, *Acta Linguistica Hung.* 11 [1961], 32–34 and M. K. Palló in: *UJb* 31 [1959], 247–259, *UJb* 43 [1971], 79–88 with further references.

²¹ Cf. Markwart in: *UJb* 9 [1929], 79–81 on the Russian transcription of the Volga Bulgarian *turun* ~ *tudun* already discovered by Munkácsi in 1903.

böz entered into the Turkic languages in Proto-Turkic times, at least before the Chuvash *z* > *r* development, or it was borrowed by Chuvash at a much later time, just when the original *d* was already a spirant *ð* or even *z*, but before it became *-r*. I should exclude the first possibility because of the vocalism of the word. The Chuvash *-i-* can go back to a former *e*, but an original *-ð-* (short or long) would never become an *-i-* in Chuvash. Thus the Chuvash word is reflecting an original form **bez* which can be found first in the work of Yugnaki (13th century, in copies of the 15th century) and in the *Tarjuman turki* of 1343²². This form coexists with *böz* in many recent dialects, e. g., in Tatar, Bashkir, Salar, and the form with *-e-* is the common in the most Oghuz languages.²³ The form with *-e-* is certainly of Arabic origin, where it is *bazz*, and we have no reason to suppose an Arabic loanword in Proto-Turkic times. On the other hand, we know that the Arabs and the Arabic language exercised a great influence on the Volga Bulgars, i. e., the close relatives of the Chuvash²⁴ from the end of the 9th century on, i. e., just in the period when the original *-d* had already changed into a spirant, but had not yet become *-r*.

This case is parallel to the history of the Persian word *adina* "Friday" which is on a Volga Bulgarian inscription of 1316 already *arni*²⁵, and in Modern Chuvash *erne*.

Pir is not the only Chuvash word connected with *böz*, and this has been overlooked still now. We also find a form *pit* in such words as *kälampit*, *kälānpit* (Ašm. VII, 111), *kätāmpit*, *kälāmpit* (Paas) and as a loanword Mishar *kälāmbit* (cf. Paasonen; Räsänen EtWb 259). The word has several other dialectal forms as *kälāmpi* (Ašm. VI, 30), *katak pīr*, *katan pīr* (Ašm. VI, 157), *kätan pīr*, *katan pīr* (Sergeev, Slovar' ōuvaškich narodnyh govorov, Materialy po ōuvašskoj dialektologii IV, Čeboksary 1971). The first word is Arabic كَتَان *kattān* "flax", Turkic *kätān*, and the second is our word. In case of the form *pit* *-t* is a substitution for a sound which was not part of the Chuvash phonological system when the word was borrowed. This leads us to the assumption that the original sound which later developed

²² The Turkic part of this important source has recently been reedited: A. K. Kuryš-žanov, Issledovanie po leksike «turksko-arabskogo slovarja», Alma Ata 1970, but without correcting the wrong dating of Houtama which had been convincingly done earlier by B. Flemming (Ein alter Irrtum bei der chronologischen Einordnung des Tarjuman turki wa 'ağami wa muğali, in: Der Islam 40 [1968], 226–229).

²³ Cf. Tatar *böz*, *báz*, Bashkir *báz*, Salar *boz*, *buz*, *báz*, Turkmen *büz*, Azeri *bez*, Osmanli *bez*, New Uigur *bez*.

²⁴ There have been dialectological differences among the idioms of the several Chuvash-Bulgarian tribes even in the earliest periods. The language reflected by the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions was a dialect closely related to but not identical with the predecessor of the present Chuvash language.

²⁵ Inscription No 14 in G. V. Jusupov's Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskuju epigrafiku, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, on line 8, cf. A. Róna-Tas-S. Fodor, in: Epigraphica Bulgarica 1973, 149.

into *r* had been substituted by Chuvash with the two phonemes nearest to it.

Chuvash later borrowed the word once more in the form *pūs*. This form came from Tatar *büz*, and it denotes in Chuvash "mitkal, kolenkor; calico".

There is also a fourth form in Chuvash. We find the following dialectal forms: *piši*, *pišiki*, *pišikki*, *pišizi*, *pišizzi*, *pišši* (Ašm. IX, 235–236), *pišizi* (Paasonen, P, Sp), *pišizzi* (Sirotkin), *pušazzi*, *puši*, *pušši*, *pišazzi*, *piši*, *pišši*, *pišzi*, *pišzi* (Sergeev 98). The word denotes "girdle" and is a compound. The second part is most probably *šizi* "tie", and the first is our word. The compound can be analysed as *puša* + *šizi* + *i*, a haplological form with a possessive suffix as *ēneri* "colostrum" from *ēne irri* (*ēne* + *ira* + *i*). The various dialectal forms are due to assimilations. The form **puša* is reflecting an original form **bölze*²⁶, i. e., a disyllabic form. There is no disyllabic form in Turkic, but we can find it in the other Altaic language groups.

The earliest Mongolian data for *böz* can be found in the *Tarjuman* (1345) in the Turkic form *böz*, and in Ibn Muhanna (first half of the 14th century) as *biz*. In the *Hua yi yi yü* (1368–1389) we come across the Mongolian form *bös* where Mongolian final *-s* is a substitution for Turkic *-z* absent from the Mongolian phonological system. Its meaning is "textile, linen, cotton, a material for making clothes". There is also another Mongolian word *būse* with the meaning "girdle (worn around outer garments and made of textiles)". The semantic differentiation of the monosyllabic and disyllabic forms in Mongolian is secondary and relatively late. The disyllabic word occurs first in the *Secret History*, it can also be found in Ibn Muhanna as *būse*, in the *Hua yi yi yü*, in *Mukaddimat al-Adab* and in the *Vocabulary of Istanbul*²⁷. The dialects show a variegated picture: Khalkha *bös*, *būs* "cloth", *būs(en)* "girdle", Ordos *bös*, *būs* "cloth", *būse* "girdle", Buriat *būd* "cloth", *būhe*, *behe* "girdle", Kalmück *bös* "cloth", *būsū* "girdle", Mogol *büz* "linen, cotton", Dahur *buse* (Martin), *buri* (Poppe) "cloth", *best*, *būs* (Poppe), *pīza*, *bīze* (Ivanovskij) "girdle", Tunghsiang *bosi* "cloth", *piše* "girdle", Monguor *bos*, *bose* "cloth", *pudžē* "girdle", Shera Yögür *pse* (Mannerheim), *bos* (Malov) "girdle".

The older form is the disyllabic one which came into contamination with the later monosyllabic form. This fact can be seen in the Manchu-Tunguzian data. The oldest form can be found in Jurchen as *busu* (Grube 559), and it occurs in Manchu as *boso*, in Nanaï as *bōsō*, in Ulcha as *būsū*, in Oroch as *būsū*, in Orok as *būsū*, in Solon we find only *būsele* "to encircle", in Negidal *bōsō*, *bōsū*, in the Evenki dialects *būse*, *būhe*. In Jurchen, Manchu

²⁶ Long PT 2 is sometimes *u* in Chuvash, cf. *kūn* "day" (the length is preserved only in West Osmanli) > Volga Bulgarian *kūven* (*kūen*) > Chuvash *kun*. For the (secondary) length of *böz* see Turkmen *büz*.

²⁷ L. Ligeti, Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul, in: AOH 14 [1962], 23 in this and in Ligeti's other works (AOH 4 [1955], 124–127, ib. 7 [1957], 111–113, ib. 13 [1962], 202–204) see the bibliography of the relevant sources.

and the Southern Manchu-Tunguzian dialects the meaning of the word is "linen, cotton cloth", in the Northern Manchu-Tunguzian dialects it is in Negidal "linen" and in Evenki "girdle", here also pertains the Solon data.²⁸ The Southern Manchu-Tunguzian words preserved an earlier Mongolian form and meaning while the Northern dialects reflect the more recent Mongolian development.

These facts lead us to conclude that in the Altaic world we have to deal with at least two forms, a monosyllabic one (Turkic *böz*, *bez*) and a disyllabic one (Chuvash *pusa*, Mongolian and Manchu-Tunguzian *būse*, *būsu*, *bōsō*) while both Chuvash (*pir*, *pī*, *pūs*) and Mongolian (*bōs*, *būs*) have the monosyllabic forms as later loanwords.

The historical relationship between the mono- and disyllabic forms are of great importance, because it is a well-known fact that we find a series of words where Turkic has monosyllables (*kök* "blue", *ikiz* "double, twins") and Mongolian disyllables (*kōke*, *ikire*). Since here we have an undoubtedly foreign word it would not seem hopeless that this loanword can help us solve the debated question of the so-called Mongolian "plus vowel". But this is only the case if we are dealing with one and the same word.

As we have seen the monosyllabic form is documented from the 6th century in the Chinese sources. This form could already be of Arabic origin which had been monosyllabic. The disyllabic form seems to be older. In cases before the 6th century we have to look for other non-Altaic languages. In the Semitic world the word is very old. It will be the task of scholars in Semitic studies to investigate the history of the word; I should like to quote here only the most important data: Akkadian *būṣu*, Middle Hebrew, Phoenician *būṣ*, Old South Arabic *būṣ*, Arabic *bazz*, Arameic *būṣā* (W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon*, Leiden 1967, 111 b), Syriac *būṣā* (acc. *būṣn*) (C. Brockelmann, *Lexikon Syriacum*, Halle 1928). There also exists a modern Arabic form *biṣā* (Vollers, *ZDMG* 51 [1897], 293) which seems to be – as Ethiopian *biṣōs* – a reloan from Greek. The earliest Greek data is from the 5th century B. C. and is of West Semitic origin.²⁹

From the above two languages can be taken into account: Syriac and Greek. The Greek form definitely reflects an originally non-Greek word, but it is uncertain whether it had been monosyllabic (*bys*) or disyllabic (*byso* or similar), both would have been adapted into the Greek system as *byssos*. Syriac had a disyllabic form. Syriac merchants and missionaries

²⁸ For the Manchu-Tunguzian data I have also used the manuscript of the new comparative dictionary of the Manchu-Tunguzian languages compiled under the direction of V. I. Cincius, Leningrad. This highly important work is in print, and its first volume will appear soon.

²⁹ I have to offer my sincere thanks to H. Ecsedy for checking the Chinese and to K. Czeglédy for his help in finding the Semitic data. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 674, wrote that the word is absent from the Iranian languages. This has to be reexamined.

reached China in the 6th century or earlier and had close contact with the rising power of the Turkic tribes. From the phonetic point of view the Syriac form appears more likely to be the original form, but there must be further studies to solve this problem.

It cannot be excluded that we have to deal with three original forms. It seems to be unlikely that the labial vowel of *böz* is due to an internal Turkic development, though also we have to take into account this possibility. Since the Arabic form appears with an illabial vowel, the monosyllabic form with a labial vowel could then only be of Greek origin. Were this so, then only the Syriac form remains as a possible candidate for the origin of the disyllabic form. In this case we were confronted with a historical contamination of three different forms of the same original: Syriac **buse*, Greek **bus* and Arabic *bazz*. This might then have caused the semantic variety of the word-group. *Böz* denoted in Turkic a valuable textile of foreign origin. From the 8th century on it became a term of fine and later of coarse cotton cloth. It also denoted linen and girdle made of these materials.

A VOLGA BULGARIAN INSCRIPTION FROM 1307

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

The inscription which I shall discuss has been known for more than eighty years. In 1894 on behalf of the Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography of the Imperial University, Kazan, G. Achmarov conducted a series of archeological researches in the SE parts of the Kazan Province. In the course of his field-work he found and copied new Volga Bulgarian inscriptions. Ashmarin got his report in manuscript and used its material for his book *Bolgary i čuvaši*, published in 1902. Among the inscriptions found by Achmarov there were three inscriptions located by him to a Tatar village called by him Taš bilgi. Ashmarin quoted one of the three texts as follows: الحكم الكبير • البس اول اسماعيل • اول محمد بكويك • رحمة الله عليه • رحمة واسعة • تاريخ جيات جور • الطمس جال (.....) ايج • اشراج جرمس • شوز برسود

Achmarov's translation: «Sud Bogu Vsevyšnemu, Velikomu. Syn Iljjasova Ismagilova syna Muchammed. Milostj Boga emu, milostj širokaja. God 760 . . . mesjaca . . .». Ashmarin corrected Achmarov's translation: «Sud (prinadležit) Bogu Vsevyšnemu, Velikomu. Pamjatnik Muchammeda, syna Ismaila, syna Iljjasa, (Da budet) nad nim milostj Božija milostjju širokogo. Po letočisleniju 706 goda . . . mesjaca (*prestavilsja?*) . . .».¹ Without having seen the original Ashmarin also corrected some of Achmarov's readings

Achmarov

Ashmarin

بكويك
الطمس

«ego znak»
«šestoj»

He added that the word written by Achmarov as اشراج in the eighth line reminds him of the word اشر of the inscription of Tetjuši, but he was unable to decipher this word and the last line remained entirely unintelligible for him.²

Achmarov in his book *Bulgar tarihi*, Kazan 1908, edited the inscription for the second time. There are some corrections in the revised text:

¹ Ashmarin, *op. cit.*, pp. 95—96.

² « . . . smysl étoj stroki, tak že, kak i poslednej, ostaetsja soveršenno zagadočnym » (p. 96).

Ashmarin	Achmarov II
بلوكى	بلوك
جات	جات
الطنش	الطنش
الح	ابخ
جرمس	جرمش
شوز	شور

As we shall see Achmarov's «corrections» were mostly wrong and were carried out without a second study of the original.

The inscription has become known through Ashmarin's book and some of the words have been quoted by the later literature. As in many other cases the wrong readings wandered from one publication to the next. Having no access to a reliable print or photo I included this inscription among the «non authenticated inscriptions» in *Epigraphica Bulgarica* under No. IV.³

In 1973 I had the opportunity to investigate the Volga Bulgarian (VB) inscriptions in the Chuvash ASSR and the Tatar ASSR. In Kazan, thanks to the generosity of the Kazan Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences I could work through the archives of the Institute of Language, Literature and History.⁴ In the Archives I found an excellent photo of the inscription made presumably by G.V. Jusupov. Coming back from Kazan in Moscow I got hold of the latest volume of *Epigrafika Vostoka* XXI where the untimely deceased excellent Tatar scholar G.V. Jusupov published a series of inscriptions collected by him during an expedition of the Kazan Institute in the years 1961—1963. Jusupov republished here the above mentioned inscription without referring to the fact that this had been done earlier by Ashmarin and Achmarov. He quotes, however, some of the readings by Achmarov.

Jusupov's edition is superior to the former ones. He gives the name of the village as Tjažberdino, in Tatar Räjäb and adds that Taš bilge is the name of the cemetery.⁵ He had also recognized that this inscription contains something which is unique among the hitherto known inscriptions. He writes: «V posled-

³ Róna-Tas A.—Fodor S., *Epigraphica Bulgarica: Studia Urulo-Altaica* I (Szeged 1973), p. 166 (Further EB).

⁴ I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the direction of the Institute and especially to A. Ch. Chalikov for their kind and effective help.

⁵ Unfortunately also here some error has crept in. Jusupov (*Ep. Vost.* XXI, p. 51) locates Tjažberdino, Tatar Räjäb into the Kujbyšev rayon. Tjažberdino is in fact in the Aljkoovo rayon. The Tatar village Räjäb is called otherwise Staryj Baran and is in the Kujbyšev rayon (I quote a letter of A. Ch. Chalikov, dated 2nd March, 1975). Thus it remains an open question whether the inscription is in Tjažberdino (Aljkoovo) or Räjäb — Staryj Baran (Kujbyšev). On the term *taš bilgi* see also Jusupov, *Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskiju epigrafiku*, M.-L. 1960, p. 98.

nich strokach teksta my vpervye sredi mnogich bulgarskich épitafij vstre-
daem drevnebulgarskuju frazu», but he adds: «otdelnye slova kotoroj ne sov-
sem ešče ponjatny, počtomu perevod ee daetsja predpoložiteljno». The main
deficiency of Jusupov's publication is that he did not publish the original
and thus his readings could not be checked or verified. Not being a linguist
Jusupov made practically no comments on this important inscription and my
aim is here to evaluate it from the linguistic point of view. In the notes to the
text in Arabic and the translation I indicate those places where I differ from
Jusupov in my readings, interpretation or translation.

The text and its translation are as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>al-ḥukmu li-l-lāhi-l-'aliyyi-l-kabīri</i> | ١ الحكم لله العلي الكبير |
| 2. <i>Elyās awli Ismā'il</i> | ٢ إلياس أول إسماعيل |
| 3. <i>awli Muḥamad belāwi k⁴</i> | ٣ أول مُحَمَّد بَلَوِي ك |
| 4. <i>raḥmatu-l-lāhi 'alayhi rahmatan</i> | ٤ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةٌ |
| 5. <i>wāsi'at^{an} tāriḥ-a fīyētī</i> | ٥ وَاسِعَةٌ تَارِيخُ حَيَاتِ |
| 6. <i>fūr alfidī fāl q⁴ul-q^ada</i> | ٦ فُورٌ الطيش حال دوالق [د] |
| 7. <i>ayḥi išne²⁰ eḥi²¹ čerimsen²²</i> | ٧ أَيَحُ إِشْنُ أَج حَيْر مَسْنُ |
| 8. <i>šiwne barsa velti</i> | ٨ شِيُون بَرَسُ وَلَتِ |

* Jusupov has *kesra* beneath the *ālīf* but I do not see it and an *i-* is very unlikely here. Cf. *eḥi*.

¹ Jusupov has *اللّه* but I do not see the *qamma* on the *hā*.

² There is a clear dot beneath the *rā* not noted by Jusupov. In the case of *kabīri* and *raḥmatu* it is impossible to decide whether there is a dot or not beneath the *rā*.

³ *Fatḥa* above *wāw*, *kesra* and three dots beneath *sin* are not noted by Jusupov.

⁴ The dot beneath *rā* is not noted by Jusupov.

⁵ The place is somewhat damaged, the dot registered by Jusupov beneath *fīm* is illegible, and so are the dots beneath *yā* and *kesra* beneath *tā*. But the *fatḥa* on *yā* is good visible though not noted by Jusupov.

⁶ Jusupov has *جور*. The *fatḥa* is surely a misprint, since he correctly translated «hundred». There is no dot on the *rā*, i.e. it is not *zāy*. The line begins with the usual small triangle characteristic to VB *kāfi* (see *Paleographical remarks*). If this were a dot it would have been placed higher. There is, however, a dot beneath *rā* not noted by Jusupov.

⁷ The dot beneath *fīm* is not noted by Jusupov.

⁸ It is difficult to read the word. Jusupov gives [ذالمد]. This word occurs twice in the authentically edited VB inscriptions *EB* 25 : 7 ذوالمد (د) and *EB* 44 : 2 ذوالمد. Though the *wāw* is not very clear in this inscription it is the only possible reading. I do not see the dots on *qāf* indicated by Jusupov, but the place is somewhat damaged and perhaps a *fatḥa* can be read. There is a dot beneath the *ain*.

⁹ Jusupov did not indicate the *fatḥa* and *kesra*.

¹⁰ Jusupov gives *إشْب* i.e. *šīb*. There is no *hamza* but only *kesra* beneath *ālīf*. The *nūn* clearly has its dot above and *fatḥa* on the *nūn* is clearly visible. There is no dot

1. The judgment belongs to God the Most High, the Great
2. Elyās' son Ismā'il's
3. son Muḥamad's (sepulchral) monument (is) this.
4. The mercy of God, be upon him with mercy
5. abundant. According to history seven
6. hundred sixth year in the *ḡu-l-qa'da*
7. month (it) was. To the Čerimsen
8. river having gone, (he) died.²³

Paleographical remarks

The inscription is written in the style which I call VB *kufi*. This style is connected with the earliest phase of the history of the *kufi* style²⁴ which later developed into a decorative art of writing. The primitive variant of *kufi* has been preserved mostly in the outlying provinces of the Muslim world. It is adapted to the necessities of carving into stone, hence its lines are, where possible, straight. In the VB region a special variant of this style developed. Similar inscriptions can be seen in Jusupov's *Vvedenie* Nos 14, 18, 19, 20 etc. The «head» of *wāw* is almost triangular, the independently written *yā* has a horizontal stroke which is continued by a line leaning somewhat backwards thus resembling an angle. The perpendicular lines of *sin* are straight, the one on the right is somewhat longer and leaning a bit forward. The letter *kāf* has the special *kufi* form sometimes very similar to the independent *yā* used in other styles but never goes below the line. The oblique initial line of the initial *fīm* is short. The letter *ālif* and some other letters have a small triangular «head».

beneath the *nūn*. In this case Achmarov and Ashmarin read the word almost correctly. The final *nūn* has here its *kūfi* form, very common in other inscriptions, and in the same form as in the words *čerimsen* and *fīme* in our inscription, where also Jusupov read -n.

¹⁷ Jusupov reads: (ا) جرمن. The dot and the *kesra* beneath *rā* are clearly visible. Above the initial *fīm* the space is somewhat damaged. The three dots beneath *sin* are clearly visible, see the photocopy.

¹⁸ The three dots beneath *sin* and the dot beneath *rā* are not noted by Jusupov, but see the photocopy.

¹⁹ Jusupov put the *fatḥa* on the *lām* though it is clearly on *wāw*.

²⁰ On *īme* see p. 163 below.

²¹ Written *efi*.

²² Written *fīrimsen*.

²³ Jusupov: 6. v zu-l-ka'da 7. inesjace, v načale bylo. V čermasanskoj 8. vode, utonuv, umer (?).

To this Jusupov adds (p. 52) «Posle daty ابح اسن اح fraza načinaetsja slovom جرمن «Čermasan» (sic, with -s-), nazvaniem r(eki) Čeremšan (po-tatarski Čermešan) sohodnym s nazvaniem r(eki) Čermasan (v zapadnoj Baškirii)».

²⁴ See A. Grohmann, *Arabische paläographie I–II*, Österreichische Akademie der Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, Wien 1967–1971, Bd. I, pp. 71–92.

Orthographical remarks

The very carefully written text has some orthographical peculiarities more or less in common with other inscriptions. The most important of them is the dot put beneath the letter *rā*. This shows that there was a special need in the VB territory to distinguish among the letters *zayn* , and *rā* , to assure the correct reading. In an area, where two linguistic groups lived together with languages in which the distinction between e.g. *sekiz* and *sekir* was a question of ethnical identity, this orthographical usage has been of essential importance.

A similar procedure can be observed in the distinction between the letters rendering *s* and *š*. The letter *šin* has the usual three dots above, but the letter *sin* is especially marked by three dots beneath the letter س. There have been some speculations about the meaning of these dots beneath, but since they occur in Arabic words as well,²⁵ I see here a clear parallel to the distinction of *z* versus *r*. In the two languages such word pairs as *sārī* and *šārī* «yellow, white» were important for the ethnical differentiation. It is also relevant that the system is the same. In the first case the dot above was placed beneath to distinguish the letter, in the second case the three dots were used in the same way for the same purpose.

In the VB inscriptions there were consequently used some letters denoting consonants. In those cases where Arabic had the so called emphatic consonants and Turkish had consonants near to their Arabic pronunciation, the Arabic emphatic consonant letters were used in back vocalic words — a usage which can be observed also in other Middle Turkish texts.²⁶ This orthographical usage

²⁵ See *Elyas*, *Ismā'il* and *wasī'at* in our text.

²⁶ On this usage of the emphatic consonants in Kipchak texts see S. Telegdi: *KCzA Ergänzungsband*, 1935—1939, pp. 287—288. According to O. Pritsak (*Fundamenta I*, p. 77) in the Mamluk-Kipchak orthography the emphatic consonants were also used to differentiate between the pairs *a : ā*, *o : u*, *ö : ü*, *ī : i* as e.g. by Abū Hayyān and the al-Qawānīn. In the *Tarjumān*, 1343, published by Houtsma and republished by Kuryāžanov the emphatic consonants are only used in back-vocalic words, but there inconsequently e.g. *تبرق topraq* «earth» but *طبق topuq* «ankle-bones», *ترما turma* «radishes», but *طرنما turna* «cranes». A similar picture can be found also in the Khwarezmian orthography. The usage of the emphatic consonants in back-vocalic words is known also in the Osman-Turkish texts. I have no place to go in to details here but I would like to mention that in those epigraphical monuments of the Volga region which were written in the literary language of the same period or later, this usage of the emphatic consonants is absent. Only in one of the earliest inscriptions (Bolšie Tarchani 1314) do we find الطح *altūnčī* (see Jusupov, *Vvedenie* (No. 12 : 12). Otherwise we find التبح *altūnčī* «goldsmith» (Bolgari 1317, *ibid*, No. 15 : 5) *otuz* «thirty» (Museum of Kazan, 1383, B. Nyrey 1399, Jusupov, *op. cit.*, No. 45), *التى* *altūnčī* (B. Nyrey 1399) in contrast to VB *طر* (of *EB* Nos 10 : 8—9, 19 : 6, 20 : 6) and *الطيس* in our text. That means that there was not only a difference in the languages of the two types of the Volga inscriptions but also in their orthography.

enables us to judge the quality of the vowels in otherwise dubious cases, thus e.g. *تو اتم* 'fourth' can be read only with front vowels in spite of the fact that this word is back vocalic in present Chuvash (*tāvātēm*), otherwise we would have *طواطم* with ط as in *الط* *akf* 'six' or *وطفور* 'thirty'.

In the VB inscriptions, as in ours, the letter *kāf* ك is consequently used only in front vocalic words. In back vocalic words on place of the deep velar Proto-Turkish (PT) *q-* we find *x-* so there is no *qāf* in VB words. The consonant *x-* is written — with one exception²⁷ — by *hā* in all inscriptions, but the dot is many times omitted since the distinction between *hā* ح and *hā* ح was unimportant.

The long vowels are always written *plene*, i.e. with *wāw*, *yā* or *ālīf*, the same system which can be found in Kāşgarī's *Divān*.²⁸ The short vowels are denoted by the diacritics *fatḥa*, *kesra* and *damma*, but often omitted, or illegible. This is the case in our text e.g. in *fīyetī* and *ḥerimsen*.

Sometimes on place of the PT long vowels we find the triphthongs *-iye-* and *-uwe-*, *-ūwi-*, *-ūwi-* resp. In carefully written texts also the diacritics are places as in *تو اتم* *tūwātīm* or in *فیات* *fīyētī*. From this it seems to be clear that we have to interpret this clusters as [iye] and [uwe] resp. containing the semivowels *y* and *w*.

It is remarkable that no distinction is made between *y* and *ḥ* though the orthography used the three dots in the case of *ḥ*.²⁹

These and other regularities in the writing of VB words are very consistent in the VB inscriptions. This fact makes the assumption inevitable that there existed a literature written in the VB language with Arabic letters.³⁰

²⁷ This occurs in the word *هیر* *hīr* 'girl, daughter' < PT *qīz* > Chuvash *xēr*. The word occurs twenty times in the authentically edited inscriptions (see *EB*, p. 152) invariably with *hā* and even in the word *هیرحمن* *hīrhūm* 'girl-slave, maiden' < PT *qirgīn* > Chuv. *xārxūm* the first letter is always *hā*. In present Chuvash there is no difference among the initial of *xēr* and the other words which have an initial *x* < PT *q-*. In one case (*EB* 22 : 4) Jusupov read *hīr* but this is very uncertain.

²⁸ This system was first discovered by Professor Ligeti, see *Les voyelles longues en turc*: *JA* 1938, pp. 177—204. Lately J. A. Kelly has dealt with the orthography of Kāşgarī in a detailed and instructive study (*UAb* 45, 1973, pp. 152—161) without, however, referring to the controversial opinions expressed by many authors.

²⁹ There are many orthographical systems used for rendering Turkish words with Arabic letters. Those under Persian influence use three dots beneath *fīm* to render *ḥ*. It is of interest that the VB orthography shows no Persian influence. It is another question why the VB orthography found it necessary to distinguish between *s* and *ḥ* and not between *ḥ* and *f*.

³⁰ Already Fraehn in a lecture delivered in 1830 (cf. *Drei Münzen der Wolga-Bulgharen aus dem X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*: *Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. des Sc.*, 1832, sér. VI, tome I, pp. 180—181) has supposed the existence of an early literature in Bolgari referring to the *Ta'riḥ Bulḡār* of Ya'qub ibn Nu'mān al-Bulḡārī (12th century). This work has been lost and we do not know whether it has been written in Arabic or in Turkish, nevertheless

Remarks on the VB words

awl اۆل 'his sons' (:2,3). This reading is secured by a *subun* written in *EB* 46 : 4 and is the form with the possessive suffix -i of the word *awul*. The dropping of the vowel of the second syllable is normal in VB see e.g. *ayiz* > *ayzi* and known also in Old Turkish texts e.g. in the case of *ayiz* > *ayzi* 'his mouth'. It is, however, to mention that Chuvash preserved the -u- in form of the reduced vowel *ä* in *füllä* 'his sons'. Cf. PT *oyul* + i, Chuvash *füll* + ä, Tatar *ul* + i.

belw بلۆي 'this (sepulchral) monument (lit. sign) (:3). This word has been discussed many times. The most important remarks were made by K. Thomsen.³¹ Thomsen correctly rejected the former readings according to which the following *kāf* belongs to the word. He was also right in pointing out that the final -g already disappeared and that to this VB *ال* *ala* 'fifty' < PT *alig* offers a clear parallel. Some problems, however, remained unsolved. Recently M. R. Fedotov has discussed the reading of the word.³² According to him the letters *wāw* and *yā* denote together a Turkish *ä* mechanically following the Uighur orthography. According to him the word has to be read as *beläk*. This is impossible for several reasons. It is true that the Uighur orthography exerted some influence on that of Arabic used for rendering Turkish texts mainly beginning with the Khwarezmian period of the East Turkish literary language. This occurred, mainly in the case of denoting the vowels where the originally used opposition *long* : *short* = *plene* : *diacritic* disappeared and the plane writing is used for all vowels, as in Uighur. This was partly due to the loss of the opposition of the long and short vowels. But I do not know of any Turkish texts written in Arabic — nor does Fedotov quote any — in which *wāw* and *yā* denote *ä*. But this is not what is essential. In the system of the Uighur orthography *ä* is denoted by *wāw* and *yā* only in the first syllable. Thus e.g. in the word *balğasi*, *balğa-si* (Suv 618 : 21, 621 : 12) the *ä* is written only with *wāw*. In the VB inscriptions we find many words where *ä* has to be read (e.g. *fär* or just in the particle *kä*) and it is never rendered by *wāw* and *yā*.

we have evidence that Ya'qub was a Turk. Abū'l Hamid al-Garnatī has met him between 1132 and 1136 in Bolgari (see Bartold, *Sofinenija* V, p. 518, Hrbek; *Enal* 1307). I quote here Fraehn 'Welcher Freund der vaterländischen Geschichte teilt nicht mit mir den Wunsch, dass diese Bulgarische Chronik, welche ich hier signalisiert, einmal mögte aufgefunden werden' (op. cit., 181 note).

³¹ Zur wolgabulgarischen Epigraphie: *Acta Orientalia Havniæ*, XXVI: 3—4 (1962), pp. 189—192. Correctly is the expression read also by G. Doerfer in *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, I, p. 217.

³² *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1974: 5, p. 106. This opinion has been earlier put forward by O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Wiesbaden 1955, p. 71, and already rejected by L. Ligeti in: *Turkológiai megjegyzések szláv jövevényszavainkhoz* [Turkological remarks to the Slavic loanwords of the Hungarian language]: *Magyar Nyelv* LXIII (1967), p. 434, note.

The readings, suggested by Fedotov — as *bol-tū* (1) or *bol-tō* (1) for the correct *bālūwi* (not *bāltūwi* as Fedotov quoted me) is indefensible. K. Thomsen has correctly quoted the parallel expression *ziyarat-i kū* زيارت ک 'his sepulchral monument'. To this I would only add that we have also *ziyarači kū* (EB 28 : 2) and in one case *ziyarat-i bu* (EB 8 : 3), i.e. in place of the VB *-kū* we find the regular Turkish *bu* which verifies beyond any doubt the interpretation of *kū* as an emphatic particle with the meaning 'this (is)'. Nevertheless one problem has remained open and this is the history of the word and its connection with the present Chuvash forms. In the Chuvash literary language and the dialects we find the following forms: *palā*, *pallā*, *palāk*, *palkā*. It is clear that the forms with *k* have to be excluded here and cannot be linked directly with the VB form. On the other hand the form with the possessive suffix of the third person of *palā* and *pallā* is *palli*. We know another type of words which have a form resembling the VB form *belūwi* this is *širu* 'letters' > *širāvē* 'his/her letters', or *kūū* 'herd' > *kūūvē* 'his/her herd',³³ but this occurs only in words which end in *-u* or *-ū*.³⁴ Thus in the case of a perfect parallel we would expect in Chuvash not *palā* (*pallā* is a secondary form),³⁵ but **palu* which is, however, not the case. Chuvash *palā* can be a continuation of either **belig* or **belég* the latter well attested in Old Church Slavonic *belŭg* itself a Turkish-Bulgarian loanword there. The Hungarian word *bélyeg* 'mark' was — as Professor Ligeti is inclined to suppose³⁶ — borrowed through Slavonic. The Turkish words pertaining here have been thoroughly discussed by Professor Ligeti. He reconstructed two prototypes: PT **belgu* and PT **belāk* or **bālāk* supposing that the *-k* > *-g* change occurred in Slavonic. Considering the Chuvash form *palā* I would prefer a sonorization within Chuvash as in the type *ātik* 'boots' > *atā*, *ōzek* 'the inner part of the tree etc.' > *vara*, which occurred through the phases *-g-* > *-β-* > *-h-*. The Chuvash form *palkā* is a Kazan Tatar loanword reflecting an original **bālgi* or **bālgu*,³⁷ the latter attested in a Tatar inscription dated 1695/6 where we read *belgūsi*.³⁸ The form *palāk* is a metathetic form also borrowed from Tatar and reflects an original *belug*. This is of great importance, because this is exactly the form which could be the etymon of VB **belū* > *belūwi*. We know about numerous cases where Tatar has preserved VB words and some of them

³³ *širāvē* developed regularly from **širuwi*, *kūūvē* from **kūūwi*.

³⁴ These final *-u/ū* are secondary. The original *-u/ū* became *-ā/ē*. In most cases present *-u/ū* has developed from *-uy/ūg*.

³⁵ Both *palā* and *pallā* have their form with the possessive suffix as *palli*. The form *pallā* is a secondary re-derivation from *palli*.

³⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 437.

³⁷ On the details see: *On the Chuvash guttural stops in final position: Studia Turcica* (Budapest 1971), pp. 389–400.

³⁸ The actual Tatar form is *bılge* (see e.g. *Taş bılge* above) from an earlier **belgi* < *belgū* (cf. Ligeti, *op.cit.*, p. 433). The form *belgūsi* occurs e.g. in Jusupov, *Vvedenie* No. 74.

were later borrowed by Chuvash.³⁹ Cf. PT *belgä*, *beläg*, *belek*, Chuvash *paldä*, Tatar *bilge*.

kü ك (:3) On this emphatic particle see above. Fedotov⁴⁰ and Poppe⁴¹ have expressed the view that this particle is unknown in the other Turkish languages. The syntactical function of **kü* resembles the Turkish particle *oğ/ök* common in Old and Middle Turkish⁴² and many modern Turkish languages. In Kazan Tatar it is *ük/uk* e.g.: *teläsän irtägä ük sina yaüci fibäräm* «If you wish I shall send you the matchmaker just to-morrow» or Bashkir *urmanya uq barıp eteü* «to go just to the forest». In some languages and dialects we find, however, this particle in the form *kü*, e.g. in Üzbek *u keldi kü* «he came» or South Kirgiz *ol barat kü* «on-to pojdet, da vedj on že pojdet; he is the one who is just coming». It seems that *oğ/ük* is the secondary form and we have to do here with an old Turkish demonstrativ pronoun **kü* pointing to near in contrast to its back vocalic form **qu* pointing far. The latter has been preserved by Yellow Uighur.⁴³ Cf. Chuvash *ku* «this (near)».

fiyeti فیتى (:5) «seven» The fully vocalized form *فیتى* can be found, e.g. in EB Nos 12 : 6, 42 : 4, 49 : 6. In an inscription dated 1338 (EB No 20 : 6) we find *فیتى* *fiyeti* a transitional form to the present Chuvash *şičč*. I have to remark that Kazan Tatar has *fide* < **fedi* while in the inscriptions written in the literary language there is always *yiti* يیتى. Cf. PT *yēti*, Chuvash *sičč*, *siččč*, Tatar *fide*,

³⁹ I quote only one example here PT *yüzük* «ring» is regularly represented by Chuvash *şērē*. The word — as a special term for weaving — has been borrowed by Tatar (and other Volga languages) where it is *şüre* «spulka, cevka». This word was later reborrowed by Chuvash where we find *şūrē* with *şērē* side-by-side. For more details see *Some Volga Bulgarian words in the Volga Kipchak languages*: (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Cf. N. Poppe, *Zur Stellung des Tschuwaschischen*: OAJ XVIII (1974), p. 142.

⁴² See Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, p. 76, Sevortjan, *Étim. Slov. I.*, pp. 438—439, Räsänen (*Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*: SO XX, 1957, p. 39) supposed that the Chuvash reflexive pronoun *xam* ~ *xu* ~ *xäy* etc. and the particle *-ax*, *-xa* is connected with *-oq* by assuming an intermediate form **oqa*.

⁴³ See S. E. Malov, *Jazyk želtych ujgurov*, Alma Ata 1957: *yu* «töt daljnyj» (< Chinese ?) (p. 176), *qu* «von tot» (?), *quya* «kuda» *go* «töt» (p. 56), *yu* «von tot» (p. 22). Malov adds (p. 177) that there is no parallel to *yu* in the Turkish languages, however there could be a — perhaps only formal — similarity with Chuvash *ku*. Egorov (*Étim. slov.*, p. 114) compares Chuvash *ku* with Turkish *bu* (a quite other particle with a similar function and equally developed from an old demonstrative pronoun) and among the Turkish data cited he quotes also Shera Yögür *ko* without indicating that it is back vocalic.

⁴⁴ The *-d-* in the Oghuz languages is due to the long *ä* preceding the original *-t-*. In the Kipchak languages the sonorization of *-t-* is due to its intervocalic position. The *-d-* in some Kipchak languages is very old (*Bulyat al-muštäg*, 14th century, *At-tuhfat*, 14th century, also in Armeno-Kipchak). In this word the *-d-* is however restricted to a small group of Kipchak languages including Tatar, Bashkir, Mishar, Baraba, Karaim. But even in the Eastern Tatar dialects of Siberia we find *yette* «seven» and *yete* «week» (cf. D. G. Tumaševa, *Könbatış Seber tatarları tele*, Kazan 1961, p. 124).

yüz حور (:6) «hundred» always with plene written -*ü*-. Cf. PT *yüz*, Chuvash *śēr*, *śör*, Tatar *yöz*.

altı الطیش (:6) «sixth». It is of special importance that in this word the syllable -*ti*- did not become -*či*- and we have also in Chuvash -*ti*-. On the suffix -*ti* see below. Cf. PT *altı*, Chuvash *ultä*, Tatar *altı*.

yal سال (:6) «years». Most Turkish languages have two words one of which denotes the calendar year (*yıl*) and the other the age (*yaş*). In an inscription, dated 1311, we read that a certain *Fatima-ülci* died in her twenty second year: *yıgırmi ikki yâşında* (Jusupov, *Vvedenie*, No. 10), in another inscription also written in the literary language in 1328 we find: *-Hatun otuz biş yâşında* . . . «Hatun (died) in her thirtyfifth year» (*op. cit.*, No. 22). It is interesting that the word for calendar year occurs relatively late in the inscriptions e.g. *toquz yüz biş yilde* «in the year 905 (according to Hegira, i.e. 1499/1500)», or *türkiş ming yıl uzup yıgırmi-de* «in thousand year and twenty (according to Hegira i.e. 1611/12). In the earlier inscriptions we find the type: *hişrat-da yeti yüz on birde* «According to Hegira 710 (i.e. 1311—12)». Most recently L. Bazin has dealt with the words *yâş* and *yıl*.⁴⁵ He stated that the opposition calendar year: year of age is present in all Turkish languages with the exception of VB, Chuvash and Karachay-Balkar. In the latter we find only *yıl* in both meanings which Bazin explains with the Bulgarian substratum in the Balkar Kipchak language. The common Turkic *yâş*, VB *jal* and Chuvash *śul* are the original words for year, while *yıl* is according to him an old Mongolian loanword in the z-Turkish languages, most probably from Juanjuan and is etymologically the same word as Mongolian *nil-qa* «young», while Mongolian *fil* is a late reborrowing from Turkish. Bazin's proposal is very plausible, however I have to express some doubts. The Mongols had a very old native word for year which has to be reconstructed as **po(n)* and — as Professor Ligeti has demonstrated — was present already in Kitan.⁴⁶ It seems to me a somewhat overcomplicated view that the Mongols knew the word for year **nil*, forgot its original meaning and then borrowed it back from Turkish. If *nil* denoted the calendar year this is highly improbable, if not, what was the difference between *nil* and *pon*, and where and when did the former obtain its meaning? It is sure, as Bazin correctly pointed out, that *yıl* ~ *fil* is a typical international word. If Turkish *tâş* «stone» pertains to Mongolian **til-a-yun* I see no reason why we could not connect *yâş* with Mongolian *fil*. Parallel to Mongolian *čilayun* and *fil* we have Chuvash *śul* and *śul*. That the Bulgarian form *jal* was used for denoting the calendar year is attested. It is another question whether Turkish *yıl* is a borrowing from some early Onogur-Bulgarian language or it came to these languages by Mongolian mediation. Cf. PT *yâş*, Chuvash *śul*, Tatar *yâş*, *yel*.

⁴⁵ *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux*, Paris 1974, pp. 70—77 and passim.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la langue sien-pi*; *Mongolian Studies* 1970, p. 306: Old Mongolian **pon*, Khitan *po*, Jurchen(Kin) *pon*, Middle Mongolian *hon*.

ayxi عيخي (:7) «its month». The stem has to be reconstructed as *ayux* or *ayix*, in case of **ayax* we would expect Chuvash **uyax* and not *uydx* which is the extant form. The PT *dy* lost the length of its vowel. The *sukun* on *ya* in the inscription of 1291 (*EB* No. 3 : 4) excludes the reading *ayixi*, and the Chuvash form *uydx* similarly pertains to another dialect as in the case of *awli*. The *-q* is a typical Bulgarian suffix, which became in VB in back vocalic words *-x*, cf. PT *šl* «language» > Chuv *šlaxs*. Cf. PT *dy*, Chuvash *uydx*, Tatar *dy*.

išne عيڻ (:7) «in (the middle of)». The *kesra* beneath the *š*, also clearly written in *EB* No. 9 : 9, shows that this is the only possible reading. This word has been dealt with in detail by O. Pritsak.⁴⁷ He corrected the earlier reading to the one occurring here and already suggested by Jusupov.⁴⁸ Pritsak connected this word with *šš* «das Innere» and read *išind* deriving the root of this form from PT *iš*. There are, however, some problems which are still unsolved. The word *šš* «interior, stomach» etc. has a labial vowel in the Viryal dialects, where it sounds *še*.⁴⁹ This can be due only to the fact that it goes back to an older form with labial vowel which excludes the possibility of connecting the word with *iš*. The final *-š* results regularly in *-š* in Chuvash as PT *iš*- «to drink» > *šš*-, PT *aš*- «to open» > *uš*-, PT *uš* > «three» > *viš(š)* etc. Doerfer tried to explain the irregular final postulating an *iš* + *st*.⁵⁰ I think we have to do here with two or perhaps three different words which have been mixed together partly by the lexicographers and partly perhaps already by the native speakers. The first word is of Persian origin where it is *huš* هوش and has the meaning «conscience, mind, memory etc.». This word can be found also in Tatar dialects in the form *uš* «memory»,⁵¹ and among the meanings of Chuvash *šš* in the dictionary of Sirotkin «um, pamjatj» is equally mentioned as, of course, in Ashmarin's Thesaurus. There is also a word in Käs'ari *oš* with the meaning «the heart, the centre of a tree trunk, branch or horn». Though Räsänen has connected this word with Turkish *iš* in his Etymological Dictionary⁵² this is highly improbable. Radlov's *uš* quoted from the *Codex Cumanicus* with the meaning «das Gedächtniss, die Gelehrigkeit, geistige Fähigkeit etc.» has to be corrected to *us* < PT *uš*, but his etymology of Tatar *uš* deriving it from the quoted Persian word seems to me valid.⁵³ Thus the labial variants pertain to

⁴⁷ *Bulgaro-Tschuwaschica: UAJb XXXI* (1959), pp. 301–303.

⁴⁸ *O nekotorych bulgarskich epigrafičeskich pamjatnikach: Ėpigr. Vost. VII* (1953), p. 28, see also Bulatov, *Ėpigr. Vost. XVI* (1983), p. 60 with the translation «v načales».

⁴⁹ Cf. Ashmarin, *Thesaurus*, IV, p. 80, *šš*, *iš*, Paasonen, *Čuvvas Szójegyzék*, Spassk dialect *šš*.

⁵⁰ *OLZ* 66 (1971), col. 339.

⁵¹ *Tatar teleñen dialektologik stizleže* (Kazan 1989), p. 469 equated with Tatar *is* and the Persian origin indicated.

⁵² *Versuch*, p. 366.

⁵³ *Opyt*, col. 1772.

another word and we have to do with *ds*, *ds*¹ and *ds*² and this latter has in the Viryal dialect also a form *ēš*. There are special conditions under which PT *ē* could become *š* in Chuvash. This occurred mainly before consonants, as e.g. *vēs* 'sands' (< PT *uē* not *uē*!) but *vēšleke* 'spoked' ~ dial. *vēšleke*, *āšta* 'where' ~ dial. *āšta*, *šta*. The suffix of the so called purposive is in Chuvash *-šan/šen* from PT *ušan* perhaps through a form *uēne*. To the Turkish reciprocal suffix *-š* corresponds in Chuvash *š*, but in Mongolian *-lča/lče*. Though *-lč-* gives regularly *-š-* in Chuvash it seems to me very improbable that this very common suffix was borrowed from Tatar. In some words *š* has been preserved as in *šuraš* 'to reconcile oneself'. On *-minē* > *mēš* see below pp. ±. Thus we have a few cases where *ē* became *š* in suffixes, postpositions, mainly in clusters with another consonant. So it is not quite impossible that here we have a special development *iēne* > *išne* > *ēšne* ~ *āšne*.

ēši ٩١ (:7) 'was'. This word occurs sixteen times (cf. *EB*, p. 151) as *eti* and twice as *ēši*, once in an inscription of Atrjasi, 1323 (*EB* No. 8) and once in an inscription of Nižnie Yaki, 1340 (*EB* No. 39). It corresponds to OT *erti*, the past tense third person form. In the inscriptions written in the literary language we find always *irdi*. The *-r-* is going to disappear already in the OT texts and is absent in this word in many modern Turkish languages. In Tatar the *-r-* has also disappeared: *ak ide* 'it was white', *yuk ide* 'it was not': *ide* < **erdi*. Or in the form *išä* cf. *ul mine kürde išä köle başlıy* 'he only looks at me and begins to smile' < **iršä* < **ersä*. In Chuvash only remnants can be found from the now obsolete verb as *imēš* 'seemingly, as it would be', *ikken* 'to be seen, to appear somewhere' cf. *väl unta ikken* 'he appears there', *väl ultaršä ikkenne purte pēlēššē* 'that he is a deceiver everybody knows, lit. about his being a deceiver everybody knows.' Here *ikkene* is used in the sense 'about the being' < **erken*. While the *-r-* is disappearing in most of the Turkish languages; but other verbs ending in *-r* preserve their final *-r*, in Chuvash there exist ten such verbs ending in *-r* which drop their final *-r* in a similar way. On the suffix *ti* > *či* see below. Cf. PT *erti*, Chuvash *i-* and the suffix *-čē*, Tatar *i-* and the suffix *-di*.

Jerimsen ٩٢ (:7) 'the river Čerimsan'. At first sight this river name could be identified with the name of the Čeremšan already figuring in the work of Ibn Fadlan, who, according to the manuscript of Meshed, has the form ٩٣

*With dot beneath *rā* and three dots beneath *šn*.

⁹⁴ This river name has been identified by Z. V. Togan (*Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXIV: 3, Leipzig 1939, p. 37), I. J. Kračkovskij (*Putešestvija Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, M—L. 1939, *Kniga Achmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu* v 921—922 g., Charkov 1956) and K. Czeglédý (*Magna Hungaria: Századok* LXXVII [1943], p. 305). I quote the Meshed MS according to a photograph made by Professor Ligeti and published by K. Czeglédý in facsimile (cf. *Zur mescheder Handschrift von Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht: AOH* I, 1951, pp. 217—260). The actual word occurs on fol. 203b line 3. Togan suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 37) that this river name has to be

The three dots beneath the letter *sin* exclude, however, the reading *Čerimšan* or *Čerimšen*. In the *Risala tawarih Buljariya* written by Šaraf-ud-din ibn Hisam-ud-din al-Buljari⁵⁵ three river-names occur: *Čeremšan* چرمشان, *Sarmasān* and *Qarmasān*. The former is the Čeremšan the second two are located in the territory of the Bashkirs, because it is said in the work that several Bashkir persons came from the valleys of the *Saramsan* and *Qaramsan* to Bolgari to learn the teachings of Islam. These rivers flow into the Bjelaja and are called by the present Bashkirs *Särmäsān* and *Qarmasan*. The initial *s-* in present Bashkir goes back to an earlier *č-* thus Bashkir *Särmäsān* corresponds to an earlier *Čermasan* or *Čeremsan*. The river is called by the Tatars and the Russians now-a-days *Čermasan*. In the dictionary of Ashmarin we find a series of river names: *Šarām*, *Šarāmsam*, *Šardmsan*, *Šardmsem*, *Šardmsen*, and *Šardmšan*, *Šarmāšan*. All this river names are indentified with the Čeremšan but this is surely a lexicographical error. The first five denote the river Čerimsen and only the second two the river Čeremšan. In toponyms Chuvash *š* is the regular correspondence to Tatar *š*.⁵⁶ The word for «ravine, valley of a brook» is in Chuvash *širma* < PT *yarma* from the verb *yār-* «to split». Already Egorov called the attention to the fact⁵⁷ that in the territory of the former Kazan Province there are many toponyms ending in *-širma* as *Orimširma*, *Ikširma*, *Karaširma*, *Jauširma*. The last one seems to be identical with the hitherto unidentified *Jaušir* of Ibn Fadlan. Jusupov gives also the variant *Jauširma*.⁵⁸ The relation of *Jaušir* and

connected with the ethnical name of the Cheremis and formed with an Iranian plural suffix. This is hardly acceptable. The ending *-šan* occurs in a series of other river names, and the use of an ethnic name for a river is unusual in the region.

⁵⁵ On this important source see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII–XVIII vv.*, Kazanj 1972. It is very difficult to decide the questions raised because none of the many extant MSS has been hitherto published. I quote an excerpt published by Veljjaminov-Zernov (*Pamjatnik s arabo-tatarskoj nadpisju v Baškirii: Zapiski Arch. Obšč. XIII* [1859], pp. 257–284, see also Berezin, *Bulgar na Volge: Uč. Zapiski Kazansk. Univ. III* (1852), pp. 144–45, 158.

⁵⁶ Tatar had no palatalized *š* (a sound actually near *š*) and substituted *š-* for Chuvash *š*. This is the case in many Chuvash loanwords in Tatar see e.g. Tatdial *šimran*, *šomran* «suslik» ← **šumran* < PT *yumran* > Tat *yomran*. The present Chuvash *yāmran* is a Tatar loanword, Tatar *šomirt* «čeremuha» ← **šumirt* < PT *yumirt* < Chuv *šēmirt* etc.

⁵⁷ *Étim. slov.*, p. 226.

⁵⁸ Jusupov, *Vvedenie*, p. 76. It is impossible to agree with Kovalevskij (*Čuvaši i bulgary po dannym Achmeda Ibn-Fadlana*, Čeboksary 1954, p. 14) that the form occurring only once as *jāūšīn* has to be reconstructed as *jaušiz* referring thus to a *-z* variant of the river name *Jaušir*. This and the frequently quoted *Suvaz* instead of *Suvur* are simply errors of the copyist. In case of Chuvash *šir* the etymology (PT *yār* «clift» cf. *Kāšyarī yār* «the vertically eroded bank of a river» → Russian *jar* «krutoj bereg, boljšoj glubokij ovrag etc.» cf. Fasmer, *Étim. slov.* IV, p. 559, see also Tatar *yar*) excludes the possibility of a variant with *-z*. Further river names ending in *-širma* are collected by Vasmer, *Wör-*

Jauširma is clear if we keep in mind that Chuvash has beside *širma* «ovrag, rečka» also the shorter form *šir* «obryv, krutoj bereg, jar, kraja ovraga, krutoj ovrag, po dnu kotorogo protekaet ručej». ⁵⁰ From this we can conclude that the forms *Šarāmsan*, *Šarmašan* i.e. the toponyms ending in *-san* are the extant equivalents of the river name *Čeremšan* flowing into the Volga while the forms ending in *-san* are the Chuvash forms of the *Čermasan* flowing into the Bjelaja. The variants *-sam*, *-sem*, *-sen* are most probably forms developed under the influence of the Chuvash plural suffix *-san/sen*. The relationship between the two river names remains an open question. It has to be borne in mind that *جرمن* is located by Ibn Fadlan in the territory of the Bashkirs who later wandered northward. Taking into consideration all these facts I suppose that the river *Čerimsen* in our inscription denotes the river *Čermasan*. Elyas went to this far river and died there perhaps in a battle. ⁵¹

šivne شون (:8) «to its water (with the Dative suffix of the possessive declination)». The word for water in OT was *šiv* or the like. The Chuvash form *šiv* ~ *šu* has been for a long time enigmatic. The Bashkir form *hīu* < *šiv* shows clearly that this Chuvash form goes back to an earlier **šiv*. In fact this form is attested as early as the 8th century. To the Notitae Episcopatum composed between 733—746 an anonymous scholiast added some explanations. A river name *χαράσιον* figures in this text the meaning of which is given as «μαύρον νερόν black water». Moravcsik read this as *Kara-su* ⁵² but Professor Ligeti ⁵³ — referring to the Chuvash form — proposed to read either *Kara*

terbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, IV (1968), pp. 275—276, *Nachtrag* 1973, pp. 186—187. Beside *Karaširma* quoted by Jusupov we find *Karašor* (Perm), *Karašur* (Vjatka) with the Finno-Ugrian ending *-šur*.

⁵⁰ Further derivatives are *širan* «obryv, jar, otkos; bereg», *širlan* dial. *širlan* «krutoj bereg, obryv; obmoina, ovrag obrazovavšiesja ot razliva vody».

⁵¹ *Čeremšan* is a very common river name in the Volga-Kama region. In the material collected by Vamner we find several river names pertaining here (see *Wörterbuch*). Beside the well-known Bolšoj and Malyj *Čeremšan* we find several river names which have the same origin. Two are in the former Kazan Province (*Čeremšan*, *Čeremšanka*), seven in the former Perm Province (three *Čeremšankas*, one *Čeremša*, one *Čermos* also *Čermas*, *Čjormoz*, one *Čermoda*, one *Šermeyka* also *Šermyaš*, *Šermyašik*, *Šermyaška*, *Šermyayka*), two in the former Samara Gouvernment (*Čeremšanka*) one in the former Vjatka Province (*Čeremšanka*) and three in the former Ufa Province (*Šarmáš*, *Šarmada*, *Sarmas*) the fourth is the already quoted *Saramsan*. The Russian suffix *-ka* is late and secondary, joining many river names of non-Russian origin in this region (see V. F. Baraškov, *Nazvanija vodnych istočnikov Ulijanovskoj oblasti: Onomastika Povolžja* II, Gorkij 1971, p. 201). From the structure of these variants we can conclude that the second part denotes «water» cf. *Šerm. yaik* or *Čerm. oda*. The geographical distribution of the river name shows that it is of pre-Turkish origin. I have no place to go into details here, I would only stress the fact that the form quoted as *Saramsan* ~ *Čerimsan* is the only one having *-san* as its final syllable.

⁵² Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*¹, Berlin 1958, I, p. 465.

⁵³ Review on *Byzantinoturcica*²: *AOH* X (1960), pp. 308—307.

šu or *Xara šu* referring to the fact that *α* sometimes renders Turkish *š*. On the basis of Bashkir *hiu* Chuvash *šiv* and the *šiw* of our inscription I would prefer *Xara šiu*. Since this river can be located to the Crimean peninsula the word is remnant from a language spoken in the 8th century in the Khazar Khaganate.⁶³ On *-ne* see below. Cf. PT *sūv*, Chuvash *šiv*, Tatar *su*.

barsa برسا *(:8) «having gone». The dot under *rā* ensures the reading with *-r-* of the word which Jusupov translated as «utonuv» supposing here the verb *bat-* (Tatar *bat-*, Chuvash *put-*). In this case we would have *-la-*. Cf. PT *bar-*, Chuvash Anatri *pīr-*, Viryal *pur-*, Tatar *bar-*.⁶⁴

velti ولتي *(:8) «died». This word is the VB equivalent of PT *öl-* «to die». Though the present Chuvash form of this word is *vīl-*, its transitive form is *vēler-* «to kill». Cf. PT *öl-*, Chuvash *vīl-*, Tatar *öl-*.

Remarks on the morphology

-i «possessive suffix of the third person» cf. *awli* (:2,3), *belūwī* (:3), *ayxi* (:7). As is known this suffix is in Turkish *V + si* and *C + i*, but in Chuvash we find another distribution. After consonantal word final *-t*, after words ending with non-reduced vowels *-i*, in case of reduced vowels also *-i*, but if the original word had a short consonant before the reduced vowel, this consonant became geminated. In words ending in *-u/ū* we meet with *-āvē*, *-ēvē*: *ivāl* > *ivālē*, «his/her son», *laša* > *lašē* «his/her horse», *pulā* > *pulli* «his/her fish», and *širu* > *širāvē* «his/her letter». All these suffixes go back to **i* which preserved its front-vocalic character also in back-vocalic words. This can be seen also in back-vocalic words ending in *-t*, where the *-ti* became *-čē* as e.g. in *yat* «name» > *yačē* «his/her name». The old suffix *-si* has been preserved only in some words pertaining to kinship terminology as *appa* «elder sister» > *appdšē* «his/her elder sisters», *ama* «mother» > *amdšē* «his/her mother», *kēru* «son-in-law, the husband of the younger sister or any younger female relative» > *kērušē*. This latter case shows that the *-si* > *šē* suffix had no honorific func-

⁶³ In the Khazar Kaghhanate — as in all other Turkish tribal confederacies — many languages, among them several Turkish languages were spoken. There can be no doubt that one of the languages has been of the Onogur-Bulgarian type. It is another question which Onogur-Bulgarian dialects were among them. There has been a lively discussion of the languages spoken in the Khazar Khaghanate on which I cannot comment here.

⁶⁴ With dot beneath *rā*.

⁶⁵ In some late inscriptions the cause of the death is sometimes given, e.g. 1382 (Jusupov, *Vvedenie* No. 44) ... *šahid* (boldi) «became martyr», 1491 (*op.cit.* No. 53): *tārīḡ sekiz yılz töğsän yfideš ša'bān aymıng on bēš'nfı kün erdi kim Tügel (ibn) mawlā Sāy'id Ahmād y'q'rmı üč beš'nde (sūyāt) tūšüp* «(According to the) *tārīḡ* in 697 15th day of the month *ša'bān* was, that Tügel (J: Tāvākkel) son of the *mawlā* Sayid Ahmad in his twenty-third (year) in (water) having fallen». The expression *kāfir qolındın šahid boldi* «from the hands of the unbelievers became martyr» is occurring in many inscriptions of the 16th century.

tion as it has been supposed.⁶⁵ It has also been preserved in some rare expressions as *putā turtēšē/turtēšī* «the back of the axe», *alā turtēšē* «the back of the hand» (Ašm. XIV, p. 229). We find the PT -*si* also in the nominalized forms of the numerals, e.g. *uydx siččēšē* «the seventh day of the lunar month» and as the distributive form of the numerals e.g. *ikkēšē* «two of them», which functions also as nominal stem. The VB inscriptions show practically the same distribution as we have in present-day Chuvash, i.e. the -*i* suffix has been generalized after all word-finals. In Tatar the old Turkish system has been preserved: C + *i/ē* and V + *si/se*, (however after the -*u* of the infinitive we find -*i* e.g. *balikniñ totışu* «the catching of the fish»). For these reasons everywhere I have reconstructed front vocalic -*i* in the inscriptions.

-*a* «suffix of the Dative case» cf. *tārix-a* (:5). In most instances the *faḥa* on the *ḥ* is not written or illegible (cf. *EB* p. 155), but in some cases it is clearly visible (cf. *EB* Nos 8 : 5, 12 : 5, 18 : 7, 22 : 6, 43 : 5) as in our inscription. Pritsak has dealt with these readings,⁶⁶ and has correctly stated that we have to read here *tarix-a*, which he translated «im Datum» and referred to the parallel literary form *tārix-qa*. To this I would add *hiḥrat-qa* of an inscription of 1328, which was misread (though with question mark) by Jusupov as *hiḥrat-dā* (*Vvedenie* No. 22). This usage of the Dative case is very old cf. *ol ödka* «at this time» (Kül Tegin E 21), *qon yil-qa* «in the sheep year» (*ibid*, NE 1), *bir yil-qa tört yoli süñsüdüm* «I fought four times in a year» (Bilge Kagan E 30). The use of the Dative case, however, calls for some explanation. In present-day Chuvash the Locative -*ta/ra/če* serves for such purposes. Pritsak himself cites 1880 *šulta* «in 1880». Benzing also cites this function of the Locative case: *pār sund vāxātra* «in der Zeit als es hagelte».⁶⁷ Beside this Benzing mentions that the Dative case (which converged with the Accusative), figures in some expression denoting time: *yara-kuna* «den ganzen Tag», *kēšērxī šēre* «diese Nacht/ in der diesnächtigen Nacht» and adds that the Dative case expresses the time when an action takes place: *mayān pērremēš kunne* «am 1. Mai», *kēr kunne* «im Herbst» etc.⁶⁸ In present-day Chuvash the Dative case denotes the time span during which an action occurred, i.e. the duration of an action: *vutā pār uyāxa šitet* «the combustible is enough for one month», *vēsem kunta pār-ik ernelēze ančax kilne* «they came here only for one or two weeks», *kanašlu višē kuna piraš* «the gathering lasts three days». Thus *yara kuna* means «während des ganzen Tages; v tečenie vsego dnja», *mayān pērremēš kunne* «during the

⁶⁵ This hypothesis put forward by O. Pritsak (*Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 140–143) has been rejected by G. Doerfer (*OLZ* 66, 1971, col 337). More on the suffix: see J. Benzing, *Tschuwaschische Forschungen I, Das Possessivsuffix der dritten Person: ZDMG* 94 (1940), pp. 251–267.

⁶⁶ *UAJb XXXI* (1959), pp. 290–291.

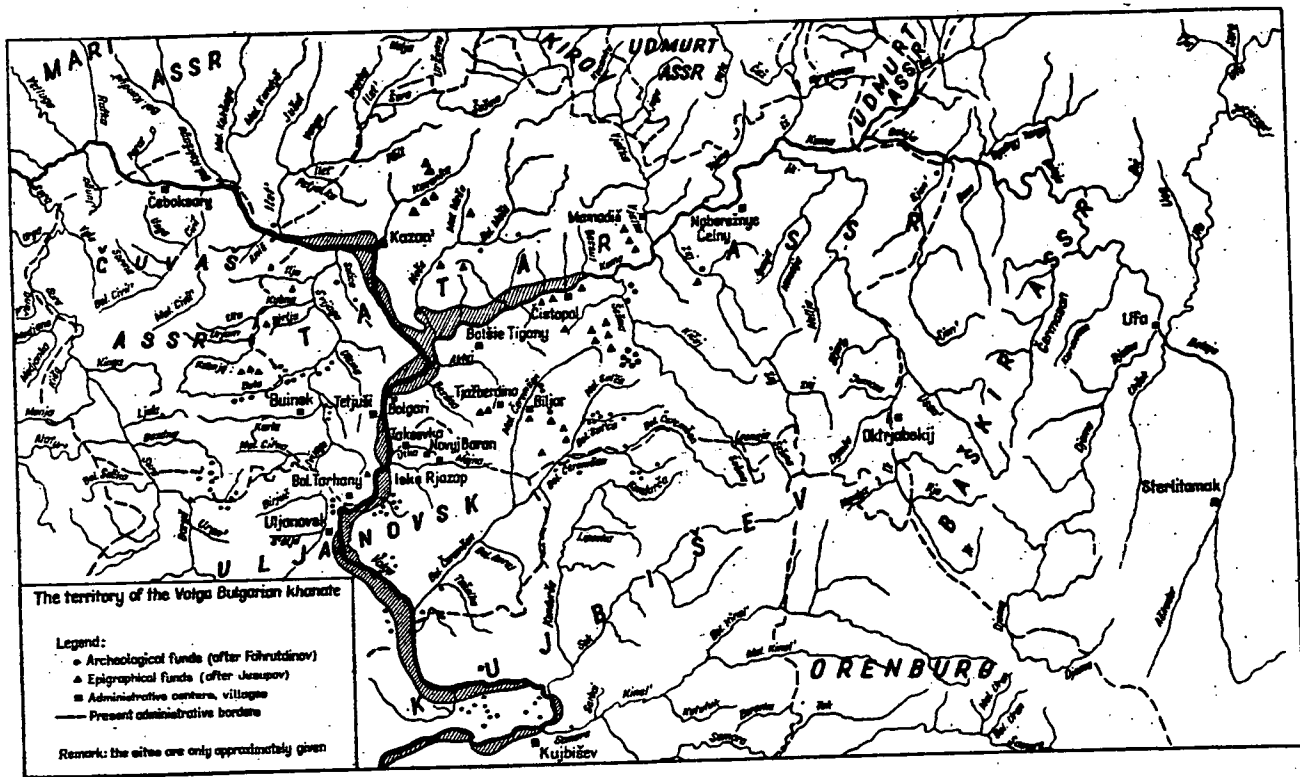
⁶⁷ *Tschuwaschische Forschungen IV, Die Kasus: ZDMG* 96 (1942), p. 438.

⁶⁸ *Op.cit.*, p. 436.

whole day of 1st of May» etc. A similar function of the Dative case can be observed also in Tatar: *ber yelga fütärlek* «it is enough for one year». The Dative suffix *-a* figures also in other expressions in the VB inscriptions: *fānī dunyā-rān bāqī aḫirat-a* «from this world to the other remaining (he went)» (cf. EB p. 158). In five inscriptions we find *ḫāl-a* (EB Nos 5 : 8, 6 : 8, 22 : 7, 42 : 5, 49 : 7) and in one case *kūwen-e* (23 : 5). According to these facts I would distinguish between the durative and the momentaneous temporal functions, the first being expressed by the Dative, the second by the Locative. It is clear that the shorter the period the more the semantical function of the two converge. Pritsak's translation «im Datum» is based on the Arabic equivalent *fī tariḫ* في تاريخ. If we keep in mind that the suffix *-a* here denotes duration, his translation seems to me somewhat loose. The concept behind the use of the Dative case in *tariḫ-a* is that the death happened during the «historical time», i.e. the date is according to Hegira, and for these reasons I would prefer Jusupov's translation «po letočisleniju», i.e. «according to the *tariḫ*, during the *tariḫ*» or «in the course of history». One of the most important peculiarities of the VB inscriptions is that we never find *-qa/ya* only *-a*. On this see further below.

-ne «the suffix of the Dative case of the possessive declension», cf. *išne* (:7), *šivne* (:8). While the suffix of the Dative case was *-qa* in PT, in OT we find a development which was certainly secondary. After vowels it remained *-qa*, but in the possessive form of the third person the final *-n* and the voiced form *-ya* merged into *-ṇa*, while after other consonantal finals of the possessive declension the voiced *-ya* dropped its *-y-*. In the Oghuz languages this development went further and the *-y/q-* was dropped in all cases, while e.g. in the Kipchak languages *y/q* and *g/k* resp. have been preserved. In Chuvash we find a quite different development. After vocalic word-finals there is always *-n + a*, while after consonantal word-finals *-a* irrespective of whether the stem is a bare root or has a possessive suffix: *ēne-ne* «to the cow», *tina-na* «to the calf», *ivāḷne* < **ivāḷēne* «to his sons», *xērne* < **xērēne* «to his daughters», where in the latter two cases the late dropping of the final *-ē* before the suffix is demonstrable from the front vocalic character of *-e* in back vocalic words. On the other hand we have *vārman-a* «to the forest», *tinēš-e* «to the sea», *ivḷlam-a* «to my sons» and *xērēm-e* «to my daughters». The development was the following:

Word-final	Vocalic		Consonantal	
	root	poss. suffix 3P <i>-i/-si</i>	root	possessive suffix all other persons
PT	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-n + .qa</i>	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-qa</i> > <i>-ya</i>
OT	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-ṇa</i>	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-a</i>
Tatar	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-y/qa</i>	<i>-a</i>
Oghuz	<i>-(y)a</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-(y)a</i>	<i>-(y)a</i>
Chuvash		<i>-na</i>		<i>-a</i>



To this I would add that in the Viryal dialects the *-n-* is disappearing: lit. *xāta-na* ~ Viryal *xāda-ya*, lit. *pulāna* ~ Viryal *polla*, lit. *tarāna* ~ Viryal *tarāa*. The final type with *-u/a* is in the Anatri dialect and the literary language *-ēve*, *-āva* while in some Viryal dialects *ūye* and *uya*: lit. *kēlēve* ~ Viryal *kēdūye*. In the dialects West of Morgauš the suffix is only back vocalic, e.g. *ēneya*. This is a very archaic feature pointing to the original back vocalic quality of the suffix which can be seen also in the declension of the personal pronouns.⁶⁹ Thus we can see that the development of the suffix of the Dative case was determined by the word final. This has some implications for the interpretation of our inscription. In the case of *īšne* we have a secondary form where the vowel of the medial syllable was dropped as in *ivdine* < *ivdlēne*. On the other hand, although all words ending in final consonants have *-a*, the word *šiv* gets *-na* cf. *Atāl šivne demaskān būd vīre kirle mar* 'to scoop out the water (here in the function of Accusative) of the Volga all the buckets of the world are not enough'. This points to the (semi)vocalic character of the final *-v* [ʏ] of *šiv*, and this had to be the case also in our inscription.

As is known the Dative case has converged with the Accusative in present-day Chuvash. Since the Accusative does not occur in our inscription, I would only like to mention one fact. From the extant suffixes of the Accusative *-γ*, *-i*, *-ni* only *-γ* could converge with the Dative: *tana-γ* 'the calf (Acc.)' has resulted in *tina* as e.g. *čarlay* 'serp' in *čurla*. Taking into account the phonetic developments reflected by the inscriptions we have to suppose that the *-qV* > *-γV* of the Dative and the *-Vγ* of the Accusative converged already in the time of the VB inscriptions.

-ši 'ordinal suffix' cf. *altiši* (:6). The ordinal suffix of the VB inscriptions has been discussed many times. Ashmarin saw in the Chuvash ordinal suffix *-māš/mēš* a compound form consisting of the primary *-m* (see *višm kun* 'after to-morrow, the third day') and the old possessive suffix of the third person *-si* > *-šš*, *-āšš*, *-ēšš*, *-dš*, *-lš*.⁷⁰ Later discussing the form *fiyermindš* 'twentieth' and *ikinčš* 'second' of the VB inscriptions together with those ending in *-m* as *biyelim* 'fifth', *tūwelim* 'fourth' he maintained his earlier view⁷¹ and assumed that the two kinds of the ordinal suffix are due to dialectal differences (*mestnye govory*). Benzing devoted a special paper⁷² to the origin of the Chuvash ordinal suffix. He suggested that the two kinds of ordinal suffixes pertain to different dialects (*Mundarten verschiedener Stämme*). Accepting that *-š* in *-mēš* is the possessive suffix of the third person, and leaving the question open whether

⁶⁹ See M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*: SO XXI (1959), p. 14 with further literature.

⁷⁰ *Materialy dlja issledovanija čuvaškago jazyka* (Kazan' 1898), pp. 181–182.

⁷¹ *Bolgary i Čuvaši*, Kazan' 1902, p. 91.

⁷² *Tschuwaschische Forschungen V. Die Ordinalzahlen und ein iranisches Suffix zu ihrer Bildung*: ZDMG 104 (1954), pp. 386–390.

ikinči goes back to an earlier **ikinīši* or **ikinisi*, he tried to find an etymology for the suffix *-m*. Referring to the fact that this *-m* is present also in some Turkmen dialects (*ikiminīši*, *dördiminīši*), he connected the *-m* with the Iranian ordinal suffix (cf. Persian *sevom* 'third') and saw in this a trace of old Turkish-Iranian contacts. The Iranian suffix has also been mentioned by Chuvash authors.⁷⁵ Pritsak has called the attention to the fact that sometimes a *keara* can be seen beneath the consonant preceding the *-m* therefore it has to be read *-im* which he interprets as *[-əm]*. Pritsak finds in the inscriptions a mixed use of the ordinal suffix (*Vermischung der Ord.[inal]-Suffixe*)⁷⁶ and distinguishes six groups: 1. *-im*, 2. *-nč*, 3. *-nči* 4. *-nš*, 5. *-nši*, 6. *-š*. According to him the form *ش* (quoted after Malov: *EV* 1947, p. 42) is nothing else than the form *bel + š* with the elision of *-l*.⁷⁸ The inscription in question has been quoted by Malov according to Marjani's transcription and the reading is surely wrong. The words written there as *شیرمیش* have to read either as *شیریش* or perhaps *شیریش* as in *EB* 11 : 8, 12 : 6, 49 : 6. N. A. Andreev distinguished⁷⁶ four groups 1. The date is without any suffix, 2. the ordinal suffix is *-m*, 3. the ordinal suffix is *-š*, 4. the ordinal suffix is *-nš*. Andreev's conclusion is that the inscriptions contain all elements of the present Chuvash suffixes *-mšš*, *-m* and *-š* (the nominal character of the latter is correctly stated by him) and therefore: «V bolgarskom jazyke do razvitiya v nem kipčaksko-tatarskogo nasloenija formy čislitel'nykh byli schodny s čislitel'nyymi sovremennogo čuvaškogo jazyka». Jusupov⁷⁷ interprets *-m* as a dialectal variant in the Bulgar language (*sleduet ob''jasnitj dialektal'nom javleniem v bulgarskom jazyke*) while for *-nš* and *-š* he quotes several toponyms of Tataria where *č* corresponds to *š*. Fedotov,⁷⁸ while accepting Andreev's views, adds that the ordinal suffix in Cheremis *-imšo*, *-ši* and Votjak *-mos* are of Bulgarian origin. In a recent paper, Hakimzjanov who does not specifically deal with the ordinal suffix, accepts Ashmarin's views on the dialectal differences within the VB language and corrects *بلش* to *بلنج* i.e. *beliŋ* to *belinŋ* and contrasting this form with *biyelim* and *beš*, *biš* *یش*, *بی*, thinks to

⁷⁵ *Materiály po grammatike sovremennogo čuvaškogo jazyka*, 1957, p. 114 in a chapter written by N. A. Andreev.

⁷⁶ *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ *Op.cit.*, p. 59.

⁷⁸ *Čuvašskie porjadkovye čislitel'nye v sravnenii s porjadkovymi čislitel'nyymi bulgarskich namogil'nykh nadpisiej: Učenyje Zapiski, Čeboksary XIV* (1956), pp. 236–245. ⁷⁷ *Vvedenie*, pp. 71–76.

⁷⁸ *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvaškogo jazyka s volžskimi i permskimi finno-ugorskimi jazykami* (Čeboksary 1968), p. 44, see also *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvaškogo jazyka s jazykami ugro-finnov Povolž'ja i Permi* (Čeboksary 1965), p. 40. The Chuvash origin of the Cheremis ordinal suffix has been suggested by Ö. Beke, *A. cseremisiz sorszámnévképzőről* [On the Cheremis ordinal suffix]: *NyK XLIV* (1915–1917), p. 474–477, and *Zur geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen s-laute: FUF XXII* (1934), p. 120.

It has escaped the attention of those who claimed to have found dialectal differences in the various suffixes that some facts contradict this assumption. The first is that the two suffixes occur in one and the same inscription: *alitiš* and *biyelem* (1355, *EB* 40: 7,8). It is true that these cases are rare but it is self-evident from the structure of the inscriptions that two ordinal suffixes are rare in one and the same inscription. The rarity of such cases is also due to a second fact which has been hitherto neglected: the various suffixes are always bound to one and the same group of numerals.

Group I			Group II		
PT	-m	VB	PT	-(i)	VB
<i>bir-</i>		[<i>bir-</i>]			
					1. ⁸⁰
					2. ⁸¹
<i>üč-</i>		<i>več-</i>	<i>eki-</i>		<i>eki-</i>
<i>tört-</i>		<i>tüwet-</i>			
					3. ⁸²
<i>běš</i>		<i>biyel-</i>			4. ⁸³
					5. ⁸⁴
					6. ⁸⁵
			<i>altı-</i>		<i>altı-</i>
			<i>yēti-</i>		<i>fiyeti-</i>
					7. ⁸⁶
<i>säkiz-</i>		[<i>säkir-</i>]			8. ⁸⁷
<i>toquz-</i>		[<i>toxur-</i>]			9. ⁸⁸
<i>ön-</i>		<i>vän-, van-</i>			10. ⁸⁹
					20. ⁹⁰
			<i>yigirmi-</i>		<i>fiyermi-</i>
			<i>alıq-</i>		<i>alıq-</i>
					50. ⁹¹

⁷⁰ Sledy dialektov v jazyke pamjatnikov Volžskoj Bulgarii: Sovetskaja Tjurkologija 1974; 4, p. 30.

¹⁰ On the inscription of Nižnie Jaki, 1340 (*EB* 39 : 5) I read *b⁴ry⁴* following Jusupov's reading (*Vvedenie* No. 47). I have now a very good squeeze of this inscription and *b⁴ry⁴* has to be corrected to *b⁴ry⁴* and *b⁴ru* (line 3) into *b⁴ry⁴m*. Independently of this fact the inscriptions of Nižnie Jaki are of special interest. They contain many irregularities, and point to a special dialect and orthographical usage. I obtained some hitherto unpublished inscriptions from the same cemetery and prepare to publish a separate paper on the results of their study. Thus we have no authentic data for the ordinal «first». In accordance to the Turkish usage we expect however a word like Turkish *ilk* «first», on which see later.

⁸¹ *ekʰg*, cf. *EB* p. 151.

⁸² *verm* of. *EB* p. 156.

⁸² *el-wāṭim*, cf. *EB* p. 156.

⁶⁴ *biyēlim* cf. *EB* p. 150. *ther biyelem*

⁸⁵ *alkiš, alkīši*, cf. *EB* p. 149.⁸⁶ *ivyētiš*, cf. *EB* p. 153.

⁸⁷ This form is quoted after Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 88, there *sok'ram k^uwen*.

⁸³ See *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 87: *f^oh^urⁱm* (jāl).

⁶⁰ *wānim*, cf. *EB* p. 158.

⁹⁰ *ĵiyērmīš(i)*, cf. *EB*. p. 153.

⁹¹ In an unpublished inscription: *αλ^ηδ*.

If we try to find the difference between the two groups first we have to decide whether to start from the PT or the VB forms. There is only one difference between the two groups and this is that the numerals pertaining to the first group end in final consonants and those of the second in a vowel.⁹² Since *ālig* belongs to the second group it is clear that this distribution emerged only after the loss of *-g* of *ālig* and we can only start from the VB forms. Thus we can find a distribution *-C + m* and *V + š(i)*. There seems to be only one exception. In the inscriptions we find a word written بلع . This word first occurred in an inscription published by Fejzohanov,⁹³ where he read بلع and transcribed *ikinfi* «second». This reading has been accepted by Ashmarin,⁹⁴ but later correctly read as بلع by Pritsak⁹⁵ and Jusupov,⁹⁶ who transcribed it as *belifi* and translated it as «fifth». The word occurs in four other inscriptions and the reading *belifi* has been generally accepted.⁹⁷ There are, however, some difficulties hitherto overlooked. In the case «fifth» we would have a numeral with two different ordinal forms: *biyelem* and *belifi*, the only case where such a doublet would exist. The second difficulty is more serious. The word بلع occurs only after the word *ayhi* «month» and before the word *kūwen* «day» but is never denotating «years». The word *biyelem* occurs in both cases (the month is always given with its Arabic name).⁹⁸ The third difficulty is that if *belifi* has to be read and its meaning were «fifth», this would be the only case having the ordinal suffix form *-fi*,⁹⁹ *-m* or *-š(i)* occurring in all other cases. Standing invariably before the word *kūwen* «day» one would be inclined to suppose that we have to do here with a name of a day. This tempting idea, however, has to be abandoned.

⁹² Other possible causes such as labial-illabial vocalism or mono-disyllabic structure of the root have to be excluded.

⁹³ *Tri nadgrobných bulgarskich nadpisi: Izvestija Imp. Arch. Obšč. IV* (1863), col. 401.

⁹⁴ *Bolgarij i čuvši*, p. 90.

⁹⁵ *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 59 quoting Malov who read on a drawing made by V. N. Abramov-Irevli from the original in the village Demkino: بلع i.e. *belinf*: «fifth». On the drawing reproduced by Malov we find a clearly written بلع , see *Bulgaro-Tschuvaschica*, p. 310.

⁹⁶ G. Jusupov—G. Chisamutdinov, *Bulgarskie ėpigrافیčeskie pamjatniki, najdennye letom 1947: Ėpigr. Vost. IV* (1951), p. 70, *Vvedenie* Nos 3, 16, 24, 31. In 3 : 4 Jusupov read *belinf*; but *-n-* is not there, the same word is noted by Jusupov without *-n-* in other cases.

⁹⁷ See *EB*, p. 150, further some non-authentically edited inscriptions as *EB* Nos III, XX, XXIII. In *EB* I also read *b⁹lifi*.

⁹⁸ E.g. *EB* 8: *šiyēti šār firem biyēlem šal* «725th year/H», *EB* 23 : 5 *wan biyēlim kūwen* «the 15th day», *EB* 40 : 8 *biyelem kūwen* «5th day» (misread by me as *mēlem*, but corrected after obtaining better photos).

⁹⁹ The example for *-nēi* quoted by Pritsak in *Die bulg. Fürstenliste*, p. 59 after Ashmarin is the same *ikinfi* which has been later correctly read as بلع in the inscription first published by Fejzohanov, and quoted also by Pritsak as *belifi* in *Bulgaro-Tschuvaschica*, p. 310.

In the inscriptions we find a few cases where the names of a day occur. Such are e.g. *EB* No. 2: *tārīḥ-a altī (fūr) tūḥur wān altīḥi jāl eti ḡu-l-(hi)ḡati ayḥi sākir kūwēn irni kūwēn eti* «According to the *tārīḥ*, six(hundred) ninety-sixth year was, *ḡu-l-hiḡa* month, eight(th) day, Friday was», *EB* No. 11: *tārīḥ-a ḡiyēti fūr wān altīḥi jāl muḥaram ayḥi ḡiyermiḥi erni kūwēn eti* «According to the *tārīḥ* sevenhundred sixth year, Muharram month, twentieth, Friday was. *EB* 25: *tārīḥ-a ḡiyēti fūr alā sākir jāl ḡu-l-qa' (dati) ayḥi wān sākir kūwēn eti, ḡiyēti kūwēn e(ti)* «According to the *tārīḥ* sevenhundred and fifty-eight(th) year, *ḡu-l-qa'da* month eighteen(th) day, seven(th) day (of the week) was.» In an inscription published without photo by Jusupov he reads:¹⁰⁰

تاريخ حلع حوز حرح طار حال ايخ ريعلر ايخ کوان ايخ حان کوان ايخ کچي ارب کون ايخ

It is hazardous to correct readings without having access to the original; the inscription under scrutiny is a case in point. Nevertheless some of the readings are surely wrong.¹⁰¹ In the inscription three kinds of days are mentioned. The first is illegible but surely the ordinal number of the day of the month. The second is (if Jusupov's reading is correct) *hān kūwēn* «blood days», a common name of Wednesday see e.g. Chuvash *yun kun*, Tatar, Bashkir, Crimean *kan kūn*. The second is *kiči erne kūwēn* «little Friday i.e. Thursday» in Chuvash *kēdnerni kun* < *kēsen erni kun*, *kičīn adina* in other Turkish languages, e.g. Tatar *kečatna* < *keče atna* < *kiči adina*.¹⁰² That means that after the word «month» the day of the month is given by the ordinal numeral and only then the day of the week, which usage is self evident, a «Wednesday of a month Muharram» is of course impossible, they have been at least four Wednesdays. According to the structure of the date of the inscription *بح* has to be a day of the month.

In the Turkish languages there is an expression denoting the first day of the lunar month, the new moonday: *ay başı*. It occurs — as has been pointed out by L. Bazin¹⁰³ — in Hakass, Özbek, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazak, Tatar, Kumyk, Osman-Turkish, Azeri and Türkmen. To this I would add the Chuvash

¹⁰⁰ *Épig. Vest.* XXI (1972), p. 51 inscription of Tatarskie Tolkiši, 1348.

¹⁰¹ Instead of *حلع* I suggest *حاح ḡiyefi*, instead of *fūr fūr*, instead of *ḡu-l-qa' ḡu-l-qa'*. Instead of *ارب* I read *ارن erne*.

¹⁰² See A. N. Samojlov, *Nazvanie dnei u tureckich narodov: Jafetickij Sbornik* II (1923), pp. 106, 110, B. Munkácsi, *Die heidnischen Namen der Wochentage bei den alten Völkern des Wolga-Uralgebietes: KÖA II* (1926–1932), p. 44. The name «blood day» is also present as a calque in Moksha-Mordwin, Cheremis and Votyak. The Karatay-Mordwin *kan-k'ban* is a loanword from Tatar. The expression «little Friday» as a calque can be found in Cheremis and Votyak, in Karatay-Mordwin *kētna-kēn* is likewise a Tatar loan. Cf. further M. R. Fedotov, *O nazvanijach dnei u čuvašej: Učenyje Zapiski, Čeboksary XXI* (1962), pp. 247–248, V. D. Dmitriev, *K voprosu o drevnem čuvašskom kalendare: Učenyje Zapiski, Čeboksary* 47 (1969), p. 183.

¹⁰³ Les calendriers, p. 48.

form *uydx pusē* see e.g. *uydx pusēnce čuk tunā* «On the first day of the month they offer a sacrifice». ¹⁰⁴ The original form of Chuvash *pus* «head» had been reconstructed by Ramstedt as *balē*. ¹⁰⁵ This could be corroborated by Mongolian *tarbalfi* «sparrow hawk, lit. (the bird) with bald head» ~ Turkish *tazbaş*, and the fact that the cluster *-lē-* has developed in other cases regularly into *-s-*. ¹⁰⁶ Thus e.g. *EB* No. 3 : 4 — 5 *hiſrat-rān altı ſür tuſur wānim ſāl ſa'bān ayſi balēi kīwen* has to be translated as «According to the Hegira six hundred and ninetyeth year, *ſa'bān* month, first day». If this hypothesis is valid, we have to delete **beliſi* as «fifth» and the usage of the ordinal suffix is regular and unexceptional. There is no dialectal difference in this case and the rule *-C + m* and *V + ſ(i)* is working in all authentically edited inscriptions.

It is very tempting to suppose that VB had two ordinal suffixes *-m* and *-s* and by a compensating process the Chuvash *-mēs* developed in a later period. There is, however, another possibility. The OT texts have the ordinal suffix *-inči* (in case of *eki* even *ekinti*). But there are traces of threefold compound suffix *-minči* in the Turkish languages. In Kharakhanid we find *-ilānči* ¹⁰⁷ < **ininči* < **iminči* with assimilation and/or dissimilation of the two nasals. This form has been preserved by some Chagatay texts. ¹⁰⁸ In some Azeri dialects ¹⁰⁹ we find the form *-mči/inči* < **imimči* < **iminči* and this can be traced back to as early as the Babur-name ¹¹⁰ where we find *ikimči(si)*, *üçümči(si)*, *dörtümči(si)*, *beşümči(si)*, *altımči(si)*, *yetimči(si)* and *sekizimči(si)*. It is of special interest that the connecting vowel is *beşümči* which is due to the analogy of

¹⁰⁴ Ashmarin, *Thesaurus*, X, pp. 17—18, there *v načale meſjaca*. On the sacrifice on new-moon day see Mészáros Gy., *A csuvas ővalás emlékei* [The remnants of ancient Chuvash religion] I, (Budapest 1908), p. 114.

¹⁰⁵ *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I: *MSFOu* 104 : 1 (1957), p. 109; *balē*. For similar reconstructions see Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 64, Pritsak: *UAJb* 1964, p. 343.

¹⁰⁶ PT *qilč* «word» > *qilč* > Chuv. *xēs* (homophonous with *xēs* «slay»), PT *ölč* «to measure» > Chuv *viš*, PT *belčen* «onopordum acanthicum» > Chuv *pišen* «tatarnik». The disappearance can be observed very early because in Proto Permic we already find it reflecting one of the Middle Bulgarian dialects: PP *kis* «slay» ← MB **xīs* < *qilč* < PT *qilč*. In some other words the traces of the *-l-* in the cluster *-lč-* (which disappeared through *-v-*) can be even now observed, e.g. PT *külčün* «loan» (→ Hung. *kölcsön*) > Chuv *kivšen* dial. *kisen* (Ashm. VI, 247).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Yugnaki: *törtülānči* ~ *törtülenč* «fourth», Qutadyū Bilig: *ekilānč*, *ikilānč* «second», see *Fundamenta* I, p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Abū'l Gāzi: *bešilānči* «fifth», *yetilānči* «seventh», *tokuzlanči* «ninth», Nava'i, Maḥbūbū'l Qulūb, MS Istanbul, *altılānči* «sixth», *sakizlānči* «eighth», *onlanči* «tenth», *yigirmālānči* «twentyeth» etc., cf. J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, 1966, pp. 108—109, *Fundamenta* I, p. 149.

¹⁰⁹ *Nahčivan MSSR-in dialekti ve şiväläri*, Baku 1962, p. 105: *ikimči*, *üçümči*, *dördümči*, *beşimči*, *altımči* ~ *altımči*, *yeddümči*, *sakkizimči*, *dogguzumči*, *onumču* ~ *unumči*, *ikirmimči* ~ *irimči*.

¹¹⁰ J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 109.

uĉmĉi, *törtmĉi*. In older Kumyk texts we find *-mfi*.¹¹¹ In some Türkmen dialects¹¹² the original form *-(i)minĉi* is preserved, and in Khalaj¹¹³ Doerfer found *uĉminĉi*, *törtminĉi*, *birminĉi*. We have thus to consider the possibility that Chuvash *-mĉš* is a direct continuation of an earlier *-minĉ*. The final *-nĉ* resulted in Chuvash in *-š*, e.g. *savdš* < PT *sāvinĉ* in *savdš kurki* 'ladder of joy', or *xāruš(š)* < PT *qorquĉ* 'fear(ful)'. To the development *-minĉ* > *-mĉš* we can find a parallel in the verbal noun system of Chuvash. The concept of pretension is expressed in some Chuvash dialects by the suffix *-iĉ/ĉš* (*pul-*), e.g. *epĉ sivriĉ pulāp* 'I was pretending to sleep'. The negative form has the suffix *-miĉ/mĉš*: *pĉlmĉš pulāf tata* 'Look, he is pretending not to know'. In other dialects we find this suffix as *-anĉ/enĉ* and its negative form as *-manĉ/menĉ*: *eĉš iltmenĉi pul** 'you pretend not to fear'. The suffix goes back to the negativ marker *-m-* and the gerundial *-an* + *ĉi* (< *ĉš* + *i*), thus originally **-mAnĉi* > dial *mĉš/mis* ~ *manĉi/menĉi* (see Ashmarin, *Materialy*, p. 232). Similar development is known from the Tofalar language: *-iĉ-ki* < **-inĉ-ki*¹¹⁴ in the ordinal suffix, or in the Yakut ordinal suffix *-s* < **-š* < **-nĉ*.¹¹⁵ Thus the Chuvash ordinal suffix *-mĉš* can well be of great antiquity and a direct continuation of the earlier **-minĉ*. But if *-š* of *-mĉš* is a continuation of *-nĉ* than we have to put the question when did the *-nĉ* > *-š* development occur? As we have seen in case of *iĉne* such types of *ĉ* > *š* development have been present already in VB. This means that the ordinal suffix *-š* of the VB inscriptions can also be the *-š* of the *-š* < *-nĉ* development. The supposition that the VB ordinal suffix *-ši* is the possessive suffix *-si* is very implausible, in this case 'his seven' and 'the seventh' would have converged, contradicting the structure of the language. It is quite another question that the *-i* after the ordinal suffix is a possessive suffix, this is quite normal, and the suffixes *-inĉ* and *-inĉi* show a similar distribution. There remains only one question. From an earlier *-minĉ* became *-C + m* and *-V + š*, why? I would leave this question open for further investigation. It is possible that in the case of *vĉĉimš* the *-š* was dropped and in that of *altš'imš* the *-m-*. The Cheremis *-imš-o(-āmšā)* corroborates the assumption of the existence of a form *-imši*. This latter is also backed by the evidence that we frequently find *-ši* in the texts.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Benzing cites: *ayni ekimĉisinda ya üĉ-imĉisinda* 'on the second or third day of the month' from an old Kumyk text.

¹¹² Cf. Benzing 104 (1954), p. 389: *ikiminĉi*, *dördiminĉi*, *altiminĉi*.

¹¹³ G. Doerfer, *Khalaj materials*, 1971, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ V. I. Rassadin, *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan Ude 1971, pp. 79–80.

¹¹⁵ F. G. Ischakov in: *Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskich jazykov*, II Morfologija, M 1956, pp. 193–194.

¹¹⁶ I.e. *-š* with the possessive suffix *-i*. The distribution *C + m*: *V + š* reminds us of the distribution of the suffix of the Accusative-Dative case *C + a* and *V + na*. The importance of the Ablaut of the root in the morphonological processes in Chuvash has not yet been investigated.

-*či/-ti* «suffix of the simple past tense, third person» of. *eči* (:7), *velti* (:8). The suffix is present in Chuvash where it has the following distribution: *l, n, r* + *čē*, after all other consonants and the vowels -*rē* also in back vocalic words. Since Chuvash -*r* is the regular continuation of PT -*d*- (cf. *adaq* > Chuvash *ura* «foot»), and -*či* goes back to an earlier -*ti*, we are confronted with the same distribution as in OT where we find *l, n, r* + *ti*, and in all other cases -*di*. It is important for the history of this suffix that the final vowel remained front vocalic in all cases. The -*ti* > -*či* development is relatively a late one¹¹⁷ which can be seen from the fact that in the first person we find -*tām/rām*, in the second -*tān/rān* (resp. with -*ē* according to the vowel harmony). As I have pointed out above, the VB inscriptions show just an intermediate stage of this development, and in our inscriptions both forms occur.

-*sa* «suffix of the coordinate verbs», cf. *basa* (:8). Its grammatical function is similar to Turkish -*ip*, but its usage is more extended and resembles that of Mongolian -*ču*. There is no direct parallel form to this suffix in other Turkish languages. According to Fedotov,¹¹⁸ Poppe¹¹⁹ and others it is a special Chuvash form. Wiedemann,¹²⁰ Wichmann,¹²¹ Ashmarin,¹²² Egorov¹²³ thought it to be of Votyak or Permian origin. Other authors are inclined to see in it a correspondence either to the OT conditional -*sa* or to the gerundial -*sar*. I. P. Pavlov¹²⁴ refers to the fact that its negative form is -*masār*, where -*ma*- is the suffix of the negativ stem and -*sār* is the same as -*sa*, only preserved its final -*r* and became reduced because of its unstressed position, and has nothing to do with the privativ suffix -*sār* ~ PT -*siz*. I agree with Pavlov's last statement but it remains unclear why the final -*r*- has been dropped. Pritsak has also dealt with this suffix.¹²⁵ In two inscriptions from Ašit he read *kōvālčisār* and thus thought to have corroborated his and others' opinion that this suffix

¹¹⁷ The *ti* > *či* development is reflected also in Russian loanwords as e.g. *gostinec* «present» → Chuvash *kūčkenes*, *matice* «girders» → Chuvash *mačča*. Before secondary *i* < *e* or *o* < *e* the *t* > *č* development has not occurred cf. Tatar *dingez* «sea» → Chuvash *tines* ~ PT *tengez*.

¹¹⁸ *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvaškogo jazyka s volžskimi i permiskimi finno-ugorskimi jazykami*, Čeboksary 1968, p. 124.

¹¹⁹ *OAJ* XVIII (1974), p. 147.

¹²⁰ F. J. Wiedeman, *Grammatik der Syrjänschen Sprache mit Berücksichtigung ihrer dialekte und des Wotjakischen*, SPDg. 1884, pp. 178–179 where he only points to the similarity of Votyak, Cheremis and Chuvash.

¹²¹ W. Wichmann, *Die tschuwaschischen Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen*, *MSFOu* XXI (1903), p. 164.

¹²² N. I. Ašmarin, *Materialy dlja izsledovanija čuvaškogo jazyka*, Kazanj 1898, 314.

¹²³ V. G. Egorov, *Sovremennij čuvašskij literaturnyj jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščeni*, Čeboksary 1971, p. 110.

¹²⁴ *K voprosu o proischoždenii dvuch despričačnych affiksov v čuvašskom jazyke*: *Uč. Zap.* Čeboksary XIV (1956), pp. 246–257.

¹²⁵ *Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica*, pp. 275–283.

still had its full form *-sar/sār* in VB. I have checked the places in question on reliable photos in Kazan and was able to find that the form is *kūwelʃǵā*. The emphatic *ṣ* has a similar final stroke as *ra* and presumably this was what misled Pritsak. The use of the emphatic *ṣa* in a frontvocalic word is irregular, but just in the two inscriptions in question we find parallel cases to this.¹²⁶ The *-lʃ-* is also irregular. In other texts we find *dunyā-rān kōʃrūwi* while in this case *dunya-ran kūwelʃǵā*, . . . *batuwi*. Pritsak supposed that we have to do here with the OT verb *kōč-* 'to wander' with the reflexive suffix *-l-* *kōč-l-*; this became in VB *kōwāč-l-* and with metathesis *kōwālč-l-*. This seems to be guesswork. I think we have to suppose here a primary *kūweč-* (< PT *kōč-* 'to wander') pointing to a long *-ō-* and the *-l-* is an anorganic sound which has been inserted for securing the affricate pronunciation of *-č-* before *-ǵā*, otherwise the affricate quality of *-č-* would have been lost under the assimilative influence of *-s-*. In any case the suffix *-sa/sā* is clearly attested in VB and if it had earlier a final *-r* it has been already lost. The presence of this suffix absent from any other Turkish languages shows the close connection between VB and Chuvash.

Remarks on the phonology

PT *a* > VB *a*

PT short *a* is denoted in initial position by *ālif* with *fatḥa* (*altışi, ayxi*), in all other cases by *fatḥa* (*tariḥ-a, barsa*). The opinion expressed by Katanov¹²⁷ that we have to read here according to Persian usage (*na persidskij lad*) *o*, is a misunderstanding unfortunately followed by some later authors. VB had two kinds of *a*, a labial *ḍ* and an illabial vowel. The former — as Serebrennikov had rightly pointed out¹²⁸ — can be found all over the Middle Volga area, so in Cheremis, Votyak, Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash either at the present or at an earlier stage. The present Viryal *o*, Anatri *u* corresponding to Turkish *a* has surely developed through a phase *ḍ*. The *ālif* and the *fatḥa* could denote a labial *ḍ*, but not an *o*, the latter being denoted by *waw* and/or *damma*. More problematical is the illabial counterpart of labial *ḍ*. I postulate such a sound because of the following reasons:

1. The sound *a* of Arabic and Persian words frequently developed in Chuvash not into *o/u* but *i*: Ar. *maṣḥara* → Chuv. *miskara* 'ridicule', Ar. *ḥazna* → Chuv. *xāna* 'treasury', Ar. *ḥarāj* → Chuv. *xiraś* 'tax' etc.
2. In such cases some Viryal dialects have not *o* or *i* but *u*, as e.g. *muskara* (see

¹²⁶ See e.g. a name in the Ašit inscription (EB, 25) written *Tuqʿar*, *توقار* or in the other Ašit inscription the name Tatar is written: *ططر* (EB 26).

¹²⁷ N. F. Katanov, *Čuvaškie slova v bolgarskich i tatarskich pamjatnikach*, Kazanj 1920.

¹²⁸ B. A. Serebrennikov: *UJb* XXIX (1957), pp. 224–230.

above). In words in which PT *a* became *ī* in Anatri, in Viryal we find *u* e.g.: PT *bal* > An *pīl*, Viryal *pul* 'honey'. In most of these cases Cheremis reflects *u* and not *ī*!

3. Original PT *ī* became *ā/ē*, and this development has to be later than the *a* > *ī* development, because otherwise the two sounds would have converged.

4. Though *t-* became *č-* before *ī/ī* in those cases where an *ī* corresponds to OT *a* in Chuvash, this development never occurred: *tīla* < *talaq* 'champ braker', *tīmar* < *tamar* 'root', *tīna* < *tanag* 'witness' etc.

5. In our text we find *barsa* in place of later Chuvash *pīrsa*. These facts show that the PT *a* > Chuv *ī* development did not reach the *ī* stage in the VB period and is of a relatively late age. In apparent contradiction with this, in the OB loanwords of Hungarian we already find *ī* > *i*: as in *tīnó* 'calf' (~ *tana*), *tīló* 'chemp-breaker' (see above), *tr-* 'to write' (*yaz-*) etc. For this reason Németh¹²⁹ and Gombocz¹³⁰ supposed that the *a* > *ī* development had already run its course before the 8th–9th centuries. On the other hand Doerfer supposed that already in PT we had *a* and *ā*.¹³¹ Neither of the two opinions are convincing. It is true that in place of *a* of most Turkish languages, we find sometimes *ī* in Tuva and Yakut, but in the overwhelming majority of the cases not in the same words as in Chuvash. Thus we have no ground for supposing that this sound had already existed in PT as an independent phoneme. The Hungarian correspondence is connected with the much debated question of the chronology of Hungarian labial *d*. If Hungarian had a labial *d* already in the time of OB–Hungarian contacts than the illabial *ā* or *ē* could be substituted by *ī*. The Hungarian words of the type *gyertya* (*derta*) 'candle' ~ OT *ǰarta*, *béka* 'frog' ~ OT *baqa* had been interpreted by Gombocz as secondary Hungarian dissimilation features *a*–*a* > *e*–*a*.¹³² It is however equally possible that these *-e-* sounds unusual in Hungarian in back vocalic words is another substitution for *ā/ē*. The two sounds *d* and *ē(ā)* were only allophones in earlier times and their distribution varied in the Bulgarian dialects. This can be seen by Hungarian *dara* ~ Chuv. *tīra* 'grain' (< *tarīy* ~ *taray*) or Hung *gyertya* ~ Chuv *ǰurta*. The *-u-* of the Viryal dialects in front of the *ī* in Anatri also corroborate this fact. The *a* of *barsa* in our text shows that this illabial sound did not become *ī* in the dialect and in the time of the VB inscriptions. See further PT *ā*- below.

PT *ā* > VB *ā*

¹²⁹ Németh Gy.: *NyK* XLIII (1914), pp. 290–291.

¹³⁰ *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache: MSFOu* XXX (1912), pp. 139, 144. This opinion is commonly accepted and the Hungarian etymological dictionary (*A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*) contains also reconstructions based on this hypothesis.

¹³¹ G. Doerfer: *UJb* XL (1968), p. 244, *Khalaj Materials*, p. 161.

¹³² *BTLw*, p. 143.

PT long \bar{a} is rendered by a plane *ālif* in word medial position (*fāl*). There has been also a secondary long \bar{a} in VB in the case of the initial $\bar{o} > v\bar{a}$ (see *wān* «ten»). The long \bar{a} developed either through *īā* into *īo/īu* or was shortened $a > o/u$. The presence of the *-ī-* can be traced in word-initial position and after *t-*, *s-*, *x-*. There are no traces in the VB inscriptions of the *-ī-* of *īa* though in the case of *-ē-* we find *-īye-*.

PT $e > VB e$

PT e had been preserved in VB (*eči*, *belūwi*, *išne*, *Jerimsen*, *šiwne*) always denoted by *faiḥa* with the exception of the word initial position where we find *ālif* and *faiḥa*. It is certain that in VB we have to suppose an open \bar{a} and a closed e . The former became in Chuvash a , the latter i . This fully corresponds with the facts of Turkish language structure. However, it must be mentioned that Chuvash $a < \bar{a}$ and $i < e$ do not occur always in the same distribution as in those sources and languages where the opposition $\bar{a} : e$ has been preserved. The existence of a closed e in VB can be corroborated by the fact that in the bilingual inscription of Šapkins¹³³ we find VB *eči* العچی corresponding to literary *iči* الإچی, though here the *kēra* is omitted but this same word is written with *ālif* and *ya* in another inscription as *iči* الإچی.¹³⁴ If close e had become i already in VB, we would find *kesra* and not *faiḥa*. On the other hand if \bar{a} had already become back vocalic a , we would find an emphatic consonant and *qāf* in such words as *sākir*, which is not the case.

PT $\bar{e} > VB -īye-$

Long PT \bar{e} and short close e converged in Chuvash cf. PT *yēti* $>$ VB *fīyeti* $>$ Chuv *šičč*. In Tatar close and open e , regardless of their original length, became i . This is not the case in Chuvash, where long open \bar{a} became a .

PT $i > VB i$

This sound had been preserved in VB; it is denoted with *ālif* and *kasra* in initial, and only with *kasra* in all other positions (*išne*, *altīši*, *ayhi*, *belūwi*, *eči*, *velit*, *awli*, *fīyeti*).

PT $i > VB i$

It has to be left open whether i in *šiwne* represents an original i , but this seems to me very improbable because i became \bar{a}/\bar{e} in Chuvash and in our case i has been preserved. If so, we have to exclude this word. Cf. *altī*.

PT $a > VB a$

¹³³ Jusupov, *Epigr. Vost.* XXI (1972), p. 53.

¹³⁴ Inscription of Bolgari, 1291, cf. *EB* No 4 : 7.

This sound is not marked by *damma* as in the other inscriptions in the word *ku*.

PT *δ* > VB *ve*-

Short *δ* in initial position became in Chuvash either *vš/vš̄*, *vđ/vđ̄* (cf. *vškr̄*, *vđkr̄* < *δkšz* «ox») or *vi*- as in *vil*- «to die». That means that we have a double development *vi* < *vš* < *δ* > *vš* > *vš/vđ̄/vđ̄/vš̄*. To this we find a clear parallel in the case of initial *o*: *vī*- < *vđ*- < **o* > *vđ* > *vš/vđ̄* e.g. *vīran* «place» < *orun* and *vōrman*, *vārman* «forest» < *orman*. These regular correspondences are of essential importance for the history of Chuvash vocalism. They show that the splits in the history of the PT vowel system had not yet been finally completed in the time of the emergence of the prothetic *v*-. It is also of some importance that the secondary vowels developing after the prothetic *v*- have in most cases joined the original sounds of the same quality, as e.g. in the case of *velti*.

PT *ā* > VB *ā*

PT long *ā* is noted as a long vowel in our inscription (*šār*) as in other VB inscriptions. The long close labial vowels became as a rule short ones in Chuvash in contrast to the open long labials — a rare exception is PT *tūz* «salt» > Chuv *tāvar*. There is also a difference according to the front or back vocalic character of the vowels in question. While in most instances of long *ō* we find *-āva-* as in *kōk* «blue» > Chuv *kāvak*, *tōrt* > Chuv *tāvat(tā)*, in the case of the back vocalic *ō* we meet with non-reduced *u* as in *yōl* «way» > Chuv *šul*, *qōz*- «to stir» (mostly mistakenly contaminated with PT *qud*- «to pour out» with which it converged in Chuvash) > Chuv *xur*-. In such examples we have to assume an *-āva-* > *-u-* development. The case is similar with a group of words where we find in place of PT long *-ā-* and *-u-* in present-day Chuvash as in PT *yūrt* «dwelling place» > Chuv *šurt*. This can be demonstrated in the case of Chuv *kun* «day» going back to a PT form *kān* the intermediate form of which is fixed in the inscriptions as *kāwen*. Since in the case of *šār* «hundred» we find Chuv *šēr*, *šōr* here once more we are confronted with a double development *š, š̄* < *ū* < *ā* > *āve* > *šve* ~ *u*. The alternating forms in Chuvash as *šāvarni* «carnival, maslenica» (< *šu* ~ *šāv* «fat» < *yay* + *arni* < *ārne* ← p. *adina* + *i*) ~ dial. *šurni* shows that even in such secondary cases *-āva-* became *u*, though normally *āva*, *šve* is preserved or became *qa*, *še* in the NW dialects.

PT *oyu* > VB *aw(i)*

This cluster became *awī* in VB though the exact quality of the second vowel remains, for the time being, unascertainable. The *-y-* > *-w-* development is normal also in non-intervocalic position as in *tegrī* «god» > *tewri* (→ Tat *tāre* «cross, ikon») > *tayri* > *turā*. For the intervocalic position see e.g.: PT *tuyan* «relative» > Chuv *tāvan*, PT *bügen* «horsefly» > Chuv *pāvan*, PT

yoyaq «mourning (place)» > Chuv *šava* «cemetery», PT *yayug* «near» > Chuv *šivdx* etc. The $g > \gamma > \beta > u$ development at the end of words is clearly attested. It remains, however, an open question for me whether in clusters *-VgV-* we have to do with a $V\gamma V > V\beta V > \delta > šva$ development or the intermediate stage *-š-* has to be deleted.

PT *-uq* > VB *u(w)*

The development has been discussed in detail above in connection with the word *beluwi* and is paralleled by the history of the cluster *oyu*.

Remarks on the VB vowel system

The question of vowel correspondences has always been the most complicated part of the Chuvash linguistic history. The VB inscriptions help to solve some of these problems.

1. The phonematization of the allophones in the case of $\acute{a}/\tilde{a} \sim a \sim \acute{d}$ and $\acute{e} \sim e \sim \tilde{a}$ has to be later as the development of the prothetic *v-* and has not yet been finished in the VB period. Later on the developments $\acute{d} > \acute{i}$, $\acute{d} > o/u$, $\acute{e} > \acute{i}$, $\tilde{a} > a$ wholly changed the structure of the Chuvash vowel system.
2. The double development of the PT primary long vowels *Diphthongue* < *Long* > *Monophthongue* — a general type of development in all Turkish languages — can be observed in VB. The diphthongs became triphthongs and than either remained as such or developed further into a full closed vowel in case of the labials. The monophthongs converged with their originally short counterparts. In case of the illabials a similar development can be observed, only the diphthong contained not the semivowel γ but the semivowel \acute{i} and developed accordingly. This is the cause of such double developments as PT *qān* «blood» > Chuv *yun* ($\tilde{a} > \acute{i}\tilde{d} > \acute{i}u$) and *qāz* «goose» > Chuv *xur* ($\tilde{a} > \acute{d} > u$).¹³⁵
3. The general tendency *Open* > *Closed*, *Closed* > *Reduced* developed fully only after the VB period, and is later than the first stage discussed under 1.
4. The developments *back vocalic* > *front vocalic* (e.g. *qiz* > *xēr* «girl, daughter») and *front vocalic* > *back vocalic* (e.g. *tört* > *tāvat* «four») being the result of various causes had not yet been accomplished in the VB period.

PT \acute{k} > VB x

¹³⁵ There has been much speculation about this double development. Doerfer suggested that in cases like Chuv *yun* we have to reconstruct a Common Turkish $*k\tilde{a}n$ while in case of Chuvash *xur* a CT *kān* (*Khalaj materials*, p. 279). Levitakaja (*Issledovanie po tjurkologii*, Alna Ata 1969, pp. 63–68) suggested the existence of two PT k -sounds, the one preserved in Tuva as k - the other which developed into x -. This second would have resulted in Chuvash in y - before long illabial vowels.

The deep velar k which occurred in back vocalic words became x in VB (cf. *ayxi*) and this rule is without exception in VB. At least in some Onogur-Bulgarian dialects this development is of an early age demonstrable already in the 8th century.¹³⁶

PT $y >$ VB $d\check{z}$

It is a much discussed question in Turkology whether in the case of OT y - we have to reconstruct j -, d -, \check{d} - or y - in PT. In any case both the j - and the y - dialects are very old and Bulgarian had very early j - and this only in word-initial position. In Chuvash this voiced affricate became devoiced and spirantized, i.e. \check{d} -. It is also clear that this development occurred in different Bulgarian dialects in different times and perhaps in different ways. In the VB inscriptions we find three types of affricates corresponding to PT y -, \check{c} and ti respectively. All the three are rendered with the Arabic letter *jim*, though the first two have developed in Chuvash into \check{d} while the third one remained \check{c} . In two special cases (*išne* and the ordinal suffix $-š(i)$) we can observe a $\check{c} > \check{d}$ development. For the solution of this problem we can put forward two hypotheses: 1. The phonetical development of VB $\check{c} (< \text{PT } y\text{-}, \check{c}) > \check{d}$ was just at its beginning and the orthography did not follow this development. At the same time $ti > \check{c}i$ was also at its beginning, and the orthography sometimes denoted it sometimes not. 2. We are confronted with dialectal differences i.e. the VB is not the immediate predecessor of that dialect from which Chuvash developed.

It is not quite sure that these two hypotheses exclude each other. We have a series of facts supporting both. In any case the neutralization of the opposition $j : \check{c} (< \text{PT } y\text{-} : \check{c})$ can be safely assumed.

PT si - $>$ VB \check{s}

The consonant s - before primary and secondary $-i$ - became very early \check{s} (see the name of *Šarkel* and the OB loanwords in Hungarian). In our inscription *šiv* pertains to this group.

The well-known rhotacism (cf. *jūr*) and lambdaism (cf. *šāl*) can be clearly observed in the inscription. All other PT consonants preserved their earlier character as PT l (*awli*, *belūwi*, *altiši*), PT b (*belūwi*, *bāsa*), PT k (*kū*), PT $-y$ (*ayxi*), PT t (*altiši*, *fiyeti*, *velti*), PT r (*bāsa*), PT s (*bāsa*), PT n (*išne*, *šiwne*).

¹³⁶ See *Xara šiu* above. In the Arabic and Byzantine sources many Turkish words and names are denoted with x -.: *xaqan*, *xazar*, *xapubaliy* etc. There is no forcing argument according to which Hungarian *homok* 'sand' had to be borrowed before the Hungarian $k > h$ development. A Khazar **xumaq* could have been borrowed as *humuk* or *humok* $>$ *homok* without any difficulty. The Hungarian etymological dictionary is not considering this possibility (*op. cit.* II, p. 139).

Remarks on the dialect of the inscription

Between the time of the VB inscriptions and the present-day Chuvash language more than six hundred years elapsed. It is self evident that the bulk of the differences between the language reflected by the VB inscriptions and the present Chuvash language is due to those developments which occurred during that long time. It is also clear that if we try to reconstruct the predecessor of the Chuvash language in the 13th—14th centuries it shows a very close relationship to the language of the VB inscriptions. It remains, however, an open question whether we have to do with slightly different dialects or VB is the immediate predecessor of Chuvash. This question has not yet been put because of several reasons. Those attempts which have tried to find dialectal differences in the distribution of the ordinal suffixes, as I hope to have succeeded to demonstrate above, cannot be maintained. Neither can Hakimzjanov's attempt be defended to classify the VB dialects according to the $\acute{\epsilon} > \acute{\epsilon}i$ development. Nevertheless the basic idea of Hakimzjanov can be accepted because even within the VB inscriptions we can find some dialectal traces. All this, however, does not settle the question of the relationship of 13th—14th century VB and 13th—14th century Chuvash. Even in our inscription there are some minor facts which call into question a simple equation between the two. I remind to the discussion of *awli*, *ayxi* and *belüwi*. If we bear in mind that in place of PT *y-* in some loanwords of Hungarian we have an *s* instead of *f* (as e.g. in *szél* 'wind' ← *śél* < PT *yěl*, *szűcs* 'tailor' ← *śeűči* < PT *yevči*) which are surely earlier than the end of the 9th century and that the Middle Bulgarian loanwords in Proto Permian show a similar case, we have enough reason to suppose the existence of several Bulgarian dialects. On the analogy of similar cases we can assume that the Onogur-Bulgarian groups which began their migration in the second half of the 7th century were not composed according to their original dialect but according to political reasons. We have also no reason to suppose that the Bulgarian group which reached the Middle Volga region at the end of the 8th century was the only or the last one of the Bulgarian tribes which came to this region. All these suggest that further research needed into the dialectal relations among the Bulgarian tribes of the Middle Volga region in the 9th—14th centuries. A detailed investigation of the language of the VB inscription is urgently called for to clarify problems of this kind.

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ON THE MEANING OF "ALTAIC"

The Permanent International Altaistic Conference convened in 1974 for the 17th time. The meaning of the term "Altaic" seemed to be so obvious that no one tried to define its content. The ordinary meaning is of course that Altaists are studying the languages and cultures of the so-called Altaic peoples, and in case of necessity we have to give a taxonomic enumeration: Altaic languages are spoken by the Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus peoples. Nevertheless, the fact that we label our subject with the name of a mountain-range suggests some caution.

The concept of "Altaic" has evolved through long development. Three periods can be distinguished. In the first period, the name itself was uncertain. Von Strahlenberg used the term "Tatar" for the group now called Ural-Altaic, Rask offered the name Scythian languages, but extended the content to groups such as Paleo-Asiatic, Eskimo, Caucasian and other non-Indo-European languages of Europe and Northern Asia. Max Müller tried to find common traits in the nomadic character of the people and introduced the term Turanian, including even the non-Indo-European languages of South Asia such as Siamese, Tibetan, Dravidian, and Malayan. It was perhaps Castrén who first used the term Altaic, but with the meaning of the present Ural-Altaic. Schott adopted the term, but used the terms Chudic and Tatar alternately, the former for Uralic, the second for Altaic.

The term Altaic as the common designation for the Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus language groups received its well-shaped and clear-cut meaning only in the second period through the works of Ramstedt and Poppe. In their fundamental works they laid down the basis of the theory of the genetic relationship of the Altaic languages. While in the first period the characteristics of the language group were amorphous, mainly typological, although thought to be historical, Ramstedt and his followers used the comparative methods of the 19th century to prove the genetical identity of the Altaic languages. Nevertheless, even within this framework some important questions remained open. The relationship of Korean (and Japanese) to them and the position of Chuvash within the Altaic group have not been solved.

In the third period faith in the genetic relationship of the

Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tunguz languages was shaken. This necessarily brought with it efforts to reformulate the content of Altaic. I would mention only three attempts. T.A. Sebeok—dealing with the meaning of Ural-Altaic—suggested abandoning the genetic foundations and basing it on typologically common traits.¹ G. Doerfer tried to introduce the terms homological and analogical affinity, the first for the genetic and the second for the secondary, Sprachbund-like features.² He sees in Altaic a linguistic situation where the two can hardly be distinguished. The other way out seemed to be to abandon the name and concept and use purely geographical terms. Sinor's Central Eurasian³ for Ural-Altaic or Central Asiatic used by many universities and a journal⁴ is opting for the areal aspect. On the other hand an extension into another dimension can be observed. While Altaic in the sense of Ramstedt means only a linguistic group, Sinor's Introduction includes history, and the practice of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference is to embrace all possible aspects of culture.

I think that from this short and necessarily superficial summary it is clear that we are far from having a well-defined term. From a purely theoretical point of view, "Altaic" has to denote common traits in different units. "Common" cannot be identical in a synchronic sense but it can be due to genetic identity. This was Ramstedt's idea and we have to ask the question: Is genetic identity the only possible cause for common traits in the different Altaic units?

In the first period similarity was the principle according to which the group was constructed. In the second period similarity was replaced by correspondence because regular correspondence was found to be the result of genetic unity. The enthusiasm over this fundamental discovery overshadowed, however, the fact that correspondences among languages and cultures can be due to other factors. On the other hand those few who were aware of them (or some of them) tried either to replace the genetic identity with the typological one or tried to blur the difference between the two.

I think we have to distinguish among the following six types of correspondences according to their different causes, and by the use of different methods: 1. Typological correspondences, 2. Convergence, 3. Areal features, 4. Common substratum, 5. Loan-relation, and 6. Genetic relationship. I have not mentioned chance, because chance can give identity or similarity but not correspondence. The first two are not, or are not necessarily, historical; the remaining four are all historically determined factors. It has to be stressed that "correspondence"

is understood as "regular correspondence," thus regularity is not an aspect according to which the six factors and their results can be distinguished. This is also the reason why statistical methods cannot be used for the determination of genetic relationship, since the law of probability helps us to select only identical features caused by chance from correspondences caused by all the other factors.

Instead of giving a theoretical analysis of the differences among the six factors I propose to offer a concrete example from which I shall try to demonstrate the problem.

T. Kowalski, reviewing Kotwicz's excellent monograph on the Altaic pronouns wrote, "Die Arbeit behandelt monographisch die altaischen Pronomina personalia, interrogativa und demonstrativa, also ein Gebiet, auf dem die Verwandschaft der Altaisprachen besonders deutlich zutage tritt" (OLZ 1973, 444). As the pronominal system is thought to be one of the most "Altaic" features, let us see what a complex analysis has to say. The three reconstructed proto-systems are the following:

<u>Turkic</u>	<u>Mongolian</u>	<u>Manchu-Tungus</u>
<u>bi</u> <u>mān-</u>	<u>bi</u> <u>min-</u>	<u>bi</u> <u>min-</u>
<u>si</u> <u>sān-</u>	<u>ti</u> <u>tin-</u>	<u>si</u> <u>sin-</u>
<u>i</u> <u>in-</u>	<u>i</u> <u>in-</u>	<u>i</u> <u>in-</u>
<hr/>		
<u>biz</u>	<u>ba</u> <u>man-/excl./</u>	<u>būa</u> /excl./
<u>siz</u>	<u>bida</u> /incl./	<u>sūa</u>
<u>anlar</u>	<u>ta</u> <u>tan-</u>	<u>ti</u>
	<u>a</u> <u>an-</u>	

Typologically common features. The system is three-fold, 1st, 2nd and 3rd P are opposed to each other and their respective plurals. The 3P shows a general trend to be replaced by demonstrative pronouns [T ol, M ene, tere, MT guga]. The 3P plural is facultative; the 1st and 2nd persons denote--normally--living persons taking part in the speech, while the 3rd is out of the speech situation. In the 3rd person there is no difference according to the oppositions: close-far, visible-invisible, known-unknown, determined-undetermined though some of the demonstrative pronouns show such differences. In the primary

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system there is no difference according to the social status of the speaker or the person addressed, no difference according to grammatical gender or sex. There is no distinction made according to word classes. The Altaic systems have no special pronouns in emphatic position (as English I:me), nor special pronouns for impersonal sentences (as German man). The primary system of the non-singular pronouns had no opposition of dual:plural; the formation of the plurals are different from the formation of plurals of the nouns in the respective languages. There is a common tendency to form personal possessive and personal verbal suffixes from the pronouns. Morphologically the Altaic systems have different stems for the nominal and the oblique cases in the singular. I have surely not exhausted the common traits of the Altaic pronouns and I have no room here to contrast them with typologically different systems. I hope it is clear, however, that we are entitled to speak about a certain typological correspondence among the three protosystems.

In contrast to the common features we find typologically differing ones. Such are, e.g., the formation of the plurals, which happens in T with suffixation /-z, -lar/, in M by an Ablaut-like feature /bi-ba, ti-ta, i-a/ and in MT we find a suppletive ti in the 3P opposed to i in the singular. The development of the possessive and personal suffixes of pronominal origin are at different stages. In contrast to T and MT in M the development is just beginning. The T oblique stem is extended to the nominal case />bān, >san/ while it is not in M and MT. In T the demonstrative ol is gradually intruding in the paradigm, replacing the an- stem, but this process is only at its beginning. In M ene and tere replaced entirely the old i and a- stems. The stem-vowel alternates according to the presence or absence of the final -n in T, while this is not the case in M and MT. In M we find a relic of the distinction of sex (MMo ogbe: ogbi "gave masc:fem") which could be of pronominal origin. On the exclusive:inclusive opposition see later.

The typological differences within the Altaic pronoun-system are essential. It is, however, to be admitted that the contrasted systems are not of the same age, neither according to their absolute chronology nor according to their possible relationship to a common proto-language. I would furthermore point out that typological contrasting was made both according to structures and to trends.

Convergence. The disappearance of different traits causes secondary correspondences, e.g., in the case of M sex-distinction. On the other

hand the appearance of new traits can also result in secondary correspondences. Thus, e.g., the development of the Mongolian possessive suffixes or personal endings in the verbal system can be observed in relatively recent times. The T nasalization of the initial b through the influence of the following nasal -n is secondarily approaching the oblique stems in M (cf. bin > min → M mingyan "thousand").

Areal features. Distinctive to the areal features is the fact that they disregard the borders of the linguistic groups. In respect to the formation of the plural of the pronouns, three areas can be distinguished in Eurasia. The area of the singular:dual:plural opposition is typical of the Laponian, Samoyede and Ob-Ugric languages and of the primitive Indo-European languages as well. The exclusive:inclusive opposition in the 1P sing. is peculiar to the East Asian languages (e.g., Sino-Tibetan), to Dravidian and some languages of Caucasia. On the contract area both systems can be found. In Nivkh, e.g., we find nin "we without you", min "we with you" and men "we two" (Sakhalin dialect). There have been opinions that T bi, si were originally duals, but the arguments are not wholly convincing. M and MT have the inclusive:exclusive oppositions thus pertaining in this respect to the East Asian area. M bida is consisting of "I" and "you" (plural), while MT munti formally can be segmented into "I" and "they". This is surprising, because semantically "I" and "they" are exclusive and not inclusive. The only possible solution to this enigma can be that ti, being now-a-days clearly the marker of the 3P plural (in suffixes) has been earlier the pronoun for the 2P. While the exclusive:inclusive opposition is disappearing in M, it is vital in MT, where it infiltrated into the verbal system which has a distinction between "we take (with you)" and "we take (without you)". As it is in contact with the area of singular:dual:plural, we find in Tofalar⁵ in the 1P the triad men:bi:si "I:we two:we many" it is, however, very unlikely to see an old T or even Altaic feature in this; it is clearly secondary, due to areal influence.⁶

Adstratum influence. Languages, although they have disappeared themselves, indirectly influenced those languages which absorbed them. Substratum influences on the primitive Altaic languages have not yet been investigated, and it seems to be very unlikely that much result can be expected in the field of the personal pronouns. A possible language would be, e.g., Ketic. Ketic has in the 3P sing. the pronoun

bu, but this is surely a loan from Turkic. There is an Ablaut plural in ad "I" and ed "we". This is clearly secondary. In some dialects (e.g., Imbat) we find etin with the plural suffix -in, thus it is clear that the development was at + in > etin > et. This could be a welcome typological parallel to the M Ablaut-like plural, without any historical contact of course. In Tofalar there is a fourfold opposition in 3P sing.: on, om, abus, mar, "my he", "your he", "our he", and "your he". Morphologically this is purely Turkic consisting of the stem ol + possessive suffixes, but semantically it is non-Altaic, similar structures being known in Indian languages and Japanese. The opposition of the honorific plural to the normal plural as M ta:tanar or T siz:sizler show clearly a superstratum influence of European. It is, however, an Altaic feature that in most languages where this opposition exists the basic difference is in the respective age of the speakers and not in the social status. Thus, e.g., in Mongolia the chauffeur of a minister addresses his boss as xi "you" if the former is the older, and the minister says ta to his driver if he is older than he. Similar distinctions are mentioned in Turkic languages. In Ozbeg, according to Kononov,⁸ biz and siz refer to collectives not differentiated by their members, while bizlar, sizlar denote groups where the members are distinguished (cf. English much and many). In Tofalar, in contrast to the 1P, in the 2P only siler is used in the Russian meaning of "vy", both for the honorific and non-honorific plurals.

Loan contacts. Borrowings within the Altaic group are frequent. In the pronoun-system, however, borrowing is very rare. That it is not impossible we have seen in the case of Ketic bu. Not only can lexical and morphological units be borrowed but also systems (lexical and grammatical calques). It is of special interest that the use of personal suffixes in the nominal and verbal sphere can be found only in the Western and Northern Mongolian dialects. Since these dialects were and are in contact with the Turkic ones it is not completely impossible that the development in question was caused or perhaps only influenced by the Turkic languages.⁹ It is of great importance that, e.g., in Buryat only the vocative verbal forms have personal endings, while the others do not. This can be an interesting typological analogy for the development of the verbal systems of the other Altaic (and non-Altaic) languages.

Identical origin. What does remain for genetic relationship? Is

everything else due to genetic identity? My friend E. Schütz has recently demonstrated convincingly¹⁰ that the labial initial in the 1P and the dental complex in the 2P go back to very early glottogonical processes. This undoubtedly true fact is of course not an argument against the genetic identity of the pronouns in question, it says only that the labial and dental initials in themselves are not arguments in their favor. Very disturbing is the correspondence of the initials of the 2P: T g-, M t, MT g, because they are not regular and demonstrable in other word classes. Can we suppose that the relationship among the three Altaic proto-systems of the pronouns pertain to a much earlier period than the bulk of the words with which we demonstrate the regular sound correspondences? I would not exclude this possibility.

On the other hand I referred above to a possibility that in an earlier period, 3P t could be the MT pronoun of the 2P by a similar shift as German sie > Sie. The possessive suffix of the 3P--after vocalic finals--is in T -gi, which also admits a hypothesis that the 2P pronoun of T /gi/ was formerly that of the 3P and perhaps suppressed the original 2P pronoun beginning with t. All this is very hypothetical. It seems certain only that the stem-vowel, which was in all persons and all language groups front i, and the "pronominal" -n, are the possible candidates for genetic identity.

I chose consciously a very difficult field to demonstrate the complexity of the meaning "Altaic". Perhaps it will help to develop a new type of Comparative Altaic Grammar. In such a grammar "Altaic" will have a meaning different from that which we used earlier. Its constituents will be:

- A real contacts
- L oan relations
- T ypologically common features
- A dstratum influence
- I dential origin
- C onvergent development

NOTES

1. The meaning of "Ural-Altaic": *Lingua* II (1950), pp. 124-139.
2. "Zu der Verwandtschaft der altaischen Sprachen"; *IF* 71 (1966): 81-123, "Homologe und analoge Verwandtschaft"; *IF* 72 (1967): pp. 22-26.
3. See his Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale, Wiesbaden 1963, a second edition of which is an urgent necessity.
4. Central Asiatic Journal, ed. K. Jahn.
5. V.I. Rassadin, Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka, Ulan Ude 1971. This excellent book is a monograph on the dialect hitherto known as Karagaas.
6. I have dealt with the Turkic pronoun-system in general and with the problem of the so-called dual in particular in a paper "Principles and methods of etymology in Turkology /The Turkic system of pronouns/" to be published in the Proceedings of the Conference on the Principles and Methods of Etymology, Budapest, August, 1974.
7. A.P. Dul'zon, Ketskij jazyk, Tomsk 1968, pp. 103-105.
8. N.A. Kononov, Grammatika usbekskogo jazyka.
9. Turkic influence on the Western Mongolian phonetical system can be well demonstrated.
10. "Remarks on Altaic Personal Pronouns," *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 28 (1974): 139-145.
11. This would solve the enigma T si : M ti : MT si. T and MT si would not be an "irregular" development of Altaic ti, but would earlier have had another function and then suppressed ti.

A RUNIC INSCRIPTION IN THE KUJBYŠEV REGION

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

In a short paper published 1927 in Hungarian in the journal *Magyar Nyelv*¹ Professor Ligeti called the attention to the work of Fakhru'd-Din Mubārakh Shāh written about A.D. 1206 where besides reporting on the Sogdian and East Turkish runic script the author also refers to the script of the Khazars. Unfortunately the late copyist of this work left out the Khazar letters and so all that we know is that it was different from that of the Eastern Turks. Allegedly it originated from the Rus and ran from the left to right. This led Sir Denison Ross to the tentative conclusion that we might have to do here with the Cyrillic script. However the presence of two kinds of *k*, the interdental spirant *ḥ* (beside the normal stop *d*) raised some doubts about this hypothesis. In any case Professor Ligeti recognized that we are here confronted with a possible link between the East Turkish and the Hungarian runic scripts.

Since 1927 a few runic inscriptions have been found in the territory of the former Khazar Khaganate, with letters different from the Orkhon-type.

Professor Németh in his last paper on the runiform script² of Eastern Europe pointed out that the territory from which runic inscriptions are known in East Europe seems to be expanding. The easternmost find is the wooden stick of Talas³ having different letters from the other Talas inscriptions. The southernmost occurrence of this script is known from Khumara⁴ near the Elbrus Mountain. The westernmost territory is Hungary where as many as

¹ *A kazár írás és a magyar rovásírás* [The Khazar Script and the Hungarian Runiform Script]: *MNy* XXIII (1927), pp. 473–476.

² *The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe*: *Acta Linguist. Hung.* XXI (1971), pp. 1–52.

³ See S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pismennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, M.-L. 1959, pp. 63–68 with an excellent photo: Fig. 14.

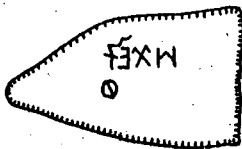
⁴ A. M. Ščerbak, *Les inscriptions inconnues sur les pierres de Khoumar (au Caucase du Nord) et le problème de l'alphabet runique des turcs occidentaux*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV (1962), pp. 283–290.

three different types of runic letters have been found, the runiform signs on Avar objects,⁵ the treasure of Nagy Szent Miklós⁶ and the runiform script of the Hungarian Seklers.⁷ On the shores of the Black sea the inscriptions of Mutaflar (Roumania) offer new material. The northernmost line of the finds has hitherto been marked by the inscriptions of Sharkel, Novoherkask⁸ and Elista.⁹ It would be of great importance if the frontiers of this territory could be pushed out still further.

During my last visit to Cheboksary in 1973 I collected Volga Bulgarian inscriptions. Many of my Chuvash colleagues and friends gave me valuable information about inscriptions known to them. Among these there was one which was not Volga Bulgarian or Kazan Tatar in Arabic script. G. F. Yumart (Trofimov), a member of the Chuvash Scientific Institute, handed over to me a record of an inscription of Boljšoe Mikuškino. I quote his record *verbatim* in English translation:

«The stone of Mikuškino»

In the neighbourhood of the village Boljšoe Mikuškino (Isaklinskij rayon, Kujbyševskij oblastj, former Buguruslanskij uezd, Province of Samara) on a mountain called *Kartlă tu* there was a big stone with inscription. It had the following form:



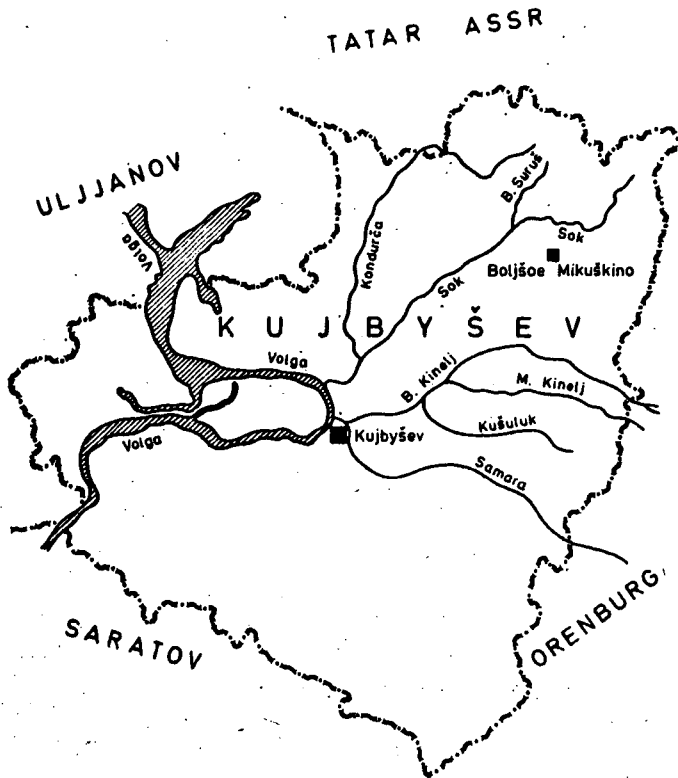
⁵ I. Vásáry, *Runiform Signs on Objects of the Avar Period (6th–8th cc. A. D.): Acta Orient. Hung. XXV (1972)*, pp. 335–347. I quote here Vásáry: «The runiform script of Turkish origin could have been known only in a very narrow circle of the Avar society . . . What seems to be strange is that certain letters of the Avar script display a resemblance to the western runiform alphabets of Turkish origin (Khazar and Székely-Hungarian script). And that is all we can say about them.» (p. 344).

⁶ See the paper of Németh cited above with further bibliography.

⁷ For more details see the paper of Németh cited and a paper of I. Vásáry published in Hungarian in the journal *Keletkutatás* 1974 [1975], pp. 159–172.








⁸ M. I. Artamonov, *Nadpisi na baklažkach novočerkasskogo muzeja i na kamnjach Majackogo gorodišča: SovArch XIX (1954)*, pp. 263–268. A. M. Ščerbak, *Neskoliko slov o priemach čenija runičeskich nadpisej, najdennych na Donu: SovArch XIX (1954)*, pp. 269–282. G. F. Turčaninov, *O jazyke nadpisej na kamnjach majackogo gorodišča i flagach Novočerkasskogo muzeja: SovArch 1964: 1*, pp. 72–87. A. M. Ščerbak, *Znaki na keramike i kirpičach iz Sarkela-Beloj Vėži (K voprosu o jazyke i pisjmennosti pečenegov): MIA No. 75 1960*, pp. 386–388, A. M. Ščerbak, *Znaki na keramike iz Sarkela: Ėp. Vost. XII (1958)*, pp. 52–58.

⁹ The text written on a bull's skull has not yet been published. S. G. Klaštornyj and I. Vásáry are working on its publication.



Its height above the earth was cca 1.5 m, its length about 4—5 meters and its breadth no less than 3 meters. According to the remembrances of Anna Ignatjevna Mikeeva (born 1911) they danced roundelays (on the stone) and sung songs. The letters had a breadth about one *arshin*. How many letters there were we do not remember. But they say that there were two lines. There were also dots into which one could place a fist. The stone lay in the earth. After the Great Patriotic War [World War II] they split the stone into parts and with the help of a tractor the stone [in parts] was dragged to the building constructions of the farm. Above, on the borders there were small carvings spaced tightly. According to A. I. Mikeeva no legends were connected with the stone. The village is Chuvash, it seems that [the settlement] occurred in the beginnings of the 18th century. Now there are about 1.000 yards [i.e. houses]. The mountain is about two kilometres away on the SW side of the village. According to Mikeeva there were [also] letters like ☼ and ✨. In both lines there were about 5—6 letters».

Since according to the record the stone was destroyed and it is unlikely that we shall ever get a better description of it, I considered it worth for publication.

We have enough experience with inscriptions copied by hand to know that such copies made by people not knowing the script are in most cases unreliable.¹⁰ It is also a risky task to try to decipher so short an inscription, or rather fragment. In any case we have seven letters: 1.  2.  3.  4.  5.  6.  7. . It cannot be a mere chance that all of them are similar to signs found on the flask-inscriptions of Novocherkask. The fact that there were 5-6 letters in either line seems to exclude the possibility that we have to do with simple tamgas.¹¹ The slight differences between the letters of Mikuškino and those of Novocherkask seem also to exclude the probability that we have to do here with a late falsification. Some other facts also speak against it.

The village is situated not very far from the river Suk, an affluent of the Kundurča, about 180 kms NE from Kujbyšev. The river Suk is mentioned already by Ibn Fadlan who crossed it on his way to the Volga Bulgars.¹² According to Ibn Fadlan this territory was then inhabited by the Bashkira. If the Mikuškino inscription was a runic one, it had not been written necessarily before the introduction of Islam into this region, i.e. the early 10th century. The case of the Hungarian runiform script shows that in spite of Christianity and the domination of the Latin alphabet, an earlier script could survive and be preserved for long a time in remote areas. But even in the case of a relatively late date of the inscription itself it has to be connected with the pre-Islamic period and if not itself prior to the 10th century, it was a continuation of a pre-10th century tradition.

G. F. Yumart is certainly right when he points out that the Chuvash inhabitants of the village Boljšoe Mikuškino are settlers of the 18th century.

¹⁰ This is the case with most of the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions. In the Archives of the Institut Vostokovedenijsa, Leningrad, I found a copy of a Volga Bulgarian inscription made by somebody who did not know Arabic script. The copy is practically illegible, though beautifully drawn. As is known both the Finnish and the Russian expeditions were sent to the Orkhon inscriptions because the first copies made by Jadrincev were unreliable.

¹¹ When we have one or two signs on an object, we have always to bear in mind that they can be tamgas. V. F. Kachovskij has collected a series of Chuvash runiform-like tamgas (unfortunately without giving his sources or a more detailed study): *O runičeskoj pismennosti drevnyh čuvašej: 100 let novoj čuvašskoj pismennosti*, Čeboksary 1972, pp. 23-34.

¹² In the text we find *Suž* which is the regular Volga Bulgarian form and not Bashkir.

This is backed by facts known from historical sources and the dialect of the village.¹³ Therefore we cannot speak about the continuity of the inhabitants in this region.

In this connection the name of the mountain is of special importance. *Kartlā tu* is a purely Chuvash composition. *Kart* means in Chuvash «zarubka, narez, metka; notch, cut, mark» and pertains to the verb *kart-* «to cut notch, to gash» < PT *kārt-*. The composition *kart palakki* is now the term for the notched tally stick. If the Chuvash had a runiform script it is very likely that they used the term *kart-* «to incise runic letters», but this has been forgotten with the disappearance of the script. The new Chuvash settlers coming to Boljšoe Mikuškino named the mountain after the «incised stone» dominating the landscape whether they had or had not any idea about the fact that this was an «inscribed» stone. The name of the mountain shows clearly that the stone is earlier than the 18th century and thus we can discount falsification with great probability. If so, we are confronted with the northernmost runic inscription pertaining to the Khazar group of the East European runiform scripts. The geographical distribution of these inscriptions will help us to connect them with the people who used them.

¹³ See R. I. Caplina, *Osobennosti nekotorych čuvašskich govorov Tatarskoj ASSR i Kuşbyševskoj oblasti: Materialy po čuvašskoj dialektologii II*, Čeboksary 1963, pp. 180–206. Caplina worked with eight informants from the village Boljšoe Mikuškino, who all spoke a dialect of Anatri-type.

A. RONA-TAS

AN UNPUBLISHED CHUVASH WORDLIST IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

There is no reason to consider one language more important than others from a general or a historical point of view. However, there are always key languages which have a distinguished place in the consideration of certain historical problems. In the very complex context of the history of the Altaic languages Chuvash undoubtedly plays such a role. For the reconstruction of the history of the Turkish languages Chuvash is essential because it pertains to and is the only living member of a group of Turkish languages which separated the earliest from the main body of the Proto Turkish dialects. Thus it is impossible to reconstruct Proto Turkish without considering the linguistic data received from the study of Chuvash. In the debated question of the relationship between the Turkish and Mongolian languages Chuvash has a special position in that it shows a series of peculiarities common to Mongolian and Chuvash, but not shared by the other Turkish languages. Chuvash itself has a very complicated interrelationship with the Kipchak Turkish languages of the Volga region, Tatar and Bashkir on the one side and with the Finno-Ugric languages of this area, the Permian (Votyak, Permyak and Züryen) and Volga (Cheremis and Mordwin) group on the other. None of the linguistic and ethnogenetic problems of these languages and peoples can be solved without a correct interpretation of the Chuvash data. Finally neither the linguistic nor the ethnic and political history of the Hungarians can be investigated without reference to the background information contained in the history of the Chuvash language.

Thus one could be entitled to think that the history of the Chuvash language is one of the most carefully studied aspects of Turkology and Altaistics in general. But this is not the case. Though we do have fundamental works on several specific and detail questions of Chuvash linguistic history, the basic works themselves seem to be unduly neglected. There is no serious academic edition of any of the monuments of the history of the Chuvash language; most of them are not even published and not a few are unknown at least to those scholars who are interested in the problems referred to above.

This specific situation has, of course, its special causes. If we disregard scattered glosses and proper names, there are two groups of written documents which contain linguistic material concerning the history of the Chuvash language

and the dialects nearest to it. The first group consists of words and a very few sentences scattered in epigraphical texts written in Arabic and dated to the 13th and 14th centuries. Though most of them have been known for more than 250 years we are only now in the position to undertake a thorough investigation of them because their earlier editions were unreliable. [1]

To the second group pertain relatively late wordlists and texts collected, written and partly published in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. The earliest of these is a short word-list collected by the Swedish prisoner of war Ph. I. STRAHLENBERG before 1721 and published in 1730 in his famous 'Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia' [1/a]. From the following period we know of the following items:

	collected or compiled	published
1. Materials published by G. F. MILLER [2]	1733	1758
2. J. E. FISCHER's two manuscripts, same as No. 1, but rearranged and commented [3]		
3. An answer to the questionnaire compiled by TATIŠČEV [4]	1737	
4. Russian-Tatar-Chuvash-Mordvin word-list [5]	1737-1738	
5. Russian-Chuvash-Cheremis-Mordvin wordlist [6]	1737-1738	
6. A eulogy on the Empress Katharine [7]	1767	1767
7. A grammar edited by PUCEK-GRIGORVIČ [8]		1769
8. Materials in PALLAS' 'Reise...' [9]	1768-1769	1771
9. The second edition of No. 7. [10]		1775
10. An occasional poem written in Kazan [11]		1781
11. Materials collected by K. MILKOVIČ [12]	1783	1827
12-16. Word-lists drawn up according to the instructions of PALLAS and used for the compilation of No. 19. [13]	1784-1785	
17. Russian-Chuvash word-list [14]	1785	

	collected or compiled	published
18. Tatar, Chuvash, Mordvin and word-list of DAMASKIN[15] -[16]	1785	
19. The 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' of Catherine II, compiled by PALLAS[17]		1787-1789
20. Texts from the seminar of Nižegorod[18]	1788	
21. A Chuvash catechism translated by J. ROŽANSKIJ[19]	1788	1800
22. The Lord's Prayer in Chuvash translated by P. TALIEV[20]	1788	
23. Chuvash sermons by J. ROŽANSZKIJ[21]	1789	
24. The 2nd, rearranged edition of No. 19[22]		1790-1791
25. Religious texts translated by I. RUSANOVSKIJ [23]		
26. The Lord's Prayer translated by P. T. IVANOV [24]	in the 1790's	
27. Prayers translated by G. ROŽANSKIJ [25]	in the 1790's	
28. Conversation texts translated by G. ROŽANSKIJ and I. RUSANOVSKIJ[26]	in the 1790's	
29. A Russian-Chuvash-Mordvin-Cheremis word-list [27]	in the 1790's	
30. An occasional poem written in Kazan[28]	1795	
31. Catechism translated by A. ALMAZOV[29]	1803	1804
32. Chuvash-Tatar comparative word-list compiled by NEUMANN[30]	1815	1817
33. Translation of the four Gospels under the guidance of P. TALIEV[31]		1820
34. Folklore texts collected by A. FUCHS[32]	1830-32	1840
35. Religious texts translated by S. ELPIDIN[33]		1832
36. D.P. OZNABIŠIN's record of a Chuvash song[34]		1833

With these texts ends the first period of the historical monuments and records on the Chuvash language.

The second period saw the publication of such important works as the Chuvash grammar of VIŠNEVSKIJ (1836) [35], the comparative Russian-Chuvash-Hungarian grammar of E. DEŠKO (1856) [36], it also witnessed the fieldwork of two outstanding scholars, A. REGULY (1843, 1846) [37] and A. AHLQUIST (1856-1857) [38], the literary and scientific activity of S.M. MIHAJLOV (1821-1861) [39], the publications of V.A. SBOEV (1856) [40] and the Russian-Chuvash dictionary of V.P. GROMOV (before 1841) [41], to mention only those works which contain original Chuvash material.

Between these two periods a small wordlist was collected, in 1835, by F.A. VOLEGOV, a clerk in the court of Count Stroganov. Previously, — in 1833 — VOLEGOV (1790-1856) had collected a Permyak word-list of about 3,000 items which was published by K. RÉDEI in 1968 [42]. The Chuvash words are contained in a smaller pentaglott wordlist where, beside the Chuvash and Russian Permyak, Züryen and Votyak words are listed. Both the great Permyak word-list and the pentaglott word-list were handed over to REGULY in 1843, and are now kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Old Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The latter under the sigla M. Nyelvtud 4/14/III.

In his above mentioned book K. RÉDEI drew attention to the hitherto unpublished Chuvash word-list. It will be published by my student Klára AGYAGÁSI, but I would like here to underline its importance for Chuvash studies by giving some examples.

The phonemic system of Chuvash differs in many points from that of the other Turkish languages. One factor influencing the development of the present system was surely Finno-Ugrian linguistic contacts but also some important inner developments played a significant role. This confused so much the shape of Chuvash that some scholars were inclined to see in it a Turkicized Finno-Ugrian language, others considered it impossible to find any regular correspondence between Chuvash and the other Turkish languages at least as far as its vocalism was concerned. This impression was also strengthened by the inadequate description of Chuvash texts and words. The Cyrillic script used from the beginning to record the Chuvash language had evident shortcomings and could not distinguish in many cases among phonologically relevant sounds. This was mainly the situation before the orthographical reform of JAKOVLEV, who aimed at the construction of a phonemic rather than a phonetic orthography of Chuvash; he succeeded in his efforts in a measure unparalleled in any other orthography. The situation before JAKOVLEV's reform was also rendered confused by the mixing of forms from the two main dialects of Chuvash, the Higher or Viryal and the Lower or Anatri. Further, over the course of time three centres were active in collecting and publishing Chuvash materials: Nižnij Novgorod (now Gorki), Kazan and Simbirsk (now Uljanovsk). In all of three certain orthographical traditions developed and as far as we can judge, their slight differences also hamper the work of reconstructing the Chuvash linguistic system of the 18th and early 19th centuries. In this context the word-list of VOLEGOV is of special interest. It contains Chuvash words

taken from the 'Sočinenija prinadležaščija k grammatike čuvaškago jazyka' compiled under the guidance of V. PUCEK-GRIGOROVIC (1767, No. 7). As VOLEGOV has remarked in his letter to REGULY dated on the 4th March of 1841 he "collected" (sobral) the Votyak and Chuvash words during "he changed horses at the post-stations in the regions of Vjatka and Kazan". He came to the conclusion that the Chuvash language — which in his times has been considered by most of the scholars as a Finno-Ugric one — is not related to Züryen, Permyak and Votyak. We have to suppose that "collected" means "checked" since discrepancies between VOLEGOV's material and the 'Sočinenija' are minimal. Thus we have in our hands a control of the 'Sočinenija' made by a linguistically untrained person 68 years after its publication.

The alveolar spirant -x- in intervocalic position becomes systematically a media lenis spirant in Chuvash. The older orthography denoted this by the Cyrillic letter г, the new orthography used х because this change is conditioned and thus the media lenis character is allophonic. Also VOLEGOV used г to render the allophone of -x- in intervocalic position e.g. in the word СОГАЛЬ "beard" (present orthography сăхăл which we shall transliterate in the following with Latin letters). However in the case of the word šăxan "raven", where we would expect in VOLEGOV's text *сюганъ we find instead сюхăнъ with the х denoting the tenuis spirant counterpart. This unexpected notation is corroborated by the 'Thesaurus' of AŠMARIN [43], where he gives in his phonetic transcription šôhan for the Viryal and šăhan for the Anatri dialect. We know that for several reasons AŠMARIN's work has to be used with great caution, but in this case VOLEGOV and AŠMARIN corroborate each other. And this gives us the key to the etymology of the word. It is clearly a secondary form from an earlier šôtxan "gluttonous" derived from the verb šôt- "swallow". In fact we find beside the meaning "raven" for šăxan also the meaning "glutton" as well. The unvoiced character of the -x- has been preserved by the preceding unvoiced -t-, and secondary voicing did not occur in most dialects until recent times. Since the word šôt-/šăt- goes back to the Proto Turkish form yūt- "to swallow", well attested in old Turkish texts and modern dialects, we can reconstruct the proto form of the Chuvash word as *yūtqan, an old Turkish name for the raven, hitherto unknown to me from other sources.

The Russian word бочка "barrel" became pičke in Chuvash. The front vocalic character is somewhat puzzling and can only be explained by a supposed and intermediate form *pička. VOLEGOV has this form as пичка.

All Turkish languages have for the word "rich" bay or its regular developments. It is only Chuvash and Mongolian which have an underlying form bayan which developed regularly in Chuvash into puyan. This extended form was identical to the name of the famous Avar ruler Bayan and thus the history of the word is of wide historical interest. VOLEGOV has the longer form, but he also recorded the shorter form оуи both with the preservation of the initial б-, though Turkish initial consistently became p- in Chuvash. This is also reflected in VOLEGOV's material in such words as пръ "hail" < PT *buz пурзя "flea" < PT *burča or пырб "throat" < PT *bořaz etc. If оуи is not a

mistake (it cannot be the verb puy- "to be rich", because VOLEGOV quotes all verbs in the first person present, and never in their stem form. In this case the Sočinenija has buy "richness") It raises the suspicion that in old Chuvash bay was the original word, and byan is a Middle Mongolian loanword, which gradually took the place of the original Turkish form. In this case the name of Bayan can only be of Mongolian origin.

It is highly significant to the history of the Chuvash language that the consonant ɭ became spirant and disappeared in certain positions. On the other hand the picture is obscured by the few cases where -l- has been preserved. Two such examples are šaltär "star" from PT * yultuz and iltan "gold" from PT * altan. Now in VOLEGOV we find сѡдаp i.e. šodar with the meaning "star", where the -l- has disappeared. This could happen only through a form *sövtär which is not attested, but its parallel form for iltan i.e. ivtan can actually be found in AŠMARIN's Thesaurus. Thus the two data corroborate each other once more and we see that the tendency for -l- to disappear was also present in Chuvash in these cases.

VOLEGOV's material gives us the key to the hitherto unsolved etymology of the word šantaläk "climate, weather". JEGOROV[44] has proposed that the first part of the word embodied the Persian jahän "world" while the second was the Chuvash word taläk "something round" as in šultaläk "the round year" cf. Bashkir yıl täülge "the round year". This is however impossible for semantic and phonetic reasons. The right etymology was suggested by BUDENZ[45] who was, however, unable to solve the semantic and phonetic problems involved. BUDENZ connected the word with the demonstrative pronoun šav~šavä and referred to a parallel dialectal form šaväntaläk with the same meaning. He argued that it meant "the one which is there, far". Now "climate, weather" and "far" cannot be connected. Neither can the first syllable of šantaläk be connected with šav or šavä. A form *šavän- would have developed into šun-. Therefore RÄSÄNEN[46] rejected BUDENZ's etymology and JEGOROV joined him.

But in the word-list of VOLEGOV we find the form сѡндалык i.e. šundaläk, and not with the meaning "climate, weather" but as небо "sky". This solves both problems connected with the etymology of BUDENZ. On the semantic side it is clear that the sky was euphemistically called "the one far above", as kök "the blue" is also a similar expression for "sky". As in many Mongolian and Turkish languages the words for "sky" and "weather" are the same and the restriction to the second meaning is recent. The phonetical side also became clear. The original form was šundaläk, the regular development from šavä+n+ta+lik. This is corroborated by AŠMARIN, who cites the following data: šantaläk, šantaläx, šaväntaviläk, šaväntalak "pogoda, svet". In the Sočinenija we find also the form šantaläk сѡндалык with the meanings "vek, svet ili vseennaja", while in the grammar of VIŠNEVSKIJ (1836) šandalik "mir, pogoda" is given. Thus the regular development of -avä- i.e. u can be found in the Sočinenija and at VOLEGOV, while the -avä->a development due to the stress on the syllable after it and being originally a parallel form to šundaläk became generalized.

These are only a very few examples to indicate the value of the Chuvash word-list of VOLEGOV. I hope that the scholarly publication of this and other historical monuments of the Chuvash language will provide a solid foundation for a historical grammar of Chuvash, which will be essential if all the problems which I have mentioned above are to be solved.

Notes

1. For more details see my introductory remarks in: RÓNA-TAS A., — FODOR E., *Epigraphica Bulgarica* [Studia Uralo-Altaica I], Ezege 1973, pp. 10—40, and the bibliography given there pp. 177—188.
- 1a. The name of the author was originally Tabbert. He was raised to the nobility in 1707 by King Charles XII who bestowed on him the family name, Strahlenberg. In his works published in German he used the form Strahlenberg. The full title of his work runs: *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, In einer historisch-geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neuern Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekannten Nachrichten vorgestellt, Nebst einer noch niemahls ans Licht gegebenen 'Tabula Polyglotta' von zwey un dreyssigerley Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen 'Vocabulario', Fonderlich aber einer grossen richtigen Land-Charte von den benannten Landern und andern verschiedenen Kupferstichen, so die Asiatisch-Scythische Antiquitat betreffen; bey Gelegenheit der Schwedischen Kriegs-Gefangenschaft in Russland, aus eigenen sorgfältigen Erkundigung, auf denen verstatteten weiten Reisen zusammengebracht und ausgefertigt von Philipp Johann von STRAHLENBERG, Stockholm, in Verlegung des Autoris, 1730.* It is possible that there existed also an other edition with an altered title-page, published in Leipzig. Reprint of the original in the series 'Studia Uralo-Altaica', Ezege 1976, contributed by J. BENJAMINE Amsterdam. There exist an English (1736, 1738) a French (1757), a Spanish (1780) and a Russian translation of the book. The English version is somewhat altered, in some places it is rearranged and complemented with additional remarks by its translator. The French edition does not contain the complete text, however, it was published together with three smaller papers on the Mongols by other authors. The Spanish translation follows the French one. The 6th, 7th and 8th chapters, and at a later date the 12th were translated into Russian by TATIŠČEV. There also exists a complete (?) Russian translation, which in spite of a number of references to it, has been never published. The manuscript of this translation has now been found and located by A. N. KONONOV (1972, 49) in the Rukopisnyj otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR, Leningrad. No. 16.13.16. STRAHLENBERG was captured by the Russians in 1709 and was sent to Siberia. He arrived in Tobolsk on the 26th of August, 1711 and here he made the acquaintanceship of several scholars, among them TATIŠČEV and MEESERSCHMIDT. He stayed in Siberia until May 1722 arriving in Moscow at the beginning of 1723. In August he left Moscow and returned to Sweden on the 28th of August, 1723. Now the following question arises: when, where and from whom did he obtain his Chuvash material. We know that he returned to Russia for a second time, in 1736; in St Petersburg he learnt Tatar, Kalmuck and Chinese, but only after the publication of the above mentioned book. Doubts has been raised as to whether STRAHLENBERG himself collected the Kalmuck material (see KRUEGER's work cited below), and in connection with this, one has also to put the question whether his Chuvash material has been written down by himself. Answers to these questions will perhaps be given by the unpublished manuscripts of TATIŠČEV. In

- his Introduction STRAHLENBERG mentions several works which he could not include in his work because "Hatte ich solche Stücke zu gegenwertigem Theil brauchen wollen, würde ich nicht allein den Praenumerations-Preis haben höher setzen müssen, sondern es würden auch die Herren Praenumeranten über den langern Verzug sich sehr beschwert haben, nachdem sich mit diesem die Zeit schon weiter hinaus gezogen, als ich anfanglich vermuthet habe" (C2v). There does exist an announcement from 1731 that the second volume of this book, evidently containing these materials, will be published in 1732. But nothing is known of this second book. Among the works listed by STRAHLENBERG in his Introduction item No. 3 is: Relation einer Reise in die Kalmuckey nach den Torgauthischen Kalmucken am Wolga-Strom. There are three different reviews by TATIŠČEV on STRAHLENBERG's work: 1. 'Primečanija na knigu, učinennuju gospodnom Stralenbergom, imjanovannoj Severnoj vostočnoj strany Evropy i Azii, pečatannoj v 1730 g. v Stokgol'me' (CGADA f. 199, 8, 2, No. 4, ROBAN 17.9.7). 2. Primečanija Tatiščeva na knigu Stralenberga: O kalmykah, bolgarah, o narodah sarmatikah, o baškirah, o Tomane i Tumeni, roksolanah, o Beloj i Červonnoj Rossii (CGADA, Portfel' Millera f. 199, No. 46-13). 3. 'Tatiščev's observations on Strahlenberg's data on the Yakuts' (LOAAN f. 21 op. 5, No. 149, see KONONOV 1972, 49). It is not quite impossible that the second manuscript of TATIŠČEV refers to the second and lost book of STRAHLENBERG. A great deal of research work is being carried out into STRAHLENBERG's life and activities (see the works of KRUEGER and JARRING cited below, and their bibliography). At the present moment we are not in position to come to definite conclusion concerning the origin of STRAHLENBERG's Chuvash material. In any case it has to be dated prior to 1723 when he left Russia. Bibl.: A. HÄMÄLÄINEN, 'Nachrichten der nach Elbrien verschickten Offiziere Karls XII über die finnisch-ugrische Völker': JSFOu 49(1939) pp. 1-55; G.M. NOVLJANSKAJA, Filipp Iogann Stralenberg, ego raboty po issledovaniju Sibiri, Moscov-Leningrad 1966; G. JAROS, 'F.I. Tabbert-Stralenberg — sputnik issledovatelja Sibiri D.G. Messersmida': Izv. Sibirskogo Otd. AN ESSR, Ser. Obšč. nauk, 1968: 1, pp. 68-72; DOERFER 1965, pp. 12-13; J.R. KRUEGER, The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730, Stockholm 1975; J.R. KRUEGER's Introduction to the 1976 Szeged reprint; G. JARRING, 'Strahlenberg in Schwedischer Literatur und Wissenschaft'. Eine bio-bibliographische Übersicht: UAJb 48(1976) pp. 121-123.
2. See his 'Sammlung Russischer Geschichte. Des dritten Bandes viertes Etueck: Nachricht von dreyen im Gebiete der Stadt Kasan wohnhaften heidnischen Völkern, den Tschereemschen, Tschuwasschen und Wotlacken, SPbg 1758, pp. 305-412. Some parts of this work were published earlier in the 'Ežemesjačnye sočinenija k pol'ze i uveseleniju službačie', 1756, July, pp. 33-64, 119-145. There exists a Russian translation from 1791: 'Opisanie žyvuščih v kazanskoj gubernii jazyčeskich narodov etc. sočinennoe G. F. Millerom, imp. AN professorom po vozvraščanii ego v 1743 godu iz Kamčatkoj ekspedicii', SPbg 1791, G. F. MILLER, or to give the German form of his name, Gerhard Friedrich Müller together with J. G. GMELIN took part, in the Great Eastern or Second Expedition to Kamchatka (1732-1734), being member of the so called "continental branch" of that expedition. One of his tasks was to collect linguistic materials and the Chuvash material he collected in the Autumn of 1733 in Kazan. He published 275 words, 38 numerals and the Chuvash text of the Lord's Prayer. His manuscripts can be found in CGADA and LOAAN. Bibl.: M. I. BORGOJAKOV, 'Sbornik G. F. Millera po tjurkskim jazykam Sibiri': Tjurkskaja leksikologija i leksikografija 1971, pp. 122-130; JEGOROV 1949, pp. 111-142; GORSKIJ 1959, p. 27; DOERFER 1965, pp. 13-14; PETROV 1967, p. 100; FERGEEV 1969, pp. 232-234; ALEKSEEV 1970, p. 203; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 49-50; KONONOV 1972, pp. 52-53; HOVDHAUGEN 1975 pp. 271-286.
3. The title of the Göttingen MS runs: Vocabularium continens trecenta vocabula triginta quatuor gentium, maximo ex porte Sibiricarum, Cod. ms. philol. Göttingen 261. Facsimile edition in DOERFER 1965. The Leningrad MS is in LOAAN, Razrjad III, op. 1, No. 135. J. E. FISCHER was a friend of SCHLÖZER and a collaborator with G. F. MILLER. He

donated the Göttingen MS to the Historical Institute of Göttingen in 1756. There exist several opinions concerning the origin of FISCHER's material. According to BARTOL'D (Istorija izučeniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii², L. 1925, 215) the material was in fact collected by TATIŠČEV and given to FISCHER before 1725. ADELUNG writes (Catherinens der Grossen Verdienste um die vergleichende Sprachkunde, StPbg 1815, p. 21) that the material was collected by FISCHER himself. DOERFER suggested (1965, 12) that the basic (Russian, German) list was compiled by FISCHER and given to TATIŠČEV, who arranged it for the collection of the material which then was written up by FISCHER, perhaps with addition of his own materials and those of MESSERSCHMIDT. L.P. SERGEEV was the first, to recognize that the Chuvash material of MILLER and FISCHER is practically identical (1969, 228-263 but GULYA believed that FISCHER's material is his original collection pointing out that the Göttingen MS contains several important etymological observations written by FISCHER see GULYA's work below). HOVDHAUGEN (1975) made a detailed study of these Chuvash materials of MILLER and FISCHER, concluding that they are essentially the same. Now two questions of detail have been cleared up. A.P. FEOKTISTOV (Istoki mordovskoj pis'mennosti, M. 1968, pp. 86-88) found MILLER's instructions to FISCHER when the latter was sent "in place of him" (CGADA (199, Portfel' Millera). To this Miller appended a thematically arranged list of about 700 words in Russian and German. This latter was published in 1900 (Sbornik Muzeja po antropologii i etnografii pri ANI, pp. 37-108). By collating the Göttingen and Leningrad MSS KONONOV (1972, p. 54) showed that the Göttingen MS must be the draft copy and that the Leningrad MS is in many parts different from the Göttingen MS. He also quotes MILLER (Istorija Akademii nauk G.F. MILLERA, 8 prodolzhenijami I.G. STRITTERA: Materialy dlja istorii Imp. Akademii nauk VI, (1890) p. 286), who writes that he (MILLER) gave the materials collected on the instructions of TATIŠČEV to FISCHER who presented them to the Historical Institute of Göttingen. By comparing the Chuvash material of the Göttingen and Leningrad MSS and the material published by MILLER or, at least those parts concerned with the Chuvash material, I can corroborate the statement of KONONOV. The Göttingen MS is much closer to MILLER's material than Leningrad MS. Bibl.: DOERFER 1965; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 228-263; KONONOV 1972, pp. 53-55; HOVDHAUGEN 1975, 274-286 and GULYA J., 'A magyar nyelv első etimológiai szótára' [The first etymologically dictionary of the Hungarian language]: A magyar nyelv története és rendszere: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 58 (1987) pp. 87-90.

4. The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first 107 questions were connected with history, geography, statistics and economy: questions Nos 108-197 concerned ethnography. To this a word list was added with the aim of obtaining the equivalents in the local languages. The questionnaire was compiled by TATIŠČEV in 1736, was submitted to the Russian Academy in 1737 and distributed in the same year. The last part, concerning the linguistic material, was entitled: 'Leksikon, sočinennyj dlja pripisivaniya inozazyčnyh slov obretajuščihja v Rossi narodov dlja kotorogo vybrany točno takie slova, kotorye v prostom narode upotrebaemy'. The provincial chancellery office of Simbirsk sent an answer to the questionnaire which can be found now in the Archives of the Soviet Academy (fond 21, op. 6, No 149) under the title 'Vedomost' Simbirskoj provincial'noj kancel'jari učinennaja v otvet na voprosnye punkty, kotorye javstvujut v prislannoj s predloženiya kopi'. It was written by V. BELOUSOV and signed by I. MURAMCOV and M. BAŽENOV. The answers to the questions contain some Chuvash words, terms and geographical names. On the Chuvash linguistic material contained in the answers see DMITRIJEV 1960, pp. 270-273, 280-286. On the materials connected with the third part i.e. the word-list, see Nos. 3-4. I would remark here that a part from the word-lists connected with the name of TATIŠČEV K.A. KONDRATOVIČ also has compiled a Chuvash-Russian word-list in about 1737-1738, but its fate is unknown (see KONONOV 1972, p. 72; Biobibl. 1974, p. 193). There also exists an interesting ethnographical description of Chuvashia from 1740. In this year N.I. DELIL' lead an expedition to Bereзов to observe the passing of the planet Mercury in front of the sun. T. KÖNIGSFELD wrote an account of this expedition and this and his diary were published in French in 1779, Amsterdam in volume XXIV of

- 'Histoire generale des voyages'. The manuscript of DELIL's account and the diary of KÖNIGSFELD, translated from German into French was given by prince I.A. DOLGORUKOV to the Russian Geographical Society in 1849. It was described by V. Ja. ŠTRUEV in the 'Zapiski Geografičeskogo Obščestva' III(1849) pp. 60-67, and used by P.P. PEKARSKIJ in his work: 'Putešestvie akademika Nikolaja Iosifa Delilja v Berezov v 1740 godu'. The original was studied by DMITRIEV (see DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 277-279, 298-302) according to whom the original text contains a great deal of data not or not correctly cited by the French and Russian versions. On the questionnaires of TATIŠČEV and the answer from Simbirsk, see also M. NOGMAN, XVII-XVIII yüzlerdege rusçatatarca kul'jazma süzlekler, Kazan 1969, pp. 27-29.
5. Compiled on the initiative of TATIŠČEV in the uezd of Simbirsk by V. BELOUSOV, (IOAAN f. 21, op. 5, No. 149). Bibl.: DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 270-298; PETROV 1967, p. 100; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 232-233; KONONOV 1972, p. 74.
 6. Also compiled on the initiative of TATIŠČEV in the same regions as No. 5. Bibl.: DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 270-307; PETROV 1967, p. 100.
 7. 'Pelmestapar abir' tja min' baras parnja... Written in the theological seminary of Kazan on the occasion of the visit of Catherine II. Published in: 'Duhovnaja ceremonija proizvodivšajasja vo vremja vseoždenenjesego prisutstvija eja Imperatorskogo Veličestva... Ekateriny vtorija v Kazane', 1767. The text is republished in SIROTKIN, loc. cit. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 30; SIROTKIN 1967, p. 10; V. Ja. KANJUKOV, Oj fol'klora k pis'mennosti, Čeboksary 1971, p. 13; SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 8. Sočinenija prinadležašie k grammatike čuvaškogo jazyka, ŠtPbg 1769, second edition 1775. This work, the first grammar of a Turkish language written in Russia was compiled in the theological seminar in Kazan under the guidance of the bishop of Kazan and Švijažsk Venjamin, — V.G. Puček-Grigorovič, — as stated by DMITRIEV (see bibl.). This work was translated into French by P.Ch. LEVESQUE ('Grammaire abrégé de la langue des Tchouvaches': JA 1825, pp. 213-224, 267-276). Klaproth's paper was based on this work: 'Comparaison de la langue des Tchouvaches avec les idiomes turks': JA 1828, pp. 237-246. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1951; GOREKIJ 1959, pp. 27-30; DMITRIEV 1967, pp. 153-162; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 228-232; PETROV 1967, p. 100; ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 204-207; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 53-54; KONONOV 1972, p. 181; Biobibl. 1974, pp. 240-241.
 9. Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs, I. ŠtPbg 1771, pp. 86-93, the Russian edition was published in 1733 (the five volumes in German 1771-1776, in Russian 1773-1788), PALLAS visited the Chuvash regions in 1768 and 1769, see KONONOV 1972, p. 56.
 10. See No. 8.
 11. 'Aval čuğine tjure asla attjane....' Written on the occasion of the opening ceremonies of the theological seminar in Kazan. Published in: Sočinenija v proze i stihah... na raznyh jazykov govorennye', Kazan 1781. Bibl.: SIROTKIN 1967, p. 11. (reproduction of the text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 12. The land-surveyor K. MILKOVIČ collected materials on the Bolgars and Chuvash. His manuscript is dated to 1783, but it was published first in 1827, then by MAGNICKIJ, later NIKOLEKIJ has also dealt with this manuscript. It contains prayers, the names of gods and articles of clothing. Bibl.: 'K, Mil'kovič o čuvašah': Severnyj Arhiv 1827, c. 27 No 9, 47-67, No. 10 120-139, No. 11, 210-232; N.V. NIKOLSKIJ, 'Ėtnografičeskij očerk Mil'koviča, pisatel'ja XVIII veka o čuvašah': IOAIE 22(1906), pp. 31-37. The 1827 edition was reedited by MAGNICKIJ in 1888, under the title 'O čuvašah'. See also: 'Istorioğrafičeskoe opisanie o Kazanskoj gubernii kapitana Mil'koviča': IOAIE 14:5(1898).
 13. The first is a Russian-Chuvash wordlist and has four columns. In the first are listed the Russian words. The second contains the Chuvash equivalents given by V. KOSTYČOV with the help of the official dragoman I. ALEKSEEV. The third column contains the translations suggested by the Archbishop ANTONIN. The last column contains the corrections and suggestions made by I. ALEKSEEV, (IOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 120) Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. The second wordlist in an augmented version of the former. The additions were made on the request of PALLAS.

- LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No 121). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. The third list is entitled: 'Spisok russkikh slov s perevodom na čeremisskij, čuvašskij i mordovskij jazyki'. It was compiled by M. BEŠČERIN (Bekčurin, SERGEEV gives the name as Bekdorin), 94 f. op. 2, No. 112). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, pp. 80; Biobibl. 1974, p. 120. The fourth list has the title: 'Spisok russkikh slov s perevodom na čeremisskij, čuvašskij, mordovskij i votjacksij jazyki'. This was also compiled by BEŠČERIN, and it is in fact an augmented version of the former (LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 111). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; KONONOV 1972, p. 80; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; Biobibl., 1974, p. 120. The last list is a copy of the former with a number of unimportant corrections (LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 122). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. There are about 90 words which were not taken over by PALLAS; some figure in the 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' in an altered form. On the other hand there are some words in the 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' which do not figure in these list and which have to be therefore from other sources.
14. Slovar jazyka čuvaškogo (ROGPB Ermitažnaja No. 222), unknown author. This is the largest wordlist from this period, contains about 3,000 words. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1949, 124-130; KONONOV 1972, 94.
- 15-16. The full title reads: Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov v Nižegorodskoj éparhii obitajučih, imjanno Rossijan, Tatar, Čjuvašej, Mordvy i Čeremis. Po vysočajšemu solzvoleniju i poveleniju Eja Imperatorskogo Veličesiva premudroj Gosudaryni Ekateriny Alekseevny, imperatricy i samoderžicy vse rossijskoj, po alfavitu ot znajuščih onyja jazyki svjaščennikov i seminaristov pod prisмотрom preosvjaščennogo, Damaskina, episkopa Nižegorodskogo i Alatorskogo, sočinenoj 1785 goda. There exist two copies of this important and frequently cited work. The first copy is in the ROGPB (Ermitažnaja No. 223). The second which was the draft copy is now in the Archives of the Gorki (formerly Nižegorod) region. (Kollekcija Nižegorodskoj gubernskoj učenoj arhivnoj komissi, f. 2013, op. 602, d. 187 and 186) in two volumes. This second copy is more complete and also contains a Votyak word-list. The Chuvash material was compiled by J. ROŽANSKIJ, G. ROŽANSKIJ, I. RUSANOVSKIJ and P. TALIEV. The lay-name of Damskin was D. Semenov-Rudnev. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1949; GORSKIJ 1959, p. 31; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 57-59 and A.P. FEOKTISTOV, Russko-mordovskij slovar', M. 1971.
17. Sravnitel'nye slovari vseh jazykov... Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa. Catherine II began her linguistic studies under the influence of Lomonosov and Leibniz. She used the comparative word-lists of Dumaesque and Bacmeister and also obtained materials from F. Nikolai. Later she instructed the clergy and the civil administration to gather further materials. After a while the Empress tired of the work and entrusted it to the naturalist Pallas. Pallas planned his research in 1785, he compiled instructions in 1786 and appended to them a word-list of 442 items in Russian, German, Latin and French. This list was sent to the clergy, the civil administration and to Russian diplomats abroad. On the Russian title-page the date of the first volume is 1787, on the Latin 1786. The second volume dates from 1789, in this the African and American languages are included. The Chuvash material figures among the Finno-Ugric languages under the number 64. Bibl.: SERGEEV 1959, pp. 235-236; KONONOV 1972, pp. 84-88.
18. Dejstvo nižegorodskoj duhovnoj seminarii, proishodivšee vo onoj pri okončanii godičnogo učenia v prisutstvii... Damaskina episkopa Nižegorodskogo i Alatorskogo... i pročih znamenityh osob... 1788-go goda ijunja 30-go dnja. Compositions in Chuvash. Now in the State Archives of the Gorki (formerly Nižegorod) territory (f. 2013, op. 602, No. 1450). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, pp. 59-60 (with a short passage in addition).
19. Kratkij katehizis perevedennyj na čuvašskij jazyk s' nabljudeniem rossijskogo i čuvaškogo prostorečija radi udobnejšego onago pozvanija vosprijavših svjatoe kreščenie. Compiled by J. ROŽANSKIJ in the seminary of Nižegorod. Published in St'bg 1800. The MS is now in the Adelung collection (ROGPB, f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 26). Bibl.: PETROV

- 1967, p. 104; KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
20. Attja-tora pjujut. (In the Archives of the Čuvašskij Naučno-Issledovatel'skij Institut, fond, N.V. Nikol'skogo t. 182, p. 139). Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 30 (text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 56.
 21. Reč' dlja perevodu na čuvašskij jazyk. Remark on the MS: Reçu, avec la lettre de S. E. l' Evêque Damaskin du 12 Decembre 1789 (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga, No 26-15). Bibl. SERGEEV 1972, p. 79; KONONOV 1972, p. 56.
 22. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vseh jazykov i narečij po azbučnomu raspoložennju I-IV. Published by F.I. JANKOVIČ de Mirlevo, StPbg 1790-1791. 'The Chuvash language is here already included among the Turkish languages. Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 88.
 23. Simvol very. The MS has been received on the 16th January, 1791. (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 26, 18/1). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 24. Molitva Otce naš na čuvašskom jazyke (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20, 13). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 78.
 25. Molitva vostav a sna. Molitva othodja ko snu. Molitva pered obedom. Molitva posle obeda (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 20, 14) Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79; SERGEEV 1972, p. 56 (according to SERGEEV one prayer was supplied by I. RUSANOVSKIJ).
 26. 'Slova, vzjatyje iz francuzskih razgovorov rossijskie s čuvašskim raspoložennje po urokam.' 130 lessons (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 20, 16). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, pp. 56-57; KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 27. Russko-čuvašsko-mordovsko-čeremisskij slovarik. Author unknown. (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20, 20). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 28. Payan ebir' apla talnatpar. Nine lines written on the occasion of the birthday of the Bishop of Kazan, Amvrosij in which the students acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of the Bishop. Bibl.: SIROTKIN 1967, p. 11 (text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 29. Russian title: Bukvar s sokraščennym katehizisom na rossijskom i čuvašskom jazykah. Chuvash title: Pičikee katehizis. The first 12 pages contain the Cyrillic and Arabic alphabets and give some instructions as to their use. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 34; PETROV 1967, p. 104; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 61-62; KONONOV 1972, p. 185.
 30. The MS has the title: Wörterammlung zur Vergleichung des Tschuwasschischen mit dem Tatarischen von Hoffrath Neumann. The text was republished with minor alterations in: Periodičeskoe sočinenie o uspechah narodnogo prosvetšeniija 42(1917) pp. 34-63. The MS: ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20-19. Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79 (without mention of its publication).
 31. Svjatoj Evangel' Matfejran, Markran, Lukaras, Ionnran da čuvaš čilge sine šjavirza xoni. This translation was sent by Fraehn to Echott, who used it in his Chuvash grammar. Bibl.: PETROV 1967, pp. 104-105.
 32. Zapiski Aleksandry Fuks o čuvašah i čeremisah Kazanskoj Gubernii, 1840. A. FUCHS collected her material in the years 1830-32 and also included in her volume texts collected by D. P. OZNABIŠIN, however not always correctly. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 36 (with quotations); SIROTKIN 1967, pp. 12-14.
 33. Načatki hristianskogo učenija ili kratkaja svjaščennaja istorija i kratkij katehizis na čuvašskom jazyke s prisovokupleniem kratkih pravil dlja čtenija. This work was an important step in the evolution of Cyrillic Chuvash orthography and served as a model for Višnevskij. Bibl.: PETROV 1967, p. 105; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 61-62.
 34. Published in the journal Zavolžskij Muravej 3(1833). With the note: Is čuvaš Fedi. Fedi is the first known Chuvash singer. OZNABIŠIN's other materials were given to A. FUCHS, see No. 34.
 35. Načertanie pravil čuvašskogo jazyka i slovar', sostavlennaja dlja duhovnyh učitel' Kazanskoj eparchii, Kazan 1836. A preliminary publication of certain sections can be found in Zavolžskij Muravej 1832 III No. 20, 1255-57. This work was reviewed by a certain G. S. (perhaps G. S. Šabukov) in: Učenyje Zapiski Kazanskogo Universiteta 1837, 1 pp. 136-168 and on this work was based SCHOTT's grammar. SCHOTT's obtained his copy from Fraehn. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, pp. 34-36; PETROV 1967, p. 105; ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 207-216; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 62-63; KONONOV 1972, p. 187.

36. E. DESKÓ, *Vengerskaja grammatika s russkim tekstom i v sravnenii s čuvašskim i čeremiskim jazykom*, Simbirsk 1856. DESKÓ rejected the *Finno-Ugrian relationship of the Hungarian language* and he wrote his book to prove his point. Since he thought that Chuvash is a Finno-Ugrian language he contrasted Chuvash and Hungarian to demonstrate that there is no relationship between them. Deskó wrote his work in 1854 in Simbirsk where he was a teacher in the local gymnasium. Bibl.: LIGETI L., 'Deskó Endre csuvas-magyar nyelvhasználtása' [Endre Deskó's comparative linguistic studies in Chuvash and Hungarian]: *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* 71(1921-1923) pp. 319-320; ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 216-217.
37. REGULY's material was published by J. BUDENZ, who also wrote a grammatical treatise on Chuvash drawing on REGULY's records and some publications obtained by REGULY. One of the Chuvash scholars who worked most closely with REGULY was E. MIHAJLOV. See: BUDENZ J., 'Reguly csuvas példamontatai' [The Chuvash sample sentences of Reguly]: *NyK* 2(1863) pp. 189-280; 'Két csuvas mese' [Two Chuvash tales]: *NyK* 16(1880) pp. 157-164. 'Csuvas közlések és tanulmányok' I-III [A grammatical treatise on Chuvash]: *NyK* 1 (1862) pp. 200-268, 353-433, *NyK* 2(1863) pp. 15-68. REGULY's material is partly included in ASMARIN's *Thesaurus*.
38. AHLQUIST collected his material in the years 1856-57. His still unpublished material consists of a Russian-Chuvash word-list, a Chuvash-Russian word-list, a Chuvash-Swedish word-list, Chuvash texts, among them a text entitled: *Kratkoe opisanie čuvašskih suverij* written by the archdeacon Aleksandr Protopopov of Spassk. Bibl.: 'Aus einem Briefe des Candidaten Aug. Ahlquist an Herrn A. Schiefner': *Mélanges russes* III, p. 266-285, originally published in: *Bulletin de la Classe historique-philologique de l'Académie Imp. de Sciences de St. Peterbourg* 14 (1857) pp. 145-160. The letter was read on the 22nd August, 1856. See also A. AHLQUIST, 'Ensimäinen matka-kertomus': 1856 [1857] pp. 215-237; 'Toinen matka kertomus': *ibid* 1856 [1857] pp. 238-252. The first is a somewhat expanded version of his letter written to SCHIEFNER, dated 6th August, 1856, the second letter is dated 19th February, 1857, Ardатов, Simbirsk Government. AHLQUIST's unpublished material is now in the Institute of Finno-Ugrian Studies, Helsinki University and in the Archives of the Finnish Literary Society.
39. On S. M. MIHAJLOV, the most important figure in early Chuvash cultural history, see the volume dedicated to his activities: S. M. Mihajlov pervyj čuvašskij étnograf, istorik i pisatel'. *Sbornik statej*, Čeboksary 1973 containing 8 papers. Among others he worked with REGULY and AHLQUIST. One of his most important works is *Čuvašskie razgovory i skazki* [] sostavlennye Spiridonom Mihajlovym, Kazan 1853. A copy of this book with AHLQUIST's notes can be found among the AHLQUIST's papers (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Arhisto A 98, No 4297 f), see further SIROTKIN 1967, pp. 18-30.
40. *Issledovanija ob inorodcah kazanskoj gubernii. Zamečki o čuvašah*. Kazan 1856, here 8 Chuvash folksongs. This was the main source for VÁMBÉRY's paper: 'A csuvasokróli' [On the Chuvash]: *Értekezések a nyelv- és irodalomtudományok köréből* 11, 5 (1883) pp. 1-56. See also *Ungarische Revue* 1883, IV. Further GORSKIJ 1959, pp. 37-38; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 64-65.
41. I found the first reference to GROMOV in AHLQUIST's above cited letter to SCHIEFNER where he writes "Zweitens zog mich der Umstand hin, dass der Geistliche Gromow hier (in Kozmodemjansk) lebt, welcher eine Reihe von Jahren in einem Tschuwaschischen Wörterbuch gearbeitet hat, das er vor mehreren Jahren handschriftlich nach St. Petersburg sandte, wo es 'post varios casus' an die Akademie der Wissenschaften gelangt ist". We know from SERGEEV that the work was passed by the censor in 1842 (SERGEEV 1972, p. 69). In the Archives of N. V. Nikolskij kept in the Naučno-Issledovatel'skij Institut, Čeboksary (otd. 1, No. 182) there is a Russian-Chuvash dictionary, in which notes have been added by more than one person at a later date. The first: *Slovar sej rassmatritel' čeboksarskogo uezda, sela Jandifeva svjaščennik Petr Vasiljevskij*. The second: *Prinadležit Pavlovu Fedoroviču Moikinu 1888 Kazan' Mostovaja, Sobstvennyj dom*. Then in the hand of Nikolskij: *Nastojščij slovar est' kopija s čuv.-rus. slovarja V. P. Višnevskogo, napečatannogo v konce grammatiki, N. N-ij, 25. I. 1911*. Somebody deleted this and wrote: *Nastojščij slovar est'*

- verojatno russ.-čuv. slovar' V.P. Gromova. According to SERGEEV (loc.cit.) this MS is not Gromov's. On GROMOV see further V. MAGNICKIJ, Materialy k ob"jasneniju staroj čuvašskoj very, Kazan 1881, pp. 237-238; V. MAGNICKIJ, Svjaščennik Vasilij Petrovič Gromov, Kazan 1884 (here are cited two letters from GROMOV to ZOLOTNICKIJ, the first dated 1868). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, 68-71.
42. Permjakisches Wörterverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1833 auf Grund der Aufzeichnungen F.A. Wolegows, Budapest 1966.
43. Slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka XIII, 1937, p. 52.
44. V.G. EGOROV, Etimologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka, Čeboksary 1964, pp. 202-203.
45. 'Čseremisz tanulmányok': NyK 3 (1864), p. 413.
46. 'Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen': MSFOu 47 (1920) p. 187.

Bibliographical abbreviations

Note: Research work into the historical records of the Chuvash language is at an elementary stage. In the last few years important works have been published by our Chuvash colleagues, not all of which seem to have reached scholars dealing with the history of the Chuvash language. I give here the most important and recent works cited in an abbreviated form in the footnotes. To them I would add V.G. JEGOROV's *Sovremennij čuvašskij literaturnyj jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščenii*, 2nd ed. Čeboksary 1971.

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- 100 let: 100 let novej čuvašskoj pis'mennosti, Čeboksary 1972.
- CGADA: Central'nyj gos. arhiv drevnyh aktov, Moscow.
- LOAAN: Leningradskoe otdelenie Arhiva Akademii nauk SSSR.

IOAE	Izvestija Obščestva Arheologii i Etnografii pri kazanacom universitete, Kazan
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest
ROBAN	Rukopisnyj otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR Leningrad
ROGPB	Rukopisnyj otdel Gosudarstvennoj Publičnoj biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova- Ščedrina, Leningrad
Už. Zap.	Učenyje Zapiski Naučno-Issledovatel'skogo Instituta pri Sovete Ministrov Čuvašskoj ASSR

THE CHARACTER OF HUNGARIAN – BULGARO-TURKIC RELATIONS

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Debates on prehistory do not perish; they just get transmuted. The so called "Ugro-Turkish" war long ago has ceased, and nobody today would dispute the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarian language, yet there is a latent and at times vehemently eruptive debate going on concerning the extent to which the economic-cultural-ethnical as well as anthropological characteristics of the conquering Hungarians was determined by the Finno-Ugrian origin and the Turkic component respectively. While according to one view the Hungarians, having separated from the rest of the Ugrians, had gradually achieved, due to internal development and complex external influences but basically of their own effort, the highly developed half-nomadic way of life, the level at which they appear to us at the time of the Conquest of Hungary; the other extreme view holds that the Turks had organized a primitive equestrian people of hunters and fishermen, providing them with a high culture. Between these two end points all shades of the spectrum can be encountered.¹

¹ I think the question of "Turkic or Finno-Ugrian" has become outmoded not only in the sense that the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarian language can no longer be doubted, but outmoded also in the sense that the study of prehistory can no more be restricted to the study of the origins of the language. Clearly the origin of the language is not identical with ethnic origin, and it is the task of the researcher to discover those historical factors that appear in the different subsystems of the ethnic unit. Thus for example in the economic system of the conquering Hungarians we have to examine what is the exact origin and conditions of development of the various means, techniques and experiences of production. In examining pre-Conquest Hungarian agriculture we also have to see what was formed by tradition, what by autochthonous internal development, and what by external influences. Making any side absolutely predominant would be a serious methodological mistake. The problem of agriculture at the time of the Conquest has been much discussed by historians too. Some of the more important studies recently published in this field are P. Váczy, *A korai magyar történet néhány kérdéséről*, in: *Századok* XCII. (1958), 265–345; Gy. Györffy, *A magyar őstörténet néhány kérdéséről*, in: *Történelmi Szemle* IV. (1961) 417–425; I. Szabó, *A falu rendszer kialakulása Magyarországon*, Budapest 1966; A. Bartha, *A IX–X. századi magyar társadalom*, Budapest 1968, 26–28; A. Bartha, *Gazdaságtörténet és szavak*, in: *Magyar Nyelv* LXV (1969), 14–25; T. Hoffman, *Vor- und Frühgeschichte der ungarischen Landwirtschaft*, in: *Agrártörténeti Szemle*, X. Suppl. (1969); Z. Újváry, *Az agrárkultusz kutatása a magyar és az európai folklórban*, in: *Műveltség és Hagyomány* XI. (1969) 204–208; I. Balassa, *Az éke és a szándék története Magyarországon*, Budapest 1973, 248–261.

The debate centres round the Turkic loanwords of Hungarian. On one side it is said that these loanwords clearly reflect the character of the Turkic influence; on the other side it is retorted that the conclusive force of these words is very slight. It is highly probable that the Hungarians had danced even before the borrowing of the word *tánc* "dance" from Middle High German, and we would have no reason to doubt the existence of ancient Hungarian sheep-breeding even if we only had the Czecho-Moravian loan-word *birka* in the Hungarian language. Moreover, the fact that the words *kar*, "arm", *térd*, "knee", *gyomor*, "stomach" and *köldök*, "navel" are of Turkic origin,² should not induce us to assume a lack of these parts of the body in the Ugrian age. Or of *ész*, "mind" for that matter. Generally speaking, the question is to what extent we can rely on the testimony of the word stock in problems of ethnogenetics, economy or social history; and specifically, what historical processes are reflected in the well-known thematic groups of our Turkic loanwords?

It must be stressed from a methodological point of view—as it has been stressed by others too—that the inherited or borrowed status of words cannot simply be equated with the history of the object or activity they denote. Even in the case of correspondences impeccable both phonetically and semantically, we can only venture to draw conclusions after considering numerous other criteria and aspects. In every case it is necessary to examine together the whole system and the material-historical background.

Furthermore, it is clear that in the light of the latest findings of history and archaeology the theory of "the great leap of the primitive hunting-fishing Ugrians" is untenable. As Antal Bartha says, "It is no longer possible to speak of the encounter between the Proto-Hungarians, standing at the level of the Ob-Ugrians, if not more primitive still, with the much more advanced Turkic peoples. Our words borrowed from Western Turkic testify a modification of the advanced level of our prehistoric culture, not its beginning".³ Or, to quote a recent statement by Gyula László: "We thus needed no Turkic 'influence' whatsoever to change over to the agricultural-stockbreeding form of life."⁴ Gyula László's keen insight, however, does not halt at this point, for he adds, "Of course this still leaves us our layer of Turkic words, but their appearance will have to be accounted for by some other hypothesis."⁵ This other hypothesis would be the theory of

² The latest exposition of the problem in this form comes from D. Sinor (*UAJb*, XLI, 1969, 277), but he failed to give an explanation of Hungarian names for parts of the body which are of Turkic origin. It is now possible to prove for all these words that they were originally borrowed as names for the parts of the animal body; thus they are really part of our stockbreeding terminology taken from Turkic.

³ *Népszabadság*, 1972. Cf. P. Domokos, *Szöveggyűjtemény a finnugorság ismertetése című gyakorlatok tárgyköréből*. Szeged, 1972, 20.

⁴ *A honfoglalásról*, Budapest, 1973, 17.

⁵ It is not clear to me how the theory of the double Conquest can account for our layer of Turkic words. If the Hungarians settled in the Carpathian basin in two waves, we either have to suppose that both groups had Turkic loanwords, or that only one group did (the third possibility would be that they were borrowed here). If both groups had Turkic loanwords, then this obviously does not solve the problem, not speaking of the fact that in this case it ought to be possible to distinguish with linguistic means between the two kinds of Turkic loans of the two layers. If only one

the double conquest of Hungary. In my opinion Gyula László's theory cannot solve this problem. What can help us here is finding a suitable historical analogy. The closer this will be to the Hungarian-Turkic contacts in age, character and content, the greater its convincing force.

Such a parallel, in direct relationship with Hungarian prehistory, is provided by the Mongolian links of our pre-Conquest Turkic loanwords.

It has long been observed that many loanwords in the Hungarian language have perfect Mongolian parallels. Several theories can be brought up to account for this. They are the following: 1. Hungarian has words directly borrowed from Mongolian; 2. Mongolian words have got into Hungarian by way of Turkic mediation; 3. Hungarian borrowed from some old Turkic language which was very close to Mongolian; 4. the Turkic loanwords of Hungarian are related to their Mongolian counterparts because both the Turkic and the Mongolian words derive from a common Altaic parent language, and Hungarian has borrowed from the Turkic; 5. The Mongolian parallels of our Turkic loanwords have been borrowed from Turkic, just as they have been by Hungarian.

It is clear that whichever of the above views is accepted, it will directly bear on Hungarian prehistory, while the last supposition contains the hope of a possible analogy.

Lajos Ligeti, in a fundamental work nearly fortyfive years ago⁶, outlined the main aspects of the question. He showed that there was no reason to suppose direct borrowing from Mongolian, or of Mongolian borrowings by way of Turkic. Recently the problem has re-emerged, partly because historical contacts between Hungarians and Mongolians are not wholly unlikely (cf. the recent suggestions by Károly Czeglédy for Balangar and Chungar)⁷, and partly because of the Mongolian character of the language of the Avars, not yet proved, but not yet refuted either. As I see it, however, there is as yet no reason to revise our previous standpoint.

The pre-Conquest Turkic loanwords in Hungarian can be divided into two groups with respect to their Mongolian characteristics. One group displays linguistic features which exclude a Mongolian origin; the other is

had possessed a Turkic element, we would still face a number of unsolved problems. If for instance our Turkic words had been brought with the second wave, including words of agriculture, then we would have to examine the type of agriculture of the first group, and its transformation under the influence of the agricultural technology of the second group. In this case it will be difficult to explain why names for plants native in the Carpathian basin, too, like *kőris* "ash", *som* "cornel", *alma* "apple", *körte* "pear", *kender* "hemp", *kömélő* "hop", etc. were borrowed from the language of the second group only?

⁶ See *Mongolos Jövevényszavaink kérdése*, in: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XLIX (1935), 190–271.

⁷ Cf. Gy. László's lecture at the 2nd International Congress of Hungarian Linguists (Szeged, 22–28 August 1972); on this, cf. "A honfoglalókról" 15. — D. Sinor (*UJb XL*, [1969] 276) says, "Denn dass in den Gebieten, die in Zusammenhang mit der ungarischen Vorgeschichte in Betracht kommen, keine Mongolen lebten ist nicht nur unmöglich zu beweisen, sondern es wird sogar immer wahrscheinlicher dass das Gegenteil wahr ist." See also K. Czeglédy, *Études slaves et roumaines*, I. (1948), 64. In some recently given, but as yet unpublished, lectures K. Czeglédy has returned to the problem.

indifferent as to a Mongolian derivation. There is no group, however, with clear-cut Mongolian features distinguishing them from Turkic.

As for Turkic mediation, the situation has slightly modified. We know from the investigations of Lajos Ligeti and Gyula Németh⁸ that there are items of Mongolian origin in our so-called "middle Turkic" layer of loanwords, (e.g. *daku*, *nyögr*), but no trace of such can as yet be detected among our pre-Conquest Turkic loanwords.

Poppe's view on Hungarian loanwords from Pre-Turkic, a language stage close to the Altaic parent language,⁹ has been convincingly refuted by Lajos Ligeti,¹⁰ but chronological considerations also lead us to exclude this point from among the possibilities.

All this being so, two possible theories remain for the explanation of the Mongolian parallels: the hypothesis of the common Altaic inheritance, and the hypothesis that Mongolian has a group of Turkic loanwords.

In the Hungarian literature on prehistory it is usually the first of these that is widely known, though Gyula Németh very soon suggested that the Turco-Mongolian correspondences were due to borrowing rather than inheritance.¹¹ In the more cautious wording of Lajos Ligeti: "... the Turkic and Mongolian languages have been—as testified by historical sources, mainly Chinese—in permanent contact with each other for nearly two thousand years... It cannot be doubted that as a result of these contacts we have to reckon with intercrossings and borrowings from various ages and of varying intensity. ... it may often be the case that a correspondence, thought to derive from the Altaic parent language is in fact nothing but the trace of a contact that took place after the separation of the two languages. The danger of misunderstanding is especially great if the correspondence due to this interaction comes from an age prior to the oldest extant textual documents of the Turkic or Mongolian language."¹²

The problem, however, has a so far undiscussed aspect that concerns Hungarian prehistory.

The mere quantity of the Mongolian parallels of our Turkic loanwords is very significant. If we accept the number of our pre-Conquest Turkic loanwords to be about 300, it seems remarkable indeed that more than a hundred of these, or one in every three, have a perfect Mongolian parallel.

⁸ The problems of Hungarian *nyögr* have been discussed by J. Németh (*AOH* III. [1953], 1–23) and L. Ligeti (*Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XLIX. [1935], 242., *AOH* XIV. [1962], 58–59); on *daku* see "A mongolok túikos története" ed. L. Ligeti. Budapest 1962, 148. Hungarian *taliga* (= Mong. *telege*) has reached us by Slavonic mediation, see L. Ligeti, *op.cit.*, 168.

⁹ N. Poppe, On Some Altaic Loanwords in Hungarian, in: *American Studies in Uralic Linguistics*, 1960, 139–147.

¹⁰ A propos des éléments "altaïques" de la langue hongroise, in: *ALH* XI. (1961), 15–41.

¹¹ Some participants of the international debate that has flared up around the "Altaic hypothesis" seem to be unfamiliar with J. Németh's views on the historical relations of the Altaic languages. His major contributions to this field are: *Die türkisch-mongolische Hypothese: ZDMG* LXVI (1912), 549–576. *A török-mongol nyelvviszonyokhoz*, in: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XLIII (1914), 126–142.

¹² A török szófejtés és török jövevényszavaink, in: *Magyar Nyelv* LIV. (1958), 436.

We must haste to add, however, that these one-hundredodd Mongolian equivalents are in greatly differing relations with the respective Hungarian words. For *chronological* reasons we must exclude those which are demonstrably recent in Mongolian, so for example the immediate Mongolian counterparts of Hungarian *tenger* "sea", *tár* "store", *kőris* "ash-tree" and *ildom* "good manners" though the Manchurian parallels of this last word point to an earlier Mongolian form.¹³ The remaining words can be divided into two morphological groups. One will contain those Mongolian parallels whose morphological (but not phonetic!) structure corresponds to the Hungarian word (either because both are stem words, or because both contain the same stem and derivational suffix). The second group consists of words where only the stems correspond, such as *kérdzik* "ruminant", *ölt* "stitch", *szűcs* "furrier", *tanú* "witness", *térd* "knee" etc. It seems advisable, with respect to the problem under discussion, to put this second group aside for the time being. From a semantic point of view, we can again divide the correspondences into two groups. To the first belong those instances where the meaning of the Hungarian and Mongolian word is identical or very close. To the second group belong those words where, either in Mongolian or in the immediate source of the Hungarian loan, we have to do with some special semantical development. Thus for example our *tükör* "mirror" means simply a round object in Mongolian and in the majority of the Turkic languages, while in Chuvash, in Slavonic which borrows from Bulgarian, as well as in Hungarian it has the meaning "mirror". Likewise the Mongolian parallel of our *süllő* means also a toothed animal, but there it refers to domestic animals with a full denture, while in Hungarian the meaning is "toothed fish, pike-perch" just like in Chuvash. It is better to put aside this group, too, temporarily, so as not to disturb the certain with the hypothetical.

The remaining Mongolian-Hungarian parallels still make up for more than a quarter of the Turco-Hungarian correspondences. The core of this group is constituted by words that display a clear so-called "Chuvash criterion", viz. for Common Turkic *š* they have *l*, for *z* they have *r*.¹⁴ Therefore we have every reason to include into the group under discussion those Turco-Mongolian correspondences which, even though they have no Hungarian counterpart, display the same clear phonetic criteria.

If we give the material thus collected a semantic look, we arrive at the remarkable conclusion that the Turco-Mongolian correspondences, just like the Turco-Hungarian ones, reflect a developed level of stockbreeding and a significant agriculture. Besides the words *borjú* "calf", *bika* "bull",

¹³ Mongolian *ildam* 'good skier' is from Turkic. Manchurian *ilda-* 'to be nimble', *ildamu* 'refined, elegant, educated, nimble', however point to an older Mongolian *ildam*. Chuvash *yıldam* can be the correspondent of an earlier Chuvash **ilam* ~ **ildam*, but could be a loanword from Mishar-Tatar.

¹⁴ As is well-known, the most important criterion of our Bulgaro-Turkic loanwords is that they have *r* and *l* in place of Common Turkic *z* and *š* respectively. In the corresponding Mongolian words we also find *r* and *l*. In the opinion of some (Ramstedt, Poppe, Räsänen) both Chuvash and Mongolian have equally preserved Primitive Altaic *r* and *l*. According to a more recent but more and more widely accepted view the Mongolian words in question are ancient Bulgaro-Turkic loanwords.

ókör "ox", únó "roe", úrú "wether", teve "camel", béklyó "hobble" etc., we find in Mongolian the equivalents of our árpa "barley", kender "hemp", bor "wine", búza "wheat", dió "nut", dara "groats", tarló "stubble-field", gyékény "bulrush", őrlő "to grind", tiló "hemp-breaker" etc. We also find many parallels of words reflecting the way of life of the steppe south of the forest region, like úróm "artemisia", tüzök "bustard", gőrény "polecat", karvaly "sparrow-hawk", torontál "a kind of hawk", teve "camel" and so forth. Of the words without a Hungarian parallel, the group includes 'molar tooth', 'to churn', 'ass', 'koumiss', 'lamb', 'blaze (on forehead)', 'abdominal fat', 'progeny', 'lean-to roof', of the names of animal colours 'grey' and 'brown' etc.¹⁶

Our first impression, then is that Mongolian came under the same economic-cultural influence as Hungarian; what is more, phonetic evidence — which is at least as important — proves that the influence came from one and the same Turkic culture.

But we can further elaborate this picture from several aspects. Take, for instance, the question of agriculture. We first learn of the Mongolians in the 13th century as of a typically nomadic, stock-breeding people. It is all the more remarkable that the Monguors, who have been surrounded by Chinese since the 14th century and thus isolated from the rest of the Mongolians, and speak an archaic variety of Mongolian, have an agricultural terminology which is not Chinese, but Mongolian even today;¹⁶ many of its words have a Hungarian equivalent e.g. árpa, búza, dara, tarló, dió, alma „apple”, tyúk "hen". This means that the Mongolians had their own agriculture coexisting with their stockbreeding as early as the 13th century and before, and in the light of the linguistic and historical evidence we have to reject once and for all the image of "nomads without an agriculture".

The Turco-Mongolian and Turco-Hungarian contacts show typological agreement in a number of other features as well. Hungarian sátor "tent" and karó "stake" indicate, besides the evidence of archaeology and the sources, that the Hungarians knew the dwelling of the yurt type. The Mongolians live mainly in yurts; moreover, it is demonstrable from a morphological-historical aspect that the Mongolian and the Turkic yurt stem from a common original. In spite of this, the terminology of the Mongolian tent differs considerably from that of the Turkic. As much as there is in Mongolian of Turkic origin, can be found in Hungarian as well (sátor, karó, kapu "door", terem "chamber")¹⁷.

¹⁶ Cf. Mong. araya ~ Tu. azly 'molar tooth', Mong. biili ~ Tu. biš 'to churn', Mong. elfigen ~ Tu. edkek 'ass', Mong. kimir ~ Tu. qimfz 'koumiss', Mong. qurayan ~ Tu. qozl 'lamb', Mong. qalfan ~ Tu. qasqu 'blaze (on forehead)', Mong. qarbing ~ Tu. qazl 'abdominal fat', Mong. tol ~ Tu. tilš 'progeny (of animal)', Mong. dal ~ Tu. yaš 'lean-to roof', Mong. boro ~ Tu. boz 'grey', Mong. dayir ~ Tu. ya:iz 'brown'.

¹⁷ On the agricultural terminology of Mongolian origin of the Monguor language see D. Schröder, Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor, as well as the review by A. Róna-Tas in: *Anthropos* LXVIII. (1973), 328–331, furthermore A. Róna-Tas, Some Notes on the Agriculture of the Mongols, in: *Opuscula Ethnologica*, Ludovici Bíró Sacra, 1959, 446–472.

The terminology of Mongolian literacy points to several Turkic layers. These include a younger, Uiguric group, but there is an older one as well. Is it mere coincidence that we find the equivalents of Hungarian *ír* "to write" and *betű* "letter" in this older group? Actually, the equivalent of *betű* occurs in the oldest record of Mongolian character, the Tabgach Glosses from the 3th–5th centuries.¹⁸

In the system of Hungarian numerals it has been impossible to reveal Turkic elements, with the sole exception of Hungarian *tömény*, originally meaning 'ten thousand', and used also as a military term, which is undoubtedly from Turkic.¹⁹ This word again exists in Mongolian, where the only other Turkic correspondence is the numeral meaning 'thousand'—which was again probably used as a military term. In the lower values of numerals, with the exception of the disputed number 'four', not one Turco-Mongolian equivalence can be proved. Besides the numerals used as military terms, however, Hungarian *sereg* "army" also has a perfect Turkic-Mongolian parallel.

Amongst negative correspondences the most conspicuous is horse-breeding. As is well-known, Hungarian horse breeding has no Turkic terms. Likewise, the oldest layer of the terminology of Mongolian horse-breeding is devoid of Turkic parallels, though of course the picture here is slightly more complicated as the long symbiosis of Turks and Mongols gave rise to some borrowings both ways; however, these are of a later date.²⁰

If—without being able to go into further detail—we add to the above that not only numerals are absent from Turco-Mongolian correspondences, but also terms for fishing and hunting, wild animals, natural phenomena, basic social concepts, parts of the body, etc., confronting this to the fact that contiguous groups of the terminology of developed stockbreeding, military organization, literacy, (and in the Turco-Mongolian field, that of advanced metallurgy) agree with each other,²¹ then we have drawn a

¹⁷ See Notes on the Kazak Yurt of West Mongolia, in: *AOH* XII. (1961), 79–102. A Preliminary Report on a Study of the Dwellings of the Altaic People. Aspects of Altaic Civilisation, 1963, 47–56.

¹⁸ See Some Notes on the Terminology of Mongolian Writing, in: *AOH* XVIII. (1965), 119–147. On the Tabgach Glosses see L. Ligeti, *Le tabgatch un dialecte de la langue sien-pi*, in: *Mongolian Studies*, 1970, 286–308. On Mongolian literacy see further the excellent monography by G. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kočevnikov*. 1972.

¹⁹ The Turkic word is probably of Tocharian origin. As a loanword or loan translation it appears very early in the Slavonic languages too. See Fasmer, *Étimologičeskij slovar'* IV., 34.

²⁰ For Mongolian *morin* 'horse', *gegün* 'mare', and *unayan* 'foal' we find in Turkic *at*, *be* and *tay* respectively. For a comparison of Turkic and Mongolian stock-breeding terms see A. M. Ščerbak, *Nazvaniya domašnyh i dikih životnyh v turkskikh jazykov*, Moscow 1961, 82–172., and the same work for such relatively late loans as Mong. *afirya* — Tu. *adyr* (88b.).

²¹ The corresponding and non-corresponding lexical groups of the Altaic word stock have a copious literature. I might mention of the latest publications the article by Sir Gerard Clauson (*Leksikostatističeskaja ocenka altajskoj teorii*, in: *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 1969, 5., 22–41), as well as the critique by Lajos Ligeti (*Altajskaja teorija i leksikostatistika*, in: *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 1971, 3., 21–33, and *MTA I. OK* XXIII., 2–4., 259–275). See furthermore *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 1974, 2., 33–35.

plastic picture of the historical-typological analogy of Mongolian-Turkic and Hungarian-Turkic correspondences.

(I should like to add parenthetically that it does not necessarily follow from the above, as is often assumed nowadays, that the Turkic and Mongolian languages were never related to each other. All that is shown by a thorough analysis of the material is that the linguistic relationship between the Turkic and Mongolian peoples is relatively very remote, and the majority of the agreements are relatively late loans, a process possible between related languages).²²

It would be a mistake, however, to leave it unsaid that besides the fundamental agreements there are essential disagreements as well. First of all, in the quantitative field. According to seemingly reliable counts the Mongolian-Turkic correspondences in the group under discussion are more than five times as many as the Turkic-Hungarian correspondences.²³ This can follow from the duration and intensity of contacts, and from the difference between the stage of economic development of the peoples in contact. It would be difficult to separate these at the moment but it seems that all the three factors were slightly different in the case of Turco-Mongolian and Turco-Hungarian contacts respectively.

The semantic analysis, too, shows some discrepancy. I have already mentioned that Hungarian metallurgy, in spite of all its nomadic and Turkic parallels, is devoid of Turkic elements, while the basic vocabulary of Mongolian metallurgy ('copper', 'bronze', 'iron', 'tin', 'lead', 'to found', 'mine', etc.) shows Turkic correspondences. Hungarian pig-keeping is evidenced by our *disznó* 'pig', *serte* 'bristle', *ártány* 'barrow', all from Turkic, while the basic words of the quite insignificant pig-keeping of the Mongolians (*yaqai*, *megeji*) are not Turkic; on the other hand, the terminology of the wild boar (*qaban*, *torui*) shows Turkic parallels. It is interesting that the equivalent of Hungarian *disznó* is missing not only from Mongolian, but from all the Turkic languages, with the sole exception of Chuvash.

Phonetic analysis, in turn, reveals some disagreements as well. Though the particular Turkic layer of Mongolian we are dealing with points to the same Onogur-Bulgarian language as the Hungarian data, we must not ignore minor dialectal differences. While both Hungarian *dél* and Mongolian *dül* show a voiced initial as opposed to Common Turkic *tuš*, in the case of our *gőrény* 'polecat' the Mongolian has a voiceless (*kürene*), but in the case of our *kölyök* 'puppy, young', a voiced initial (*gölüge*). We do not have to look for a Hungarian or Mongolian development behind these phenomena, for it can now be proved that the Bulgaro-Turkic language

²² For a more thorough treatment of this problem see *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 1974, 2., 44-45.

²³ The calculations are based on the *r/l* words. In Hungarian 15 or 16 words belong to this category, in Mongolian 96 to 98. If the total number of Bulgaro-Turkic loan-words in Hungarian is about 300, then in Mongolian there must be about 1,500 such words.

preserved its sporadic voiced initials down to the 13th or 14th century.²⁴ That Hungarian came into contact with at least two Bulgaro-Turkic dialects before the Conquest can no longer be doubted.

Still more important for us, however, is the fact that phonetic analysis reveals some chronological discrepancies as well. We are now able to outline relative chronologies both within the common Turco-Mongolian and the Turco-Hungarian vocabulary, which are then complicated by dialectal variants not only on the Turkic side, but on the Hungarian and perhaps on the Mongolian side as well.²⁵ This complex picture, however, does not conceal from us the conclusion that the Turco-Hungarian correspondences reflect a somewhat later stage of development of the Bulgaro-Turkic or Onogur language than does the relevant group to Turco-Mongolian correspondences. Thus for example the *-d-* of Hungarian *ide* "time" still agrees with the *-d-* of Mongolian *ide*, but our *tízok* and *búza*, with their internal *-z-*, point to a more advanced stage than the stop consonant reflected in Mongolian *toyudaq* and *buyudai*. As opposed to Géza Bárczi,²⁶ I still do not consider it impossible that the *š* of Hungarian *sereg*, *borsó* "pea", *kos* "ram" to have originated in the language they were borrowed from—for they can be found in the Bulgaro-Turkic elements of Common Permian—, whereas Mongolian preserves the *š* in these words. It is also likely that the vocalism of the initial syllable of Hungarian *béka*, *béklyó*, *gyertya* goes back to a Turkic original,²⁷ but in a later form than that reflected in the Mongolian. As I have elsewhere examined the chronology of the word final gutturals in some detail,²⁸ I do not wish to dwell on that here. These and some aspects of the vocalism show together that Hungarian-Turkic contacts have to be dated somewhat later than the bulk of the Mongolian-Turkic contacts.

²⁴ Of course we still have no reason to doubt the sporadic, internally-motivated voicing of Mongolian and Hungarian voiceless initials; after all, this happened in non-borrowed words as well. Cases like Proto-Permian **gombi* (> Zyrian *gob*, Votyak *gubi* etc.) < Volga Bulgarian *gümbä* < Russian *goba* (cf. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* LXXIV, 1973, 283) indicate that voiceless initials were not unknown in 9th-century Bulgaro-Turkic, otherwise there would have occurred sound substitution. Tatar and Bashkir *gömbe* > *gümbe* < Volga Bulgarian *gümbä* > Chuv. *kämpa*, *kämpa*, on the other hand, show that the voiced initials of Volga Bulgarian were preserved down to the time of the contacts with the Kipchak languages.

²⁵ See L. Ligeti, A propos des éléments "altaïques" de la langue hongroise, in: *ALH* XI (1961), 34.

²⁶ See G. Bárczi, Le traitement de *š* et de *ž* turcs dans les mots d'emprunts turcs du protohongrois, in: *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, 39–46. On the spirant equivalents of PT affricates see *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* LXXIV (1973) 291–292.

²⁷ This is usually explained by assuming dissimilation, while cases of Hungarian *i* for Turkic *a* are accounted for by supposing that Hungarian borrowed a back vocalic *i*. Chuvash *i*, however, developed relatively late in place of earlier *a*, certainly after the Turco-Hungarian contacts, while its original *i* became *ä* or *é*. We have to postulate as a middle stage of the development PT *a* > Chuv. *i* a sound that was replaced partly by *i* and partly by *e* in Hungarian.

²⁸ See On the Chuvash Guttural Stops in Final Positions, in: *Studia Turcica*, 389–399, and *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* LXXIII (1971) 198–207.

The background of Hungarian prehistory, as outlined above, offers the possibility of drawing two different conclusions. We are witnessing the linguistic reflexion of processes that agree in their main lines from a historical-typological point of view. It would be inappropriate to think in the case of the Mongolians, too, that they learnt stockbreeding and agriculture entirely and exclusively from the Bulgar Turks; for example, the Mongolian word for 'plough' has no Turkic parallels. Archaeological findings, too, would contradict this. But the fact that both the Mongolians and the Hungarians borrowed the same terms indicates a well-definable economical-technical complex, a new technology of agriculture and stockbreeding, which involves the borrowing of new words.

As for Hungarian prehistory, the Turkic influence on the Hungarians has received a new depth of focus. The beginnings of the economical-cultural complex that came into contact with the Hungarians do not fade into an inscrutable distance: we get information on an earlier phase, and can make inferences on its internal development.

As for the historical side of the problem, the picture here outlined is in accordance with the results of the latest research. We know from the studies of Károly Czeglédý that the Ogur tribes occupied a territory from the Altai to Lake Balkal and to Manchuria,²⁹ that is, in contiguity with the Mongolians. It is from here that they set out for the West; they are first mentioned in Europe in 488.

²⁹ See K. Czeglédý, *Nomád népek vándorlása Napkeletől Napnyugatig*, Budapest, 1969, 16—18, 109—110, 146.

THE PERIODIZATION AND SOURCES OF CHUVASH LINGUISTIC HISTORY¹

BY

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I.

Periodization in diachronic linguistics is a practical device. Since language changes continually, and there are no leaps and bounds in the stream of linguistic history, we cannot accept any periodization based on the specific

¹ More than ten years ago, I began to write a monography on the history of the Chuvash language. I had to choose an appropriate starting point, so I set out to investigate the issue of the relationship between Chuvash and Mongolian. I could not evade the "Altaic theory", the problems connected with the reconstruction of the oldest kind of Turkish, nor those of the relationship between the Chuvash-type and the Standard Turkish languages. I tried to clear the way in a dissertation: *Az altaji nyelvrokonság vizsgálatának alapjai. A nyelvrokonság elmélete és a csuvas-mongol nyelvvizony.* (The Foundations of Research on the Altaic Linguistic Relationship. The Theory of Linguistic Relationship and Chuvash-Mongolian Linguistic Relations.) Budapest 1970, 1025 p. Manuscript. In 1978, I published the theoretical part of this work (*A nyelvrokonság [Linguistic Relationship]*. Budapest 488 p.). The next step was to give a periodization and to discuss the sources of Chuvash linguistic history. The text prepared for publication grew enormous. For my students, I provided a brief sketch in *Bevezetés a csuvas nyelv ismeretébe* (An Introduction to the Chuvash Language). Budapest 1978, pp. 16-83. Instead of publishing a bulky monograph on the sources — which would have delayed the work several years — I decided to restrict myself to giving a sketchy overview. I am aware of the fact that almost all of the questions dealt with in this paper would need more explanation, a more thorough treatment of earlier views, more data and more arguments, but had I stopped to give these, even this paper would never have reached the reader. In any case, I hope that this overview will be of help to those who feel lost in the complicated history of the Chuvash language. I greatly appreciated having had Egorov's introduction (*Vvedenie v izučenie čuvašskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1930); in its time, it was more than useful — it was fundamental. Egorov's later comprehensive work (*Sovremennyyj literaturnyj čuvašskij jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom oščerčeni* I, Čeboksary 1954, 2nd revised edition 1971) is disappointing, but does not lessen our admiration of this great scholar to whom we owe the *Etimologičeskij slovarj čuvašskogo jazyka* (Čeboksary 1964) and many other works. I cannot here give even a brief history of the study of Chuvash linguistic history (for an outline, see my *Bevezetés*... pp. 99-114), but I should like to acknowledge the help Professor Ligeti's work has been to me. Most of the questions raised in this paper have been solved or at least tackled by him. Unfortunately, most of his papers, written in Hungarian, have not reached Turkologists living abroad (see the reprint of his papers

internal features of the language. The segmentation we give, the time in which the changes in a language occur, depends on our concept of the language situation, on our methods of linguistic reconstruction and on the character of the sources at our disposal.

The past few decades have given rise to vivid discussions on the problem of linguistic reconstruction both in general linguistics³ and in Turkology.⁴ The basic problem involved in these discussions is the question of the relationship between reconstructed and existed languages. The answer was already given by Bloomfield,⁵ who clearly distinguished occurrent languages and reconstructed ones. The latter has to try to reflect the former as closely as possible, but, by definition, it can never be identical with it. Therefore,

A magyar nyelv történetének és irodalmának van I-II [Turkish-Hungarian Linguistic Contacts and Some Attendant Problems]. Budapest 1977, 1979). I owe much not only to his published works, but also to his lectures and to our personal discussions. Originally, we had hoped to publish this volume as a token of our esteem, for his 75th birthday. (The manuscripts of the papers of this volume were completed in 1977 and sent to the publisher in 1978.) Though we did not succeed in doing so, I hope this volume appearing on his 80th birthday will reflect the great influence he has had on Turkish, and more specially, on Chuvash studies.

³ I. Dyen (in his *Reconstruction, the Comparative Method and the Proto-Language Uniformity Assumption*: *Language* 45 (1969), pp. 499-518.) distinguished five types of protolanguages: 1. Disintegrant protolanguage — the last phase before the disintegration; 2. Glottochronological protolanguage — the total basic vocabulary; 3. Occurrent protolanguage — which really existed, as, e.g. the vulgar Latin in case of the Romance languages; 4. Reconstructed protolanguage — the language reconstructed only with the help of the related languages; 5. Implied protolanguage — the language which we have to assume by implication from the reconstructed language, but which is not identical with it. I think it is unnecessary to overcomplicate the question. We have reconstructed and implied proto-languages, and the implied were occurrent ones. Recently Serebrennikov (*Pražskyj tak neobchodimaja modelj*; *OQIFU*. Budapest 1975, pp. 61-69.) treated protolanguages "as indispensable models" which help us get to know the really existed ones. On the theoretical problems and earlier literature, see my *Nyelvrokoncok*, pp. 298-302.

⁴ According to Tenišev (*K ponjatiju "obščetjurkaskoe sostojanie"*: *ST* 1971. 2, pp. 13-16), Common Turkish is the hypothetical language of the Turkish tribes, one we can reconstruct through comparative historical methods. Tenišev considers Common Turkish as an "organisatory device" for the various types of reconstruction. For Beakakov's very interesting views, see: *Areal'naja konsolidacija drevnejšich narečij i genetičeskoe rodstvo altajskich jazykov*. In *Problemy obščnosti altajskich jazykov*. Ed. O. P. Sunik, Leningrad 1971, pp. 315-322; and *Periodizacija istorii razvitiia i formirovanija tjurkskich jazykov*: *MSFOu* 158 (1977), pp. 41-48; he stressed the importance of the areal processes of consolidation in the Altai and later the Turkish languages.

⁵ L. Bloomfield, *Language*, New York 1933, pp. 302-303.

we have to distinguish between Proto-Turkish and Ancient Turkish, the first being a language system arrived at through reconstruction, the second the really existed language which Proto-Turkish can only approximately reflect.

A third term used in the literature is Common Turkish. Sevortjan,⁵ whose views on the concept of Common Turkish are the clearest, raised a very real problem. In the daily work of linguistic reconstruction, the linguist is always confronted with "contradictions". Some can be eliminated simply by assuming or recognizing secondary developments, some are due to our lack of knowledge and, therefore, can be solved when new material comes to light; but some remain. Since the famous controversy between Schleicher's *Stammbaumtheorie* and the wave theory of J. Schmidt; many attempts have been made to master this problem. Let me here refer only to the theory advanced by Trubetzkoy.⁶ He tried to find the cause of the contradictions in Indo-European reconstruction by assuming that IE developed from different languages, through a secondary process. He assumed that what could be reconstructed without contradiction originated from the secondarily converged *Sprachbund*, with the "contradictions" being due to the original differences in the components.

There is both theoretical and historical evidence for the role of areal convergence, yet Trubetzkoy's theory is unacceptable. Another way out is suggested by the group of scholars whose representative figure in Turkology is Doerfer. According to Doerfer, wherever we have "contradictory" correspondence, what we have to do is to reconstruct the different proto-types. For instance, if we find:

Chuvash	Turkish
ir- "to get tired"	är-
xur "goose"	qäz

we have to reconstruct different proto-phonemes, say a_1 and a_2 , for Proto-Turkish.⁷ No doubt, in some cases this procedure is justified. But let us extend this series to Yakut:

⁵ E. V. Sevortjan, *O sodržanii termina "obščetjurkskij"*: ST 1971. 2, pp. 3-12.

⁶ N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Gedanken über das Indogermanen Problem*: Acta Linguistica Copenhagenia 1 (1939), pp. 81-89.

⁷ G. Doerfer, *Khalaj Materials*. Bloomington 1971, p. 270, more cautiously: *Proto-Turkish Reconstruction Problems: Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, 1975-1976, pp. 16-17.

Chuvash	Yakut	Other Turkish
ir- 'to get tired'	ir-	ār-
xur 'goose'	χās	qāz
uyax 'moon'	iy	āy
dur- 'to split up'	ir-	yār-
yun < xfun 'blood'	χān	qān

In this case we have to reconstruct five proto-phonemes. Now, if we add that the Tuvanian *ay* does correspond to the Yakut *iy* 'moon', while both the Tuvanian *χirin* and the Chuvash *χīrām* correspond to the Yakut *χarin* 'belly' we find that we have either to give up, or to reconstruct as many proto-phonemes as there are "contradictions".

This was the problem which Severtjan realized, and which led him to look for another solution. According to Severtjan, all these "contradictions" were already present in the oldest form of the Turkish languages. Turkish forms such as *et-* and *öt-* 'to sing' cannot be reduced to one form, he claims (Severtjan, *op. cit.*, p. 6), and their coexistence is the most important trait of what he calls Common Turkish (*obščē tjurkskoe sostojanie*). This solution, in the form Severtjan suggested it, is likewise unacceptable. In case of *et-* and *öt-*, Severtjan speaks of the "alternation of *e* ~ *ö* in the Turkish languages". This is an abuse of the term "alternation". The term "alternation" can be used only in cases of free variants within a dialect. This, however, is not what we have in the case of *et-* and *öt-*. There is no Turkish language where these two forms are freely interchanged — and we have no reason to suppose that such ever existed. If we say that *ö* alternates with *e*, *e* alternates with *i*, *i* alternates with *ı*, *ı* alternates with *u*, as Severtjan supposes, then we reconstruct a language where practically all vowels can be freely used instead of one another. This would mean the neutralization of their phonemic opposition (labial for illabial, and front for back being explicitly suggested by Severtjan, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

As we see, Doerfer's approach menaces with overcomplication (in *Khalaj Materials* he suggests 30 vowel phonemes for PT), Severtjan's, with oversimplification.

If we distinguish proto-languages and occurrent languages, it will be clear that any reconstructed proto-language projects its findings on a synchronous screen, although the features themselves existed in a number of different places and at various times. This is the first reason why we see "contradictions" on the screen. In the case of the Turkish languages, I propose to call the earliest stage Ancient Turkish, which has to be divided into two periods; Early Ancient Turkish (EAT) and Late Ancient Turkish

(LAT). EAT lasted from the dissolution of the Altaic unity until the appearance of those dialects which later became the respective nuclei of the several Turkish languages and language groups. In the EAT period, there was what might be called a heterogeneous linguistic unity. There was one language, spoken with a number of local differences. The differences, like the groups speaking them, were unstable. The various groups understood each other, and had contacts of varying degrees of intensity. Along with the historical changes taking place, the language situation slowly changed, too. Some groups became more stably connected and slowly dialects appeared. With the appearance of dialects, LAT took shape. The dialectal features appeared — as in all languages — as isoglosses. Many of the latter coincided and formed a bundle of isoglosses, some others, however, transgressed them. Unless we keep in mind this finding of modern dialectology, we will be unable to understand the problems connected with the reconstruction of Proto-Turkish. For instance, whenever we assume a phonological isogloss, say X in one territory, and Y in another, its existence can be reconstructed on the strength of a number of words in which X is typically used in one place, and Y in the other. There are, however, always some "undisciplined" words which do not "respect" the main phonological border and transgress it. We have this situation whenever we have to do with dialects which were in close contact. When those speaking these dialects went their separate ways for historical reasons, they took with them also the "undisciplined" words which cause the apparent "contradiction".

There is also a third reason for these "contradictions". Language never changes in an instant. There develops a tendency to change a feature X in a language to Y. Such tendencies (e.g. the voicing of unvoiced plosives, the narrowing of a vowel) effect most of the words in the given category. But all these words do not change at once. Frequency of use, more stable occurrence in frequently used expressions can delay the change. If the tendency to change is just starting when the speakers of the various dialects go their separate ways, the change always takes place with varying intensity in the different dialects. The shortening of the primary long Turkish vowels is a tendency which can be well observed in many of the Turkish languages. The speed with which this change took place, however, differed greatly. We have no reason to assume that LAT was a language where the rules governing the lives of dialects did not apply.

Late Ancient Turkish is as far as we can get with the help of the sources at our disposal. There are no insoluble contradictions within Proto-Turkish, it is only that the complex dialectal, areal and historical facts are projected on a two-dimensional screen. Our task is not to form as many hypotheses

as there appear to be contradictions, but to try to reconstruct a complicated situation as it was. No doubt, such a reconstruction can never be perfect. But it might be an approach to Proto-Turkish reconstruction which will help us see more of Ancient Turkish as it really existed.

Accordingly, I suggest the following periodization of Turkish linguistic development:

English	German	Russian
Altaic	Altaiisch	алтайский
Ancient Turkish	Urtürkisch	пратюркский
Early Ancient Turkish	Früh-Urtürkisch	ранне-пратюркский
Late Ancient Turkish	Spät-Urtürkisch	поздне-пратюркский
Old Turkish	Alttürkisch	древне-тюркский
Early Old Turkish	Früh-Alttürkisch	ранне древне-тюркский
Late Old Turkish	Spät-Alttürkisch	поздне древне-тюркский
Middle Turkish	Mitteltürkisch	средне-тюркский
Early Middle Turkish	Früh-Mitteltürkisch	ранне средне-тюркский
Late Middle Turkish	Spät-Mitteltürkisch	поздне средне-тюркский
New Turkish	Neutürkisch	ново-тюркский
Early New Turkish	Früh-Neutürkisch	ранне ново-тюркский
Late New Turkish	Spät-Neutürkisch	поздне ново-тюркский
Modern Turkish	Modernes Türkisch	современный тюркский

Altaic is a term used for the common language presumably spoken by the ancestors of the Turks, the Mongols, and the Manchu-Tunguz, and probably of other groups as well. It has to be stressed that this language, too, must be thought of as having the (long) history, the territorial variants and the areal sub-groups had by all other languages. Unlike those who deny that such a language existed, I admit the possibility of its occurrence; but unlike those who take its existence for granted, I want to emphasize that it had to exist much earlier than is commonly supposed and that the bulk of the much-debated Chuvash-Mongolian parallels do not pertain here. For those who deny the existence of the Altaic community, the neutral term Pre-Turkish can be recommended.

Ancient Turkish denotes the stage following the separation of the Turkish-speaking people from their Altaic relatives. Early Ancient Turkish — as stated above — lasted until the formation of the LAT dialects. It was in LAT that there developed the so-called rotacism and lambdacism which later became typical of the Bulgar-Chuvash group. Although this was an important feature — one that divided the LAT into Ancient Bulgarian and Ancient Standard Turkish — it was not the only one; on the other hand, there were several features which connected AB with an AST group, and there were other features common to both AB and some AST groups.

Old Turkish began with the separation, formation and consolidation of the independent Turkish languages. This was a long historical process, and by "independent Turkish language" I do not mean the ancestors of the present Turkish languages. The first two groups which emerged were Old Bulgarian (with more dialects, and perhaps even languages) and Old Standard Turkish. The latter very early broke up into groups such as Old Oghuz, Old Kipchak etc. The modern independent Turkish languages developed from these in the Middle Turkish period.

Old Turkish has to be divided into two sub-periods. Early Old Turkish is the period which lasted until the formation of the great Western and Eastern Turkish Empires. Late Old Turkish is the period when we first have at our disposal texts written by the Turks themselves. LOT can be divided into further subperiods. LOT I is a short period which lasted from the formation of the First Turkish Khanate until the formation of the second. At the present time we have no reliable Turkish texts from this period. The most important events of LOT II were the formation of literary languages, and the development of a kind of *koine* in the whole Turkish Empire. The beginning of the Arabio-Persian influence marks the beginning of LOT III. The OT period ended with the Mongolian invasion.

Middle Turkish begins with the Mongolian invasion, which brought a considerable rearrangement of the language situation both in respect of the interrelationship of the Turkish languages to each other and in respect of the impact of the Mongolian language on the Turkish languages. The gradual formation of literary languages, and the formation of those language groups which later became the independent languages of today were events which occurred at different times in the several parts of the Turkish world. Therefore, the sub-periods, Early and Late Middle Turkish, have to be fixed separately in the case of each language.

New Turkish begins with the conclusive formation of the present Turkish languages. Its first sub-period ties in with the struggle between the old literary languages and the spoken ones, while the later sub-period is characterized by the appearance of purism.

Modern Turkish is every language whose synchronic structure and dialects can be investigated.

The above sketch needs some qualification. As we have seen, the criteria for periodization are extralinguistic, and take into account several aspects: the type of interrelationship among the language units (local groups, dialects, languages, etc.), the historical events importantly though indirectly influencing the history of the language, and the types of sources available for reconstructing the system of the period. The terms "Ancient", "Old",

and "Middle" are of relative significance. All are terms for the occurrent languages. Of course, in the course of reconstruction, we can speak of Proto-Oghuz or Proto-Ottoman, but Proto-Ottoman can only be the approximation of those dialectal groups which developed within the Oghuz dialectal unit.

Although all these periods are but more or less of relative value, we cannot do without some chronological coordinates for orientation. The first event which we can date with some degree of probability is the separation of the *r/l* and *š/z* language groups.

The word for 'stirrup' is common to all Turkish languages including the Bulgarian group. The proto-form of Chuv. *ydrana* can be reconstructed as **irdnā*. In case of the Standard Turkish languages, we can reconstruct two prototypes: **üzengü* (for Oghuz, Kipchak and Turkestan) and **izenge* (for Baraba, Khakas, Tuvanian, Yakut and Yellow Uighur). Since we find rotacism in the word, its development has to have preceded the separation of the AB and AST dialects. On the two-dimensional screen of reconstruction we find three data. We are confronted with two isoglosses. The *r*-isogloss included only Bulgarian. The *i-e-e* vocalism of the word was general in Bulgarian and Siberian (of the migration of the Yellow Uighurs, we are well informed from historical sources). The dropping of the *g* in Chuvash is a special secondary development. The *z*-isogloss characterized Siberian, and other Turkish groups wherein the *ü-e-ü* vocalism extended to a narrower area. This is a typical dialectal situation of the kind referred to above. The three types certainly went together, and most likely, they had an earlier common form. Theoretically, we have several means of reconstructing this, the first being the reconstruction of the Altaic form.

Gombocz,⁸ Ramstedt⁹ and more recently Poppe¹⁰ and Sevortjan¹¹ connected the Turkish word with the Mongolian *dörüge*, 'id.'. This interpretation, however, is unacceptable for phonetical, morphological and semantic reasons.¹² A second possible approach is to find the etymology of the word.

⁸ Z. Gombocz, *Zur Lautgeschichte der altaischen Sprachen*: KSZ 13 (1912), p. 5.

⁹ G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur mongolisch-türkischen Lautgeschichte* III; KSZ 16 (1916), p. 74; and *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, 1930, p. 99.

¹⁰ N. Poppe, *Einige Lautgesetze und ihre Bedeutung zur Frage der türkisch-mongolischen Sprachbeziehungen*: UAJb 30 (1958), pp. 93-97.

¹¹ E. V. Sevortjan, *Etimologičeskij slovarj tjurkskich jazykov*, I. Moskva 1974, pp. 624-625.

¹² Mongolian *dörtüge* is a derivative of *dörtü* 'iron or rope nose-ring (for cattle); lead rope (for cattle); rope handle of a basket; splint, cotter pin', see further *dörüböi* 'halter, dog leash; makeshift rope stirrups', *dörügebči* 'rope stirrup for donkey and

Already Bang¹³ had suggested deriving this word from *aze*, an idea which Doerfer (*TMEN* II, p. 149) found not implausible. Clauson, in view of the problems of the vocalism of the first syllable, did not treat the word as derivative (Clauson, p. 289). The question then, is whether we opt for the *i-e* or the *a-e* vocalism. It seems very unlikely that the farthest archaic dialects each independently came up with a common innovation, while the central ones preserved the original vocalism. It seems unlikely, but it is not impossible. If the Siberian, Yellow Uighur i.e. Old Uighur and the Bulgarian dialects were in contact during the LAT period, it was a situation quite different from what it is now. In that case, we don't have to assume that the same innovation occurred in the same word among speakers many thousands of kilometres from one another. In fact it probably occurred in a contact area, whence the speakers later moved on in different directions.

Through internal reconstruction, we can say that the *-z-* of Standard Turkish and the *-r-* of Bulgarian goes back to one and the same phoneme. According to some scholars, whom I agree with, this phoneme was *-z-*; according to others, it was *r₂* of whatever phonetic shape (*r*, *ʃ*).

What can be concluded from the above? If we go only so far as the facts allow, we can reconstruct a protoform like **3zeng3* where 3 stands for a front vowel. We can state that as early as in LAT there existed dialects and the word is of earlier origin than the *z*:*r* opposition. From this we can go one step farther.

There is lively debate as to the time of the appearance of the stirrup. According to Vajñštejn,¹⁴ the first reliable finds which can be connected with the stirrup originate from between the 4th to the 6th centuries A. D. Kyzlasov¹⁵ argues for between the 4th and the 3rd centuries B. C. The

camels'. The Mongolian data point to an original rope stirrup. It is the same in the case of the English *stirrup* which comes from Old English *stigan* 'climb' and *rap* 'rope', and German *Stegreif* cf. Old High German *stigan* and *reif* 'rope'. A similar origin is proposed for the Hungarian *kengyel* (see K. Rédei, *Kengyel*: *MNy* 64 (1970), pp. 226-227). From the phonetic point of view, we have to remark that in Turkish nowhere is an initial *y-* attested, neither can it be assumed, since the disappearance of *y-* before labials is unusual (see A. Róna-Tas, *Did the Proto-Altaic People Know the Stirrup?*: *Studia Mongolica* 1973. 13, Ulan-Bator, pp. 169-171).

¹³ W. Bang, *Vom Kökürkischen zum Oemanischen* III: *APAW* 1919, p. 48.

¹⁴ S. I. Vajñštejn, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii drevne-tjurkekoj kultury*: *SE*. 1966/3, pp. 24-25.

¹⁵ I. L. Kyzlasov, *O proischoždenii stremja*: *SA* 1973. 3, pp. 24-35. Wakou and Junichi (*Journal of Archeology* 86[1973] in Japanese, English summary on p. 13) refer to Chinese sources according to which clay models of horses with stirrups were

contradiction, however, is only apparent. From the historical data, it is clear that the appearance of the stirrup on a large scale is connected with the Turks. Using metal stirrups on both sides of the horse, the Turks revolutionized the technique of war. But the double iron stirrup was preceded by various similar devices, such as rope stirrups, wooden stirrups, small stair-like implements on one side of the horse making it easier for old people or pregnant women to get into the saddle. The existence of such devices is also mentioned by Vajñātejn for an earlier period. Thus, the existence of the stirrup and its rapid spreading by the Turks over the whole world need not be identically dated. We can assume that the object was already known in the first centuries B. C. In this case, we have a *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of rotacism. And we also have an insight into the time-depth of LAT.

The chronology of the appearance of rotacism, and with it, of Ancient Bulgarian, can be corroborated by the AB loanwords in Samoyed. Donner¹⁶ had discussed these words, but owing to the open question of whether Proto-Turkish had *r* or *z*, no conclusions on the chronology could be drawn. Common Samoyed **yūr* 'hundred' ← LAB **yūr* ~ ST *yūz*¹⁷ leave no doubt that the word was borrowed before the separation of the Northern and Southern Samoyeds, i.e. before the beginning of the 1st century A. D. Thus we have two independent sources pointing approximately to the same time.

found in Changsha and dated 302 A. D. They also cite the Chinese journal *Wen Wu* 1973, No. 3 where reference is made to a pair of stirrups from a tomb dated 414 or 415 A. D. (For this information I am indebted to I. Ecsedy). A. Boodberg (*Selected Works*, Berkeley 1979, p. 112) cites a hitherto neglected passage from the *Shan-shin kuo ch'un-ch'iu* where in the biography of a certain Wang Lu reference is made to stirrups. The event is dated 380 A. D. (Prof. R. A. Miller has kindly called my attention to this work). In the Young Museum, San Francisco, a clay horse statue is exhibited with a perfect pair of stirrups of a type more advanced than the small ones already mentioned. The statue is dated to Late Konfujidai, 5th–6th centuries. The earliest Korean stirrups are dated to the 4th century. See also L. White, Jr. *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford s.a., pp. 14–28, and K. U. Köhalmi, *A steppék nomádja lóháton, fegyverben* (The Nomads of the Steppe on Horseback and in Arms). Budapest 1973, pp. 90–92, with further bibliography.

¹⁶ K. Donner, *Zu den ältesten Berührungen zwischen Samojeden und Türken*: JSFOu 40 (1924), pp. 3–42.

¹⁷ See J. Janhunen, *Samoyed–Altaic Contacts. Present State of Research*; MSFOu 158 (1977), p. 125, and *Samojedischer Wortschatz. Gemeinsamojedische Etymologien*. Helsinki 1977, p. 50.

A *terminus post quem* can be extrapolated from the Old Tokharian loan-words in AT.¹⁸ Such words as OTokh. *yes* 'metal' → AT **yez* > *yez* ~ *yer* came into AT earlier than rotacism appeared. Early Turkish-Tokharian contacts (much earlier than those which are well known from Turkestan in the 8th-10th centuries A. D.) have been assumed by Németh¹⁹ and Winter.²⁰ According to the latter the time was "close to the beginning of the Christian era" (p. 248). We are left to the hypothetical arguments of archaeology, and to interpretations of Chinese sources (Yüeh-chi-Tokharian identity) as to when the early Turkish-Tokharian contacts began. The whole issue of the North-East migration of the centum-Tokharians seems too obscure to me; I would venture to say no more than that it might have occurred in the first half of the first millennium B. C. That would, then, be the *terminus post quem* for the formation of LAT.

Even less certain is the time of the formation of EAT, i.e. the formation of Turkish itself. Ramstedt assumed²¹ that 4,000 years ago the Altaic languages were already separated. Ligeti²² was of a similar opinion; recently²³ he wrote: "about 2,000 B. C., perhaps 3,000 B. C.". In his posthumous work, Illič-Svityč²⁴ stressed that the common Altaic language broke up significantly earlier than the other five linguistic unities: Uralic, Dravidian, Indo-European, Kartvelian and Semito-Hamitic. All these speculations reckon with the great differences which existed among the earliest reconstructed forms of Turkish, Mongolian and Manchu-Tunguzian. I shall return to some aspects of this question later. For now, I should simply like to say that LAT is the stage where we can begin to work. If we can give a more or less adequate reconstruction of LAT, we shall perhaps get a new starting point for going further back to EAT — and Altaic.

¹⁸ For details, see A. Róna-Tas, *Tocharische Elemente in den altaischen Sprachen?* In *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*. Ed. G. Hazai, P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, pp. 499-504.

¹⁹ J. Németh, *Problèmes de l'histoire turque: Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata: BOH V*, Budapest 1942-1947, pp. 93-94.

²⁰ W. Winter, *Tocharians and Turks*. In *Aspects of Altaic Civilization*. Ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington 1963, pp. 239-251.

²¹ G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft: MSFOu* 104, 1. Helsinki 1957, p. 16.

²² Ligeti L., *Az uráli és altaji nyelvek viszonyának kérdése* (The Problem of the Relationship of the Uralic and Altaic Languages): *IOK* 4 (1953), p. 358.

²³ Ligeti L., *Uráli török jövevényszavaink kérdéséhez* (On the Problem of the Turkish Loanwords in Hungarian Borrowed from Uralic): *MNy* 59 (1963), p. 384.

²⁴ V. M. Illič-Svityč, *Opyt sravnenija nostraticheskich jazykov. Vvedenie. Sravnitel'nyj slovarj* I. Moskva 1971, p. 69.

Given the above context, we can now sketch the periods of the history of the Chuvash language. Before going into the details, however, we need to solve a terminological problem.²² The ethnic name "Chuvash" is relatively new. The Europeans learnt it from Herberstein²³ who visited Russia in 1517 and 1526. Herberstein's data were taken over from Russian sources. In the Russian chronicles, the name Chuvash (*чюваш*) occurs under the year 1552 in connection with the occupation of Kazan (*PSRL* 1914, 20, p. 462, 1935, 29, pp. 62, 162); the other sources referred to the Chuvash as Meadow Cheremiss (*Čeremisi Lugovye*; cf. J. Tardy's paper below) for quite some time after as well. Although several etymologies have been suggested for this ethnic name, to date we have no reliable data on its occurrence earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. The use of the name Bulgar is somewhat misleading, not only because the Slavonic Bul-

²² I do not wish to distract here the terminological confusion which does exist in the classification and periodization of the Turkish languages (for some examples, see A. Réau-Tou, *Some Problems of Ancient Turbic: Acta Orientalia Havniensis* 32 [1970], pp. 210-211.) I would like only to reflect on Poppe's views on the classification of the Chuvash language. As early as 1825, Poppe expressed the view that Chuvash was the fourth Altaic language, the others being Turkish, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungurian. As to Poppe's latest standpoint, we read (cf. *Zur Stellung nach des Technocratie*: *OAJ* 15 (1974), pp. 125-147) that Chuvash is nearer to the Turkish languages than to Mongolian, and has undergone a series of changes common to the Turkish languages. On the other hand, the relationship of Chuvash to the other languages is not like that of any of the other Turkish languages to each other. With this view, one can only agree. Poppe is also right when he stresses that in some cases, Chuvash preserved traits which were lost in the other Turkish languages — while he considered the fact Chuvash has innovations of its own as another of its peculiar traits. Although in some cases I consider a special innovation what Poppe classifies as a preserved archaism and vice versa, this does not touch the basic question of the place of the Chuvash language. It is, however, more than a question of terminology that I call Early Ancient Turkish what Poppe calls Pre-Turkish (*vortürkisch*) and that I use the term "Bulgarian" to denote a group of languages of which Chuvash is only one, while Poppe uses the term "Chuvash" for the whole group. Poppe's classification is nearer to the "Stammbaumtheorie": I try to find a more flexible description. In any case, I agree with Poppe that after a common period in which all the ancestors of those speaking Turkish languages lived together, including those who spoke the earliest form of Chuvash, the Turkish linguistic community disintegrated into two groups. The only living member of the first group is Chuvash, while all the other Turkish languages belong to the second. A new step, however, is to ask how and when the first disintegration occurred. And if we investigate the matter it will be clear — as in the case of all other linguistic families — that this happened at a time when dialectal features came to prevail.

²³ S. Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. Viennae 1549. In the edition which appeared in Basel 1556, on p. 91: *Čzubafchi*.

gars living in the Balkans bear the name of their early Turkish rulers, but also because Chuvash is only one of the Bulgarian-type languages. The term Bulgar-Turkish — introduced by Gombocz under the influence of Ašmarin — is ambivalent, having originally been used by Gombocz to denote the Volga Bulgars. We have, however, to reckon with Onogur-Bulgarian tribes in many other places. Moreover, it seems highly likely that the ancestors of the Chuvash spoke a language very similar but not necessarily identical to the language reflected in the Volga-Bulgar inscriptions. Taking all these problems into account, for the sake of simplicity, I shall call all languages with *r/l* Bulgarian, while the *ʒ/z* languages I shall call Standard Turkish. For the periodization, I suggest using the following terms:

Ancient Bulgarian. This is the period when the Bulgarian dialects developed within the LAT unity. This lasted from the first centuries B. C. until the beginning of the 4th century A. D. when the Ancient Bulgarian tribes together with other Western Turks moved to the West.

Old Bulgarian. Old Bulgarian can be divided into two sub-periods. Early Old Bulgarian lasted from the appearance of the Onogur-Bulgarian tribes in Khazakhstan around the middle of the 4th century, until the dissolution of the Great Bulgarian Empire around 670. Late Old Bulgarian can be further subdivided. LOB I lasted until the 9th century. This is an important turning-point in the history of the Old Bulgarian people. The Turkish-speaking Bulgars living in the Balkans were rapidly assimilated by the Slavs towards the end of the 9th century (see pp. 147-151). The Magyars living in close contact with the Onogur-Bulgarian people conquered the Carpathian basin and lost contact with them (for more detail, see pp. 141-147). The Volga Bulgars slowly moved to the north and founded the Volga Bulgarian Empire in the 9th century, first under Khazar supremacy. Late Old Bulgarian II is the period between the 9th century and the Mongolian conquest in 1235/1236. The Khazar Empire, in which Bulgarian-speaking groups played an important role, ceased to exist in the 10th century. We have, however, no reliable data on the fate of the inhabitants of the Khazar Empire.

Middle Bulgarian begins with the destruction of the Volga Bulgarian Empire. During the reign of the Golden Horde we have to reckon with the massive immigration of Kipchak tribes. Some Volga Bulgarian groups were Tataricized, while others evaded the Kipchak intrusion, but got into close contact with the Finno-Ugric people living in the forests. This is the time when the formation of the present Chuvash language began. Early Middle Bulgarian lasted until the organization of the Kazan Khanate in

the 1430s. In Late Middle Bulgarian, the influence of the Kipchak-Tatar grew considerably. Late Middle Bulgarian lasted until the fall of Kazan in 1551/1552.

New Bulgarian can also be called Chuvash if we speak about the periodization of the history of the language. In fact, the Tatars of the Kazan territory called themselves Bulgars until recent times, for ethnically, and in respect of political tradition they had much in common with the Bulgars. Though the influence of the Kipchak-Tatar language did not diminish in the new Bulgarian period, the Russian influence grew significantly. The Christianization of the Chuvash began. Early New Bulgarian or Early Chuvash is the period from the fall of Kazan until the first written source in the Chuvash language: 1723, the compilation of Strahlenberg's word-list (published in 1730). The second sub-period lasted until the formation of the Chuvash literary language at about the end of the 19th century. After the October Revolution, *Modern Chuvash* began to develop.

II.

The sources of Chuvash linguistic history can be divided into two groups: written and linguistic sources. Among the written sources, we can distinguish those written in some Bulgarian language, and those written in a language other than Bulgarian. Within the second group, we have to distinguish glosses (proper names, personal names, toponyms, titles, scattered common words, etc.) and glossaries. These latter originate from communications by native Bulgarian speakers, or non-Bulgarian individuals who spoke a Bulgarian language, or are second and third hand. From the methodological point of view, we have to distinguish also those glosses of Bulgarian origin which were used by the authors of the texts in question as a word in their own language.

The linguistic sources can be grouped into four sub-groups. For Chuvash linguistic reconstruction, the data on the Standard Turkish languages are indispensable, helping us as they do to reconstruct the AT forms in those cases when we are dealing with original Chuvash words, and helping us to reconstruct the original in the cases of borrowing. The Chuvash language itself is of great help; through inner reconstruction, we can arrive at the original form. The third group consists of loanwords which entered the Chuvash language, while the fourth group contains those linguistic elements which were borrowed from Bulgarian by another language. All these sources complement each other, and thus our task is to give a reconstruction of the

changes in the Chuvash language which is consistent with or at least is not inconsistent with the data of the various sources.

Since the Bulgarian languages are part of the Turkish language-family and Turkish belongs to the Altaic group of languages, theoretically the Altaic common language would be our first source. Although there is no reason to deny the Altaic linguistic unity, for the time being the reconstruction of Altaic seems to be farther off than ever. Until we reconstruct Ancient Turkish, Ancient Mongolian and Ancient Manchu-Tunguzian and then find systematic correspondences among the three, we have only vague hypothetical forms to operate with. Let me illustrate this with just two examples. By means of inner reconstruction, we can assume the following system of oral guttural stops in initial position:

Ancient Turkish	Ancient Mongolian	Ancient Manchu-Tunguzian
<i>k-</i>	<i>k' : ǰ-</i>	<i>k- : k' - : ǰ-</i>

A priori, we can consider none of the three systems as reflecting the original Altaic. It is very probable that the AT system is secondary, but until we know the conditions under which and the way in which the Altaic system was simplified, we cannot figure out how AT corresponds to AMo. and AMTung. Neither do we know whether it is AMo. or AMTung. which is secondary; perhaps both derive, say, from a quaternary system of opposition *k : k' : ǰ : ǰ'* as in Sanskrit. We could also assume for the whole series an undefined *K* but this would be nothing more than the symbol of our ignorance.

In case of the Chuvash *su-* 'to count, to reckon', *sum* 'number', *sun-* 'to wish' etc. we can reconstruct with the help of other Turkish languages a stem *sā-*. In Mongolian, we find *sana-* 'to think' and in MTung. we can reconstruct a verb *sā-* 'to know'. It can hardly be doubted that these words pertain together. Ramstedt and Poppe did not hesitate to reconstruct an Altaic stem *sā-*. Some problems, however, remained unsolved. The vowel is long in Common Turkish, but short in Bulgarian (otherwise we would expect *śu-*). Of course this can be a secondary development. The Mongolian *sana-* is isolated; no other derivations of *sa-* are available, and the length of the vowel is undetectable. We can assume that the Mongolian *sana-* is the only form to be preserved, with all other derivatives having somehow disappeared. But it is suspicious that the extended form *sana-* is present in Old Turkish, where it can hardly be a Mongolian loan. The MTung. *sā-* has a very extended word-family with regular correspondences in all MTung. languages. From a semantical point of view, AT 'to count,

to reckon', AMo. 'to think' and AMTung. 'to know' can all be the semantical developments of a common Altaic word, but we can only guess which of the three meanings — if not a fourth — was the original meaning of the word.

With the above examples I wanted to show not the impossibility, but only the complexity of the problem of Altaic reconstruction. A sweeping scepticism would close the way forward. But denying or overlooking the difficulties would only lead us astray. The more urgent task of the moment seems to be to reconstruct AT.

The problem of the sources of AT begins with the much mooted language of the Asian Hsiung-nu and the European Huns. Németh and others were of the opinion that at least a group of the Huns spoke a Turkish language. Recently Doerfer drew a wholly negative conclusion. From a historical point of view, we cannot *a priori* deny that some Turkish tribes took part in the formation of the Hunnish federation. The material hitherto available is, however, too scanty for us to draw any — positive or negative — conclusion. If some of the etymologies suggested by Németh and others do turn out to be correct, the language which they reflect was certainly not a Bulgarian one. I have mentioned the problem of the Huns only because Baskakov and many scholars following him derive the Bulgarian languages from the "Western Hun" group.²⁷

As we have seen above, the Bulgarian dialects developed in LAT; since this paper is devoted to the sources of Chuvash linguistic history, let us begin with the LAT sources.

Among our sources on LAT, I have already mentioned the Old Tokharian loanwords borrowed before the formation of the Bulgarian dialects. Tokharian documents are known originating from the 5th to the 8th centuries, when in Turkestan two (according to others, even three) Tokharian languages existed, Tokharian A and Tokharian B. The reconstruction of Common Tokharian has not yet been accomplished. In view of the fact that the two Tokharian languages were quite different from the 5th to the 8th centuries, first Old Tokharian A and Old Tokharian B has to be reconstructed, and then their common ancestor. Thus e.g. TokhB. *piš* "five", TokhA. *pāñ* both go back to an IE **penkʷe*, most probably through an Ancient

²⁷ G. Doerfer, *Zur Sprache der Hunnen: CAJ* 17 (1973), pp. 1-50, with a detailed discussion of the earlier literature. For Baskakov's classification, see N. A. Baskakov, *Vvedeniye v izučeniye tjurkskich jazykov*,² Moskva 1969, *Prilozhenie* 2. Western Hun in Baskakov's terminology is practically Western Ancient Turkish; he, however, insisted (cf. *Periodizacija*, . . . , p. 44) that lambdacism and rotacism were peculiar to Western Hun, for which I found no corroborating data.

Tokharian **peš*²³. With the regular drop of the preconsonantal nasal in TokhB., an Old Tokharian B **peš* can be reconstructed, one which regularly gave the Turkish *bēš*. The length of *bēš* could be due to the disappearance of the nasal. TokhB. *yašā*. TokhA. *wāš* 'gold' is a regular development of IE **yes*. The Old Tokharian B form can be reconstructed as **yes* (the *ā* in *yašā* is secondary). This has been borrowed by the Turks as *yez*. The Old Tokharian loanwords have, of course, to be separated from the Tokharian loanwords which entered OT and which, in the main, are part of Buddhist terminology (in some of these cases, Tokharian was only a mediator of Prakrit forms). Tokharian *peš* is attested in VB *bjel* and Chuv. *pilsk*, while Tokharian *yes* is present in Mongolian *jer jebseg* '(bronze) weapons', and further, in Permian and Mordvinian as LAB loans (see pp. 155-156). Chuv. *yes* 'brass' is a late Tatar loanword of the same ultimate origin.

A very neglected field is the question of Old and Early Middle Iranian loanwords in AT. The IE etymology of many Turkish words has been discussed, but the chronological problems and the possible lending languages or dialects are mostly as yet undiscovered. In Turkish, we have to distinguish the loanwords borrowed by AT and by OT: those borrowed in the OB period, and those which came into LOB with Finno-Ugrian mediation. It is very likely that we have to do with Iranian loanwords in the case of the Chuv. *tina* 'heifer' (AI *dhe^hinuš*, Avestan *daēnav* > *dāna* → LAT *tana* > Chuv. *tina*), while the same word had been taken over much earlier by FU (see Hung. *tehén* ← AI).²⁴ More complicated is the question of Chuv. *edra*, Tu. *sira* 'beer', which most recently has been compared with Iranian by Aalto.²⁵ Here the difficulties with the vocalism (AI *surā*) and with the initial *s* which became *h*- in OI seem to be insurmountable. Joki²⁶ is surely right when he separates the Turkish words from the Zyryan and Votyak *sur* which are of Iranian origin. As in the case of Tokharian, so also in the case of Iranian borrowing: we have to keep separate the words borrowed during the OB period.

The question of the Finno-Ugrian-Ancient Turkish contacts is obscured by the problem of the Ural-Altaic relationship. A great number of parallel forms have been collected. Some authors are inclined to assume that most

²³ See J. Harmatta, *Irdniak és finnugorok, irdniak és magyarok* (Iranians and Finno-Ugrians, Iranians and Magyars). In *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in Hungarian Prehistory). Ed. A. Bartha, K. Czeglédy, A. Róna-Tas. Budapest 1977, p. 177.

²⁴ P. Aalto, *Iranian Contacts of the Turks in Pre-Islamic Times*. In *Studia Turcica*. Ed. L. Ligeti BOH XVII. Budapest 1971, p. 30.

²⁵ A. J. Joki, *Uralier und Indogermanen*. MSFOu 161. Helsinki 1973, p. 317.

of these parallels pertain to a common Ural-Altaic period. At the 19th meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference held in Helsinki in 1977, once more the question of the UA relationship was discussed. There were enthusiastic, reserved and negative opinions expressed (see *MSFOu* 158, 1977), without any generally acceptable conclusion being drawn. As I have already pointed out, there are serious problems even with the reconstruction of the Altaic common language. These problems only cumulate if we try to go further.

At this point, the question seems more like a theological than a theoretical question.

I have chosen one of the most evident examples to demonstrate the kinds of problems that are involved. Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.* p. 8.) — an adherent of the idea of the UA unity — has suggested the genetic relationship of the following words: Tu. *ayıl* 'an enclosure for livestock, village' ~ Mo. *ayıl* 'settlement, group of tents, neighbourhood' ~ Ma. *faɣa*, *faɣa* 'family, village' ~ Hung. *faɣu* 'village', Ostyak *pəyɨl*, Votyak *pəɣl*. The etymology is old. It has already been discussed by Gombocz (*Etsz*) who connected the FU words with Tu. *balıq* ~ Mo. *balyasun* 'town'; and by Sauvageot,²¹ Menges,²² Collinder²³ and others. The possible Altaic correspondence is also mentioned by the *MSzFE* (I. p. 180.). Now, if the word would be of common UA origin, we would have to accept the following hypotheses:

1. The word is present only in the Ugric languages (Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak). The suggested Samoyed equivalent has been rejected by Collinder and most lately by *MSzFE*, with reason. Other FU correspondences suggested hitherto are likewise out of question. Thus we have also to assume that although the word is present only in Ugric, it is a Uralic word which has been lost in all other U languages.

2. If *payɨl* was the Uralic form, we have to assume a metathesis in Hungarian. If the metathesis occurred in Ob-Ugric we have to reconstruct a form **palyɨ* — as *MSzFE* does.

3. For an Altaic comparison, the form *payɨl* fits better. If we chose this form, then we have to assume that the word is a derivative. An U or FU -l

²¹ A. Sauvageot, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques*. Budapest 1929, pp. 17-18, 59.

²² K. Menges, *Titles and Organizational Terms of the Qytan (Liao) and Qara-Qytaj (Si-Liao)*: *RO* 17 (1951-52), pp. 76-77, connecting our word with Kitan *wa-li*.

²³ B. Collinder, *Finno-Ugric Vocabulary*. Stockholm 1956, p. 147, and *Pro Hypothesi Uralo-Altaica*: *MSFOu* 158. Helsinki 1977, p. 73 here with a ? mark.

derivative suffix can, of course, be assumed, but we do not know anything about the stem, for it appears nowhere. We have to assume that it has disappeared.

4. If Tu. *ayil* Mo. *ayil* and Ma. *falqa* pertain together and are from Common Altaic, we have to assume an Altaic **payil*. In this case, we have to assume MMo. *hayil* and Monguor *ḡayir*, but in fact it is MMo. *ayil* and Monguor *ayir* that are attested.

5. This difficulty can be removed if we assume that Mo. *ayil* < *ayil* is a Turkish loanword. This is very probable (see Doerfer, *TMEN* II, pp. 83-84.) but in this case the Mo. member is not an Altaic word, and we have the word preserved only in Tu. and MT.

6. If we confront MTung. *falya* and Tu. *ayil*, we have to assume that *p-* was lost in Tu., and that once more, a metathesis occurred in only one of the two.

7. If we assume that the metathesis occurred in MTung. (*falya* < **faliy* < **paliy* < **payil*) we have to separate the MTung. word from the following word family: MTung. *palan* (Nanai, Uloha, Oroch, Negidal, Udihe *palan*; Ma. *falan*) 'ground, court, yard place of birth'²⁴ MTung. *palyan* 'sole, palm' (Evenki *halgada-* 'to go by foot', Solon *alḡā* 'foot, sole, palm', Even *halyan* 'sole', Negidal *ḡalyan* 'sole', Oroch *ḡaya* 'paw', Ude *ḡaya* 'id. (of a bear)', Uloha *palʃan* 'sole', Nanai *palya* 'id.', Ma. *falaḡḡu* 'palm', cf. Mo. *alaya*, MMo. *halaya* < **pala-yan* etc.) This word family has the common root *pal* 'flat place'.

8. If Tu. *ayil* is an Altaic word, we have to separate the word from the Tu. verb *ay-* 'to rise', *ayim* 'a single act of rising', *ayan* 'prostration(?)', *ayid* 'ascent, rise'. This is difficult because *ayil* had the primary meaning in Tu. 'an enclosure raised for protecting the cattle'.

I have presented this UA comparison to show how many hypotheses have to be accepted to consider the words historically identical. I chose an example in which each hypothesis could, in itself, be a possible one, or at least cannot be rejected outright. But though sometimes we do have to work with some hypothetical forms, so long a chain of hypotheses is hardly admissible.

Németh, who did not accept the Altaic relationship, suggested another way. According to him,²⁵ Uralic and Turkish were in a close "relationship

²⁴ All data quoted from *Sravnitel'nyj slovarj tunguso-mančžurskich jazykov* I-II. Ed. V. I. Cincius. Leningrad 1975-1977.

²⁵ J. Németh, *Probleme der Türkischen Urcis*. In *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, BOH V, Budapest 1942-1947, pp. 57-102.

like" contact before 5000 or 4000 B. C. Németh discussed some morphological correspondences and 27 words which he thought to pertain to this period. With one exception (U *maksa* 'liver' Tu. *bayır*) Ligeti²⁸ accepted Németh's comparisons as a sound basis for further research. However he called attention to such words as FU. *boje* 'fat' which is present as *mai* only in the Volga Kipchak (→ Kirgiz) and the Siberian Turkish languages. Today, we can add to this list the Türkmen *may*, but the OT and MT correspondences are still missing. Thus, it is very probable that these words are of later origin, and are loans from various FU languages. All FU data have an initial non-nasal bilabial or dentilabial spirant; therefore, we have to assume a Turkish **bay* from which *may* developed secondarily. If this was an AT word, then the *b > m* change would necessitate that we be able to reconstruct an AT *baś*. On the other hand, it seems improbable that the *b > m* change occurred in several Turkish languages *separately*, and that the initial *b* remained unchanged in none of them.

Another example illustrating the complexity of the early FU—Tu. linguistic contacts is the history of the Chuvash word *kunta* 'basket, osier, birch-bark basket'. As its phonetical shape (with *k-*) clearly shows this word is a loanword in Chuvash, but it was present in LAB and was borrowed from the Volga-Turkish languages by Permian, Cheremiss and Mordvinian (cf. Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 76). The word is present in the Tatar dialects, in Bashkir, Tobollan, Shor, Khakas, Altai and Kyzyl and goes back to an earlier **qomdi* (for which see Mo. *qobdu*, MT *qobdu*). This is a FU loanword, whose original form can be reconstructed as **komi3* 'knapsack of birchbark' and which is present in Finnish, Vogul and Ostyak. As we have seen, the Volga-Finnish and Permian languages have reborrowed the word from Turkish. The word is present only in the northern area, where birchbark is an important material, and is surely a cultural word. The chronological coordinates are given by its existence in Finnish and in LOB; thus it can be safely dated back to AT. This may be an important hint as to the location of the original homeland of the Ancient Turks, which had to be somewhere in South Siberia (see the part on the Samoyed-AT contacts above, p. 122; and p. 188 below).

Serious problems arise in connection with the question of the AT loanwords in FU. It is well known that the Siberian, the Volga Finnish and the Permian languages have many relatively late Turkish loanwords; but these can be easily distinguished. The only FU group wherein serious attempts have been made to sort out early — i.e. AT — loanwords is the Ugrian

²⁸ *Az urđli 6s allaji nyelvek etc.*

group. Poppe³⁷ has discussed the so called "Altaic", in fact early Turkish, loanwords in Hungarian, separating from the OB layer, a yet older one. In *op. cit.*, p. 145 he wrote: "The general conclusion is, that in the light of present Altaic comparative studies, Altaic loanwords in Hungarian need not necessarily have been taken from Volga Bulgarian or Ancient Chuvash which might have been either one and the same, or two dialects close to each other. Some of the loanwords display undoubtedly pre-Turkish features (*nyár*). Consequently, these forms were borrowed at a time much earlier than the period of the establishment of the Volga Bulgarian kingdom in the seventh century A. D. Other borrowings possibly invaded Hungarian later. . . ." Ligeti in his answer³⁸ discussed the phonological questions raised by Poppe and clearly demonstrated that of the archaic features dealt with by Poppe only the problem of AT *ń*- is of relevance. While discussing the examples where AT *ń*- > OT *y*- corresponds to Hung. *ń* (orthographically *ny*-) he concluded that there exists only one word in the case of which we can not exclude the possibility of AT or even earlier borrowing, and this is Hung. *nyár* 'summer' ~ Tu. *yaz*. The Hungarian Historical-Etymological Dictionary (*TESZ* II, p. 1036) considered two possible etymologies for the Hungarian word; the above, and its etymological identity with the homophonous word *nyár* 'moor', *nyár(fa)* 'poplar' (*fa* 'tree'). The latter is of Uralic origin. Poppe³⁹ insisted that the word is of Altaic origin; while some words wherein the Altaic *ń* corresponds to the Uralic *ń* he supposed to be from the common UA language.

An AT origin has been suggested for those words in which the Hung. *h*- does correspond to the Tu. *q*- because in words containing back vowels, FU **k* became **χ* > *h*. In most of the OB-Hung. correspondences, *q* remained *k* in words containing back vowels. Therefore, those in which it became *h*- had to have been borrowed earlier. From the five words pertaining to this group, Ligeti has deleted Tu. *qazan* 'kettle' ~ Hung. *harang* 'bell' (originally a little one used in falconry).⁴⁰ The four words that remained are Tu. *qumtuz* 'beaver' ~ Hung. *hód*; Tu. *gotan* 'swan' ~ Hung. *hattyú*; Tu. *qumag* 'sand' ~ Hung. *homok*; Tu. *qayıy* 'boat' ~ Hung. *hajó*. These

³⁷ N. Poppe, *On some Altaic Words in Hungarian*. In *American Studies in Uralic Linguistics*, 1960, pp. 139-147.

³⁸ L. Ligeti, *A propos des éléments "altaïques" de la langue hongroise*: *ALH* 11 (1961), pp. 15-42.

³⁹ N. Poppe, *The Problem of Uralic and Altaic Affinity*: *MSFOu* 158 (1977), p. 213

⁴⁰ L. Ligeti, *A harang mint csengő, csengettyű és kolomp* (The Hungarian Word "Harang" as Denoting a Hand-bell, a Small Bell, and a Sheep Bell): *MNy* 64 (1968), pp. 75-78. M. Palló (*UJb* 42, 1970, pp. 46-52) connected the word with Tu *qonyar*.

words do not seem to pertain to the same group. In case of Hung. *hód* < **kunt3* > Vogul **kuntil* ~ Tu. *qumtuz* the Turkish origin of the word is dubious because the reconstructed Tu. **qumt* is nowhere attested; moreover, a final *-mt* is phonologically impossible.⁴¹ In case of Hung. *hattyri* < **kottan*, Vog. *kotan*, Osty. *kotan* ~ Tu. *gotan* ~ *kuten* (→ Hung. *gödény*) ~ Mo. *gotan* ~ Tunguzian *kutan* (← Yakut), Ma. *qutan* (← Mo.), the direction of the borrowing is uncertain. If common Ugrio dissolved in the middle of the first millennium B. C. even an Ugrio → AT → Mo. → MTung. borrowing can not be excluded. The reconstructed Ugrio *-tt-* (if we assume a short *-t-*; this should have changed into Hung. *-z-*) remains without explanation if we assume AT → Ugrio. But if we assume Ugrio → AT there is no problem, because *-tt-* can easily have been replaced by *-t-* in Tu. The Turkish, Mongolian and Manchu-Tunguzian forms with final *-n* can be secondary developments of an *η*, while Ugrio *η* can hardly be a substitution for Tu. *n*. The Hungarian word *homok* has no Ob-Ugrio parallels, and we can not exclude the possibility that it has been borrowed from a Tu. language or dialect where *q* > *χ* had already occurred. Hung. *hajó* can be only a Bulgarian loan,⁴² but the chronology of the Bulgarian *q* > *χ* is not yet settled.

Two explanations have been given for the correspondence Tu. *yaz-* 'to write' ~ Hung. *ír-* 'to write, to draw'; according to these explanations, we should assume not an OB origin — as do most authors — but an AT origin. In view of the Osty. *yeri-* 'to draw', Kispál and others (see *MSzFE* II, pp. 321–322) assumed an early AT *yar-*. This has certain difficulties;

⁴¹ We can, of course, assume a Tu. *qumtu*, but then the illabial vowel in the second syllable in Vogul becomes problematic. A Tu. *qumt* would contradict the Turkish data where we have *-u-* everywhere in the second syllable. The Tatar *-i-* in *qundiz* is secondary.

⁴² Recently Sinor (*On Water-Transport in Central Eurasia: UAJb* 33 [1961], pp. 163–168) suggested that Hung. *hajó* 'ship, boat' is a Turkish loanword borrowed before the *k* > *h* development. Doerfer (*TMEN* III, pp. 408–410) gives a plausible etymology (*gay-* 'to glide' *gayruq* > *gayruq*), which is accepted by Clauson (p. 676). According to Doerfer, the Hung. *hajó* is not very likely to pertain to the Turkish word (p. 410 "was nicht sehr sicher scheint"). The *MSzFE* II, p. 248 quotes this as one of the two possible etymologies. The problem involved here is that in all Turkish data, wherever we have a final *-q*, Hungarian points to a final *-y*. This was also remarked by Sinor, who, however, evaded the problem, writing: "Its discussion would lead us far away from our present subject" (*op. cit.*, p. 166). The voicing of the final Turkish *-q/k* in such cases is a typical Bulgarian feature (see A. Róna-Tas, *On the Chuvash Cultural Stope in the Final Position*. In *Studia Turcica*. Ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, pp. 389–399;) thus, in this case, we have a word with a sure Bulgarian final and an initial *h-* in Hungarian.

for one thing, *y-* does not usually disappear before *a* in Hungarian. The etymology is possible only if we assume an *a* > *ï* > *i* change in Hungarian, certainly not an unprecedented step. Even in this case, however, we need not postulate that the word had been borrowed by the common Ugric. Both Ancient Ostyak and Hungarian could have borrow the word independently. In the latter case, however, we could not specify the Tu. initial. In later OB loanwords, the OB, *f-* yielded the Hungarian *d'-* which was a new sound in this position, and no doubt developed under the influence of the massive influx of Turkish words. At this time, when Hungarian did not yet have an initial *d'-*, both a Tu. *y-* and a *f-* could have been replaced by *y-*. The problem with the hypothesis that this occurred in an OB word is that *-f-* is relatively late in this word in Bulgarian (see pp. 159-160. below), and surely later than *y- > f-*. In Turkish, the disappearance of *y-* before *i* is normal or, at least possible; its disappearance before *f-* however, is unlikely.

Another solution for Tu. *yaz* ~ Hung. *ír-* has been recently suggested by Sinor, who assumed that the Chuv. *š* in *šir-* preserved an original AT *š-* while the *y-* etc. of the other Turkish languages was secondary. The supposition is that the form *šir-* was borrowed by Early Hungarian along with a substitute *šir-*, and that the initial *š-* regularly disappeared (through *h-*) as in other FU words. Sinor's arguments for postulating an AT *š-* are not convincing, and the problems on the FU side also seem to be insurmountable.⁴³

I have above referred to the possible Samoyed-AT contacts already suggested by Donner and recently rediscussed by Janhunen.⁴⁴ Below, I shall discuss one more Turkish-Samoyed parallel (pp. 160-161).

The importance of the Paleo-Siberian Ket group for Turkish linguistic history has been stressed by Ligeti.⁴⁵ Possible connections between the

⁴³ D. Sinor (*Altaiic and Uralic: In Studies in Finno-Ugric Linguistics in Honor of Alo Raun*, Bloomington 1977, pp. 322-330.) He writes on p. 327: "For simple phonetic reasons a direct *f- > š-* development is unthinkable and in Altaic at least, unprecedented". This development is attested e.g. in Juchen where the word for 'pearl' is *yinfuke* in the 12th century, later becoming *ničüke*; see also Ma. *ničüke*. For this and parallel examples, see L. Ligeti, *A török szókészlet története és török jövevényszavaink. Gyöngy*. (The History of the Turkish Word-Stock and the Turkish Loanwords in Hungarian. *Gyöngy* 'Pearl': *MNy* 42 [1946], pp. 1-17). On the Ancient Turkish *š-* see also p. 133 above, p. 140 below. The main problem, however, is that in Chuvash there is a phonemic opposition of *š* : *š* and that *-f-* is attestedly late in Chuvash.

⁴⁴ J. Janhunen, *Samoyed-Altaiic Contacts*, etc.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ligeti, *A török szókészlet*, and *Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise: AOH* 1 (1950), pp. 141-188, and *Histoire de lexique des langues turques: RO* 17 (1953), pp. 80-91.

Ket group and the language of the Huns have been suggested by Ligeti⁴⁶ and Pulleyblank.⁴⁷

The Ket group consists of the already extinct languages of Arin, Assan, Kot, Pumpokol, and of the languages spoken by the small groups which lived among the Teleuts (Aškištım) and the Koybals (Koybal-Kištım). On these languages we have some linguistic material collected in the 18th century.⁴⁸ The Ket still living has two dialects, Imbat and Sim. Ket has many Turkish loanwords, most of which are relatively recent, and were borrowed from the Siberian Turkish languages. Some of them could, however, be of earlier origin. Assan *yals*, Imbat *dil*, *dul*, Pumpokol *dul* 'child, young boy' (Dulzon *op. cit.*, p. 165) can, perhaps, be connected with Tu. *yas* ~ Mo. *jalayun*, *nilqa* ~ MT *hal* 'young, fresh'. On the other hand, Assan *šis*, Imbat *šes*, *šis*, *šigs*, Kot *šis*, Pumpokol *šis* 'stone' (Dulzon *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169), can hardly be separated from Tu. *taš* ~ Mo. *šilayun*. In the cases of the Arin *tšp*, *tep*, Assan *tip*, Kot *tip* 'iron' (Dulzon, *op. cit.*, p. 167) their connection with Tu. *temür* is clear if we take into account the Shor, Lebed and Sagai *tebir*. Imbat *tede*, Yeloguy 'šir', Kureyka 'šire, šiere' 'spring' (Dulzon, *op. cit.*, p. 160) could, perhaps, be a word connected with Tu. *yaz* (cf. *id*- in 'iduma:t' 'book' ~ Tu. *yaz*- 'to write').

Imbat *kšs* 'weasel' is a relatively late loan from Tu. *kiš* 'sable', while Assan *iya*, *iya*, Imbat *eede*, *eedte*, Kot *iya*, Pumpokol *hi'yu* (Dulzon, *op. cit.*, p. 182) 'sable' is of Samoyed origin,⁴⁹ and raises some problems regarding the old comparison Tu. *kiš* ~ *kil* Samoyed, **kili*. The Ket data point to a Samoyed *ki*, and in this case *-li* in the Kamassian *sili* would be a suffix. If so, then we have two possibilities. Either *ki* goes back to *kil* with a regular loss of final *-l* in Samoyed, or the Turkish word is of Samoyed origin. To these, I would add the Kureyka *de*? Ket (Messerschmidt) *de'e* 'sea' (Dulzon, *op. cit.*, p. 173) — which, if it has anything to do with LAT *tenir* is interesting because of its initial *d*- — as well as the Arin *ke'dilci*, the Pumpokol *ka'lu* 'to speak' (Dulzon, *op. cit.*, p. 162) which can perhaps be connected with the Tu. *kele-* (> Chuv. *kala-*), and the Mo. *kele-*. Since Dulzon and his collaborators have begun to work on the Ket material,

⁴⁶ *Mots de civilisation*.

⁴⁷ E. G. Pulleyblank, *The consonantal system of Old Chinese: Asia Major* 9 (1962-63), pp. 58-144, 206-265.

⁴⁸ A. P. Dulzon, *Slovarnye materialy XVIII v. po ketским narečijam; Učenyje Zapiski* 19: 2, Tomskij Gosudarstvennyj Pedagogičeskij Institut, Tomsk 1961, pp. 152-189.

⁴⁹ On the Samoyed-Ket contacts see P. Hajdú, *Die ältesten Berührungen zwischen den Samojeden und den jenisseischen Völkern: AOH* 3 (1953), pp. 73-101.

we know a lot more of these languages. A systematic comparison will be possible only after the Ancient Ket forms are reconstructed through inner reconstruction.

The most important source of LAT is the Mongolian language. All Altaists agree that in case of the Tu.-Mo. parallels, we have to separate the pre-13th century from the post-13th century layer. The only moot point is whether the pre-13th century layer is a monolithic one, or whether it should be further divided into several chronological layers. In the past, the adherents of the Altaic hypothesis had supposed that all pre-13th century Tu.-Mo. parallels originate from the common Altaic language. The opponents who denied the existence of a common Altaic language assumed that these parallels were borrowed from an early Turkish idiom by Mongolian. Now it seems that this rigid distinction is slowly disappearing. Even from a theoretical and historical point of view, it seems unlikely that during the long period lasting from the dissolution of the Altaic community to the 13th century A. D. we have to do with only one contact. But if we have to reckon with more layers, only one of them can pertain to the common Altaic language, and all others will be instances of historical contacts, i.e. of loanwords. I think that the assumption that the Turkish and Mongolian languages were separated by an impenetrable wall from the time of the dissolution of the Altaic language until the 13th century is a postulate which cannot be maintained. It is, of course, a more difficult task to specify the characteristics of the different layers than to merely declare their existence. But unless we postulate their existence, we have no chance of making progress in comparative Altaistics. In another paper⁵⁰ I have suggested some criteria which might help us distinguish among genetically inherited and borrowed words.

As we have seen, the OT period began with the separation and southwestward migration of the Western Turkish tribes. This radically changed the type of contact there was between the Turkish and Mongolian groups. Here, we have to consider the following: the Eastern Turks extended their power toward the east, and not only remained in contact with the Mongolian tribes, but perhaps grew more influential. It is possible that although the bulk of the OB tribes migrated to the southwest, some groups remained in their original homeland — something often seen in the history of nomads.⁵¹ Their prestige, and influence on the Mongolians could not, however,

⁵⁰ A. Róna-Taš, *Obščee nasledie ili zaimstvovanija? (K probleme rodstva altajskich jazыkov)*; *VJa* 1974: 1, pp. 31-45.

⁵¹ A possible hint at an OB group which remained in the East can be found in the runic inscription of Kejlilg Xobu (S. E. Malov, *Enisejskaja pismennostj tjurkov*,

match that of the Eastern Turks. The Onogur-Bulgarian tribes moved away from the vicinity of the Mongols, but some long-distance contacts can not be excluded. The steppe was always more of a connecting than a separating factor. It was not only the famous silk-road that served as a transmitter of objects and their names: as far as the forested South Siberian region, we find traces of old East-West contacts. Along these avenues some Old Bulgarian words may have reached the Mongolians even after the 4th century. Nevertheless, these post-4th century contacts had quite another character.

In discussing the Mongolian side of the AT-Mo. contacts, we have also to take into account a few other considerations. Because of the great structural-typological similarity between the Turkish and the Mongolian languages, the chronology of some loanwords will always remain unspecifiable. The chronological ordering of the several layers is hampered also by our scanty knowledges of Old Mongolian. Old Mongolian consisted of a number of languages (such as Sien-pi, Tabgach, Kitan, Tu-yü-hun etc.). Middle Mongolian, as it appears from our sources, was the continuation of only one Old Mongolian language. The formation of the Chingisid Empire began with the uniting of several Mongolian tribes some of whom probably spoke yet other, now extinct, Mongolian languages.

This has often been stressed by Ligeti, who demonstrated this problem with the words for 'iron'.²² The common word for 'iron' in Mongolian, *temür*, is well attested in all written sources and dialects. The word *qasü* 'iron' has been preserved only in Dahur. Ligeti traced back this word to

Moskva-Leningrad 1962, pp. 81-83). Its language is eastern Turkish and not Bulgarian. The name of the deceased in his childhood was *Şubuş İndil*, and his adult name was *Kümül Öge*. It is said in the inscription that he became *öge* in his thirtieth year. He calls his people *Kümül bodunum*. The inscription uses the sign *Λ* for *š* throughout the text, also in words containing front vowels e.g. *beş yaşımta* 'in my fifth year'; both *šs* are written with *Λ* and so is *Şubuş*. *Kümül* is written with *Υ* i.e. with *l'* as in *el* (line 4) *elim* (lines 6,9) "(my) nation". So the letter *Υ* cannot be a mistake for *Υ Υ Υ* which is used in other inscriptions for *š*. The same enigmatic *Kümül* people occurs in the second inscription of Kizil Ćira as *küm^u bodⁿum*: here the name of the deceased was *Kül^ug Toyⁿ*, and his father's name was *Arslan Kül^ug Tır^g*. Malov (*op. cit.*, p. 80, also *Pamjatniki drevnetjurskoj pisjmennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*. Moskva-Leningrad 1959, pp. 69-70.) reads *Kümüş budun* here, but he had only second-hand copies which contained many errors. In the last edition of this inscription by Batmanov and Kunaev (*Pamjatniki drevnetjurskoj pisjmennosti Tuwy I*, Kyzil 1963, p. 57.), the *-l* of *kümül* is clear. Perhaps this "Silver People" were OB tribes who had already lost their original language and spoke an Eastern Turkish idiom.

²² L. Ligeti, *Mots de civilisation*, pp. 150-168.

Kitan, where it was a loan from Old Kirgiz (most probably a non-Turkish language of Old Paleosiberian, more precisely, of Ket affinity). The Old Kirgiz word had been borrowed from Samoyed where it pertains to the Uralic stock (U **yas* ~ **ues* with further IE affinities).

The great task of the future will be to separate the AT words which invaded Ancient Mongolian from those which came into one or more Old Mongolian languages. In this connection, I can only quote Ligeti who, in connection with the reconstruction of the Tabgach words, wrote: "A propos des équivalents turcs et mandchous-tongous des mots mongols énumérés dans ce travail je n'enterai pas dans la discussion de l'hypothèse altaïque qui, à mes yeux, reste encore toujours à prouver aussi bien que la thèse des adversaires de cette théorie. Je tiens pourtant à faire remarquer qu'on peut établir dès maintenant plusieurs couches d'emprunts réciproques entre le turo et le mongol d'une part et entre le mongol et le mandchou-tongous de l'autre. La chronologie de ces couches reste à faire ainsi qu'il reste à voir si la couche la plus ancienne (dans le domaine de la grammaire et du lexique) nous autorise ou non à admettre la parenté altaïque".⁵³

Let us look at one example by way of illustration. The existence of a palatal nasal *ñ* in non-initial position can be reconstructed for AT and AB with inner reconstruction. The word for 'neck' Chuv. *măy* can be compared with the ST *boyun* and its regular developments. In the Kipchak and Siberian languages, we have *moyun*, while in Yakut *moy* and *moyun* (not *moy*). The Chuvash word goes back to the AB *boñ*. The nasalization of the initial *b*- occurred before a nasal. As in case of the Tu. *qoyun* 'sheep', where we have to reconstruct the AT *qoñ* the *-y-* goes back to *ñ*. In the latter case, we also find the shorter form *qoñ* in some languages and in the Runic inscriptions — where a separate letter existed for *ñ* — so that *qoñ* is well attested (see Clauson, p. 631). In some dialects, *ñ* became denasalized, in others, depalatalized, and Kăşyari noted both variants: *qoy* and *qoñ*. The Mo. *qonin* < **qoñin* also preserved the trace of *-ñ*. This development occurred also in OT loanwords such as the Sanskrit *punya* "merit" → OT **buña* > *buyan*. Similarly, we can reconstruct a palatal nasal in the Chuvash word *măyraka* 'horn' with the help of the OT *mūñuz*, the Oghuz *boynuz*, the Kipchak and Siberian *mūgūz*, the Turkestan *muñiz* and its regular developments. The final *-ka* is a diminutive suffix (OB **būñur* + *ke* > **mūñūrke* > *măyraka* > *măyraka*).

⁵³ L. Ligeti, *Le tabgach, un dialecte de la langue sien-pi*: In *Mongolian Studies*, Ed. L. Ligeti: BOH XIV, Budapest 1970, p. 289.

The denasalization of these palatal nasals in initial position began earlier than in non-initial position. The later development coincides with the history of the *y*- of other origin. This AT change can be reconstructed only with the help of Mongolian. The word *šul* 'tears' in Chuvash *kusšul* (*kuš* 'eye') goes back to the AB *šāl*. With the help of Tu. *yāš* 'id.', we would be able to reconstruct only *yāl*, but with the help of Mo. *niš-busun* 'id.', the initial *š*- can be secured.

The Chuv. *yāš*, *yēš* 'young' is a late Tatar loanword. An original word would have developed into **šul*. In this case, the initial *š* is likewise secured by the Mongolian *niqa* and the MT *šāl*. The Turkish word was borrowed by Mongolian later, as was *šala-yun* 'young' (it is present only in a few MT languages, such as Solon and Evenki, where they are late Mongolian loanwords). In such very rare cases where we have to do with a double Mongolian representation of one and the same Turkish word, we are in the position to state that at least one of the two has to be a loanword. In case of the Turkish *yāš* ~ Mo. *niqa*, *šalayun*, *šalayun* is undoubtedly a loanword, though it has an *-l-* in front of the Turkish *š*.

We know from Chuvash linguistic history that the open vowels became closed and the closed, reduced. With just inner Turkish reconstruction, it is difficult to tell when this change began. In the case of the Tu. *boz* 'gray' Mo. *boro* the Mongolian form shows the vowel to be unchanged. But in the case of the Tu. *qozı* 'lamb' Mo. *quri-yan*, we may assume that in the lending language the process had already begun, and that the borrowed form was *qqrı* or *quri*.

The AT unvoiced guttural stops in final position (*-q/k*) became voiced in some cases in OB, and from then on, their history coincided with that of the original final voiced *-g/ɣ*. The beginning of this change can be traced back in some OB loanwords to Mongolian. This I have demonstrated in another paper⁵⁴ and I shall cite one example below (p. 150).

Even more difficult than the question of OB loanwords in Mongolian is the problem of OB loanwords in Standard Turkish. Once more, from a theoretical point of view, we cannot deny the possibility that the Turkish languages borrowed from each other in the earliest periods, as they are still doing now. Though the problem is difficult, it is not hopeless.

First we have to distinguish the processes going on in the LAT and in the OT periods. I have already referred to the peculiarities of the dialectal features (see p. 117-120). Now I would cite one example. The word for 'dream' in Chuvash is *telək*. By means of inner reconstruction, we have to reconstruct

⁵⁴ On the Chuvash Guttural Stops.

an OB *tülek* where *-ek* is a special Chuvash suffix as in *piläk* 'five' (see ST *běš*) or *uyăx* (see ST *äy*). In most of the other languages, we find *tüş* 'dream', but in Old Uighur, in Late Uighur, and in Yellow Uighur we find *tul*, while in Yakut *tül*.⁵⁵ Both Uighur and Yakut are *š*-languages, but in this case the *-l* word transgressed the phonological isogloss, and established itself in the language of the ancestors of the Uighurs and Yakuts.

Another problem is posed by the Turkish words for 'year'. In ST, the word *yaš* denotes 'age', while *yıl* is a special term for the calendar year. Bazin⁵⁶ who dealt with the term in detail, rightly pointed out that *yıl* is a cultural word connected with the spread of the use of the calendar of the twelve animals. Bazin proposed a Mongolian etymology for the word, one which seems highly improbable for several reasons. Since in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions *ŷıl* is used for the calendar year (as is *šul* for both senses in Chuvash) it can be assumed that ST *yıl* is an OB loan. For historical reasons, it seems less probable to assume an OB → Mo. → ST loan than e.g. an OB → Zhuan-zhuan → OT loan.

After their great migration towards the southwest, the Bulgarian tribes got into contact with the peoples living in Eastern Europe. Among them, the most important for Chuvash linguistic history were the Magyars. The controversy over the question of when and where the ancestors of the Magyars lived together with the Old Bulgarian tribes is yet unsettled. According to Gombocz's older theory⁵⁷ the Magyar-Bulgar contacts began in the 7th century in the Volga-Kama region and lasted until the end of the 8th century. Later, Gombocz changed his mind⁵⁸ and placed the Magyar-Bulgar contacts in the region between the Kuban River and the Azovian Sea, and dated it as lasting from the 5th to the 7th century. After this, the Magyars had contacts with the Khazars whom Gombocz thought to have spoken a non-Bulgarian type of language. The common opinion expressed in the volume edited in 1943 by Ligeti⁵⁹ was far different. Here,

⁵⁵ For details see A. Róna-Tas, *Dream, Magic Power and Divination in the Altaic World*: AOH 25 (1972), pp. 227-236; for further examples see: *Some Problems of Ancient Turkic*, on pp. 213-224.

⁵⁶ L. Bazin, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et medievux*. Université de Lille III, 1974, pp. 70-77.

⁵⁷ Z. Gombocz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*: MSFOu XXX (1912), pp. 194-208.

⁵⁸ Gombocz Z., *A bolgár kérdés és a magyar hun monda* (The Problem of the Bulgars and the Hungarian Hunnic Legend): MNy 17 (1921), pp. 15-21.

⁵⁹ *A magyarok őstörténete* (The Prehistory of the Hungarians). Ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest, 1943.

it was assumed that the Magyars whose homeland was around the Belaya and Kama did not come directly to the south, but had migrated to the east earlier, had met the Onogur-Bulgars somewhere on the eastern slopes of the Urals, and had come south together with them. In the 1960s, Németh⁶⁰ returned to Gombocz's first theory. This theory, which has its supporters among Hungarian scholars even today (see e.g., Fodor⁶¹ who, however, assumes East Ural → West Ural → Azovian Sea → Don) seems improbable because of the serious chronological difficulties it raises. In Gombocz's time, there was only indirect evidence of the time the Bulgars reached the Volga-Kama region. Today, a wealth of archaeological material helps us to date this migration.⁶² The earliest of the Volga Bulgarian finds is from Bolšie Tarchani, quite in the south of the later Volga Bulgarian Empire. Among the excavated material, an Abbaside dirhem was found, one which Janina dated to around the years 775-809.⁶³ Even on the most generous assumption, the coin could not have got buried before the 780s. This is the earliest *post quem* date at our disposal for the appearance of the Bulgars in this region, and not the 750s, as most of the authors used to assume. Since we meet the Magyars on the shores of the Black Sea at the very beginnings of the 9th century, we cannot assume that the considerable impact that the Bulgars had on the Magyars occurred in the Middle-Volga region. In view of the linguistic material, we have to assume at least two or three hundred years of close contact, if not more. Since the Onogur-Bulgars arrived in Southeastern Europe in the middle of the 5th century, this is the *terminus post quem*. The territory had to be the Cis-Caucasian — Kuban-Don-Azovian area, which was under Bulgarian and Khazarian domination. No source refers to the Volga Bulgars as Onogurs (see Vasáry's paper in this volume). The Bulgars of the south, however, are

⁶⁰ J. Németh, *Ungarische Stammennamen bei den Baschkiren*: ALH 16 (1966), pp. 1-21.

⁶¹ I. Fodor, *Verecke híres útján... A magyar nép őstörténete és a honfoglalás* (On the Famous Route of Verecke... The Prehistory of the Hungarian People and the Conquest of Hungary). Budapest 1975.

⁶² See R. G. Fachrutdinov, *Archeologičeskije pamjatniki Volžsko-Kamskoj Bulgarii i ee territorija*, Kazan' 1975, with a fine bibliography; E. P. Kazakov, *Pamjatniki bolgarskogo vremeni v vostočnykh rajonach Tatarii*. Moskva 1978, and Fodor's paper in this volume.

⁶³ V. F. Gening-A. H. Chalikov, *Rannye bolgari na Volge*. Moskva 1964, p. 63. On the chronological difficulties see K. Czeglédy, *Etimológia és filológia. Bolgár-török jövedényszavaink történeti háttéréről* (Etymology and Philology. On the Historical Background of the Bulgar-Turkish Loanwords in Hungarian). In: *EEM*, pp. 82-89. Czeglédy suggests West Ural → East Ural → Don → Lower Danube.

called Onogurs, as are the Danube Bulgars. If the Magyars had come directly from the Middle-Volga region to Levedia the name used for them by the European sources — *Qgre, wengri, (h)ungarus* — all of them deriving from the name Onogur, would be inexplicable. We can easily account for the presence of the Magyars in the Middle-Volga region in the 13th century (as Munkácsi and Gombocz did) if we assume that they migrated to the north with the Volga Bulgars. This is exactly what we might expect. For if the Magyars lived with the Bulgars in the south, surely it makes sense that some of them joined those Bulgars who moved to the north, as later the three Kavar tribes joined the Magyars when they left the Khazar Empire. Thus, I see no impressive argument on the strength of which we should abandon Gombocz's second theory, though today we might slightly modify some of its details.

Until recent times, the Magyars' conquest of the Carpathian Basin was considered the only possible *terminus ante quem*. This event is usually put at 896 A. D., although it is clear that the process began earlier and lasted for several years. Recently, László published a series of papers and monographs in which he suggests that the Magyar tribes who settled in the Carpathian basin at the end of the 9th century found an earlier Magyar population already there.⁶⁴ According to László, the first wave of Hungarian-speaking immigrants reached the Carpathian basin at about 670, when the archaeological material shows a significant change. László's arguments are convincing in that the change in the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the Carpathian basin is surely connected with the migrations into Southeastern Europe around 670. The most important of these was the migration of the Onogur-Bulgarian tribes, which began after the dissolution of the Great Bulgarian Empire of the south, and in consequence of which the Bulgars went as far as the lower Danube region, and founded Bulgaria in the Balkans. Though we can be sure that the change in the Carpathian Basin was connected with this migration, there is no indication that Magyar groups took part in it to any great extent. What is of relevance from our point of view, however, is that we have to reckon with sizeable Onogur groups in the late Avar period, part of which could well have survived until the Magyar conquest. If so, some of the Bulgarian-type loanwords in Hungarian could have been borrowed when the two groups were already in the Carpathian Basin, i.e. in the period after the conquest.

⁶⁴ The best summary of László's view is to be found in his recent work *A "kettős honfoglalás"* (The "Double Conquest" of Hungary). Budapest 1978, see also *Die ungarische Landnahme und ihre Vorereignisse: CQIFU I*, Budapest 1975, pp. 195-208, and its discussion in *CQIFU II*, pp. 195-238.

It is known from Constantine Porphyrogenetos' work that three Khazar tribes, called Kavars, joined the Magyars when they left the Khazar empire. Although we know nothing about the language of these tribes — they could have spoken either a Bulgarian or a non-Bulgarian Western Turkish idiom — their assimilation by the Finno-Ugrian-speaking Magyars might well have taken a number of decades even after the conquest.

The Slavization of the Danube Bulgars is generally thought to have been completed by about the end of the 8th century. Some Danube Bulgarian groups could, however, have played some part in the history of Southern Transylvania, and we can not exclude the possibility that some of them were not yet Slavized.

But even if we allow all three possibilities, the relevant sources refer to no Turkish-speaking group after the 10th century, except for the Muslim groups⁶⁵ (the Khaliz and Besermen); therefore, we have no reason to update the *terminus ante quem* much more than the middle of the 10th century.

The group of Old Turkish loanwords in Hungarian is not homogeneous. Some words are definitely of OB origin. Some have linguistic features which do not necessarily mark them as OB, but which appear together with specifically OB features. Some others are neutral from this point of view, still others clearly show a non-Bulgarian character. There can be no doubt that even those words which do have OB features or can be considered as OB belong to several chronological layers and dialects.

In his university lectures, Gombocz⁶⁶ enumerated the following OB criteria:

1. Tu. *z* ~ Hung. *r* ~ (Chuv. *r*)
2. Tu. *š* ~ Hung. *l* ~ (Chuv. *l*)
3. Tu. *s* ~ Hung. *š* ~ (Chuv. *š*-)
4. Tu. *č* ~ Hung. *š* (← *š* > Chuv. *š*)
5. Tu. *-k/q* ~ Hung. *o* (← *γ* > Chuv. *o*)

⁶⁵ See Czeglédy K., *Az Árpád-kori mohamedánokról és neveikről* (On the Muslims and their Names in the Árpadian Age). In: *Nyelvtudományi Előadások* (Lectures on Onomatology). Ed. M. Kázmér, J. Végh, *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 70 (1970), pp. 254-259, and Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van* (Turkish-Hungarian Linguistic Contacts and Some Attendant Problems): *MNy* 72 (1976), pp. 26-27.

⁶⁶ Gombocz delivered several lectures at the university of Budapest on the history of the Hungarian word-stock and on the Turkish elements in the Hungarian language. The last series — of 1930 — has been published by Ligeti: Gombocz Z., *Honfoglalás előtti bolgár-török jövevényszavaink* (The Pre-Conquest Bulgar-Turkish Loanwords in Hungarian): *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 24, Budapest 1960, 32 p.

6. Tu. *y* ~ Hung. *s* ~ (Chuv. *š*-)
 Hung. *d'* ~ (Chuv. *ʃ* > *š*-)
 7. Tu. *-d-* ~ Hung. *z* ~ (Chuv. *d* > *z* > *-r*, only in *-gd-*)
 8. Tu. *-n* ~ Hung. *-m* ~ (Chuv. *-m*)
 9. Tu. *a* ~ Hung. *i* < *ĩ* ~ (Chuv. *ĩ*).

In the case of Tu. *s* ~ Hung. *š*, Gombocz assumed a preserved archaism in OB, while Ligeti clearly pointed out⁶⁷ that this was a secondary development which occurred before *i/ĩ* and long *ā*, which became *ia*. As for Tu. *š* ~ Hung. *š*, Bárczi⁶⁸ and Ligeti⁶⁹ have expressed the opinion that *š* in these cases is a Hungarian development; the borrowed form had had *č*. Gombocz and then Ligeti have stressed that the *-z-* grade of AT *-d-* is present only in the *-gd-* cluster, while Palló insisted that the *z* grade is to be found also in other positions.⁷⁰ Németh⁷¹ and Ligeti⁷² raised the problem of the presence of protethic *v-* and *y-*, while Palló tried to prove that the protethic *v-* is attestedly present.⁷³

Doerfer⁷⁴ and others⁷⁵ suggested that in those cases where in Hungarian an *-l-* is present in place of the ST *š*, the *-l-* is not an anorganic, secondary sound as was supposed by Gombocz⁷⁶ but rather reflects the OB *-l-*. Ligeti,

⁶⁷ L. Ligeti, *Les voyelles longues en turc*: JA 1938, pp. 177-204.

⁶⁸ G. Bárczi, *Le traitement de š et de č turcs dans les mots d'emprunt turcs du proto-hongrois*. In: *Studia Turcica*. Ed. L. Ligeti, BOH XVII. Budapest 1971, pp. 39-46.

⁶⁹ Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai*.

⁷⁰ Palló M., *A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* 78. gaz "mauvaise herbe" térképéhez (To Map No. 78 gaz "mauvaise herbe" in the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects): NyK 72 (1970), pp. 431-436, and *Die mittlere Stufe des tschuwaschischen Lautwandels d > š > r*: UAJb 43 (1971), pp. 79-88.

⁷¹ Németh Gy., *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (The Ethnogenesis of the Conquering Magyars). Budapest 1930., p. 126.

⁷² Ligeti L., *Gyarmat és Jenő* (The Hungarian Tribe-Names Gyarmat and Jenő): *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 40. Budapest 1964, pp. 230-239.

⁷³ M. K. Palló, *Zur Frage der tschuwaschischen v-Prothese*: AOH 12 (1961), pp. 33-44.

⁷⁴ G. Doerfer, *Khalaj Materials*, Bloomington 1971, p. 275.

⁷⁵ Róna-Tas A., *Bevezetés*, p. 18.

⁷⁶ In Old Hungarian, the *-l-* in postvocalic position disappeared, and the preceding vowel became long. At the same time, as a compensatory hyperurbanic feature, the secondary *-l-* developed. This happened in words of Finno-Ugric and also of Turkish origin. Thus, in Old Hungarian, besides the "normal" form *ács* (*āč*) 'carpenter' < *ayacč* we also find the form *alč* (read *ālč*) attested as early as 1233 A. D. This means that secondary, unorganic *-l-* is undoubtedly present in words of Turkish origin. The only question is whether we are entitled to operate with this feature in each case, and especially in cases when we find an *š* in ST. It is difficult to suppose that Chuvash

in a recently written paper⁷⁷ assumed that in such cases Hungarian borrowed an *š* sound which was ST, but figured also in the ST loanwords of OB, and this *š* became *č* secondarily in Hungarian. Before this *č* the *-l-* developed, also secondarily. In another paper, Ligeti⁷⁸ raised the question of the voiced initial *d-* in front of the ST *t-*, and by implication this can be extended to the *g-*.⁷⁹

To the phonetical criteria, some lexical and semantical ones can be added. We have lexical evidence in cases where the Hungarian word is present only in Chuvash (as in Hung. *disznó* 'pig' ← *šasna* > Chuv. *šisna* < **šisna*), or where it is a derivate whose stem is common to other Turkish languages, but where the derivate itself is to be found only in Chuvash and Hungarian (as Hung. *eke* 'plough' ~ Chuv. *aka*⁸⁰ from Tu. *ak-* 'to sow'). A direct semantical criterion is when a word is common to the Turkish languages, but its special, secondary meaning is to be found only in Hungarian and in Chuvash (as e.g. Hung. *tükör* 'mirror', Chuv. *tükër*, which in all other Turkish languages and in Mongolian means 'a round object'). An indirect semantical criterion is when a word pertains to the terminology of a cultural complex having OB criteria, as in the case of the Turkish words for viticulture in Hungarian.

To the above we can add some chronological evidence. In some cases, either the history of the Hungarian word, or its fixed first occurrence leaves no doubt of its being a pre-conquest loanword. In the case of the Hungarian *des* 'carpenter' ← Tu. *ayačči* > Chuv. *yiväššë*, the development *-aya* > *a* and the disappearance of the final *-i* prove that the word is a very old one

borrowed a word such as *pus* 'head'. It is well known that in Chuvash in words where the *-lč-* cluster corresponds to the ST *-lč-* the *-l-* disappeared through a spirant *-w/β* and *š* became *š*; cf. ST *qilč* 'sword' > *qilč* > Chuv. *xěš*, etc. We have at least one word which is also attested in Hungarian: *kölcsön* (*kölcön*) 'loan', which in Chuvash has the forms: *kivšen*, *kiden* [Aëm. VI, pp. 196, 247], where the *-l-* is etymological (cf. Mo. *kölšötn*), and its disappearance can be observed in current dialects.

⁷⁷ Ligeti L., *Régi török eredetű neveink* (Old Hungarian Personal Names of Turkish Origin): *MNy* 74 (1978), pp. 256-274. According to Ligeti, all Chuvash words in which we find *š* in front of the ST *š* are loanwords borrowed at various times, mostly early on.

⁷⁸ Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai*, p. 17. According to Ligeti the initial *d-* in Hungarian *dől-* 'to bend down, recline etc.' ~ ST *tüš-* points to a hitherto unnoticed dialectal feature of OB.

⁷⁹ See Róna-Tas A., *Bevezetés*, p. 22. To this category pertains e.g. Hung. *görény* 'polecat' ~ ST *küzen* 'id'.

⁸⁰ In Modern Chuvash, the name for the plough is *akapuš*, but in earlier sources and the dialects, *aka* also has the meaning 'plough' (Aëm. I, p. 66).

indeed. Phonetically speaking, the Hungarian word *árok* 'chanel, ditch' could be even Ottoman, but its occurrence as a geographical name in a document from 1055 shows beyond a doubt that it is from pre-conquest times (cf. Tu. *arig*).

The 250 or so common words of Turkish origin adopted by the Hungarians before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin can be augmented if we include the early onomastic material on the Hungary of between the 11th and the 13th centuries⁶¹ and can be augmented further if we count the dialectal words, and some words which were adopted by neighbouring languages from Hungarian, but have disappeared from Hungarian. We know that with the immigration of Cumanian and Pecheneg tribes in the 13th century, a new layer of Turkish loanwords appeared in Hungarian. The criteria of the separation of this layer, called "the middle layer" (the last being the Ottoman loanwords) is in some cases difficult, if not impossible. Altogether, the OB loanwords in Hungarian are our most important sources on the linguistic history of OB.

A further group of sources is offered by the linguistic material of the Danube Bulgars. Here we can separate three groups. In the Greek (and Slavic) inscriptions of Bulgaria there can be found scattered words, names and titles of OB origin, or as they are called by our Bulgarian colleagues, of Proto-Bulgarian origin. A special problem is posed by the so-called Proto-Bulgarian list of rulers. These are glosses embedded in non-Turkish texts. To a second group pertain those texts which are written in Danube Bulgarian. We know of one longer text, and a few fragments, and it is very likely that the Turkish language of the famous Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós is not Pecheneg-Kipchak — as Németh was inclined to think⁶² — but Danube Bulgarian. The third group consists of the Danube Bulgarian words borrowed by either Early Old Church Slavic or Slavic Bulgarian.

Of the Turkish language Greek inscriptions, the most interesting is the inscription of Byal Brag (near Preslav). In this inscription, we find the word

⁶¹ The basic work is Gombocz's *Árpád-kori török személynéveink* (Hungarian Forenames of Turkish Origin from the Arpadian Age): *MNy* 10 (1914), pp. 241-249, 293-301, 337-342; and *MNy* 11 (1915), pp. 145-152, 245-252, 341-346, 433-438. See also Ligeti's paper quoted in footnote 76. The work of L. Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* (An Etymological Dictionary of Geographic Names). Budapest 1978, is a very instructive and useful handbook, but its Turkish material has to be used with great caution.

⁶² J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Leipzig 1932, and *The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe*: *ALH* 21 (1971), pp. 1-52.

кѹпе *kūpe* 'chain mail' (cf. Chuv. *kēpe* 'shirt') four times. In a fragment of another inscription, from Chatalar, we can read the word *kūpesi* three times. In Modern Chuvash, the possessive suffix of the third person is *-i* (> *-ē*), regardless of the ending of the stem, while in other Turkish languages, we find *-si* after vowels and *-i* after consonants. The AB *-si* is to be found in only a very few Chuvash words, and scholars could not be sure whether the simpler Chuvash or the more complicated ST system was the original. Now, with the help of the Chatalar inscription, we can prove that the ST distribution was also present in OB.

The title figuring as *ητζηγων βοηλα* in a number of inscriptions can be found with in Selishte (near Preslav) written in Old Cyrillic letters as чрьгоубыла, which has to be read as *ičirga būle*. The first word has been compared by Venedikov⁸³, Deny⁸⁴ and Beševliev⁸⁵ with the Tu. *ičreki* 'the interior'; those who belong to the royal court⁸⁶ while the second, which occurs in the forms *βοηλας*, *βοηληα*, *βοιλα* etc. to the OT title *boyla*. The first is not without morphological, the second not without phonetical problems; nevertheless, from them, the sound *-č-* can be safely assumed to have existed in 9th century Danube Bulgarian.

More difficult is the evaluation of the material contained in the Proto-Bulgarian List of Rulers. The original, from the 10th century, is preserved in three copies from the end of the 15th and of the 16th century, respectively. The text of the list is so mutilated and full of clerical errors that the past great efforts notwithstanding,⁸⁷ they can be put to no real use. Let us look at two examples by way of illustration. After the names of the Danube Bulgarian rulers follows the old Church Slavic expression *лѣтъ емоу* 'his year', and then a Danube Bulgarian expression. Such a year is given in MSA as дваншехтѣ in MSB as дваншехтемъ, in MSC as дваншехтемъ. Pritsak (*op. cit.*, pp. 56-58) suggested the following decipherment:

⁸³ I. Venedikov, *Novootkriti v Preslav pĕrvobŭlgarski nadpis*. In *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto arĕheologičesko institut*, 15 (1946), pp. 146-166, and *Trois inscriptions protobulgares: Razkopi i proučvanija* 4 (1950), pp. 167-185.

⁸⁴ J. Deny, *Une inscription en langue protobulgare découvert à Preslav: Revue des études byzantines* 6 (1947), pp. 235-239.

⁸⁵ V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*. Berlin 1963; on the Bjäl Brag inscription, see pp. 238-242; on the Chatalar inscription, pp. 242-244; on the Selishte inscription pp. 299-301; see also the new edition: *Pĕrvo-bŭlgarski nadpisi*. Sofia 1979.

⁸⁶ On this system, see I. Dujčev, *Les bolgars dits intérieurs et extérieurs de la Bulgarie médiévale: AOH* 3 (1953), pp. 167-177.

⁸⁷ On the earlier literature, see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*. Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 11-14.

1. The word has to be segmented as *dvan-šextem*.
 2. The copyist thought that the first word is the same as the Russian *dva* 'two'. Old Church Slavic orthography permits a so called *kendema*-sign (two *gravis* signs on a vowel letter) in case of such monosyllabic words.
 3. In the original, there was another sign which the copyist changed to this *kendema*-sign.
 4. This original sign was probably ("Es scheint so") a suspended *l*. Therefore we have to assume an original form *dv'an*".
 5. The form *dv'an*" is to be read as *dva'an*.
 6. The word for 'hare' is *tabišyan* in Tu., which would give the Danube Bulgarian *tabilyan*.
 7. This *tabilyan* changed: *tabl'yan* > *tavl'yan* > *tavl'an*.
 8. The initial *t*- became *d*- under the influence of the following consonant: *tavl'an* > *davl'an*.
 9. Finally we have to assume a metathesis: *davl'an* > *dval'an*; and all this gives us the Danube Bulgarian word for 'hare', which would have functioned for the Year of the Hare in the twelve-animal cycle.
- With a similar argumentation, Pritsak tried to prove that the year of Asparuch *verentalem* consists of *vereni* and *alem*, where the first word would reflect a Bulgarian **bōrēn*, an equivalent of the Tu. *bōri* (*op. cit.*, pp. 52-55). Bazin⁸⁸ connected *vereni* with the OT *ewren* 'dragon'. He derived the word from the verb *ewr-* 'to turn round'. A similar etymology of the OT *ewren* is given by Clauson (p. 13). Clauson connected the word for 'dragon' with the word *ewren* 'a thing built in the shape of a blacksmith's oven in which bread is baked'. To support this, he quotes the Qutadγu Bilig, where we read: *yaraltī kōr ewren tuči ewrūlūr* "(God) created the firmament which revolves continuously". The firmament was so called because it revolves, the oven, because it was similar to the firmament. Clauson's etymology seems to be convincing. In a newly published Volga-Bulgarian inscription⁸⁹ the name of the dead person is: *Āwrān awlī Wurum Alīb*. "The son of *Āwrān*, *Wurum Alīb*". *Wurum Alīb* is the Tu. *Uzun Alp*, and the inscription is one of the rare ones where the names are not Moslem names. Hence we can assume that *Āwrān* is also a Volga Bulgarian word. Both meanings, "firmament" or "dragon", are possible. In the light of the Volga Bulgarian *āwrān*, Bazin's suggestion is already burdened with difficulties. We have either to assume a metathesis *ewren* → *weren* or a

⁸⁸ *Les calendriers...*, pp. 684-685.

⁸⁹ A. H. Khalikov-J. G. Muhametshin, *Unpublished Volga Bulgarian Inscriptions: AOH*, 31 (1977), pp. 115-117.

It is surprising that so few words which can be safely qualified as OB have been found in Slavic Bulgarian. One of the safe comparisons has been suggested by Boev.⁹¹ Boev compared the Bulgarian *šile* 'young lamb', *šilegar* 'herdsman of the *šile*'s', further Serbian *šileg* 'two year-old lamb', and Albanian *shilek* 'young lamb' with the Tu. *šisek* 'id.', and proposed an OB etymology in view of its *-i-*. The Tu. *šisek* is a secondary form from *tišek*, to be found in Kašyari where it has the meaning 'a two-year-old sheep'. As I have shown,⁹² the word can be derived from *tiš* 'tooth', *tiše-* 'to get or lose teeth' and refers to the age when the animal finally has all its teeth. This is the etymology of the Hungarian word *salló* (= *salló*) 'pike' which goes back to an earlier *šilex* (on the evidence of some early Hungarian documents from the 12th century).

Pike perch has another early name *fogas* which is a calque of the former (cf. Hung. *fog* 'tooth'). The word is present in Mongolian as *silegü* (Secret History of the Mongols) with the meaning *silegü qorin* 'two-year-old sheep'. In this case, we have a unique example from which we can reconstruct the entire history of the word:

šileg3 → Mo. *šilegü* → Khak, Tuv. *šiläka*
šilägä

Bulgarian *šile(g)* ← OB *šiley* → Hung. *šiley* > *šillő* → Bavarian
Schiele
Hung. → Rumanian *șalău*
Hung. → Slovak *šul*

Serbian *šileg* ←
Albanian *shilek* ←

MB *šila* → Tat. *šila* (Pallas) → Kklp. *šila*
→ Bashk. **šila* > *hila*

Chu. *šāla* → Cher. *šila*

⁹⁰ Cf. M. Palló, *Ein alutürkischer Fachausdruck der Fischerei in den ungarischen Urkunden*: UAJb 35 (1964), pp. 56-63.

¹¹ E. Boev, *Za predturkского tjursko vlijanie v bēlgarskija ezik* — ošče njakolko prabēlgarski dumi: *Bēlgarski ezik* 15 (1985), pp. 3–17.

²² *On the Chuvash Guttural stops*, p. 396-399.

From the language of the Danube Bulgars, some words have been borrowed by Old Church Slavic. The OChS word *kan* 'figure, idol' and its derivative *капиште* 'a pagan church; the place of the idols' (see Fasmer II, p. 185) is interesting not only because of its importance for our knowledge of the old religion of the Bulgars, but also because it offers evidence of an open *a* in Danube Bulgarian (cf. Chuv. *kap*, Hung. *kép*, which was substituted by Slavic *a* and was not, of course, borrowed after *a* < *ä*, which is a very late development in Chuvash).

A similar word is the Bulgarian *beleg*, earlier *bělęg* (cf. *Bългарски етимологичен речник* I, 1971, p. 41), Russian *beleg* (Fasmer I, p. 147) etc. Ligeti⁹³ has discussed the way this word might have got into Hungarian (cf. *bélyeg*). In his opinion, it is slightly more probable that the word — one ultimately of Turkish origin (see Chuv. *pallā*, Volga Bulgarian *bela-w-i* with a possessive suffix) — came in to Hungarian with Slavic mediation rather than directly, as was assumed by *TESZ*. This is of importance since Slavic mediation cannot be excluded in the case of a number of other Turkish words either.

With the close historical connections between Danube Bulgarian and Middle Greek, one would expect to find OB words in Greek. The Byzantine sources are full of Bulgarian names, titles and glosses⁹⁴ but as far as I know, no serious attempt has ever been made to find Danube Bulgarian words in the spoken language of Byzantium.

For the history of OB, the words borrowed from Greek are also of importance. The ultimate origin of the Chuvash word *pir* 'linen' ~ Tu. *böz*, *bez* 'cotton, linen' is Old Egyptian.⁹⁵ It is very likely that the word was borrowed a number of times by the Altaic peoples, and that it came into Chinese with Altaic mediation.⁹⁶ The earliest Chinese data are from 629 A. D. The earlier words seem to have come through Greek mediation (see *βυσσός*); the later, through Arabic. The history of this word is important because of its final *-r* in Chuvash. Benzing⁹⁷ used this word to argue that the *z* > *r* change was a late one. This, however, is very improbable. We know that the original AT *d* became an *r* in Chuvash through *θ* > *z* (see

⁹³ L. Ligeti, *Turkológiai megjegyzések szláv jövevényszavainkhoz* (Turkological Remarks on the Slavonic Loanwords in Hungarian): *MNy* 63 (1967), pp. 427–441.

⁹⁴ See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*¹, Berlin 1958.

⁹⁵ A. Róna-Tas, *Böz in the Altaic World: Altorientalische Forschungen* III, Berlin 1975, pp. 155–163.

⁹⁶ I. Ecsedy, *Böz — An Exotic Cloth in the Chinese Imperial Court: Altorientalische Forschungen* III, Berlin 1975, pp. 145–153.

⁹⁷ J. Benzing, *Tschuwasische Forschungen*, *ZDMG* 1–2 (1940), pp. 251–267, 391–398.

pp. 145, 158). The word entered Chuvash when *d* was already *ð* or *z*, and then changed into *r*. The history of this word also sheds some light on the controversial problem of the so called "plus vowel" in Mongolian (see Tu. *kōk* 'blue' ~ Mo. *kōke*, Tu. *ikiz* 'twillings' ~ Mo. *ikire* etc). The word was borrowed twice by Mongolian. The first borrowing was of the word *būse* 'girdle or belt', a word that denoted a girdle made of cotton or linen (see also Juchen *busu*, Ma. *boso* 'linen, cloth'; further Negidal, Oroch, Udihe, Orok, Nanai).⁹⁸ The Mo. *bōs* 'linen, cloth' is a later loan. The final *-e* in Mongolian is of Turkish origin, where it was adapted to the AT word structure.

The great commercial routes through the steppes helped the transfer of western words towards the east, but also facilitated movement in the opposite direction. The Chuvash word *yēñček* 'ornaments on women's clothing' is a Tatar loanword. Its earlier form was *inʃik* (cf. the Tat. *enʃe* > *inʃi* 'pearl'). From the Cher. *čince*, *čindže* 'beads', we learn that a parallel form *ʃinʃi*, *ʃinču* existed along with the Volga Turkish **inʃi* < *inču*. Ligeti⁹⁹ has shown that Tu. *yinʃu* ~ *ʃinʃu* is of Chinese origin (see also Hung. *gyöngy* 'pearl'). With the help of Chuv. *yēñček* ← Tat. **inʃik* ~ **ʃinʃik* ~ **ʃinʃuk* (most probably itself a Tatar word of Volga Bulgarian origin), the enigmatic final *-g* of the Russian *жемчуг* 'pearl' can be explained.

The Chuv. *sār* 'paint' is also a Tatar loanword (← Tat. *sir*). The Tatar word is ultimately of Chinese origin (cf. Chinese *ch'i* < **ts'iet*. See Clauson, pp. 842–843.) It is very probable that this word came into the other Turkish languages through early eastern Turkish mediation.

The scattered Khazar words in various sources have made a special contribution to our knowledge of OB. The material Golden has collected will prove a handy manual to those who wish to investigate the language of the Khazars. To be sure, Turks who spoke one or more OB dialects lived together in the Khazar Empire with other Western Turkish tribes. The famous and much discussed name of the city Šarkel 'white house' displays definite OB features. Another important data is the river name *χαρα σιου* glossed with *μαύρον νερόν* 'black water' by an anonymous scholiast, who added some explanations to the Notitae Episcopatum composed between 733–746.¹⁰⁰ This river name on the Crimean peninsula had a Khazar name which we can reconstruct as *χαρα šīu*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Sravnitel'nyj slovarj tunguso-manjčžurskich jazykov*, I. p. 78.

⁹⁹ Ligeti L., *A török szókészlet*, etc.

¹⁰⁰ See Moravcsik Gy., *Byzantinoturcica* I, p. 465 and Ligeti's review in *AOH* 10 (1960), pp. 306–307.

¹⁰¹ A. Róna-Tas, *A Volga Bulgarian Inscription from 1307*: *AOH*, 30 (1976), pp. 166–167.

The Chuvash place name *Xura šiv* (Ašm. XVI., p. 210) and *xura šiv* 'muddy water' (ibid) is of the same origin. In contrast to *xura šiv* we also find *šur šiv* (Ašm. XVII., p. 240), *šur šu* (ibid), *šuršu* (Ašm. XVII., p. 244). *Šuršu* is also the collective name of eight villages; and the Russian name of a village is Belo-Volžok 'White Volga' from the name of a small river *Šuršu Šoršu* 'Belaya Voložka'. *Šur Atal* — meaning 'clear' — is the name of both the Kama and the Belaya (Russian: 'the white'). The Khazarian *χara šiu* has its counterpart in the Hungarian river name *Krassó* (14th century *Karaso*, *Karasu* — read *Karašu*) where the second part shows a clear OB character in front of the CT *su* 'water',¹⁰² not, however, from *su* but from *šiu*. In Constantine Porphyrogenetus we find *πεχ* as the title of the subking of the Khazars. The final *-χ* reflects the spirantization of the AT *-g* and is corroborated by Ibn Fadlan's *q* (read *beh*) < *bey* → Hung. *bő* and the Chuvash *pū* (on which see K. Czeglédi's paper in this volume).

One of the most important peoples living with the Turks of South Russia were the Alans. In the Ossetian Nart epic, a people — *Ag,yr/Agur* — is mentioned as a legendary, warlike tribe, great in numbers and nomadic in character.¹⁰³ The reference is probably to the Oghurs. We know that in the Saltovo-Mayak culture, Bulgars and Alans lived together; we also know that both the Alans and the Onogurs had been their neighbours in the Cis-Caucasian region.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the Alanian-Bulgarian linguistic contacts cannot have been negligible.

The Ossetian language is closely related to Alan, and has quite a word-stock of Turkish origin. They pertain, however, to the later period of Turkish-Ossetian symbiosis, when Kipchak or Kipchakicized tribes settled in the neighbourhood. In the first two volumes of the Ossetian etymological dictionary published by Abaev, I could find no Turkish word which was clearly of OB character. The historical background of the Ossetian *cyr/čijd* 'cheese' was recently settled by Ligeti.¹⁰⁵ The word is present in Hungarian *sajt* (read: *šajt*) and in Chuvash as *čäkät*. Earlier (see *TESZ* III, 1976, p. 474), the Hungarian word was thought to be an OB loan, and the Ossetian word was also presumed to be of OB origin. Ligeti has pointed out that the Chuvash word is of Tatar origin (cf. Tatar dialectal *čyät*), something well attested by some early Kipchak sources. The word has a sound Ossetian

¹⁰² See Kiss L., *Földrajzi nevek*, p. 317 where *su* has to be corrected as *šiu*.

¹⁰³ See V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovarj ossetinskojazyka I*, Moskva 1958, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ Czeglédi K., *Nomád népek*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai*, pp. 22-23.



etymology, and the Hungarian word, for phonetic reasons, has to be a direct loan from early Ossetian or Alan. The word entered the Kipchak languages from the same source. The hypothesis that the Ossetian word entered the Kipchak language through OB mediation — while in Chuvash, it was lost and then reborrowed — is not entirely implausible, but is difficult to prove.

The Chuvash word *šurme* 'a kind of sausage filled with chipped intestines' was connected by Egorov (*Ėtim. Slov.*) with Ossetian *dzormae/zormae* 'id.'. The word is present in Georgian (*šurma*), in Kabardian (*šerumä*) and in Ubih (*šerme*). It has no etymology in Ossetian. The word can be found in Mongolian as *šurme* 'chip, shaving; thin strips of meat, stuffing'; here, it is a Turkish loan. The Turkish word can be found in Altay (*yörgöm*), in Soyot (*čöreme*) in Karachay-Balkar (*šörme*), and in Bashkir (*yürme*). In Käs'ari we find *yörgemeč* 'the paunch or intestines wrapped and folded in the smaller intestines and then cooked by roasting' (Clauson, p. 966). The Turkish word is a derivative from the verb *yör-* 'to wrap', *yörge-* 'to wrap up' etc. Thus the Ossetian and the Caucasian words are of Turkish origin. The history of the Chuvash word can be reconstructed as follows: *šörgem* > *šögre* > *šurme*.

We have to make further efforts to clear up the Alanian language's relations to OB, and our task is by no means hopeless. The Chuvash *purtä* 'hatchet axe' is surely of Iranian origin.¹⁰⁸ The Ossetian *faeraet* 'id.' is, according to Abaev (*op. cit.*, p. 451), an Old Persian loanword in Ossetian. The word is present in Zyryan and Votyak as *purt* 'knife', but, for phonetic and semantic reasons, these words have to be independent of the Chuvash word. It is possible that this word is of immediate Alan origin; for chronological reasons, Old Persian has to be excluded. In this case, we can assume OP *parađu* → Alanian *paratu* (> Ossetian *faeraet*) → OB *baratu* > Chuv. *purtä*.

III.

Towards the end of the 8th century, the Bulgarian tribes reached the Volga-Kama region and came into close contact with the Finno-Ugrian peoples. The oldest contacts with the Permians began at a time when the two Permian languages, Zyryan and Votyak, had not yet separated. These early contacts with the common Permian language lasted approximately until the 10th century when the Zyryans moved far to the north. Later,

¹⁰⁸ N. Poppe, *Ein altes Kulturwort in den altaischen Sprachen: Studia Orientalia*, 19 (1952), pp. 23-25.

the Volga Bulgarians remained in contact only with the southern group, the Votyaks. The speakers of the Permyak dialect of Zyryan slowly moved back to the south, and came into contact with Votyak. The details of the oldest — i.e. LOB → PP layer — have been dealt with in a separate paper (NyK 74, 281–298, NyK 77, 31–44). Here I would only mention two questions of chronological importance. The LOB–PP contacts had to have begun before the common Permian denasalization, and to have lasted to the time of the early Islamization of the Volga Bulgars¹⁰⁷ (Pe. $\chi^{w}afa$ → LOB → PP). The history of the word *qoba* (Old Russian → LOB → PP) shows that the word was borrowed before the Old Russian denasalization into LOB and before the Permian denasalization into PP. These considerations allow us to suppose these contacts to have taken place some time during the 9th–10th centuries.

¹⁰⁷ The beginnings of the Islamization of the Volga Bulgars can be dated to a time before Ibn Rusta's account (written around A. D. 930); he already mentions the mosques and medreses, the muezzins, and the imams of the Volga Bulgars. I am not quite sure about the date of this passage in Ibn Rusta, but in any case even Ibn Fadlan admits that there was a Mohammedan community among the Volga Bulgars before his arrival. The newly found coin of Ja'far i.e. *Almuš* (see below pp. 166–167) also points to the same time, since the names of the Caliph al-Muktafi (902–908) and of the Samanid Emir Imša'ill Ibn Ahmad (892–907) can be read on this one coin. The co-existence of these two names place the origin of the coin between 902 and 907, which accords with Ibn Rusta's account, as Janina, who published the data on the coin, noted. She may also be right when she sees no contradiction in Ibn Fadlan's having given the name Ja'far to *Almuš*; *Almuš*, if he were already Moslem, was very unlikely not to have a Moslem name. This is how we should interpret the whole story of the Friday prayer told by Ibn Fadlan; he ordered that the name Ja'far be used in the prayer, but he did not then give this name to the king, who may have been using both his Turkish and Moslem names simultaneously for a while. But even on the hypothesis that *Almuš* simply erased the name of the former ruler from an older coin and put his own on instead and that Ibn Rusta's account was a later interpolation, there can be no doubt that the Islamization of the Bulgars began at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. The close contacts of Chwarezm and the Samanids were of a commercial and a political nature — it was not by mere chance that Ibn Fadlan chose this route to the Volga Bulgars. These economic and political contacts were certain to bring Islam with them. However, we can be just as sure that the first contact did not affect the whole population, only the courts of the tribal chiefs and the upper strata in the centres of Bulgar and Suvar. Therefore, the Arabic and New Persian loanwords which came along with Islamization needed a few generations to become part of the language of the Volga Bulgars. In any case, even if we assume that P $\chi^{w}afa$ was borrowed in the earliest times, the religious meaning of this word in PP shows that it originates not from the first decades of superficial contacts, but from an already Moslem population which could hardly have developed before the end of the 10th century.

From the point of view of LOB linguistic history, I would mention one more fact here. The presence of the initial voiced *g-* in the Zyryan *gub* < PP *gombi* 'mushroom' shows that LOB had a voiced *g-* initial (and that the *k-* in the Chuv. *kāmpa* is a late development). This has been mooted by Poppe,¹⁰⁸ who considered this word a direct loan from Russian. However, the Tatar *gōmbe* is a loan from the same Bulgarian word, and corroborates the existence of this initial.¹⁰⁹

The Old Russian nasal was preserved in the Chuv. *kēncēle*, *kāncāla* 'tow' (see the OR *kōdelja*, also → Finnish *kuontalo*), and pertains to the same layer as *kāmpa*. The Chuv. *munča* 'bath house' is surely Russian¹¹⁰ *баня* and not **мылня*, as Räsänen (*Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 154) suggested. The Turkish data with *-l-* (Chuv. dial. *molča*, Ašm. VIII., p. 263), the Altay *mīlča*, the Kacha *mult'a*, *mild'a* → Kamassian *mulča*, *mult'a*,¹¹¹ the Teleut, Lebed, Shor, and Sagay *mīlča*, the Tobol *mulča*, *muilča* and also *munča* and the Kurdak *moilča* are either due to dissimilation, and/or developed under the influence of the Russian *мыло* 'soap'. The Kazak *monša*, the Kirg. *mončo*, the Kklp. *monša*, the Tkm. dial. *monča*, *mončo*, as the Tat. *munča*, the Bashk. *munsā*, the Cher. *monša*, *moča*, *muńča* (and also *moł'ča*), the Voty. *muńčo* all seem to be from Volga Bulgarian. The Russian word had to be borrowed before the *a* > *o* development, but the second series points to an *-o-* and not to *-u-*, which is important for the chronology of *o* > *u*. (For *ny* > *nč*, see Ar. *dūnya* 'world' > Chuv. *tēncē*.)

There are a few LOB loanwords in Mordvinian which have already been dealt with by Paasonen¹¹² and recently by Feoktistov¹¹³. Such are the Moksha Mordvinian *ayšr*, *ayšra*, *ayra* 'cool (of weather)' ← LOB *ayar* ~ Tu. *ayaz*, the Moksha Mordvinian *šerā* 'brass, yellow copper' ← LOB *šer* ~ Tu. *yez*, the Moksha Mordvinian *širšk*, and the Erza Mordvinian *širt'e*, *širt'*, *širkā*, *širx* 'ash-tree' ← LOB *šerek* or *širek* (cf. Tat. *yirek*, Mishar *yerek* ~ Yak. *sisik*).

¹⁰⁸ N. N. Poppe, *Čuvaši i ich sosedi*. Čeboksary 1927, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ On the Hungarian correspondence of the voiced OB initials, see p. 146 above.

¹¹⁰ So also B. Scherner, *Arabische und neupersische Lehnwörter im Tschuwassischen*. Wiesbaden 1977, p. 90.

¹¹¹ Cf. A. J. Jokl, *Die Lehnwörter*, p. 233.

¹¹² H. Paasonen, *Die türkischen Lehnwörter im Mordwinischen*: MSFOu 15, Helsinki 1897.

¹¹³ A. P. Feoktistov, *K probleme mordovsko-tjurkskikh jazykovykh kontaktov*. In *Ėtnogenez mordovskogo naroda*, Ed. B. A. Rybakov, B. A. Serebrennikov, A. P. Smirnov, Saransk 1965, pp. 331–343.

In the course of their contacts with the FU peoples of the Middle Volga region, the Volga Bulgarian tribes not only lent but also borrowed a number of words. Some of the FU words in Chuvash we knew to be recent, in other cases, we have no criteria for a chronology. A few seem to be early loans, most probably from the LOB period — e.g. the PP **peliš* → Chuv. *pileš* 'ashberry' (Ašm. IX., p. 209 → Tat. Bashk. *mileš*), the PP *purić* → Chuv. *pörčš*, *përčš* 'ice-axe' (Ašm. X., p. 232 → Tat. dial. *börčš*, Bashk. *böröz*).

The FU languages of the Volga-Kama region have transmitted some Iranian words into LOB. One of them is the Chuv. *ötör*, *ätär*, *vötör* 'otter' (the English word is of the same IE origin) → Cher. *uöör*, *šöör* (or the Cher. is a direct loan from Iranian). The Permian *vurd* (Zyryan), *vudor* (Votyak) has developed from **udor* where the *v-* is secondary under the influence of the word *vurdis*, *burdis* 'mole'¹¹⁴. There does exist a secondary *v-* in Zyryan, but where it occurs we have quite different reflexes in the dialects and in Votyak,¹¹⁵ thus, the *v-* in the Zyryan *vurd* and in the Votyak *vudor* cannot be a spontaneous Permian development. The Iranian word has to be reconstructed as **udro*.¹¹⁶

It is well known from the historical sources that the early Volga Bulgarian empire had close contacts with the Russians. It was at this time that LOB words were borrowed by the Russians.

The Russian word *ponam* 'a church of non-Christians' is mentioned by the Russian chronicles in connection with Bolgari, where the envoys of the Grand Duke Vladimir (989–1015) saw in the town како ся покланяють въ храмѣ рекше попати, стояще бес пояса i.e. "how they prostrate themselves in their church called *ropat*, standing without girdles". Pritsak¹¹⁷ who quoted these lines assumed that we have to do here with a Volga Bulgarian word of Arabic origin (بنا) and stressed that the Russian *-p-* can be interpreted only if we suppose that the *-b-* was already an unvoiced media in Bulgarian, as it is now.¹¹⁸ More convincing is the suggestion of

¹¹⁴ On the primary *v-* in the latter word see T. E. Uotila, *Zur Geschichte des Konsonantismus in den permischen Sprachen: MSFOu* 65, Helsinki 1933, p. 57.

¹¹⁵ See Uotila, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–70; E. Itkonen, *Zur Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Tscheremissischen und in den permischen Sprachen: FUF* 31 (1954), pp. 280–285; V. I. Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, pp. 23–25.

¹¹⁶ See Ossetian *urd*, *urda*, Avestan *udrō* etc., Joki, *Uralier*, etc. p. 347 for another explanation of the FU and Chuvash words.

¹¹⁷ O. Pritsak, *Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica: UAJb* 31 (1959), pp. 304–308.

¹¹⁸ Similarly I. G. Dobrodomov, *O sravnitel'no-istoričeskom izučenii tjurkizmov russkogo jazyka*. In *Voprosy grammatiki i leksiki russkogo jazyka*. Moskva 1973, p. 572.

Vasmer, who derives the word from the Middle Greek *γαταύιον*, going back, of course, to the same Arabic source. The weak point in Pritsak's suggestion (already mentioned by Fraehn) is that an initial *r*- is impossible in Volga Bulgarian (see *Rūs* > *orus* > *vīrds* 'Russian'). Moreover, if this word had already been part of the Bulgarian language (i.e. had no longer been felt to be a foreign word, so that *-b-* had become *-s-*) then a prothetic vowel, here an *a*-, would have developed. The expected prothetic *a*- is, in fact, present in the old district-name of Moscow, *Arbat*, which, Pisani suggests, has the same etymology, but this is cited with some reservation by Vasmer (cf. *Ėtim. slov.* I, p. 83).

More conclusive is the word *мрыхосе* in the Chronicle of Troick, occurring under the year 1230 with the meaning 'a nobleman of the Volga Bulgars' (see Fasmer IV, 1973, p. 108). Munkácsi¹¹⁹ and later, quite independently, Šachmatov¹²⁰ and Samojlovič,¹²¹ identified this word with the Tu. *tudun*, and reconstructed a Volga Bulgarian **turun*. This is, at present, the earliest evidence of the OB change *d* > *ð* > *z* > *r*. (For this word in Chuvash toponymy, see C. Czeglédi's paper in this volume, p. 34)

Recently, many scholars have dealt with the possible OB or MB words in East Slavonic and Russian.¹²² One can only hope that the voluminous monograph of Dobrodomov¹²³ will soon appear so that further conclusions might be drawn.

We are in a better position in respect of another important source on LOB. The monograph published by Scherner¹²⁴ on the Arabic and New Persian loanwords which came into Bulgarian along with Islamization

¹¹⁹ Munkácsi B., *A volgai bolgárokról* (On the Volga Bulgars): *Ethnographia* 14 (1903), pp. 72-73.

¹²⁰ A. A. Šachmatov, *Zametka o jazyke volžskich bolgar: Sbornik Muzeja Antropologii i Ėtnografii* 5 (1918), pp. 395-397.

¹²¹ A. N. Samojlovič, *Turun — Tudun: Èšče primer turko-bulgarskogo rotacizma. In Sbornik Muzeja Antropologii i Ėtnografii* 5 (1918), pp. 398-400.

¹²² See N. Poppe, Jr., *Studies of Turkish Loanwords in Russian*. Wiesbaden 1971; and Dobrodomov's review: *K istoriografii tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke: ST*, 1974. 5, pp. 72-75; also A. N. Kononov, *Istorija izučenija tjurkskich jazykov v Rossii*. Leningrad 1972, pp. 251-256.

¹²³ I. G. Dobrodomov has defended his dissertation *Problemy izučenija bulgarskich leksičeskich elementov v slavjanskich jazykach* in 1974. In this work, he synthesized the results of about a hundred of his earlier papers scattered in many journals and anthologies. Since Dobrodomov has revised some of his earlier views, we must wait until this important work is published.

¹²⁴ B. Scherner, *Arabische und neupersische Lehnwörter im Tschuwaschischen*. Wiesbaden 1977, with the bibliography of the earlier works.

of the Bulgarians enables us to draw some important conclusions. Scherner's greatest merit is that he separated the Arabic/Persian loanwords which came into Chuvash with Tatar mediation from those which are of earlier prevalence. This earlier group is by no means homogeneous; most of the words pertaining here are also indirect loans, but some of them could be direct. The early layer is most important for the chronological evidence it gives of some changes in the Chuvash phonological system. We have historical reasons to assume that the Arabic and Persian words of the earlier layer — perhaps with the exception of a very few commercial terms — are not earlier than the end of the 9th century (see note 105). Thus, irrespective of the question of whether they were direct or indirect loans, any change in these Arabic and Persian words along with the Chuvash had to be later than the 9th century.

We can easily work out a chronology for the complicated history of Chuvash vocalism with the help of the early Arabic and Persian loanwords. Most important here is the $a > i$ change. See:

- Ar. *ḥabar* خَبَر 'news' → Chuv. *xīpar*
 Ar. *ḥarāj* خَرَج 'land tax' → Chuv. *xīrǎd*
 Ar. *ḥazna* خَزَنَة 'treasure house' → Chuv. *xisna*
 Ar. *maṣḥara* مَسْحَرَة 'to ridicule' → Chuv. *miskara* 'joke' etc.

Most of these words came through New Persian mediation, and the last surely through another Turkish language (because of the *-k-*). In view of these words, the change $a > i$ in Chuvash has to be dated after the 9th century. This is corroborated by the etymology of the Chuv. *pīsāk* 'big' suggested by Levitskaja.¹²⁵ This is an early Kipchak loan (cf. *bazīq* in Codex Cumanicus), earlier than the Chuvash $a > i$ change. These findings apparently contradict those OB loanwords which show a Hung. $i (> i)$ change corresponding to Turkish a (as in *tind* 'steer', *tıló* 'hemp-breaker', *diznó*, 'hog' *tyúk* 'hen'). Doerfer¹²⁶ suggested — as we have seen above (p. 115) — reconstructing a special AT phoneme. Scherner (*op. cit.*, p. 28) distinguished between $a_1 > \text{Chuv. } i$ and $a_2 > \text{Chuv. } o, u$. I am inclined to assume that this is a special Bulgarian — and not AT — phenomenon, and that in OB we have to reckon with a labial and an illabial a , the second perhaps more central. The question of the Hungarian short a (which is labial) is one of the most controversial problems of the history of Hungarian vocalism. For

¹²⁵ L. S. Levitskaja, *Čuvašskie etimologii*: ST 1974. 2, pp. 80–81.

¹²⁶ *Khalaj Materials*, pp. 179–180.

reasons not to be discussed here, I assume that the Hung. \ddot{i} ($> i$) in the above cases is a substitution, and does not reflect an OB \ddot{i} .

The chronology of the special Chuvash consonant changes also gains support from Arabic and Persian words. One of the most debated questions is the chronology of the spirantization of the consonants \check{f} and \check{t} . In view of the NP $\check{f}\ddot{a}n \rightarrow$ Chuv. $\check{s}\ddot{a}n$ 'man, human being', the NP $\check{x}\ddot{a}\check{t}$ 'cross' \rightarrow Chuv. $xu\check{s}$, NP $\check{x}^w\ddot{a}\check{f}\ddot{a} \rightarrow$ Chuv. $xu\check{s}\ddot{a}$ 'master, merchant' and the above cited $\check{x}\ddot{r}\ddot{s}\ddot{a}$, we can state that these changes occurred in Chuvash later than the 9th century. The NP $\check{x}^w\ddot{a}\check{f}\ddot{a}$ was borrowed from LAB not only by PP but also by Old Russian, as хозяин . This can narrow the time of borrowing to between the 9th and the 10th centuries. Both the PP and the Old Russian show a palatalized voiced affricate $d'\check{z}$, the intermediate stage of $d\check{z} > d'\check{z} > t\check{s} > \check{s}$.

For the chronology of the $\check{t}\ddot{i} > \check{c}\ddot{i}$ -change, we have clear evidence in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions.¹²⁷ The only example cited by Scherner — (*op. cit.*, p. 49) NP $\check{t}\ddot{e}z \rightarrow$ Chuv. $\check{c}\ddot{a}s$ 'quick, swift' — has nothing to do with the $\check{t}\ddot{i} > \check{c}\ddot{i}$ development; the Chuvash word is of Russian origin.

Of great interest is what the Arabic and Persian loanwords contribute to our knowledge of rotacism and lambdacism. Scherner (*op. cit.*, p. 67) accepts the chronology suggested by Doerfer *TMEN* II, p. 523):

- AT $*\check{d} >$ eighth century $\check{\delta} >$ tenth century $z >$ thirteenth century $rz >$
fourteenth century Chuv. r
AT $*z >$ eighth century $rz >$ fourteenth century Chuv. r
AT $*\gamma d >$ eighth century $z >$ fourteenth century Chuv. r

For the $-rz-$ we have no clear criteria, while for r we do. In place of AT $\check{\delta}$ we find r in the 13th century (*turun*), for the AT z we find r in Mongolian and Hungarian.

Scherner cites three examples in which $z > r$ might have occurred in loanwords that were neither Arabic nor Persian. Chuv. $\check{x}\ddot{r}(\check{a})$ 'pine tree' he connects with the Uralic word for *Pinus abies* (Finnish *kuusi*, Mordv *kysz*, Cher. *kuž*, Zyr. *koz*, Voty. *kiz*, etc.)¹²⁸. The two words pertain together, but Scherner did not put the question of which form was borrowed, and

¹²⁷ See A. Róna-Tas-S. Fodor, *Epigraphica Bulgarica: Studia Uralo-Altaica* I, Szeged 1973.

¹²⁸ On the word see Sebestyén N. I., *Fák és fás helyek régi nevei az uráli nyelvekben* (The Old Names of Trees and Wooded Places in the Uralic Languages): *Finnugor Értekezések* 7, Budapest 1943, pp. 13-14; B. Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary*, 1977, p. 49.

when. The Common Permian form has to be reconstructed as **kowse*¹²⁹ > **køze*. The Voty. -i- is a late development, and the word had a labial vowel in Permian, from which the Chuv. -i- cannot be deduced. Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.*, p. 218) reconstructed **kadī* without a hint at the FU parallels. In Soyot, we find *χadi*, in Tuv. *χadi*, in Tofalar *hadī*, in Nižne Iyus *χayī*,¹³⁰ in Khak. *χazī*, *χara χazī*. The Turkish words pertain together, and their protoform can be reconstructed as **qadī*. This is a loan from Ancient Samoyed *kāšt* 'pine' (cf. Nganassan *kuo*, *ku'a*, Enets *ka*, *kari*, *kadi*, Yurak *cha*, Nenets *χadi*, *kāt*, *kādi*, Sölkup *qut*, *k'ud*, *keče*, *k'āde*, Khamass *k'od*, *k'o*" *k'o*, Tavgi *kat*). The final -i/i in the Samoyed data is a derivative suffix (**šyš* > *i/i*).¹³¹

The P. o-Samoyed form has to be reconstructed as **kāšt-šyš* > *kadi*, and it was this that was taken into the Turkish languages. PS *kāšt* is the same word as the FU words enumerated above. Thus in this case, the Chuv. *xira* is an example for *d* > *r*, and not for *z* > *r*.

Scherner's second etymology is the Chuv. *tāvār* 'narrow, close'. According to him, this is a loan from the Tu. *tigiz*; if it were an original word, we would find **čāvār* or **čēvēr*, he argues. The Turkish word is a derivative of the verb *tig-* which we do, in fact, find in Chuvash as *čāk-*, along with its derivative *čākras*. The Turkish word *tigiz* is present in Chuvash as a loanword in the form *tākās* ← Tat. *tigiz* < *tigiz*. But in Tatar, we find the word *tigrīk*, in Bashk. *tigrīq* 'a narrow path, passage', which with the suffix *-liq*, has been taken over by Chuvash, where we find *tākārlāk* 'a narrow path'. These latter words are from the same verb *tig-*, plus the deverbal suffix *-r* (see the OT *tīyra-* 'to be tough, turdy' Clauson, p. 472). The Chuvash word *tāvār* occurs in the earliest documents as *tuvir*" (Sođ, Viš), and in Viryal has the following forms: *tuvár*, *tōvōr*, *tor* (words I collected in the village of Morgauš and Ryka Kasi) and *turā* (Ašm. XIV, p. 155); it was taken over by Cheremiss as *tor*, *tor* (Räsänen, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 222). In view of the labial vowel in the first syllable, we have to reconstruct the first syllable as **to-* (or **tu-*); in fact, in Shor we find *tobīr*, in Sagay, too, we find *tobīr* 'blunt, short', so for the Chuvash *tāvār* we have to reconstruct an earlier **tobur*.

The Chuv. *tir-* 'to thread, to string (beads etc.), to arrange in a row' Scherner considers a loan for similar reasons. The fact that the proposed Turkish equivalent *tiz-* has the vowel -i- makes it improbable that there is

¹²⁹ See K. Rédei, *A permi nyelvek első szótagi magánhangzóinak történetéhez* (On the History of First Syllable Vowels in the Permian Languages): NyK LXX (1969), p. 40.

¹³⁰ V. I. Rassadin, *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan Ude 1971, p. 185.

¹³¹ See Janhunen, *Samojedischer Wortschatz*, p. 61.

a direct connection between the two, because the AT *i* became *ɛ* or *ä* in Chuvash. Here we have to reconstruct an AB *ter-*. We find parallels for this in the Turki *tez-* and the Lobnor *tez-* (the Tatar *tez-* does not pertain here, being secondary from *tiz-*). The case we have here is similar to that of *yārana* cited above (p. 120), where the AB vocalism already had dialectal features. To this I would add that *t-* before a back vocalic *i* does not always change into *č-* even in original Chuvash words. A good example is the Tu. *yeti* 'seven', *altı* 'six' > Chuv. *šičč* but *ultä*. The *ti* > *či* development was preceded by the *i* > *ɛ* change which is the main trend in Chuvash (see *qiz* > *zär* etc.).

Thus we have no clear examples for the *z* > *r* development in loanwords.

Quite another case is that of the Chuvash *pir* 'linen' (see pp. 151-152 above). This word entered Chuvash when the *d* > *θ* > *z* > *r* change was either in its *θ* stage or its *z* stage. The same is true of the NP *ađına* 'Friday' → Chuv. *erne*, both occurring by the 13th century (the latter occurs twice with *-r-* in the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions); these loanwords help our chronology only for *d* > *r* and not for *z* > *r*.

More complicated is the question of the fate of the deep velar *q* in Arabic and Persian loanwords. For the sake of a chronological order, Scherner distinguishes three layers:

- AT *qarin* 'belly' ~ Chuv. *xıram* (original word)
- AT *qarindaš* 'brethren' Tat. → Chuv. *xurändäš*
- AT *qarindiq* 'peritoneum' → Chuv. *kärändik*

There is also a fourth layer:

- Tat. *kapka* 'gate, door' → Chuv. *xapxa*
- Tat. *qayır-* 'to throw' → Chuv. *xaydr-*
- Tat. *kašaga* 'border, curtain' → Chuv. *xašaka*
- Russian *gazeta* 'newspaper' → Chuv. *xašat*

The following pattern emerges:

- I. in original word *qa* > *xu*
- II. in loanwords *qa* → Chuv. *xa* > *xu*
 - qa* → Chuv. *xa*
 - qa* → Chuv. *ka*

As Scherner maintains, the last layer is clearly later than the *d* > *a* change. Before this change, Chuvash had no initial *ka-*. Either *kä* (later >

ka), or *xa* was substituted. This *a* could have been borrowed before the *a > u* change, or, given the Tat. *qa-* ~ Chuv. *xu-* after the *a > o, u* development was completed. After that, *xa* remained unchanged (as in *xapxa*, etc.). For this reason, the Arabic and Persian loanwords which have *q-* do not help us to work out the chronology of the *q > x* development. Theoretically, the Ar. *quwwa* 'strength' → NP *quwwat* → Chuv. *xāvat* could have occurred before the *q > x* development, but also after it, in which case we are dealing with a case of substitution. Theoretically, the Chuvash word *xēremealen-* 'to become red' can be a NP loan, a form of *qirmiz* 'purplish, red' (cf. Scherner, *op. cit.*, p. 80) but in this case, under the influence of the Chuv. *xēr-* 'to be hot, to be red', *xērlē* 'red' it would have developed into *x-* irrespective of the fact that it had been borrowed with a *q-*.

Connected with the problem of the chronology of *q > x* and *d > δ > z* is a word in Ibn Fadlan's work. As is well known, Ibn Fadlan visited the Volga Bulgars in 921/922. The word *خلك* occurs¹² five times in his account of his journey. The word is the name for the birch tree, and occurs in the *Hudud al-ālam* (982-983) and in the writings of many other Persian and Arab authors mostly in the same form. The evidence in the *Hudud al-ālam* is of special interest: from it, we find that the tree grew in the land of the (Old) Khirghiz; from there, it was brought in great quantities. Birch was used in the manufacturing of weapons (bows, arrows, spears, etc.), of various vessels, and its bark was used for writing on, and to make baskets. Marwazi (of 1120) remarks that *خلك* is the most widely-spread tree in the land of the Bulgars. The word can be found in *Kāšgarī* as well. He states that the word is spelled *qadīn* in Kharakhanid, but the Yaghma, Tukhsi, Kipchak, Yabāyu, Tatar, Khay Chumul and Oghuz call it *قايىن* *qāyīn* (see Clauson, p. 602). Clauson remarks that perhaps it is a Persian loanword not translated in the ordinary dictionaries of either language. Doerfer (*loc. cit.*) regards the Persian word as a Turkish loan. Since we have *xurān* in Chuvash, in Tuvinian *xadīn*, *xazīn* in Khakass and Shor, and *xatīn* in Yakut, while we have *qayīn* in most other Turkish languages, it is surely a very old word in Turkish. For reasons of natural geography, we can hardly assume it to be an early Persian or Iranian word. The very early spread of this commercial word raised doubts about the usefulness of Ibn Fadlan's data to arrive at a chronology of the *q > x* change in OB. It could be argued that Ibn Fadlan may have known the word already before

¹² See A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*. Leipzig 1939 (reprint 1966), in a special excurs on pp. 211-215. See also Doerfer *TMEŃ* III, pp. 183-194, for further data.

his visit, and in this case the χ - would not necessarily reflect a LOB χ -. If we opt for this interpretation, the χ - here reflects a Turkish q - > χ - (and not an Iranian χ -, as do *ḡan*, *ḡayan*, *ḡatun*, etc.). But if the initial χ - in this word had become established in other Turkish languages, it is unlikely that Kāšyārī, who noted χ - in other cases, would have failed to remark on it. Therefore we can assume with some probability that the initial χ - in Ibn Fadlan's word reflects either a Khazar or a Volga Bulgar χ -. If θ - had already been $-r$ - in the language of the Volga Bulgars Ibn Fadlan would hardly have missed noting it.

Although a great deal of work has been done on some important details, a thorough investigation of Ibn Fadlan's work as a source of Chuvash linguistic history is an urgent task still to be accomplished.¹²² Mead is called *سمو* by Ibn Fadlan. This has to be read as *sūmū*. In this word, the θ - is still an affricate, while the final $-g$ has already disappeared (cf. OT *sūdig*, Clauson, p. 796). The goblet in which the *sūmū* is kept during the wedding ceremonies is called *سارج* which Togan corrected to read *سارخ*. The word is listed in Kāšyārī as *sayraq* 'cup, goblet' and is a diminutive of *sayir*. The latter is surely a Persian loanword — as Clauson has noted (cf. P. *سافر* *sāḡar*). Ibn Fadlan's *sāḡraḥ* reflects a Volga Bulgarian form *sayray* — if Togan's emendation is correct. But the form *sayraḥ* would also be possible, analogously to the Tu. *baḡir* 'copper' > *baḡraḥ* 'kettle (of copper)'. The name of the river in the "land of the Bashkirs" Ibn Fadlan writes as *سوح* (*Suḥ*) the present *Sok*. This is conclusive evidence of $-q$ > χ in this region, and thus *sayrayḥ* is phonetically possible. The name of the river Čeremšan Ibn Fadlan wrote as *حرمسان*. The river is called Šarāmsān in contemporary

¹²² We have to be very cautious with Ibn Fadlan's linguistic data. Not only because of the possible scribal errors, of the slips made by the later copyists (one such slip is the $-n$ on the end of *Suwar*, which, amended to $-z$ by Kovalevskij, brought the word into connection with the ethnic name Chuvash, an impossible hypothesis for several reasons), but also because he might have misunderstood the local informants, especially as he knew no Turkish and used interpreters. One of them was Tekin al-Turki and the other Bārs al-Šaqlabi, i.e. a "Turk" and a Bulgarian (for the Saqaliba-Bulgarian problem, see Czeglédy, *Zur mescheder Handschrift*, pp. 227-231). Now Bars is written once in the MS as *فارس* *Fars*, and Togan (p. 17) considered him as identical with the *فارس بن يناد* *Fārs ibn Yanāl* mentioned in 325 A. H./936-937 A. D. *Yanāl* is perhaps to be read as *Yīnal*, and is the OT title *Yīnal* (see Clauson, p. 189). One of the leaders of the Oghuz is called by Ibn Fadlan (or his interpreter) as *بنال الصغير* "the minor Yīnal". In this case, we would have a good parallel to *iltever* ~ *yiltever* (see below p. 166-167). But even in this case we do not know whether the title was pronounced *yīnal* in the language of the Oghuz, or was only explained to Ibn Fadlan this way by one of his interpreters.

Chuvash.¹³⁴ Another river name is حاشير. Whether or not the latter is identical with Jauširma, Yäuširma in the Čistopol rayon,¹³⁵ here, as in the former river name, we have an affricate in initial position, one which became *š*- in Chuvash.

The Arabic sources call our attention to another important source for a study of LOB. Ibn Rusta (cca 930) wrote that the Volga Bulgars had no money, but used marten furs in their commercial dealings. One marten fur was exchanged for two and a half dirhem. The white, round dirhems were procured from the territories of the Islam. Not much earlier, in 921 A. D., Ibn Fadlan related that when he met the ruler of the Bulgars, the ruler greeted him by throwing dirhems on him. These, of course, could well have been imported. We know a lot about the dirhems minted by the Volga Bulgars from the works of Fraehn,¹³⁶ R. Vasmer,¹³⁷ and Janina.¹³⁸ The most important new finding is a coin bearing the name of Jafar ibn Abdallah, i.e. Almuš, the ruler whom Ibn Fadlan met. (See note 107.) Since the names of the Samanid emir Ismail ibn Ahmed (892-907) and of the Caliph al-Muktafi (902-908) can be identified on the coin, the date of its emission can be fixed to have been between 902 and 907 (see Janina, *op. cit.*, p. 181). The coin was found in 1956 in Novgorod, another evidence of the close contacts between the Russians and the Volga Bulgars. In her present paper,

¹³⁴ For the details, see Róna-Tas, *A Volga Bulgarian*, pp. 164-166.

¹³⁵ See Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*, p. 38, G. V. Jusupov, *Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskiju epigrafiku*. Moskva-Leningrad 1960, p. 76, Egorov, *Ėtim. Sl.*, p. 226 ff.

¹³⁶ C. N. Fraehn, *De numorum bulgaricorum forte antiquissimo commentationis critico-philologico-historicae, liber secundus*. Casani 1816.

¹³⁷ R. Vasmer, *Beiträge zur mohamedanischen Münzkunde II. Über die Münzen der Wolga-Bulgaren: Numismatische Zeitschrift* 58 (1925), pp. 63-84; R. R. Fasmer, *O monetach volžskich bolgar X. veka: Izvestija Obščestva Archeologii i Ėtnografii* 33 (1928), pp. 29-60. On the distribution of the Volga Bulgarian coinage, see also R. R. Fasmer, *Ob izdani novej topografii nachodok kufičeskich monet v Vostočnoj Evrope: Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR Otd. Obšč. nauk, ser. 7* (1933), pp. 473-484. Bálint Cs. has kindly called my attention to the following two publications: A. A. Bykov, *Three Notes on Islamic Coins from Hoards in the Soviet Union. In Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History*. Ed. D. K. Kouymjian, Beirut 1970, pp. 203-210. In a hoard found at Kohtla-Järve (Estonia), a coin was found which can be dated to 365 A. H./975-976 A. D. On it the name of Suwar is written with an emphatic *š*. This emphatic *š*, as has already been pointed out by Kovalevskij, is also to be found in Idrisi's work. V. V. Kropotkin, *Torgovye svjazj volžskoj Bulgarii v X. v. po numizmatičeskim dannym: In Drevnie slavjane i ich sosedj*. Ed. Ju. V. Kucharenko, MIA 176 (1970), pp. 146-150 gives a good overview of the distribution of VB coinage.

¹³⁸ S. A. Janina, *Novye dannye o monetnom čekane volžskoj Bulgarii X. v.: In Trudy Kuzbičevskoj archeologičeskoj ekspedicii IV*, Moskva 1962, MIA 111, pp. 179-204.

Janina has clearly shown the Samanid origin of early Volga Bulgar coinage, a fact of great importance for the way the early Persian and Arabic loan-words came to reach the Bulgars.

Recently, Linder Welin¹³⁹ has found a coin in a collection in the parish of Högdarve, Rone in Gotland, Sweden. The hoard was hidden around 1000 A. D. The coin was dated, with some hesitation, at 365 A. H. (975–976 A. D.). It is from the time of the Bulgar ruler, Mu'min ibn al-Hasan, and bears his title: *بالمين*. All other, hitherto known coins of Mu'min Ibn al-Hasan were issued in 366 A. H.¹⁴⁰ with a Bulgar inscription, but did not bear the title of the king. There is, however, one coin¹⁴¹ on which something like *بالمين* or *بالمين* has been read on the various specimens. R. Vasmer has thoroughly investigated the two specimens kept in the Hermitage in Leningrad, and the one belonging to the collection of Leningrad University. He was sure that the first two and the last three letters were *بالمين*. The third letter he tentatively read as *ر*, and identified the word with the *بالمين* of Ibn Fadlan, assuming that *ز* stand for *ظ*. The word *بالمين* became the subject of lengthy discussion. Kovalevskij,¹⁴² and Togan (*op. cit.*) read it as *yiltivar*. Czeglédy¹⁴³ finally identified this word with the Turkish title *ilteber*, supposing an OB form with a prothetic *y*-. Czeglédy read the second part of the word with a back vowel because of the use of the emphatic *ط*. On the coin discussed by R. Vasmer, in front of the word he read as *بالمين* there stands the title *الامير*. Janina (*op. cit.*, p. 187) found it very unlikely that another title would occur after the title, and therefore rejected Kovalevskij's and other proposed readings. She suggested reading *الامير بارسال* as *al-amir Barsal*, i.e. the Emir of the Barsulas. For my part, I see no problem in the conjoining of an old and a new title by the Bulgarian ruler. While retaining his old title (got from the Khazars) he added the new one which he got from Ibn Fadlan's mission in the name of the Caliph. In the Secret History of the Mongols, the Kereit ruler To'oril is called Ongqan. The first

¹³⁹ U. S. Linder Welin, *Volgabulghariska furstar i svenska silverskatter: Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 1967, pp. 170–172. I am indebted for this data to Miss S.-L. Mäki.

¹⁴⁰ See R. R. Vasmer, *O monetach*, Nos 18–23, Janina, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–192.

¹⁴¹ R. R. Vasmer, *O monetach*, pp. 54–59.

¹⁴² I had only the second edition of Kovalevskij's Ibn Fadlan edition; see *Kniga Achmeda ibn-Fadlana o ego putestvii na Volgu*. Charkov 1956; the first edition was published in 1939. See also his *Čuvaki i bulgari po dannym Achmeda ibn-Fadlana: UZÖ*, 9 (1954), pp. 3–83.

¹⁴³ Czeglédy K., *Egy bolgár török yiltavar mellősdőnév* (A Bulgar Turkish Title: *yiltavar*): *MNy* XL (1944), pp. 179–186, and *Zur mescheder Handschrift von Ibn Fadlans Reisebericht: AOH* I (1950), pp. 217–280.

part of the title is the Chinese *wang* given to allied rulers; while *qan* is an old title used also by the Mongols. In the Secret History, To'oril is most frequently called simply Ongqan i.e. by title only, without his name. A similarly hybrid title is to be read on a coin studied by R. Vasmer where, most probably, *الامير كترار* has to be read as *al-amir yiltever*. I see no good reason for reading the second part of the word with back vowels. It is true that in later usage, the emphatic Arabic letters were used for words containing back vowels. This was true also in the case of most of the Volga Bulgar inscriptions. But this was not yet practice in the 10th and 11th centuries (Suwar is mostly written with *sin*, and only rarely, and later, which *qād*) and was not followed by, for example, Kāšyari. The emphatic character can be due to the preceding *-l-*. The title *yiltever* is surely of Khazar origin; but the Khazar *yiltever* and the Turkish *ilteber* ~ *elteber* is not necessarily of Turkish origin. We cannot tell whence the prothetic *y-* originated. We can be sure, however, that *y-* in initial position was possible in the language of the Volga Bulgars. And since in place of the Common Turkish *y-* we find *j-* in Volga Bulgar, the existing *y-* initials could only be prothetic. The word is further evidence for the existence of *-v-* in intervocalic position.

On some coins, the place of issue is given. We find *بلجار* and *سوار*. The first place is *Bulyar*, the third, *Suwar*. The second was identified by Janina (*op. cit.*) as Biljar. In any case, we have to read the form *B.lar*. *B.lar* is well known from pre-Mongolian times. In the Hungarian chronicle written by Anonymus, we find the geographical name *terra bular* (Chapter 57) from where — with many other Moslems — came the noblemen *Billa/Bylla* and *Bocsu* (read *Boksu*), who were brothers. The latter had an offspring *Ethey*. From the same territory came a Moslem with the name *Heten*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ J. Németh in a paper entitled *Das wolga-bulgarische Wort baqsi "gelehrter Herr" in Ungarn*. In *Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* V (1973), pp. 165-170 identified the name *Bocsu* with Tu. *baqsi* < Chinese. The name *Billa/Bylla* had earlier been identified by Gy. Györfy *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről* (Studies on the Origins of the Hungarian State), Budapest 1959, p. 81, with the Turkish title *boyla*, which Németh accepted. For *Ethey* and *Heten*, Németh tentatively suggested a connection with the Tu. *ed* 'property, etc.', assuming that both names are of the same origin. The etymology of *Bylla* is very plausible, that of *Bocsu* possible but not without some difficulties. The last two names can hardly be connected with *ed*. Here, I would only call attention to the initial *h-* of *Heten*, which can not be a Hungarian orthographical peculiarity (a "superfluous" *h-* is used in early Hungarian orthography, but this word is known from present geographical names with an initial *h-*). If the name is of Volga Bulgarian origin, we have here one of the earliest data on the Volga Bulgarian *q > x*.

In the Chronicle of Simeon de Kéza, written around 1283 relying on older sources, we come across the name *Belar*. *Belar* was the name of a man who lived close to the Maeotis with his sons. The eponymous ancestors of the Hungarians Hunor and Magor abducted the wives of Belar's sons. Belar has long been identified by Hungarian scholars with the name Bulgar, and the story was taken as a legendary reminiscence of the early Bulgar-Magyar contacts around the Azovian Sea. The Hungarian/Latin forms *Bular*/*Belar* can be connected with early place-names in Hungary: *Bolar* 1268 and *Belar* 1291.¹⁴⁵ The form *Bular*, *Bolar* is present also in the post-Mongolian sources (on its occurrence in maps, see J. Tardy's paper in this volume). It has to be added that in the same Hungarian chronicles, the name Bulgar denoted the Danube Bulgars. But in the *relatio* of Friar Julian, who visited the Volga Bulgars in 1235, this country is called *Magna Bulgaria*.¹⁴⁶

I should like to conclude this review of the sources of LOB with a brief look at the work of Kášyari. The relevance of Kášyari's data on the Bulgars and Suwars has been discussed by Benzing¹⁴⁷ and Pritsak.¹⁴⁸ According to Benzing, Kášyari's data pertain to the Chuvash-type languages. According to Pritsak, Kášyari had no first-hand data on the Volga Bulgars; his data originate from merchants living in Bulgar and Suwar, but not speaking a Chuvash-type language. Pritsak's arguments are convincing, and I would add only one more. The word *ǰǰi azag* 'foot' cannot be a LOB word, not because of its -z-, but because of its final -g. In Kášyari's time, the final -g was already either -χ or -γ > θ (see Chuv. *urā* < *aziγ < *adaq*). The same holds true of *qanaq* 'butter'. There is, however, a remark of Kášyari which deserves more attention than Pritsak gave it. Kášyari writes: "Some

¹⁴⁵ The historico-geographical data are collected in: Kristó Gy.-Makk F.-Szegeő Gy., *Adatok "korai" helyneveink ismeretéhez* (Some Data on "Early" Hungarian Place-names): *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Acta Historica* 44 (1973), pp. 14-15. Györffy in a paper (*MNy* XLVII [1951], p. 49) has called attention to the fact that a place Billa was called Bolar in 1268.

¹⁴⁶ There are two accounts of Friar Julian's journeys. The first was written by Friar Riccardus on Julian's first journey. Most of the scholars do not doubt that Riccardus' account does contain historical facts, only D. Sinor, *Un voyageur du treizième siècle: le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie*: *BSOAS* 14 (1952), pp. 589-602 expressed a sceptical view. In the first account, we find *Magna Bulgaria*; in the second, written by Julian himself, the *bulgari* are mentioned. Cf. H. Dörrie, *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen*. Göttingen 1956.

¹⁴⁷ Review on O. Pritsak's *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste*: *ZDMG* 108 (1958), pp. 427-430.

¹⁴⁸ O. Pritsak, *Kášyari's Angaben über die Sprache der Bulgaren*: *ZDMG* 109 (1959), pp. 92-116.

of the Kipchaks, and the Yimeks and the Suvars and the Bulgars and those who live in the vicinity of Rus and Rum put a *ǰ* (in place of *ǰ*)". I think this remark refers to a feature which we would now call areal. Since we have conclusive evidence that $d > \delta > z > r$ took place in Chuvash (see P. *ađina* → Chuv. *erne* 'Friday', and Ar. *bez* → Chuv. *pir*) we can be sure that there was a time when they used "a *ǰ*"; instead of "ǰ". This, as we have seen, must have been before 1230. I see no reason why the -*z*-grade of LOB could not pertain to the kind of areal feature that Kāšyari refers to. This would mean that we have a *terminus post quem* for the $z > r$ change; thus, we can assume that the $(d) > \delta > z > r$ change occurred in the period between 1072 and 1230.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ The sources of Middle and New Bulgarian will be dealt with in another paper. I would only like to remark here that the overwhelming majority of the Chuvash loanwords in Cherevskas pertain to the Middle Bulgarian period and will, therefore, be dealt with in the forthcoming paper. The Volga Bulgarian language reflected by the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions pertain also to the Middle Bulgarian period. The earliest such inscription is dated 1281. I do not agree with those who consider the VB material in the inscriptions as a "dead", "sacred" language. On the other hand it is clear that most of the words are rendered with a more or less standard orthography and the orthography shows many consistent traits which surely developed earlier than their use in the inscriptions.

А. Рона-Таш

ЯЗЫКОВОЕ ВЛИЯНИЕ МОНГОЛЬСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ XIII-XIV ВВ.

Ранняя история монгольской империи имеет богатый фонд письменных источников. Эти источники делятся на две большие группы. В первую группу входят источники, написанные монголами или составленные под их надзором. Вторую группу составляют письменные источники тех народов, с которыми монголы имели непосредственные или косвенные связи. Хотя большинство этих источников историкам хорошо известно, мы еще далеки от того, чтобы иметь в каждой области обработку этих материалов, удовлетворяющую современным требованиям. Таким образом хотелось бы лишь отметить, что среди источников того времени, касающихся истории монголов, может быть самый старый сохранившийся текст - это донесение венгерского монаха Юлиана за 1237 год. Донесение было опубликовано в Венгрии в 1937 году Bendefy 1938, затем вскоре и на русском языке Ш. Р. Аннинский 1940, а недавно вышло и его немецкое издание Dörrie 1956. Хотя монгольские отношения донесения были изучены уже многими Sinor, Ligeti, Györfy, Dörrie, его углубленный анализ с точки зрения монгольской истории еще лишь предстоит. Этот источник показывает многие параллели с текстом Петра Жеро-вича, игумена киевского Спасо-берестовского монастыря 1245 и был написан на десять лет раньше, чем хорошо известный доклад Платона Карпини. В донесении Юлиана сохранилось, к сожалению, только в переводе, то письмо, которое было написано "ханом" либо Эгедеем, либо Батыем "языческими буквами, но на татарском языке" венгерскому королю. Если Rachewiltz 1976 прав в том, что знаменитый "Камень Чингиса", известный также под названием "Яйсунгке-надпись", относится не к 1224-25 годам, как предполагали раньше, а примерно к 1250 году, то письмо в донесении Юлиана, правда, известное нам лишь в переводе, является самым старым памятником монгольского языка, поскольку оно на три года опережает монгольские строки Тэрегене.

Здесь мы намерены рассмотреть другую группу источников, которая, хотя до сих пор и была хорошо известной, но ее историческая оценка не стояла в центре исследования. Как известно, монгольская империя оказала не только политическое, общественное, экономическое и культурное влияние на историю Евразии, ее влияние отражается также во всех языках, с носителями которых монголы состояли в непосредственных или косвенных контактах. Вопрос можно ставить и следующим образом: к каким историческим выводам приводят нас среднемонгольские заимствования евразийских языков?

Чтобы на этот вопрос дать исчерпывающий ответ, необходимо было бы провести совместную монографическую работу ученых многих стран. В данной статье нам хотелось бы высказать лишь некоторые предварительные мысли относительно такой монографии, возможной в будущем.

Вопросу о среднемонгольских заимствованиях посвящена обширная литература. Среди важнейших работ должны быть отмечены следующие среднемонгольские элементы в корейском Pelliot 1930, Lee 1964, в китайском Serruys 1967, в тибетском Laufer 1916, в маньчжурском Санжеев 1930, Ligeti 1960, в тунгусском Poppe 1972, Цинциус 1975, 1979, в персидском Doerfer 1963 и в венгерском Németh 1953, Ligeti 1962 языках. Что касается монгольских заимствований русского языка, то можно указать отчасти на этимологический словарь Фасмера, русское издание которого под руководством Трубачева содержит богатую литературу, отчасти же на работы Бенгеса. Многочисленные труды посвящены среднемонгольским элементам тюркских языков. Из обобщающих работ выделяются этимологические словари Рясенена и Севортяна. Среди крупных трудов о среднемонгольских заимствованиях в отдельных тюркских языках можно отметить: в якутском Kažužiński 1961, в тувинском Poppe 1968, в чувашском Róna-Tas 1982, в караймском Zajaczkowski 1956, в куманском Poppe 1962, в казахском Конкаспаев 1962, в киргизском Юнусалиев 1959, в турки Róna-Tas 1966, в башкирском Ишбердин 1979. Хотелось бы отдельно отметить недавно вышедшую книгу В.И. Рассадина "Монголо-бурятские заимствования в сибирских тюркских языках" 1980 и упомянуть еще не опубликованную диссертацию венгерской исследовательницы Ева Чаки о монгольских заимствованиях татарского языка. Множество очерков посвящено тематическим группам слов, и почти необозримо количество работ, исследующих то или иное слово или термин. Накопленный материал очень богат. В то же время необходимо указать и на то, что есть еще важные, и пока нерешенные задачи. Мы не располагаем удовлетворяющими обработками в области ранних тюркских литературных языков хорезмийского, чагатайского или староузбекского, турки, староосманского. А что касается тибетского языка, то вышеупомянутая работа Лауфера, несмотря на ее значительные достоинства, давно устарела.

Научный уровень разных исследований, разумеется, весьма различен. Есть среди них и выдающиеся работы, но также такие, в которых говорится просто о "параллелях" и не различаются древние, старомонгольские и новомонгольские соответствия. Вместо критического анализа предшествовавшей литературы нам здесь хотелось бы высказать несколько замечаний методологического характера.

1. Среднемонгольское происхождение того или иного слова имеет преж-

де всего лингвистические фонетические и морфологические критерии, которые могут быть установлены лишь в результате основательного знания истории и источников монгольского языка. Поэтому метод сопоставления слова с формами, выписанными из современных монгольских словарей, следует признать неправомерным. Необходимо учитывать также и среднемонгольские диалекты. Конечно, имеется немалое количество слов, у которых нет явных языковых критериев, по которым можно было бы считать их среднемонгольскими.

2. Необходимо принимать во внимание также структуру и историю заимствования языка. Так, например, в современном тибетском разговорном языке Лассы слово со значением "урточная служба" или "почтовая служба" звучит как wū. Оно восходит к ранней тибетской разговорной форме wulā. Тибетское слово в принципе могло быть заимствованием среднемонгольского ula'a, ulā или тюркского ulaq. Однако, учитывая данные истории тибетского языка, засчитывается только тюркское слово, а монгольское происхождение отпадает. Современная же тибетская форма umusu "чулки", напротив, соответствует литературному монгольскому слову oyimasun, а не тюркскому оута. Следовательно, данное тибетское слово монгольского, а не среднемонгольского происхождения, поскольку в среднемонгольском оно имело начальное h- hoyimasun. Начальное среднемонгольское h-, которое, как известно, в монгольском языке исчезло, в тибетском сохранилось, например, в слове hulan "красный" ср. среднемонг. hula'an. Тибетское слово umusu происходит из одного из южномонгольских диалектов.

3. Согласно историко-лексикологическому критерию, если то или иное слово встречается в каком-либо немонгольском языке еще до среднемонгольского периода, то оно не может считаться среднемонгольским заимствованием. Правда, тюркское слово ṣaqir "пепельно-светлый" о глазах монгольского происхождения ср. ṣā- "быть белым", но так как оно встречается в произведении Махмуда Кашгарского 1072-74, то оно не может быть среднемонгольским заимствованием. Возникает вопрос, куда же следует отнести слова, происходящие из монгольского языка киданов. Дело в том, что кара-кидани, постепенно ставшие тюрками, несколько монгольских слов передали своим соседям, и этот процесс закончился в начале XII века. Таким словом могло быть и ṣaqir.

4. Помимо лингвистических и историко-лексикологических критериев, могут помогать и критерии семантические. Терминология какого-то типично монгольского учреждения обычно монгольского происхождения. Иштван Вашари в своей недавно защищенной диссертации, посвященной дипломатии Золотой Орды, указал на несколько таких терминов монгольского происхождения см. Vásáry 1976, 1978.

5. Следует различить слова, заимствованные из живой разговорной речи, то есть настоящие заимствования, от глосс, цитат, терминов, употребляемых как иностранные слова. Так, например, если в труде Рашид-ад-Дина, написанном на персидском языке, мы читаем, что "у монголов есть обычай называть младшего сына otči'in см. Doerfer 1963, 156, то это слово не является среднемонгольским заимствованием в персидском языке.

6. Значительная часть среднемонгольских заимствований попала из монгольского в данный язык не непосредственно. Так, например, подавляющее большинство среднемонгольских элементов чувашского языка вошло в чувашский через татарское посредство ср. Porre 1977, Róna-Tas 1982. Современное чувашское слово чуптар "игреневый о масти лошади" является заимствованием татарского чаптар, а это последнее, в свою очередь, не что иное, как заимствование западносреднемонгольского ḡabdar, которое соответствует литературному монгольскому ḡabdur.

7. В случае опосредованного заимствования необходимо ставить и решать вопрос о том, через разговорный или литературный язык то или иное слово попало в данный язык. Слово Niugaere, встречающееся в хронике Отто фон Штейермарка, написанной между 1305 и 1320 годами, ср. Németh 1953 восходит в конечном итоге к западносреднемонгольской форме nöker. Но эта форма перешла в кыпчак-коман и оттуда, наверное, посредством венгерской латыни, попадает в немецкий.

8. Словарный состав монгольского языка состоит не только из древних монгольских слов. Среднемонгольским заимствованием может быть и такое слово, которое в конечном итоге тюркского, китайского или иранского происхождения. По мере возможности такое происхождение должно быть прослежено и указано. Так, например, слова paiza и baqṣi китайского происхождения, но в Евразии они распространились через монголов. Последнее слово baqṣi попало в монгольский не прямо из китайского, а из уйгурского.

9. Очень важно принимать во внимание распространенность среднемонгольского слова. Имеются слова, распространенные по всей Евразии. Таково, например, слово qara'ul, которое хорошо известно повсюду, от маньчжурского до суахили, и от русского до арабского. Другие слова распространились лишь на ограниченной территории, например, на территории Золотой Орды. На основе распространения того или иного слова можно делать выводы относительно обстоятельств заимствования. Так, например, в случае киргизского darqan "кузнец, уважаемый человек" может быть установлено не только его монгольское происхождение, но и то, что оно попало в киргизский эпос, в том числе и в "Манас", из языка монгольских

эпосов. То же слово в китайский язык, например, вошло из киданьского.

10. Следует учитывать и изменения значения того или иного монгольского слова, на различных этапах развития языка. Так, монгольское küregen "зять", которое уже в империи чингисидов обозначало знатного человека, входившего в царствующую династию, позже стало титулом.

11. Наконец, мы должны считаться и с кальками монгольского происхождения. Очевидно, что в случае тюркского basqaq и монгольского daruqa одно из них является калькой другого ср. тюркское bas- "давить" и монгольское daru- "давить". В последнее время происхождением данного слова занимался И. Вавари, и по его мнению, монгольское слово является калькой с тюркского. На основе исторических данных можно предположить, что здесь мы имеем дело с киданьским термином, который был заимствован монголами. А тюркское слово, которое возникло в языке кара-киданий, постепенно ставших турками, перешло от них в караханидскую империю, а потом к сельджукам и в Иран. Все это опять свидетельствует о важности учета киданьского языка.

Из сказанного выше следует, что языковое исследование монгольской империи, с одной стороны, требует чрезвычайно большой предосторожности, а с другой, обработка богатого материала обещает новые важные результаты.

Можно ожидать, что в результате работы мы получим новые данные, касающиеся особенностей государственной, политической, административной и военной систем империи. Выше уже были отмечены термины специального характера, как например, nöker, küregen, gara'ul, paiza, daruqa. Перечисление можно было бы расширить: kerbi, čayda'ul, čingsang, ong, šecen, qorči, kebte'ul, kesikten, noyan и т.д. и т.п. Этими терминами занимались многие и после фундаментального труда Владимирцова. Мы, в свою очередь, считаем необходимым здесь выделить еще группу другого типа словарного состава.

Основное значение монгольского глагола bolja- "договориться о сроке", из которого возникло boljai, boljar "определенный срок". Данное слово попало в тунгусский, персидский, грузинский и почти во все тюркские языки. Первоначально оно распространилось как военный термин и обозначало место и время встречи военных отрядов. Первоначальное значение монгольского слова arča "хитрость, обманчивость", а слово распространилось в значении "военная хитрость". Позже значение слова изменилось и в монгольском языке, и, как известно, оно в настоящее время имеет основное значение "способ, метод", то есть оно почти целиком утратило военное и отрицательное содержание своего значения. Монгольское слово maŋglai "чело, лоб" стало известным не как название части тела, а в

значении "передовая часть, авангард" армии. В то же время монгольское qoŋi'ūn "передняя часть губ и т.п." обозначало "продвиженный клин" в армии. В современном монгольском языке данное слово существовало до революции и в качестве наименования административных районов. В отличие от продвиненных отрядов, названием задних вспомогательных войск было dem, а заднее резервное войско называлось ge'ige. Основным значением этого последнего слова, как это было и в прошлом, является "коса волосы". Названия левого и правого крыльев - barūn'ar и ye'ūn'ar, последнее сохранилось и в названии Дзунгария. Центральный военный отряд назывался tol-qol, современное же значение этого слова - "центр, середина", однако и это слово распространилось как военный термин. Преследующая разбитого часть войска имеет название neke'ul, которое в обиходной речи значит "погоня, гонец".

Уже ранее отмечалось многими, что среди среднемонгольских заимствований поразительно велико количество слов, относящихся к терминологии коневодства. Причем эти слова заимствовались и такими языками, носители которых имели высоко развитое коневодство. Так, например, для названия трех- и четырехлетнего коней даже в турецком языке, где относительно мало среднемонгольских заимствований, употребляются слова ünan и dönen. То же самое можно сказать и о названиях масти лошадей. О слове ḡabidur уже говорилось, таковы же, например, еще слова küreng "коричневый, бурый", ye'erde "рыжий", qali'ūn "буланый"; из названий сбруи noŋta "недоузок", delbege "возжи", ḡiluga "поводья", ḡilbu'ur "повод". Среди заимствований фигурирует и монгольское aqta "мерин, холостенный жеребец", однако вряд ли можно предположить, что здесь речь шла о введении какой-то специальной формы коневодства, скорее всего этот термин был заимствован народами, служившими в монгольской коннице.

В таких заимствованиях дело не только в том, что с их помощью мы можем реконструировать организацию монгольского государства и войска XIII-XIV вв., но и в том, что можем получить данные об историко-общественном фоне заимствований. Такие заимствования всегда предполагают какое-то определенное двуязычие. Однако оно может быть различным по степени и характеру. В какой степени владели монгольским языком немонгольские народы империи чингисидов и какие слои общества были двуязычными? Это очень важные вопросы, которые пока ждут ответа.

В "Кодексе Куманикусе", написанном в 1324 году, встречается слово manlai. Grönbech 1942, издавший этот кодекс, приписывает этому слову немецкое значение Stirn "лоб". Форре в своей статье о монгольских заимствованиях команского языка отмечает, что слово со значением "лоб" команы заимствовали у монголов. Но здесь, в кодексе встречается и оригина-

нальное тюркское слово alın в том же значении. В подлинном тексте, помимо слова manlai, стоит латинско-итальянское frons. Это слово и в самом деле обозначает "лоб", однако уже у Тацита оно имеет значение "передовая часть", которое сохраняется и в средней латыни. В отличие от него, немецкое слово Stirn не имеет военного значения. В случае команского слова речь идет о том, что команы заимствовали слово в обоих значениях, а это указывает на высокоразвитую форму двуязычия. Об этом мы знаем и по свидетельству тюркских языков, в большей части которых происходило то же самое: военное значение постепенно померкло, и осталось лишь обозначение части тела, вытеснив оригинальное тюркское слово. Этот процесс был возможен только в том случае, если, как это мы предполагаем, довольно широкие массы были двуязычными. То есть положение было иное, чем, например, в Австро-Венгрии, где венгерские или чешские крестьяне выучивали несколько немецких военных терминов. Связи между монголами и тюрками были намного теснее. Вещественный и языковой фон слов, употребляемых первоначально как административные или военные термины, стал после XIV века постепенно исчезать. Значительная часть монгольского слоя вошла в тюрков, но большинство терминов продолжало жить, и это чрезвычайно важно и с точки зрения общего языкознания. Распространено мнение о том, что слова, принадлежащие к основному словарному фонду, не могут быть заимствованными. Данный тезис не без исключения, однако заимствования такого типа имеют свою вещественно-историческую основу. В нашем случае мы приводили пример на причину заимствования тюрками названий частей тела, имеющих среднемонгольское происхождение.

Заимствованные военные термины постепенно потеряли свое военное значение. Уже упомянутое монгольское слово bol'jal ныне в Поволжье обозначает "уговор о дне свадьбы". Монгольское слово nökör в XIII-XIV вв. имело значение "член вооруженного экскорта", как старое русское слово дружина ср. русск. друг. В современном чувашском языке слово нүкер, некер обозначает "дружка при женихе". Следовательно, эти военные термины стали очень мирными не только в современном монгольском, но и в тех языках, которые заимствовали их.

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ON THE HISTORY OF THE TURKIC AND
FINNO-UGRIAN AFFRICATES

BY

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In the Old Turkic loan-words of the Hungarian language, in the overwhelming majority of the cases Turkic *č* is represented by *š* (orthographically *s*) and in a limited number of words by *č* (orth. *cs*). Three explanations have been offered for this peculiar feature. According to the «classical» view accepted mainly on the authority of Gombocz¹, Hungarian *š* represents an

¹ There is a difference between his opinion published in 1912 (*Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, MSFOu 30, pp. 182-183) and that expressed in his last university lecture in 1930 (published in 1960 by L. Ligeti: *Honfoglalás előtti bolgár-török jövevényszavaink*, pp. 16-17). I quote the relevant passages, the second in English translation: «Das urtürk. *č* wird im tschuw. regelmässig durch *š* vertreten. Die doppelte Vertretung des urtürk. *č* im Ungarischen durch *cs* einerseits und *s* andererseits kann daher meines Erachtens nur so erklärt werden, wenn wir annehmen, dass der Wandel *č* > *š* im Altschuwasischen zur Zeit der Berührungen noch nicht in allen Mundarten (? nicht in allen phonetischen Stellungen) vor sich gegangen war. Da das tschuw. *š* < *j* im Ungarischen in allen sicheren Fällen (*szél, szemölcs, szérű, szőlő, szűcs*, vgl. 70 §) durch *sz* wiedergegeben wird, kann man nicht umhin anzunehmen, dass die ursprüngliche palatale Affrikata *čš* im tschuw. durch die Zwischenstufe *š* in *š* übergegangen ist, und dass ung. *sereg, seprő, borsó* u. s. w. altschuw. Formen, wie **šarik*, **šöpray*, **buršay* u. s. w. widerspiegeln.» «The Chuvash correspondences of Proto-Turkic *č* (= *čš*) is today *š*, e. g. Ottom. *čevir* ~ Chuv. *šavăr* «to turn», Ottom. *čifek* ~ Chuv. *šeske* «flowers», etc. The intermediate stage of the development *čš* > *š* was most likely **š*. To this point that the Hungarian reflex of Proto Turkic *č* is *s* (= *š*), while that of Chuvash *š* < Proto Turkic *j* is *sz*. In the word initial Proto Turkic *č* = Hung. *č* (...) in word middle position Proto Turkic *č* = Hung. *š* (...). All examples where to Common Turkic *č* Hungarian *cs* does correspond are either doubtful comparisons (...) or do not pertain to the earliest layer of the Chuvash type, but perhaps may be regarded as later, perhaps Khazar borrowings: *csat, csepű, csipa, csökönyös, biosak*. In the case of *csalán* (see 1214: villa *Soluhan*, 1234 *Salan*, EtSz. I, 836) and *kecske* < **keske* the *cs* could be a secondary Hungarian development.» Accordingly Gombocz in 1930 thought that all words with Hungarian *š* are of Chuvash origin and in some words with *č* a secondary Hungarian *š* < *č* change occurred. Paasonen in his review of the BTLw (NyK 42, 1913, p. 59) seems to accept Gombocz's view on *š* → Hung. *š*, however, he draws attention to the fact that Gombocz did not evaluate those cases where to PT *š* Hungarian *č* and *čš* correspond as in *boš* → Hung. *bocs(át)*, *bocs(dn)*, *bűcsű, bešik* → Hung. *bölcső, yemiš* → Hung. *gyűlöles*. Paasonen saw a possibility for reconstructing here an original Turkish *-čš*. Paasonen's proposal was

intermediate stage between OT ϵ and Chuvash δ , namely δ . Recently Bárczi² and Ligeti³ expressed their opinion, according to which Ancient Hungarian borrowed in all cases ϵ and the Hungarian δ is a secondary, dialectal, Hungarian development. T. Halasi-Kun⁴ forwarded a new hypothesis, he supposes that δ existed already in the original Turkic language and this Turkic δ reflects a $\epsilon > \delta$ development peculiar to some Kipchak and Siberian languages. Since all three hypotheses have an important bearing both on the history of the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian languages and their respective contacts, it seems to be appropriate to review the problem of the history of the affricates in the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian languages.

revived many times later on. Recently Ligeti (MNY 74, 1978, p. 271.) discussed the question and refuted the * ϵ proposed by Ramstedt and Poppe (JSFOu 38, 1922–23, p. 33) and the * ϵ of Doerfer (TMEN IV, 196) and insisted that in these cases Hungarian reflects a Turkic δ by (secondary) ϵ and ϵ is (an)organic (compensatory). Chuvash δ in such words as *šimēš*, *puš* are due to early borrowing of δ words from a Turkic language of non-Chuvash type. This implies that Old Chuvash could have δ -words already in the time of the Hungarian-Turkic contacts and Turkic δ (\sim Chuv. δ) \rightarrow Hung $\epsilon > \epsilon$ is indifferent to the question whether the word is of Chuvash origin or not. There can be no doubt about the possibility of early non-Chuvash Turkic loanwords in Chuvash, though, it seems doubtful that a long series of such words as *puš* 'head', *šimēš* 'meal', *fruits* could have been borrowed, particularly since Turkic δ regularly gives δ in Chuvash as Chuv δ 'swords' < *qilē* < *qilēš*, *pišē* (statarniki) < *bešē*, etc.

² Bárczi in his two fundamental works on Hungarian historical phonology (*Magyar hangtörténet*², Budapest 1958, pp. 116–117) and on the origin of the Hungarian lexical stock (*A magyar szókincs eredete*², Budapest 1958, pp. 74–75) already pointed to the problems involved here. He gave a more appropriate discussion of the question in: *Le traitement de δ et de ϵ turcs dans les mots d'emprunt turcs du proto hongrois*, *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, pp. 39–46. He writes. «Il est probable que le ϵ turc n'était identique — du moins dans les langues qui jouaient un rôle dans l'enrichissement du vocabulaire hongrois — ni au ϵ ni au δ hongrois. Les mots d'emprunt turcs devaient donc s'adapter au système consonantique hongrois par une substitution des sons. Deux solutions s'offraient. Ou bien le ϵ turc a été identifié à ϵ protohongrois et dans ce cas-là il a évolué plus tard en δ (= δ)... D'autre part le ϵ turc a pu s'identifier à δ protohongrois et alors il avait toutes les chances de rester un ϵ jusqu'à nos jours. Parfois la même mot peut présenter les deux variantes, ainsi *kis* et *kicsiny* 'petits' < t. *kici* (BTLw; Räsänen s.v. *kici*)» (op. cit., pp. 41–42).

³ See Ligeti, loc. cit. and MNY 72 (1976), pp. 22–23, where he discusses the Hungarian word *sajt* 'cheese' hitherto considered to be of Turkic origin. Ligeti pointed to the possibility that this word was directly borrowed from Alanian in the form * ϵ ixt, * ϵ ixt and this implies that the $\epsilon > \delta$ change occurred in Hungarian, not in the Turkic, but also in other early loan-words, e.g. Hungarian *vásár* 'market' ← Persian *vācār* already quoted in this connection by Bárczi (*Hangtörténet*, p. 117).

⁴ T. Halasi-Kun, *Kipchak philology and the Turkic loanwords in Hungarian I*, *AEMAE* I (1975), pp. 155–210.

The main lines and the history of the FU affricates are well known since the works of Setälä,⁵ Wichmann,⁶ Paasonen,⁷ Toivonen⁸ and others⁹. In the FU protosystem, an opposition of two voiceless affricates existed. The one was a kind of apical, post-alveolar consonant rendered for convenience by ζ the other a palatalized alveolar one rendered usually by $\dot{\zeta}$. Three phonetical features distinguished the two sounds: the place of their formation, the position of the tip of the tongue and the presence or absence of the palatal component. In general the FU languages have preserved the opposition by either retaining the affricate quality or by the opposition of the sibilants developed from them by spirantization.

Leaving aside some secondary developments, the picture is the following:¹⁰

Finnish

$*\zeta > *s > (*\chi ?) > h$
 $*\dot{\zeta} > *s > s$

Cheremis¹¹

	Ufa	Mount.	Medow	Malmyz	NW	Yoshk. Ola
$*\zeta$	ζ	ζ^{13}				
$*\dot{\zeta}$	$\dot{\zeta}^{12}$	c	ζ^{13}	$\dot{\zeta}$	c^{14}	c

⁵ E. N. Setälä, *Zur finnisch-ugrischen Lautlehre*; FUF 2 (1902), pp. 219–280, on the distinctive rôle of palatalization: p. 246.

⁶ Y. Wichmann, *Zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen anlautenden s- und s-Lauten im Tscheremissischen*; FUF 6 (1906), pp. 17–39. *Zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen anlautenden Affrikaten bes. im Ungarischen und im Finnischen, nebst einem Exkurs über die finnisch-ugrischen anlautenden Klusile*, FUF 11 (1911), pp. 173–289.

⁷ H. Paasonen, *Die finnisch-ugrischen s-Laute*, MSFOu 41, 1918. [= 1903].

⁸ Y. H. Toivonen, *Zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen anlautenden Affrikaten* FUF 19 (1923), pp. 1–289.

⁹ Gy. Lakó, *Proto-Finno-ugric sources of the Hungarian phonetic stock*, Budapest 1968, pp. 73–76. Hajdú P., *Bevezetés az uráli nyelvstudományba*, Budapest 1966, pp. 102–104. W. Steinitz, *Geschichte des finnisch-ugrischen Konsonantismus*, Stockholm 1952, pp. 26–29. B. Collinder, *Comparative grammar of the Uralic languages*, Stockholm, 1960, pp. 51–55 with further bibliography cited in these works.

¹⁰ I have normalized and unified the transcriptions. ζ renders $\dot{\zeta}$, $\dot{\zeta}$, etc., while $\dot{\zeta}$ is $\dot{\zeta}$, $\dot{\zeta}$, etc. I have treated only word initial position.

¹¹ See L. P. Gruzov, *Fonetika dialektov marijskogo jazyka v istoričeskom osveščeníi*, Yoškar Ola 1965, pp. 174–190. Gruzov clearly outlined the phonetical process as: $\zeta > \dot{\zeta} > c$ and $\dot{\zeta} > c$. «Put' šel, odnako, v tom i drugom vozmožnom slučae čerez smajag-čennuju affrikatu» (p. 186). The role of Chuvash was, according to Gruzov, in increasing the number of words with $\dot{\zeta}$. His view that the c of the NW and YO dialects is much older than c of Mountain Cheremis may be true, the datation to the 10th–11th centuries (p. 189) seems to me too early, see also Wichmann, FUF 1906, p. 30.

Mordvin¹⁵

	Erza	Moksha
* <i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>
* <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>

Votyak¹⁶

	Most dialects	Ufa, Kazan	Besermjan ¹⁷
* <i>ʃ</i> < <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)	<i>ʃ̥</i>
	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)	<i>ʃ̥</i>
* <i>ʃ̥</i> < <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)
	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)

Zyryan¹⁸

	Komi-Zyryan	Permyak
* <i>ʃ</i> < <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)
	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> (~ <i>ʃ̥</i>)
* <i>ʃ̥</i> < <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>
	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> ~ <i>ʃ̥</i>

Vogul¹⁹

	South	East	West	North
* <i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i> , (<i>a</i>)	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>
* <i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>

¹⁵ The phonetical description of Cheremis *ʃ̥* (cf. *Sovremennyy moryjskij jazyk. Fonetika*, Yoshkar Ola 1960, pp. 88–91) shows that the occlusive element is very weak, i.e. we have *ʃ̥* or even *ʃ̥*. The authors write on the experimental investigation of *ʃ̥*: *sočevidno éto javilos' prišinoj togo, éto inogda na palatogramme smyčka ego ne polučalas'* (p. 89). On the other hand, they remark that *ʃ̥* has no palatal component and even in front-vocalic words, where all consonants are more palatalized, *so smjagčastsja, hotja ego smjagčenie nosit neznaitel'nyj harakter* (p. 90).

¹⁶ Cf. Gruzov, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁷ See I. G. Ivanov, G. M. Tušarov, *Severno-zapadnoe narečie marijskogo jazyka*, Yoshkar Ola 1970, pp. 62–63.

¹⁸ H. Paasonen, *Mordvinische Chrestomatie mit Glossar und grammatikalischen Abriss*, Helsinki 1909, pp. 119–138. D. V. Bubrih, *Istoričeskaja grammatika erzjanskogo jazyka*, Saransk, 1953, pp. 17–18.

¹⁹ See T. E. Uotila, *Zur Geschichte des Konsonantismus in den permischen Sprachen*, MSFOu 65, 1933.

²⁰ T. I. Tepijašina, *Jazyk besermjan*, Moskva 1970, pp. 121–122, 130–145.

²¹ H. Katz, *Zur Entwicklung der finnisch-ugrischen Affrikaten und Sibilanten im Ugrischen*: ALH 22 (1972), pp. 131–153, *Noch einmal zur Frage der Entwicklung der finnisch-ugrischen Affrikaten und Sibilanten im Ugrischen*, SFU 9 (1973), pp. 273–290, Honti L., *Az ősoestjék affrikáták történetéhez*: NyK 81 (1979), pp. 71–88. I offer my

*Ostyak*¹⁸

	East	South	North	Obdorsk
*č	č	č ~ ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
*č	č'	č'	č	č

*Hungarian*¹⁹

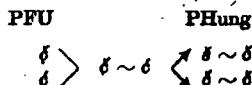
*č	ʃ
*č	č ~ ʃ

It is clear from this sketchy overview that, irrespective of the fate of PFU č and č' in the FU languages, the most important distinctive feature was and is the absence or presence of the palatal component. This opposition has been preserved in all FU languages with two exceptions: Hungarian lost the palatal element, while on the contrary, in some Cheremis dialects the palatalized pair of the doublet gained the upper hand.

Before offering a solution to the «deviant» Hungarian and Cheremis developments, some comments are needed on the Hungarian stock. In the new etymological dictionary of the FU stock of Hungarian basic words,²⁰ 28 words are cited with initial č (i.e. *cs*). Their FU etymology is labelled as sure (S), «possible» (P₁), «perhaps» (P₂) and «problematical» (P₃).²¹ Out of the 28 words only five are treated as S, but one of them²² has to be moved to the

sincere thanks to L. Honti for his help in giving a clear-cut overview of the rather complicated dialectal representations. As in other cases, only word-initial position is dealt with.

¹⁸ See Bárczi, *Hangtörténet*², pp. 116–117, Bárczi, in Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár, *A magyar nyelv története*, Budapest 1967, p. 112. Bárczi on loc. laud. gives the following picture:



L. Benkő in his *Magyar Nyelvújrástörténet*, Budapest 1957, p. 68 writes clearly on the Hungarian depalatalization č > č' > ʃ and adds: «To the fact that in the [Late Ancient] Hungarian, dialects with č and ʃ can be distinguished, indicates the behaviour of the Iranian and especially the Turkic loan-words in Hungarian. In these loan-words both foreign č and ʃ correspond to Hungarian č and ʃ according to the dialect in which they were adopted, i.e. č → č/ʃ, ʃ → č/ʃ. He also cites such doublets as Hungarian *kicsi* ~ *kis* «small» ← Tu *kičín*, *kiči*.

¹⁹ *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei* I, Budapest 1967.

²⁰ If the etymology is considered as sure no qualification is given. P₁ is *egyeztethető* «it can be compared with», P₂ is *talán egyeztethető* «perhaps to be compared with», P₃ is *vitatott* «controversial».

²¹ Hung. *csókol* «to kiss» is not labelled as P₁ though it has only two dialectal correspondences in Vogul and none in the other FU languages. The word is, as stated, clearly onomatopoeic, all other similar cases are given as P₁.

group P₁, so four remain. Twelve of the 28 are onomatopoeic, descriptive or from children's language, three have *ʃ and not ɕ origin,²³ 9 are P₁, 10 P₂ and 3 P₃. Out of 20 words with initial ʃ 11 are S, 7 of them go back to *ʃ, 2 to *ʃ²⁴ and 2 to *ʃ²⁵. From the P categories 5 point to *ʃ, 2 to *ʃ²⁶ and one either to *ʃ or to *ɕ.²⁷ To this we have to add that in intervocalic position

²³ *csegegy* «Keilförmiges Ackerfeld(dial)» < PFU *ʃenkʃ*, *csög II* «Holzklotz» P₁, perhaps identical with *csög I* «Knoten (am Holz)» P₁, both, if different, have PFU ʃ-, *csuk-* «sperrern» < PU *ʃukka*.

²⁴ *sért* «verletzen» < PUgr. *šarš*, *šily* «Škorbut, Geschwür etc.» PU *čikla*-, *čukla*, *čikla*-, *čukla*.

²⁵ *segg* «Arsch» < PFU *šāṅkx*, *šin* «Igel» PFU *šije-le*.

²⁶ **šög* «Hügel» P₂ < PFU *šīṅkā*, *čūṅkā*, *-šāg/šēg/šzāg* «nominal suffix, perhaps from an independent common word» P₂. Three etymologies are offered, one from a word with ɕ, the second with ʃ but the variant *-szāg* contradicts this, the third compares this word with **šög* above.

²⁷ *šir* «Grab» P₃, the word has only Cheremis parallels and there with ʃ. This Cheremis sound can go back to PFU ʃ, ɕ or s, but the latter two give zero initial in Hungarian, and ɕ became sz. The authors suppose a rare ɕ or ɕ > s > ʃ. The earliest occurrence of the Hungarian word in 1055 is *šihér*. I think that the Cheremis word is of Turkic origin. The Turkic word in question is *čuqur* «hole, cavity» (cf. Clauson, op. cit., p. 406, Doerfer, TMEN III, p. 81), Tat *čogor*, Bashk *soqor*, Chuvash *šāḱār*. The Chuvash word points to an earlier *šōkōr*. In fact both the Tatar and the Bashkir dialects have the word with front vowels, cf. Bashk (Karizel) *šōkōr* «ovrag», Tatdial *čogor*, *čoyor*, *čōgōrnek*, Tat-Paasonen *čoyor* (KSz III, 1902, p. 49). For the semantic development «Grube» > «Grab» the data of Ashmarin is very interesting. S. v. *šāḱār* he gives «grjaz', grjaz v bolote», but for the toponym *Šāḱār-var* he has to say the following (the text is a quotation coming from a local correspondent of Ashmarin in Verhnie Olgaši, Sundyr and is in Chuvash dialect): «*Šāḱār-var*ta *kiremet tunā čuaššam* (*tarān vopaška i vārman por*). *Aslā širma. Ėlĕk aval totara vĕlenĕ, on vĕrānĕ polnā kiremet. Totar vĕnĕ čox kaland: mana tiza parĕĕār, tenĕ. Kafan čuaššam tiza parsā porānnd vara. Yaĕĕ polnā vara Šāḱār-var* (Slover', XIII, p. 14) «In *Šāḱār-var* the Chuvash made a *kiremet* (there is a deep ravine and forest). It is a great ravine. Earlier a Tatar died there, on that place is the *kiremet*. When the Tatar was to die, he said: give me a horse. After this the Chuvash gave (offered) the horse there. The name of the ravine (where this happened) is (called) *Šāḱār-var*. Chuvash *var* is «ravine». To Chuvash ʃ the normal Cheremis correspondence is s-, but in a few words ʃ-. At our present knowledge it is very difficult to suppose that the Hungarian word is of Turkic origin — which would be of major importance in view of the Turkic burial customs of the Hungarians. On the strength of the Chuvash word, we could suppose an OT *čūkūr*, the disappearance of the -k- and the delabialization of the ü of the first syllable are difficult to understand. Of course, an early -k- > -ɣ- can be supposed, (see *čuyur* in the Codex Cumanicus «Grabens»), but so far too many hypotheses have to be postulated. The word occurs also in Iranian dialects (see Doerfer, loc. cit.) and I am not convinced that all of them are of Turkic origin.

*č > č̣ is a rare exception (only 3 sure examples),²⁸ while in the main we find š, s and their further developments.²⁹

A considerable group of Hungarian words does exist, which go back to Proto Ugrian *š (> Hung s), but they have, mostly in the Permian languages, a *č counterpart, so here we have to suppose an early *č > š development. This seems to be a partial (dialectal, areal) feature.³⁰ In PHung *č became either s or č̣. Later on in late PHung and early OHung č̣ became š with rare dialectal variants, but č̣ was retained in onomatopoeic words³¹ and this group was then extended by internal Hungarian developments. These changes, however, did not effect the main trend: *Hungarian lost the palatal component of *č (and š < *č, š) and in this respect it is the only FU language in which this change occurred.*

Proto Turkic had only one voiceless affricate: č̣. In place of the initial y, dž developed very early in some languages and later in others,³² but this only in initial position. This secondary voiced affricate does not concern our problem, so for the time being we can put it aside. There are three types of changes in PT č̣:

Type I: č̣ is preserved in all Southern (Ottoman, Turkmen, Azeri, and Gagauz), in all Eastern (Özbek, New Uygur, Turkestan, Salar, and Yellow Uygur) and in some Kipchak (Kirgiz, Karaim, Kumük, and Balkar) languages, and in a few Siberian dialects.

Type II: č̣ became š in Chuvash.

Type III: č̣ became š in the remaining languages.

It is worth while giving a more detailed picture of these languages and dialects beginning from the outmost east:³³

²⁸ *facsar* 'windens' < PFU *putz-r3-*, *öcs* 'der jüngere bruder' < PFU *ed3*, *vöcsök* 'Steinfuss, Podiceps cristatus' < PFU *wejde* (-jé-1), further *fecské* 'Schwalbe' < PFU *páčke*, but this was earlier Hung *feške*. If Hung. *dsit* 'eghnen' and *dcsorog*, *dcsingózik* 'sich sehnen, herumstelle' pertain together, than in the latter perhaps also *cs* < č̣.

²⁹ In the case of *nó* we find Hungarian *gy* (~ *ngy*) < *ndž*.

³⁰ Such are e.g. *szalad* 'laufens', *szar* 'Scheisses', *szeg* 'einsäumen', *szel* 'schneidens', *szú* 'Bohrenkäfer', *szürke* 'grau'.

³¹ I think that Fgr. č̣ is preserved mostly in onomatopoeics (cf. Steinitz, *Fiugr. Koms.* p. 26–27) and therefore I doubt the existence of a separate č̣-dialect.

³² I have no place here to go into details on PT y > dž. That this has to be an early change can be demonstrated by the Turkic loan-words in Old Mongolian (type *yaš* 'fresh, young' > *jal* → Mong. *jalayun*) and by the Turkic loan-words of Hungarian, where to OT y- Hungarian dž corresponds, which later developed into d' (orthog. *gy*) and even to d (see recently L. Benkő, *Az Árpádkor magyar nyelvű szövegeimlékei*, Budapest 1980, pp. 76–78 with a detailed discussion of the question and earlier literature).

³³ I treat below only word initial position. In many of the Siberian languages, the voiceless consonants are voiced in intervocalic position and after sonants.

<i>Jakut</i> ³⁴	<i>s</i>	Literary, Soyot ³⁵	Tofalar (Karagas) ³⁶
<i>Tuva</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	
		Lit., Sayai, Beltir, Koibal Kondakovo	Qacha, Salba, Hak.-Shor, Qyzył
<i>Hakas</i> ³⁷	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i> (some Qacha : <i>ʃ</i>)
<i>Shor</i> ³⁸	Most dialects <i>ʃ</i>	Lower Kondoma <i>s</i>	Kondoma <i>ʃ</i> ~ <i>ʃ</i>
<i>Chulim</i> ³⁹	Lower Chulim <i>ʃ</i>	Middle Chulim <i>ʃ</i>	
<i>Oirat</i> (Altai)	Tuba Kiži ⁴⁰ <i>ʃ</i> ~ <i>ʃ</i>	Kumandu Kiži ⁴¹ <i>ʃ</i> ~ <i>ʃ</i>	Literary ⁴² <i>ʃ</i>

³⁴ Cf. N. Poppe, *Das Jakutische* in: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 671–72, earlier literature, p. 677: *ʃ* > *s*. H. D. D'jačkovskij, *Zvukovoj stroj jakutskogo jazyka II. Konsonantizm*, Jakutsk 1977, pp. 22–30 with further literature.

³⁵ F. G. Ishakov, A. A. Pal'mbah, *Grammatika tuvinskogo jazyka*, Moscow 1961, pp. 82–83, *esil'no smjagčennyj šipjaščij soglasnyj* (p. 82).

³⁶ V. I. Rassadin, *Fonetika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan Ude 1971, pp. 46–47.

³⁷ O. Pritsak, *Das Abakantürkische (Chakassische)*, in: *Fundamenta*, p. 608. According to Joki in Kyzył *ʃ* is *chalpalatalisierter*, *apikokoronaler Laut*. Rassadin writes in *Mongolo-burjatskie zaimstvovanie v sibirskix turkskix jazykah*, Moscow 1980, p. 91, that the Qacha dialect has *s*. This is surely under the influence of Sagai. In Donner's material (cf. Joki, *Kai Donners kleinere Wörterverzeichnisse*, JSFOu 58, 1955–1956, pp. 18–25: *Katschatatarisch* from Abalakowa, 1914) we find *ʃ*.

³⁸ N. P. Dyrenkova, *Grammatika šorskogo jazyka*, Moscow 1944, pp. 17–18, O. Pritsak, *Das Schorische*, in *Fundamenta*, p. 633. It is interesting to remark that in some dialects around the Kondoma river back *ʃ* changes to front *i* after *ʃ* (Dyrenkova, p. 18).

³⁹ O. Pritsak, *Das Čulymtürkische*, in: *Fundamenta*, p. 623.

⁴⁰ N. A. Baskakov, *Dialekt černovyh tatar (Tuba-kiži)*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 22–23. According to Baskakov *ʃ* and *ʃ* are in free variation both in Tuba-kiži and in Kumandu-kiži.

⁴¹ N. A. Basakov, *Dialekt kumandincev (Kumandu-kiži)*, Moscow 1972, p. 28: «In some dialects *ʃ* (and *ʃ*)».

⁴² O. Pritsak, *Das Altaitürkische*, *Fundamenta*, p. 570: North *ʃ*, South *ʃ*. The three northern groups are: Tuba, Kumandu and Čalqan ~ Šalqan (i.e. the Lebed or Qū Tatars).

<i>Siberian Tatar</i> ⁴³	Kalmak	Eushtin-chat	Ory		
Tomak	c	č	č (~ c ~ s)		
Baraba c					
	Tümen	Tobol	Zabolotnyj Tevriz	Tara	
Tobol-Irtish	c	c	c	č	c
	Northern dialects		Southern dialects		
<i>Kazak</i> ⁴⁴	č		č		
<i>Nogai</i> ⁴⁵	č		č		
<i>Karakalpak</i> ⁴⁶	č		č		
<i>Bashkir</i> ⁴⁷ s					

⁴³ D. G. Tumaševa, *Dialekty sibirskih tatar*, Kazan 1977. I have followed the new grouping of Tumaševa.

⁴⁴ The theory that the Kazak (former Kirgiz) language has no dialects prevailed among linguists for a long time. This was accepted on the authority of Radloff, and was formerly also adopted by Melloranskij, who changed his opinion later after reviewing the grammar of Katarinskij (ZVOIRAO XI, 1897–1898, p. 361). Ignorance of Kazak dialects later hampered the studies on the dialects, and a systematic research began into the dialects only about 1937, the first results were only published after 1947. I have treated the areal features of Kazak, Karakalpak and Nogai in: *Notes on the Kazak yurt of West Mongolia*: AOH XII (1961), pp. 90–92. The literature on the č-dialects see there and further S. Amanžolov, *Voprosy dialektologii i istorii Kazahskogo jazyka I*, Alma Ata 1969, on č and the southern dialect pp. 238–239. The bibliography on Kazak dialectology see *Kazak dialektologijasi*, Almatı 1965, pp. 287–292 and earlier in the volumes *Voprosy istorii i dialektologii Kazahskogo jazyka I–IV*. On the dialect of the Kazaks living in W. Mongolia see B. Bazilhan, *Mongolijada turatın qazaqtardın tilindegi keybir ıergilikti ereklelikter* in: *Kazak dialektologijasi*, pp. 34–50, on č pp. 35–36.

⁴⁵ On č in Nogai, see N. A. Baskakov, *Nogajskij jazyk*, in *Jazyki narodov SSSR II*, Moscow 1960 p. 282.

⁴⁶ On č in the southwestern dialects of Karakalpak, see N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakskij jazyk II*, Moscow 195, p. 75. According to S. Wurm (*The Karakalpak language*, *Anthropos* 46, 1961, p. 497) č is present in the Kungrad subdialect and less frequently in the subdialect of Shakh Abas Bali. Menges, *Qaraqalpaq Grammar*, 1947, noted only Türkmen words as gũč (burden), while the original Karakalpak word is kũč (power) (OT kũč).

⁴⁷ The Bashkir dialectological material is summarized in: N. H. Maksjutova, *Vostočnyj dialekt baškirskogo jazyka*, Moscow 1976, and S. F. Miržanova, *Južnyj dialekt baškirskogo jazyka*, Moscow 1979. The PT č > Bashk. s is regularly represented in the dialects. Sporadically both p (voiceless, interdental spirant) interchange with s, original PT s became h in Bashkir, in a few cases secondary s (< PT č) take part in this. Bogorodickij (*Vvedenie v tatarskoe jazykoznanie*, Kazan' 1934, p. 61) supposed that Bashkir s (< PT č) emerged through c, and thus joins the Siberian dialects of Tatar.

Kazan Tatar⁴⁸ $\check{c} > {}^t\check{s} > \check{s}$

Central NE and S

Misher⁴⁹ $\check{c} > {}^t\check{s}$ $c > {}^t\check{s}$

If we project these data on the map, what we get is more a kind of a bundle of isoglosses. In the outmost NE the PT \check{c} reached the stage s . In the middle of Siberia we find $\check{c} > \check{s}$ where, with exception of Tofalar, \check{s} is very palatalized. The \check{s} is dominant in the northern Kazak, Karakalpak and Nogai dialects, however, in the South \check{c} has been preserved.⁵⁰ In West Siberia and

⁴⁸ H. Paasonen (*Zur tatarischen Dialektkunde*, KSz III, 1902, p. 47) writes: «Der \check{c} -Laut des Kasan-tatarischen ist in allen Stellungen in ein mouillirtes \check{s} übergegangen in the dialect of the Tatars in and around Tatarakie Jurtkuli, Spasek. The spirantization also occurred in place of Kazan Tatar $d\check{s}$, which became z . On $\check{c} > {}^t\check{s} > \check{s}$ as a dialectal feature see N. B. Burganova, L. T. Mahmutova, *K voprosy ob istorii obrazovaniya i izučeniya tatarskikh dialektov i govorov*, Materialy po tatarskoj dialektologii II, Kazan' 1962, p. 11, on the geographic distribution see Map No. 4 of the first and second volume of the *Dialektologičeskij Atlas Tatarskogo Jazyka* in *Materialy po tatarskoj dialektologii* III, Kazan' 1974 p. 242 and suppl.

⁴⁹ See L. T. Mahmutova, *Osnovnye harakternye čerty mišarskich govorov po territorii penzenskoj oblasti*, Materialy II, pp. 129–130 and map No 1. on p. 162. Unfortunately the Atlas does not distinguish among the variants where the occlusive element is weak or in disappearance, only \check{c} , \check{s} and c .

⁵⁰ The southern dialect is spoken in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, (see Amanžolov's map, *op. cit.*, p. 361) and their speakers pertained to the Kazak Great Horde (*Ulu ħus*). The literary language is based on the language of the Middle Horde (*Orta ħus*). The problem of the chronology of \check{s} in place of \check{c} is connected with the history of the mutual relationship among the Kazak groups. Since \check{c} is preserved in the outmost south and very far from it in the NE, in W. Mongolia, the question arises whether this relates to an archaic, preserved Kazak phenomenon or \check{c} is in both areas due to assimilation of local groups, or one territory has been settled by immigrants from the other. The Kazaks of West Mongolia pertain to the Kerei tribe. According to Potanin (*Očerki Severozapadnoj Mongolii II*, SPbg 1881, pp. 2–3) the Kazaks living along the Black Irtyš are divided into two groups. The Kara Kirei live in the eastern part of the Irtyš-Zaysan valley, the Abak-Kirei in the western part. The Abak-Kirei are also called Ašemaiili Kirei. According to Levšin and Aristov, the Kirei tribes pertain to the Middle Kazak Horde. Here we find the following tribes: Kerei, Uvak or Vak Kerei, Kara Kerei, Abak Kerei, Sibai Kerei, Kaban Kerei, Burlsarli Kerei, etc. (cf. Amanžolov, *op. cit.*, p. 9). In the Greater Kazak Horde no Kerei tribe is enumerated. In the Smaller Horde (*Kiži ħus*) of the West, perhaps the Kerderi and the Kereit tribes or their name could have something to do with Kerei, but this is uncertain and if so it has nothing to do with our problem. I would not become involved here in the problem of the origin of the name Kerei (cf. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarokd kialakulása*, Budapest 1930, pp. 264–268) or with the possible connections among Kerei, Kirei, Girei, Kereit, etc. If these ethnic names have anything to do with each other, this leads us into a period earlier than the formation of

in the Eastern Mishar dialects *c* is appearing. In the Mishar dialects *c* is present in the contact areas with the FU languages. Both in Mishar and in Kazan Tatar the occlusive element is weak or totally absent and whether we consider *ts* > *'s* or *tš* > *'š* > *š* both series have a strong palatal component (i.e. *tš*, *tš'*, *š*).

That means that in the contact area of the Turkic and FU languages from the Penza region up to South Siberia, the PT *č*, preserved or not, acquired a palatal element, while more to the south, where no considerable FU-T contacts can be supposed, the *š* was not palatalized or *č* remained *č*.

That all Turkic types of *č* where perceived as palatalized **č* can be shown by the Tatar loan-words in the FU languages. The Tatar loan-words joined the history of PFU *č* and not *č'*.⁵¹

Tatar **č* → PVogul **č'*⁵²
 PÖstyak **č'*⁵³
 PMordwin **č'*⁵⁴

the Kazak tribal union of the Three Hordes. From our point of view, it is sufficient to state that according to the data available, the Kazaks of W. Mongolia are not immigrants from the south, i.e. from the Greater Horde, but came from the Middle Horde, the language of which served as a basis for the formation of the Kazak literary language. It is of interest that these Kazaks, living together with the Oirat population of W. Mongolia, borrowed some words from these dialects (on them see G. Kara, *Notes sur les dialectes oirat de la Mongolie occidentale*, AOH VIII, 1959, pp. 118–168 with further literature). In this group original Mongolian *š* (< *ši*-) is substituted by Kazak *č*: Literary Mongolian *šiyumda* 'to draw a line' > Khalkha *šugamda*, Kalm. *šuyumda* → MKazk *šuyumda*-, LM *šilya* 'to examine' > Kh. *šalpa*-, Kalm. *šilya* → MKazk. *šilya*-, LM *šigümšile* 'to discuss, criticise' > Kh. *šlmdžile* → MKazk. *šükimšile*-, LM *šiyidke*-, *šiidke* 'to punish' > Kh. *šiytge*-, Kalm. *šide* (< *šigide*-) → MKazk. *šike* etc. (The MKazk. words cited after Bazilhanov, *op. cit.*). This substitution did not occur with non-initial Mongolian *š* which remained as such. The late Mongolian loan-words of MKazk. have a clear W. Mongolian (Oirat) character. It is impossible to suppose that the Kazaks of W. Mongolia once had an *š*, which they later abandoned in W. Mongolia and restored their original *č*. The Oirat dialects have *č* (< Mong *či*-) and otherwise the MKazk. dialects show clear Kazak phonetic and grammatical traits.

⁵¹ Special, secondary and sporadic features are not taken into account here. The material and the evaluation of the Turkic loanwords in the Uralic languages will be the subject of my forthcoming book *Uralic and Turkic*. See further a brief sketch: *Turkic and Mongolian influence on the Uralic languages* in: *Handbook of Uralic Studies*, ed. D. Sinor, in press.

⁵² A. Kannisto, *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Wogulischen*, FUF 17 (1925), pp. 1–264. Räsänen's review in FUFAnz. 19 (1928), pp. 82–84.

⁵³ H. Paasonen, *Über die türkischen Lehnwörter im Ostjakischen*, FUF 2 (1902), pp. 81–137 and the works of Steinitz.

⁵⁴ H. Paasonen, *Die türkischen Lehnwörter im Mordwinischen*, JSFOu. 15 (1897) pp. 1–64. A. P. Feoktistov, *K probleme mordovsko-tjurkskikh jazykovykh kontaktov: Étnogenez mordovskogo jazyka*, Saransk 1965, pp. 331–343.

PCheremis *č⁵⁵PVotyak *c⁵⁶

Since the Tatar loan-words cannot be earlier than the 14th century,⁵⁷ it can be concluded that the palatalization of the PT č continued at least from the 14th century on in the Volga region.

In the early Chuvash-type loan-words of Proto Permian PT č has a double representation: *č and *j.⁵⁸ This shows that the early Chuvash immigrants in the Volga—Kama region from the 9th century on⁵⁹ had also adjusted their system to the FU palatal č. This č became later j, but Chuvash developed (most probably in the 14th century)⁶⁰ a secondary č from the sound combination PT *ti.

The great influx of Chuvash loan-words into Cheremis caused basic changes in its phonemic system. This was later superseded by the Kazan Tatar influence. Since both had only a palatal č it is now clear that why did some Cheremis dialects lose their opposition č: j in favour of j. In the Volga

⁵⁵ M. Räsänen, *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter in Tscheremissischen*, MSFOu 50 (1923) In his *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkesprachen*, Helsinki 1969, Räsänen has corrected many of his earlier etymologies.

⁵⁶ A historical overview: I. V. Tarakanov, *Istorijsk-izučenijsk udmurtsko-tjurskich jazykovykh kontaktov*, SFU 11 (1975), pp. 135–141. The basic work remained hitherto Y. Wichmann, *Die tschuwaschische Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen*, MSFOu 21 (1903). See now also Csúcs S. *A votjád-tatár nyelvi kapcsolatok és történeti hátterük*, NyK 81 (1979), pp. 365–372, 82 (1980), pp. 135–147.

⁵⁷ I speak here of the Mishar, Kazan and Siberian Tatar influence. These linguistic groups were formed during the 13th–14th century against the background of the immense changes, migrations and interactions of the Turkic groups within the Chingisid Empire. This does not mean that earlier Kipchak groups may not have existed in these areas, but their trace could not have been identified hitherto. The Tatar characteristics can be clearly distinguished.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rédei K. – Róna-Tas A., *A permii nyelvek ősermi kori bolgár-török jövevény-szavai*, NyK 74 (1973), pp. 281–298, *A bolgár-török-permii érintkezések néhány kérdése*, NyK 77 (1975), pp. 31–44.

⁵⁹ The earlier view that the Chuvash-type language speaking population arrived in the Volga—Kama area in the 7th or 8th century can no longer be maintained. The rich archaeological material from the excavations found here since the 1950s shows that the Volga Bulgars arrived at the Bol'sie Tarhany—Cheremshan line at the end of the 9th century and reached the Kama only at the end of the 10th century.

⁶⁰ The ti > či development was just at its beginning at the time of the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions: see *A Volga Bulgarian inscription from 1307*: AOH 30 (1976), pp. 153–186. Hakimzjanov's idea that two dialects existed in Volga Bulgarian, one with ti > či and the other in which ti remained preserved (cf. F. S. Hakimzjanov, *Jazyk epitafig volžskih bulgar*, Moscow 1978) cannot be accepted in this form. The ti > či development occurred in some words, in some places earlier and in others later, a typical phenomenon of a period of transition.

region a complicated process can be observed: the immigrant Turkic groups changed the type of their affricate under the influence of the FU substrate and neighbouring languages, but later on they became the languages of higher social prestige and reinfluenced the FU neighbours.

The spirantization of the affricate occurred in Chuvash very early. But later on, the same happened with Bashkir and as a last member most of the Tatar dialects joined this process. This spirantization process influenced the Votyak dialects, where e.g. in Besermjan a systematic shift can be observed:

$$\begin{array}{cc} *č > č & čč > č \\ *č > s & *č > s \end{array}$$

Serebrennikov⁶¹ is correct when he ascribes this to Tatar and not, as Tepljašina,⁶² to Bulgar influence.

From this it can be concluded that the spirantization of the PT *č occurred in the Volga region in different languages at different times, but we are in a position to give some chronological intervals of its beginnings. Do we have any means for giving a chronology for the spirantization of the PT č in the NE Kipchak and the Siberian languages? The answer is offered by the Middle Mongolian loan-words in these languages.

The Mongolian loan-words of the Siberian Turkic languages can be roughly divided into two chronological groups. In the 12th–14th centuries, the Middle Mongolian of the Chingisid Empire had a major impact on these languages. After the disintegration of the Empire and the forming of the Kalmuck, Khalkha and Buriat languages, these and their dialects got or remained in contact with the Turkic people in Siberia. A good report on these linguistic contacts can now be read in Rassadin's latest book.⁶³ The history of MMO č depended on the fact whether it was followed or not by an original -i-:

MMO	Kalmuck	Khalkha	Buriat
č	c	c	s
či	č	č	č

⁶¹ *Esše raz o zamene šipjaščih svistjaščih v jazyke Besermjan*: SFU 1972, pp. 39–45.

⁶² *Mena besermjanskich šipjaščih i svistjaščih affrikat palatal'nymi soglasnymi*, SFU 1970, pp. 63–66, *Podmena šipjaščih zvukov svistjaščimi v jazykah Volgo-Kam'ja*, SFU 1971, pp. 5–12, *Drevne-bulgarskie substratnye javlenija v jazyke besermjan*: CTIFU, 1975, pp. 562–567 (paper read in 1970).

⁶³ V. I. Rassadin, *Mongolo-burjatskie zaimstvovanija v sibirskih tjurkskich jazykah*, Moscow 1980.

The representation of Mongolian ξ in the loan-words of Siberian Turkic is the following.⁶⁴

Yakut ⁶⁵	$s \leftarrow \text{MMo } \xi$
	$s \leftarrow \text{Bur. } s < \text{Mong. } \xi$
	$s \leftarrow \text{Bur. } \delta < \text{Mong. } \xi i-$
	$\xi \leftarrow \text{Mong. } \xi$
Tofalar ⁶⁶	$\delta \leftarrow \text{MMo. } \xi$
	$\delta \leftarrow \text{Bur. } \delta < \text{Mong. } \xi i-$
	$s \leftarrow \text{Bur. } s < \text{Mong. } \xi$
Tuva ⁶⁷	$\delta \leftarrow \text{MMo. } \xi$
	$s \leftarrow \text{Khalkh. } c < \text{Mong. } \xi$
	$\xi \leftarrow \text{Mong. } \xi, \text{ Khalkha } \xi < \xi i-$
Chulim ⁶⁸ c	
Shor δ	
Hakas	
	Sagai, Beltir, Lit. s
	Shor, Kyzyl δ
Altai ξ	
W. Sib. Tat. c	

As can be seen from the above, the earliest Mongolian loan-words took part in the spirantization of the Siberian Turkish ξ . Later on in some of

⁶⁴ The results of my investigations concerning the representations of ξ and δ are by and large the same as those of Rassadin. He had access to a larger material than I and could verify some questions on the spot. He also had access to some local publications not available to me. It is to be regretted that his basic material was not published, only the results with a few examples. The lack of a general overview does not help the use of the otherwise excellent book. However, he does discuss the problem of the representations of Mongolian ξ in detail on pp. 78–84. The correspondence Yakut $s \leftarrow \text{Mong. } \xi$ was supposed to be a Buriat phenomena by Kalużyński (*Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*, Warszawa 1961, p. 45), i.e. Mong. $\xi > \text{Burj. } s \rightarrow \text{Yak } s$. Rassadin is right when he differentiates an early Mong $\xi \rightarrow \text{Yakut } \xi > \delta > s$ and a Burj. $\xi > s \rightarrow \text{Yakut } s$. I only doubt that the preserved Mongolian ξ in type: Mong. ξ akir \rightarrow flint \rightarrow Yak. ξ akir \sim ξ okür would be very early.

⁶⁵ See Kalużyński, *op. cit.*, Rassadin, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ See Rassadin, *op. cit.* and *Fonetika*, p. 109.

⁶⁷ See V. I. Tatarincev, *Mongol'skoe jazykovoje vlijanie na tuvinskiju leksiku*, Kyzyl 1976. Rassadin, *op. cit.*, further Poppe: ZDMG 118 (1968), pp. 113–123, CAJ 13 (1969), pp. 207–214.

⁶⁸ On the remaining Siberian languages, I can refer only to the material published by Rassadin *op. cit.*, with some works cited there. My investigations, based on the available and published material also took into consideration the Uralic languages into which some of the Mongolian words found their way via the Turkic languages of Siberia.

them a secondary ξ developed (from PT $y > d\xi > \xi$) and therefore in the newest layer we also find ξ representation of Mongolian ξ . In Yakut the original PT ξ , \int ($< y$ -) and δ - converged in s , thus in the cases where other criteria are absent it is difficult to tell whether we have to consider an early MMo loan, where ξ took part in the $\xi > \delta > s$ development, or it was the Buriat s or δ which jointed this change. However, Buriat effects the picture only in the case of Yakut and Tofalar. In all other cases it is clear that the spirantization of the PT ξ in the Siberian Turkic languages occurred after the 13th—14th century.

Is the Kazak, Karakalpak and Nogai δ an earlier development? In some Middle Kipchak documents of the 14th century the PT ξ sound is found rendered by Arabic \sin .⁶⁹ Since this letter can render a foreign ξ , not existing in Classical Arabic,⁷⁰ it is necessary to look for independent sources to decide the question.

⁶⁹ In Arabo-Turkic literature there exist theoretically the following possibilities to render a Turkish ξ : with fim , with fim and superscribed \sin , with fim written with three dots above, with fim written with three dots below (the Persian ξ), and \sin . If the dots are absent then, of course, \sin can be read as sin . Practically, however, only fim and \sin occur, the latter mostly on Syrian territory. The question deserves a detailed study, in which the evaluation of the tomb inscriptions would be of considerable assistance. (On the problem see O. Pritsak, *Das Kiptschakische*, Fundamenta I, pp. 76, 77, Telegdi, *Eine türkische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem XV. Jhd.*: KCsA Suppl. (1935—1939), p. 286, Halasi-Kun, *Op. cit.*, pp. 167—168).

⁷⁰ Some methodological problems concerning the Arabic transcription of Turkic ξ seem to be hitherto neglected. I would propose dividing the sources into three major groups: 1. Turkic texts written in Arabic script, 2. Arabic texts describing or dealing with the Turkic languages and 3. Arabic texts in which occasionally Turkic words or onomastic material occur. In the case of the Turkic texts in Arabic script, several factors have to be taken into account. In some cases Turkic ξ is rendered by the three-dotted Persian \sin and in such texts the three dots or two of them can be omitted, the reading is in all cases ξ . On the other hand, in such languages where the Turkic ξ became a spirant (δ or s) the canonized literary orthography preserved either the fim or the \sin independently of the fact that it was read as δ or s . This was the case with common words or proper names, the origin of which was clear and the orthography of which had a tradition, while in those local words and *onoma* where this was not the case, the secondary δ or s was written with \sin or \sin . Good examples can be found in the Bashkir genealogical legends (see *Bashkirskie Seferi*, ed. R. G. Kuzev, Ufa 1960) where words and names, which were surely read with s ($<$ PT ξ) at the time of the writing of the texts, were written with fim or \sin , and even one and the same in two different ways in the same text (e.g. *Qiblaq*, *Qipsaq*). In these cases, the orthography with fim or \sin does not necessarily prove that in the given language at the given time PT ξ remained ξ . In the voluminous Arabic grammatical literature on Turkic, the first of which is Käsşari's *Divān* the unvoiced affricate ξ is quite accurately described in the descriptive part. E.g. Käsşari states that a voiceless hard fim (i.e. ξ) does exist in Turkic while the (Arabic) fim is rare in *Xaqaniyyah* (see J. M. Kelly, *Remarks on Käsşari's Phonology*: UAJb 44, 1972, pp. 186—187). But in fact Käsşari denotes all Turkish ξ sounds with fim in the corpus of the work. The

author of the *At-Tuhfah* writes that in Turkic a *ʕim* mixed with *ʕin* does exist (i.e. a *ʕ*: *alʕim al-maʕba bi-ʕ-ʕin*). In the corpus in a few cases the three dotted *ʕim* or *ʕim* with four dots below are used, in most cases, however, this is not the case (see T. Halasi-Kun, *La langue des kiptchaks d'après un manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul*, II, Budapest 1942, É. I. Fazylov, M. T. Zijaeva, *Isyekanmyj dar tjurkskomu jazyku*, Tashkent 1978 where further bibliography). In an Arabic source written on Turkic, as the *at-Tuhfah*, we find three types of rendering PT *ʕ*: 1. *ʕ* ~ *ʕ* (type *ʕoq* ~ *ʕoq*, both forms occur), 2. *ʕ* (type *ʕeber* only *ʕ*-form occurs, but this is MMo *ʕeber*!) and 3. *ʕ* (type *ʕoqal* - only *ʕ*-form, but this is from *ʕoq* in the first type!). I would insist on accepting Halasi-Kun's earlier opinion that this refers to transcription difficulties (a «mixed ones») rather than to the presence of a *ʕ* > *ʕ* change. In current Arabic texts their authors were, in most cases, not aware of the fact that they fixed a sound not present in Arabic. They used that letter for the foreign *ʕ* which they felt to be pronounced nearest to the original heard from the speakers of the language, or their interpreters. Recently an interesting discussion has arisen following the discovery of the *Al-Muqtabas* of Ibn ʕayyān. P. Chalmetta drew attention to a passage in Vol. V, which refers to the raid of a Hungarian army in Spain, in A. D. 942 (see *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 50, 1976, 337–351). This fifth volume of the *al-Muqtabas* was edited in Madrid, 1979. The relevant passage has been discussed by K. Czeglédý (*Magyar Nyelv* 75, 1979, pp. 273–282, *ibid* 77, 1981, pp. 413–419), Gy. Györffy (*Magyar Nyelv* 76, 1980, pp. 308–317, *ibid* 77, 1981, pp. 512–513) and I. Elter (*Magyar Nyelv* 77, 1981, pp. 413–419). In the focus of the discussion is the list of seven Hungarian *amirs*, chiefs, enumerated in the text. In his first paper K. Czeglédý proposed to identify the word *ʕin* as the transcription of a Hungarian *Čana* or *Šana* pointing out that *ʕin* could render both Hungarian *č* or *š* (there existed a well known personal name *Čanad* in Old Hungarian, this would have been its short form without the suffix -d). Since the name has the standard form with *č*- in Old Hungarian, this would have been a case for Arabic *ʕin* rendering a *č* (the other possibility being a Hungarian dialectal variant with *š*-). In the later discussion (see Chalmetta 1979, Elter 1981 and Czeglédý 1981) it has been cleared that this is a misinterpretation, the actual word is Arabic *ša'nān* and does not reflect a Hungarian name. With this fell the emendation of Györffy (1980) who read instead of *ʕin* a *ʕin* and identified the name with Old Hungarian *Čaba* (also a well known name from Old Hungarian). There is only one item in the list in the interpretation on which all Hungarian authors cited above agree. This item is written *ʕin* and read by Czeglédý as *Tyyla*, interpreted as *Dyila* which he identified with the Old Hungarian title and personal name *fila* ~ *jula*. He supposes that the letter combination *ʕy* renders either an Old Hungarian palatalized *d'* or an affricate *j*. The existence of a palatalized *d'* can be most probably excluded here. In a recent monographic study L. Benkő (*Az Árpád-kori magyar nyelvű szöveg emlékek* [The linguistic textual monuments of the Árpád [dynasty's] age], Budapest 1980, pp. 76–78) gave good reasons that in Early Old Hungarian only *j* (*dž*) was present and the palatalized *d'* (later orthographically *gy*-) is a later development. The word in question occurs in Ibn Rusta as *ʕin* and in DAI of Constantine Porphyrogenitos as *γλας*. But even if we would suppose that in 10th century Hungarian a palatalized *d'* did occur it would be a surprisingly accurate transcription if *ʕy*- would reflect it. With equal right we could then suppose a *č* ~ *š* and read *Tyabala(h)* reflecting *Čabala* (cf. the *Čaba* above) or *Šebela* (reflecting *Čepeli* another well known Hungarian name from this period) or any other combination. However, I doubt, that such transcriptions in a current Arabic text might exist. Moreover, since the stress was on the first syllable in the Hungarian, one would expect that the first *yā* – if it is *yā* – denotes a vowel. A way out would be that the Hungarian *j* in *jula* was a retroflex affricate (adjusted

The Turkic and the Mongolian yurts have the same basic structure, but differ in slight details. The terminology of the Turkic and the Mongolian yurt is basically different.⁷¹ In the contact area of the Turkic and Mongolian nomadic tribes, the borrowing of a few terms in both directions occur. The most characteristic part of the yurt is the roofing. Its Old Turkic name is *tugunuk*.⁷² The word can be found in Kāšgari's Divan (*tūnluk*),⁷³ Fazylov⁷⁴ cites it from the Nahoul Faradis and the Husraw and Širin (*tūnluk*), it is well known to Chagatai literature (*tūnluk*, *tūnluk*, *tūmluk*), from the recent languages I quote only Türkmen, Uzbek, New Uigur Taranchi, Baraba, Lebed, Teleut, Altai, Oirat Tuva, Karagas, Yakut, Siberian Tatar, Kazan Tatar, Bashkir and what is the most interesting: Chuvash.⁷⁵ In Modern Chuvash it is also the name of the chimney, but earlier «the hole on the roof of the kitchen where the smoke was ventilated», also «small windows». In Yakut it is the name of the «windows», otherwise it remained everywhere, where yurts exist, the name of the roofing.⁷⁷ The exception is Kazak where it means «felt, covering the smoke-opening of the felt hut» (*tūndik*, *tūnik*), the same seems to be the case in Nogai (*tūnik* «zavesa kibitkia»). A very common shift of term occurred; the name of the object was passed to the name of its cover. This happened because the Kazaks, Nogais and Karakalpaks borrowed a special type of roof-ring from the Mongols and called it: *šayaraq*, *šanıraq*, the Karakalpaks *šanıraq*, *šanıraq*, the Nogai *šanıraq*, *šanıraq*. The word can also be found in Bashkir as *šanıraq*, *šanıraq*, in Siberian Tatar as *šanıriq* (here «wood-sticks laid across fire-wood to protect it») further as *šanıraq* in Kirgiz. As pointed out above, the *š* of the literary Kazak, Karakalpak and Nogai represents the northern dialects, and in the southern dialects the earlier *č* is preserved

to the *č* which as we have seen lost its palatal component) and in word initial position it was nearer to an Arabic *š* than to a *fim*. In this case *ŧiyla* has to be read and interpreted as *ŧiyla*. All these are, however, speculations with a very low probability. The final solution will be given only if all the seven names will be deciphered and they offer some system. Until then hardly anything can be said about a possible new Arabic rendering of a Turkic or other foreign *č*.

⁷¹ Preliminary report on a study of the dwellings of the Altaic people: Aspects of Altaic civilization, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington 1963, pp. 117–136.

⁷² Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological dictionary of the pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p. 485.

⁷³ Clauson, *op. cit.*, p. 520 with further OT and Middle Turkic data.

⁷⁴ É. Fazylov, *Starotizbekskij jazyk* II, Taskent 1971, pp. 424–425.

⁷⁵ See the data in my *Notes on the Kazak yurt*, p. 94, to which now some more can be added. On Chuvash *tēnš* see V. G. Egorov, *Étimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka*, Čeboksary 1964, p. 246, further Doerfer, TMEN II pp. 643–645.

⁷⁶ N. I. Ašmarin, *Slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* XV, Čeboksary 1941, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁷ Some special meanings are noted by Clauson, *loc. laud.* as e.g. «dormer windows», «windows», «upper storey of the houses», «lattice windows».

as it is in the Kazak dialect spoken in Mongolia. This is also the case with our word, which I noted as *čaqaraq* among the Kazaks of Mongolia.⁷⁸ The word, as demonstrated, is of Mongolian origin.⁷⁹ The original Mongolian word for 'roof-ring' is *toyono*.⁸⁰ The original meaning of Mongolian *čayariy* is 'ring', but it denotes the rim or hoop of the roof-ring among the Dörböts and Sartuls. In the dialects of West Mongolia and in Kalmuck⁸¹ it became the term of the roof-ring. This special West Mongolian word was borrowed by the quoted Turkic languages, so there can be no doubt that the *š* in the word is secondary and later than the 14th century.

The case is not isolated. All Middle Mongolian loan-words in these languages underwent the same change:

Kzk: *šabdar* 'yellow with white tail and mane(horse)', Shor *šamdır*, *šamdar* *šabdar*, Tel *čabidar*, Alt *čaptar*, Bar., Küerik *tsaptar*, Kirg. *čabdar*. ← MMong *čabidar*.

Kzk: *šoqur* 'sturgeon' (lit. the 'variegated fish' cf. *ala baliq*), Shor *čokur* 'variegated, mottled', Hak *čoxır*, *soxır*, Tuv. *šokar*, Chag. *čogur* etc. ← MMong. *čogur*, *čogur*.

Kzk: *širay* 'look, aspect, exterior, facial features', Nogai *širay*, Shor *širai*, Hak *širai*, Tuv *širai*, Chag *širai* etc. ← Mong. *čirai* 'face'.

Kzk: *šeder* 'hobble (for horses)', *šider*, Kirg *čider* etc. ← MMong *čider* 'hobbles'.

Kzk: *šilbir* 'long reins (for tethering a horse)', Nogai *šilbir*, Kkalp. *šilbir*, Shor *šilbir*, Kirg. *čilbir* etc. ← MMong *čilbu'ur* 'tether (of horse)'.

Kzk: *šeber* 'foreman, master (craftsman, expert), tailor', Nogai *šeber*, Kklp. *šeber*, Shor *šeber*, Soyot *šever*, Yakut *šäbär*, Altai *čeber*, etc. ← Mong. *čeber* → Yakut *šäbär*.

Some of these words are present in early Kipchak documents. For example, *čirai* and *čeber*, as already noted by Poppe,⁸² can be found in the Codex Cumanicus. The great Middle Mongolian impact on the Kipchak lan-

⁷⁸ *Notes on the Kazak yurt*, pp. 90, 94.

⁷⁹ *Notes on the Kazak yurt*, p. 95. It is irrelevant for our study whether Mongolian *čayariy* does or does not have anything in common with the group of Indo-European words to which pertain Sanskrit *cakra* Avesta *čāhrδ* 'wheels', on which see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen I*, 1956, p. 366.

⁸⁰ Originally 'the frame of the roof-rings, hence 'smoke-hole in the top of a yurt' (Lessing, *Mongolian-English dictionary*, p. 817). The 'smoke-hole' is *erüge* in the Secret History par. 24. See also *erüke*, *örks* etc. A further term for the roof-ring is *qarayabéi*, *qarayabéi*. A similar terminological shift occurred with *erüke* most which denotes in dialects the cover of the roof-ring (see *Preliminary report*, p. 52).

⁸¹ Cf. Ramstedt, *KalmWB*, p. 419: 'die Querhölzer im Rauchringe, bishw. der Rauchring, Dachring der Jurten', *Notes*, p. 95. Kara, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁸² N. Poppe, *Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Romanischen*, Németh Armağanı, Ankara 1962, p. 335.

guages has yet to be investigated, but I hope that from the above it is clear that the $\check{c} > \check{s}$ change in the Kazak, Karakalpak and Nogai languages is roughly of the same age as the spirantization of the \check{c} in the South Siberian Turkic languages.

If so then we have to exclude them from the circle from where the Hungarian words with \check{s} in place of Turkic \check{c} have been borrowed.

At the same time another conclusion can be offered. The loss of the palatal element in the Hungarian reflexes of the FU \check{c} , unique in the history of the Finno-Ugrian languages, can be ascribed only to such a linguistic environment, where the \check{c} had no palatal component. As stated above, there are data on the fact that at least in the 9th—10th century in the language of the Chuvash-type Turkic speaking groups immigrating to the Volga—Kama area the palatalized \check{c} was already present. The Hungarian language had to lose this palatal component under the influence of such Turkic groups which had not yet contacted the Finno-Ugrian languages. This could have happened only in the southern area.

A. Róna-Tas

*To the memory of Professor
B. Collinder*

DE HYPOTHESI URALO-ALTAICA

"I like people with whom I disagree,
they are not dull" (B. Collinder)

In a paper entitled "Pro hypothesi Uralo-Altaica" (1977) Björn Collinder has summarized his views on the relationship between Uralic and Altaic. The problem has been in the focus of his interest for a long time (see his earlier papers, 1948, 1952, FUV¹ 1955, 1965, 1970 and FUV² 1977) and therefore a discussion of his 1977 paper from an Altaicist's point of view may provide a good opportunity to continue a discussion which has been going on for more than 250 years.

Collinder's conclusion is the following: "Angesichts des Tatbestandes gibt es m.E. nur zwei theoretische Wahlmöglichkeiten: Urverwandschaft oder *non liquet*" (1977: 73). I think there do exist more theoretical possibilities.

First I would like to make some general remarks. I do not wish to go into the discussion about what *Urverwandschaft* is (see Róna-Tas 1978), rather, I should only like to reflect on a few of the problems raised by Collinder 1977. We agree that only such linguistic facts can be considered as pertaining to a common proto-language the regular correspondence of which can be demonstrated and the loan character of which excluded. In this case we consider "regular" a correspondence if the forms reconstructed in conformity to the history of the respective languages are identical in their phonemic structure and semantics. It is also clear that in historical reconstruction we cannot avoid hypothetical, "asterisked" forms, the question is only how many hypothetical forms are acceptable. I think that one of the reasons why the "Ural-Altaic" and the "Altaic" problem is not yet settled is that those who are in favour of it admit more intermediate "asterisked

forms" while those who are against admit fewer or none at all. Another problem with the reconstructed forms is that scholars are inclined to be more rigorous with the reconstructions of their fellow scholars than with their own.

Collinder recognizes that the numerals are not common in U and A. This is, according to him, not a decisive argument against the relationship. Of course everybody will agree that this fact is not an argument in favour of it either. Collinder tries, however, to compare the Hungarian *három* 'three' with Mongolian *yurban*. First we have to mention that the word is not U but FU. The PFU form can be reconstructed as **kolme* or **kulme* (cf. MSzFE). To make this comparison plausible Collinder suggests that the H and Vogul *-rm-* in the word is the original cluster and all other FU languages changed it to *-l(l')m-*. Further it has to be supposed that *-m* is a suffix. We can accept as a fact that *-ban* is a suffix in *yurban* (it occurs in the numerals for 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10) but it is a hypothesis that Mongolian alone preserved the "Altaic" numeral for 'three', and since there exists a *γ:q* opposition in Mongolian we have to suppose that either the *k-* in PFU or the *γ-* in M is secondary. This means that in order to accept the comparison H *három* - M *yurban* as pertaining to the original UA stock, we have to accept five hypotheses.

It is easy to agree with Collinder's statement that a series of typological similarities exists between U and A (vowel harmony, inadmissible consonant clusters, agglutination etc.). Then he states: "Die strukturelle Ähnlichkeit hat zwar keinen Beweiswert, sie erleichtert aber die etymologische Vergleichung" (69). I fully agree with Collinder concerning the first part of his statement. For a long time these features have been the main arguments in favour of the Ural-Altaic hypothesis and it is of importance to stress that they are not themselves proof of it. I hesitate, however, to accept the second part of his statement. If something is hampering the etymological work it is just the structural similarity of these languages. Collinder cites e.g. the possessive suffixes: Lappish *uastepam*, Turkish *dostum* 'my friend'. It is evident that both suffixes are later developments. In most of the Mongolian languages the possessive personal suffixes do not exist, while in some of them they are just *in statu nascendi* and it is in Mongolian where the syntactic procedure of the birth of the personal possessive suffixes can be observed. If we were

not be helped by general considerations and historical facts, the FU and T Pxl -m would be a reasonable candidate for being a common UA suffix (as was in fact suggested in earlier literature). I call this type of correspondence structurally conditioned convergency (see Róna-Tas 1974: 31).

I shall not discuss here the parallels of the U and A suffixes. The comparison of suffixes which consist of one consonant and have different functions which can be reduced to a common denominator using a series of hypotheses but nevertheless remain isolated and do not form a system is not particularly promising. We shall arrive at a more complex picture if we discuss the lexical material listed by Collinder. This list is a revised variant of former ones and it consists of 62 comparisons. Collinder writes: "Nur 8 sind aus sämtlichen Zweigen des Uralaltaischen belegt, 25 aus je zwei Zweigen, 29 aus je einem. 16 findet man nur im Tg., 9 nur in Tk., 4 nur in Mg. In den drei ersten Wörtern ['Vater', 'Mutter', 'saugen'] kann es sich um sog. elementare Verwandtschaft handeln. Die darauf folgenden drei Wörter ['Nadel', 'Schi', 'Schlitten'] sind Kulturwörter und deshalb für den Verwandtschaftsnachweis kaum vom belang" (71-72).

Accepting for the time being the validity of the comparisons, this means that we have only 8 UA comparisons, 25 are U and present in two of the A languages and the remaining 29 are either PFU or PS and are present only in one of the A languages. If it is true, as Collinder claims, that about half of his comparisons are either only FU or only S this itself should have raised the possibility of early contacts among FU and S on the one side and some A languages on the other.

One can only agree that such items which he labels as pertaining to "elementare Verwandtschaft" have to be excluded at the first stage of the argumentation. We agree also that "Kinderwörter" and onomatopoeia are meant here. In addition I think that deictics should also to be kept separate. The various pronouns are of deictic origin and reflect a very early layer of linguistic history. Collinder mentions if he considers the word to have also been present in Indo-European. Out of seven U-A-IE comparisons six are pronouns. It can not be a mere chance that out of Collinder's 8 UA comparisons 4 are pronouns. The phonetical history of deictics, just because of their emphatic character, does not always follow the general lines of linguistic

history. Therefore I suggest putting them aside. If the UA relationship is eventually proved then they can be considered, then nobody would deny that "Kinderwörter" and onomatopoeia can also be inherited; on the other hand, it is inadmissible to use them to prove a relationship.

If we put the four pronouns aside four words remain which Colinder considers to be UA words. Curiously enough two are words dealing with reindeer breeding (see below) and two denote "basic concepts". Let us look at the second two first.

PU *ala* 'space below eg., below, under, what is beneath'

The PU reconstruction is not without problems. The PFU may well be **ala* but PS is *ǰlš* (see Janhunen 1977: 24 *ǰ* instead of *ǰ* is a misprint). MSzFE and UrEt see no problem in reconstructing PU *ala*. Sammallahti (1979: 53) states that out of 34-38 words with PFU *a* 19 have *ǰ* in PS and only three have *ǰ*. Janhunen (1981: 9-10) reconstructs PU *ǰlš* supposing in PFU an *ǰ - a > a - a* assimilation. If we accept this, more plausible, solution then only PFU can be compared with the words to be quoted below.

In T we have two series of words. To the first pertain: *alt*, *altǰ*, *altǰn* (?< *alt-tǰn*) 'below' and to the other *alǰn*, *alǰa* etc. 'before, ahead, face etc.'. Clauson writes s.v. *al* "if really an ancient word, [it] meant 'front, facing, prior position' but there is a great doubt whether it was. In the early period it occurs only with 3rd Person Poss. Suff. in the Dat., Abl. and Loc. and these words might equally be the same cases of *alǰn* q.v. The earliest authorities for the existence of *al* as such are Vel[jaminov-Zernov's Chagatai dictionary] and San[glax a Chagatai-Persian dictionary] but in Čag., too, the word is attested only in suffixed oblique cases; it is possible, that by this period a word *al* had been formed by a kind of false etymology fr. oblique cases of *alǰn*... There is a parallel problem in the question whether there was an ancient word *alt* or whether this, too, is a back formation fr. *altǰn*" (123). Räsänen (1969: 14) has no doubts that the two words are the same. Sevortjan (1974: 124-5, 140-1) treats the two words in two entries. He distinguishes **āl* 'front' and **al* 'below, bottom'. This is far from certain. This is based on Türkmen *ālǰn* 'forehead, before' but in Halaj we find *ālǰ*, *alt* 'below' and neither vowel is long in Yakut. The geographical distribution of the se-

mantical side is the following: *alt(ın)* is 'below etc.' in OT, MT, Ottoman, Azeri, Gagauz, Halaj, Yellow Uyghur, Hakass, Tuvan and To-falar. But it is 'before etc.' in Tatar, Bashkir, Kazak, Nogay, Karakalpak, Kumuck, Karachai-Balkar, Özbek, New Uyghur and Altai (Oïrot). This shows that the semantical difference is distributed in two mutually exclusive areas. There is only one T language where the word has both meanings. In Kirgiz *ald*, *aldı* is both 'before' and 'below'. This is in perfect conformity with our knowledge that the speakers of the Kirgiz language moved in the not very distant past from the South Siberian area to their present homeland. While *alın* is in the most T languages 'before' it means 'below' in Yakut. Considering these facts one is inclined to suppose that even if we disregard the doubts of Clauson and accept that *-t* and *-n* in *alt* and *alın* are suffixes, in PT there was only one *al*. It is also improbable from a general linguistic point of view that two words denoting two different directions would have been differentiated only by the opposition $\bar{a}:a$. This PT **al* could have a broader meaning 'the lower, the front side' which may have been connected with the body of animals, that is the lower part of the quadrupedal animals is equivalent to the front part of the human body.

The T word has been compared by Ramstedt (1957: 106) with Mong. *aliusun* 'Unterholz', Manchu *alisun*. Mong. *aliusun* simply does not exist. There is a Mong. *alirsun* > *alisun* 'red bilberry' (to *al* 'red') and the same or homophonous word with the meaning 'after-grass' (see e.g. Buriat *alırhan* 'brusinka; WBurDial otava, trava vtorogo kosa'). This latter was borrowed by some Tunguz dialects and Manchu. Poppe (1960: 75) connected the T word with M *ala(n)* 'joint of the thighs, groin, crotch; pubic region, genitals' - Evenki *alas* 'bedro, berco-vaja kost' (perednyj nogi olenja); kostnyj mozg, golen' (olenja)' (cf. Cincius 1975: 29), *aldan* id. Mongolian *ala(n)* pertains to *alus* 'distance', *aldayı-* 'for the legs to be spread apart', *alda* 'fathom (distance between the tips of the middle fingers of a man's out-stretched arms)'. To the last word pertains the MT word *alda* 'fathom, space in-between' and is a Mongolian loanword correctly treated as such by Cincius (1975: 30). Evenki *alas* which is restricted to a few Evenki dialects is either a Mongolian loan (with the Mong. plural *-s*) or is another word pertaining to the North (see below).

Thus instead of a clear UA comparison we have only a FU-T one.

If Janhunen's suggestion for the PU reconstruction is accepted then the T word can be only a loanword from FU. It is surely not purely fortuitous that in FUV² Collinder does not cite Mongolian and adds: "Uncertain correspondences in Tunguz".

PU *ang* 'opening, incision, cavity'

Here once more the PFU and the PS vocalism is in contradiction. PFU may well be *ang* or *ana* but PS is *ḏḡ* (Janhunen 1977: 20). Therefore Sammallahti (1979: 27) compared the PS word with PFU *ḏḡḡ* 'chin' which is semantically improbable. MSzFE and UrEt accept PFU as PU, Janhunen (1981: 57) reconstructs PU *ḏḡ*.

The word has long ago been compared with T *ayṡa* 'mouth'. The final *-a* may be a suffix (not dual!), but *ay(i)* is nowhere attested. It is true that in one type of T words *-y-* can be a secondary development from an *-ḡ-*, but this is not the case with the word for 'mouth'. It occurs everywhere with *-y-* or its developments. In Yakut we find *uoa* (< *ayṡa*) 'lips, the upper lips, mouth', e.g. in *bayana uoha* 'a cutting in a pillar with a form of a half circle' (*bayana* 'pillar' ← M), while the par excellence word for 'mouth' is *aṡax* (< *aṡaq*). Further in Yakut we find *ana* 'open', *anxai* 'a hole', *anai-* 'to be wide open'. As Kałużyński pointed out (1961: 130) these latter words are Mongolian loanwords. In some other T languages we find a verb *anai-* 'to wonder, to open wide the mouth', also from Mongolian. The only possibility of connecting the Turkic word with the Uralic is if we suppose that Yakut **aṡaq* goes back to an earlier *aṡaq*, the *-q* is a suffix and then we have an *aṡ*. Räsänen (1949: 200-203) treated this interesting *ḡ* but did not cite this word, presumably, because the Yakut word is isolated. The only argument in favour of an older Yakut *-ḡ* would be the fact that this would fit into the U pattern and account for the difference in PFU and PS: PFU *ana* < PU *aṡa* > PS *ḏḡ*. But this kind of argumentation would convince nobody.

In Mongolian we find *ang* 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine' (→ Kirg. *an* 'ravine'), *angya* 'bifurcation, branch', *angyayi-* 'to open up, to be wide open', *angyar* 'crevice, cranny, fissure, cleft' etc. The word for 'mouth' is *ama(n)* in Mongolian and has to be compared with T *am* 'vulva' and not with *ayṡa* 'mouth'.

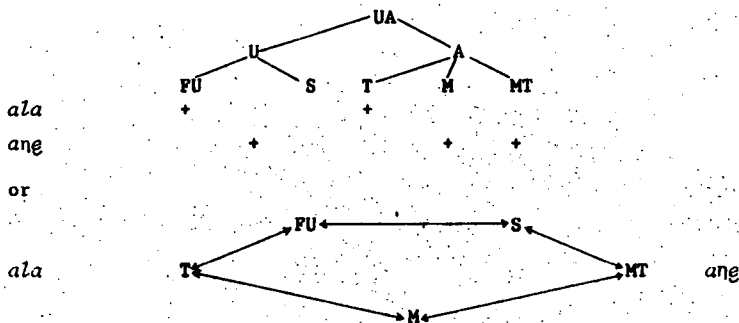
In the Manchu-Tunguzian languages we find a very interesting semantic differentiation (though not always consequent). The word for

'human mouth' is *am̃a* in Evenki, Even, Negidal, Oroch. The word for animal mouth (R 'past') is *ana* in Evenki, Negidal; further we find *ana* in Jurchen and Manchu but in the meaning 'human mouth' while in Udihe, Ulcha, Oroch and Nanai *am̃a* and *anya* alternate and mean both. Solon has *añaɪ* 'mouth' (cf. Cincius 1975: 38-39, 43). Benzing (1955: 38) reconstructed **anya*, Cincius l.cit., *am̃a* < *amga* < *amagai*. I suppose that *am̃a* is a crasis of *ama* and *ana*; the first pertains to Mongolian *ama(n)* and the second to M *ang(a)*, and the latter word exists also independently in MT.

Thus T *am* - M *ama(n)* - MT *ama-* must be kept separate from M and MT *an(a)*, while both must be kept separate from T *aỹs*.

Of course we find in this word $\eta > \gamma$ in the Ugric and $\eta > m$ in the Permian languages but these are late and independent changes. Should T *aỹs* be in connection with the U word this would be possible only if it were an Ugric loan. So we have in this case a U word with MT and M connections if we accept that PS *ɬ* is secondary. If not, then it is only a PFU - MT - M correspondence.

I have discussed these two words because they represent two types of U and A correspondences and many similar words could be added. Now for the two types of correspondences we can give two explanations.



The first is the "Stammbaumtheorie". The second type was first suggested by J. Németh, who wrote in a somewhat altered version of a paper written originally in 1928: "Auf Grund der bisher festgestellten Übereinstimmungen können wir keineswegs annehmen, dass die uralischen, türkischen, mongolischen und mandschu-tungusischen Sprachen auf eine in einer bestimmten Periode der Vorzeit und einer bestimmten Urheimat gesprochene Ursprache zurückzuführen sind, und noch viel

weniger, dass etwa das Indogermanische oder das Koreanische aus dieser Einheit abzuleiten wären. Für die Erklärung der vorzeitlichen Beziehungen der erwähnten Sprachen möchte ich eine sich von Osteuropa bis Ostasien erstreckende, ununterbrochene – wenn auch nicht synchronisch ununterbrochene – Sprachenkette annehmen, deren nebeneinander oder einander nahe stehende Glieder Übereinstimmungen aufweisen, die auf eine enge urzeitliche Verbindung, und bei gewissen Gliedern der Kette eventuell auch eine urzeitliche Spracheinheit schliessen lassen. Unsere Betrachtungsweise lässt die Möglichkeit offen, dass auch zwischen solchen Sprachfamilien, die sich nicht unmittelbar berühren (etwa zwischen dem Indogermanischen und Türkischen, zwischen dem Uralischen und Tungusischen) Übereinstimmungen bestehen können. Wir sind auch – wie schon erwähnt – berechtigt, urzeitliche Wanderungen anzunehmen" (1942-1947: 86-87). A similar idea has been expressed by Tolstov (1950). The model was later developed by Sinor (1975) who stressed, among other things the FU - S - MT connections.

We have to deal with two further questions, with the 'where' and the 'when'. Now let me return to Collinder's other two UA comparisons:

PU *kunta* 'reindeer'

The word is present in Lappish and Fi. *kuntus* is a L loanword. Vogul has **konka* (< ? *kontka* < *kunta+ka*) while Yenisei *kêre?*, *hêre?* *kede*, *keze?* and Kamass *kouna*. The vocalism is not regular and I agree with UrEt: "Möglicherweise ist es ein eurasisches Wanderwort". The role of the Lapps could have been here decisive.

In the MT languages we find *kandayā* 'elk' (only in one dialect of Evenki). This seems to be a derivative from *kanda* 'dewlap (podgrudok) of an elk, cow' cf. Manchu *qanda* id. *qandayan* 'elk (male)', *qandatu* 'a mythological animal resembling a bull with red tail'. The same word is M *qandayai* 'elk'. The word is present also in Yakut where we find: *xanda* 'an evil demon' *alip xandayai*, *alip xandayai* id. It is an open question whether Even (Lamut) *kēnde* 'reindeer (draught, of Koryak or Chukchee race)' pertains here, but if so it is of foreign origin. In FUV² Collinder is not citing T data.

PU *tewā* 'elk or reindeer'

The U word is present in L and Fi. In this case it is more likely that Fi *teva* 'male elk', *tevana* 'female elk' have been borrowed by L

but the other way can also not be excluded. The UrEt connects with this word the Hungarian *tehén* with a ? mark, not accepting its IE origin (Joki 1973: 326-327). The S words occurring in Tawgi, Yenisei, Yurak, Selkup and Kamass have been reconstructed by Janhunen as PS *t'gə* (1977: 155), but he did not include this word in his list of PU common words (1981).

In the MT languages this word has been borrowed from Yakut and appears in Evenki where we find *tobo* 'reindeer'.

In T we find *teve*, in older texts also *tevey* 'camel', Yakut *tebiṭn*, *temiṭn* are Mongolian loanwords (Kałużyński 1961: 16). The word for 'reindeer' is *taba*, that for 'elk' is *taṭax* (< **taṭaq*). The first is surely a S loanword later passed over to Evenki. T *tebe* and M *temegen* 'camel' belong surely together though there is no good reason for the T -b- ~ M -m- as has been pointed out by Doerfer (1965: 669-671). The M word was borrowed by MT languages, Evenki *tevēn* 'camel', (through Yakut), *temegēn* directly from Mongolian. So also was Solon *temegē* and Manchu *temege* (Cincius 1977: 235).

I think that even if one would accept the semantic correspondence 'elk, reindeer' ~ 'camel' everything points to the suggestion that here we have a cultural wandering word. These two words are not isolated.

PU *poča* 'reindeer (calf)'

Fi *poro* is in a not clear relationship with the other U words (see FUV², UrEt). Especially problematical is the semantic side in the cases of the S words, Kamass 'Capra sibirica', Koibal 'goat, Cervus capreolus'. Zyryan *peš* is an Ostyak loanword. The vocalism is also here irregular and I suggest FL *poča* ~ PCher *puča* ~ *pūše* ~ PVoty *pūoš* ~ POBUgr *peše* and if the S words pertain here PS *poča*. Irregularities of this kind may be accepted if we assume that the word is an inner (early) loan in U.

The word is present in the MT languages: Evenki *bīḏēn* 'roe(deer)', Even *būḏen*, *buḏeke* 'Moschus moschiferus', Negidal *boḏan* 'Cervus elaphus', Oroch *buḏa(n)* id., Ulcha *boḏa(n)*, *buḏa(n)* Nanai *boḏā* and Manchu *buḏin* 'mythological animal similar to the reindeer with long tail'. Yakut *būḏen*, *biḏen* 'Moschus moschiferus' is an Even loanword. The -n is a MT suffix.

The Votyak or Permian word was borrowed by Tatar, Bashkir, Tobol

Tatar and Russian (see Rédei-Róna-Tas 1982: 167-168).

PU *sarta* 'elk; young reindeer'

The word which is present in Mordwin, Cheremiss, Ostyak, Vogul, Yurak and perhaps in Selkup shows a variation in its semantics. In Mordwin E, M both 'elk' and 'reindeer' (dial.) occur. In Cher it is only 'elk', in the Ob Ugric languages it denotes a one-year-old elk, reindeer or other animal, in Yurak the one-year-old reindeer cow, heifen. The problematical Selkup word is *sjaera* 'cervus tarandus'. The word was borrowed by the Yakut dialects: *sartt̃i*, *satt̃i*, *hatt̃i* 'female reindeer in her second year'. With a suffix -q the word is present in several Siberian Turkic languages: Shor *sartak*, Sagai, Koibal *sardak*, Mator *sardak* 'reindeer', Tuvan *sardžik* 'one-year-old wild he-goat'.

The M word for 'yak' is *sarlay*, *sarluy* (? < *sard-lay* < *sarta-lay*).

A very early correspondence is also the following:

PU *anə* 'Harelda glacialis, Anas hiemalis; polar duck'

The L word has been compared with Yur *naanu* by Collinder with ? mark (FUV² 35). Janhunen (1977) reconstructs PS *āwā* citing Yen *aba* and with ? Sk and Km. The UrEt cites also Tawgi and Karagass further Yenisei *ṇau* and connects it with Ostyak *in̄k*, *en̄x* and Vog *āñghā*, *oñkhe* (< POBUgr **ǵ̃n̄k*, cf. Honti, 1982: 127). The "irregularities" can again be explained only if we suppose that the word was a wandering cultural one of the Siberian hunters.

The word is present in Kāšgarī's work on the Turkic languages (A. D. 1072-1074): *an* 'the name of a bird whose fat is used for medical purposes; if it is rubbed on the palm of the hand it penetrates to the other side' (see Clauson). We find it in Turkmen as *anq* 'the red goose (ogar')', in Ottoman dialects *ang*, *anga* 'a yellow bird as big as a nightingale also *ank̄t*, *ankut*, *angurt̃*', in Yakut dialects, in the North, between the Lena and the Indigirka: *āṇṇa*, *anṇa* 'sea duck'. There are two other bird names which belong together and cannot be separated from the above: T *an̄it* 'ruddy goose (Anas casarea)', M *angg̃r* 'a kind of yellow duck, reddish yellow'. These go back to an earlier form *an̄irt* which in fact occurs in Ūzbeḡ. Bazin (1971: 55-59) suggested that *an* is of onomatopoeic origin, supposing that -*q̃r* is a

verbal, and -t a deverbal noun suffix. Most bird names are of onomatopoeic origin and this may be the case with our word as well. This does not exclude, however, that it may have existed at a very early period and subsequently been borrowed.

Evenki *amī*, *an*, *andī*, Negidal *anī* 'Anas nigra' are Yakut, while Evenki *anīr*, Nan *angi*, Manchu *angir* are Mongolian loanwords.

These words point to the North Eurasian taiga region and to a hunting, most probably a reindeer — elk hunting population. The fact that people who later came to the south preserved the terms as "mythological animals" or used them for naming other, newly encountered ones as the 'yak', the 'camel', seems to be a strong argument in support of this view.

It would be a considerable argument against the circular model if there were a certain amount of U-M correspondences which had no counterparts in T and MT. Collinder writes that he has four. One of them is Hung. *három* — Mong *yurban* dealt with above. The second is the second person singular pronoun which has no relevance to this discussion. The third is Fi *älä* 'don't' and its family which cannot be connected with Mongolian *ulu* for phonetic reasons. As we shall see, the fourth is also not a U-M correspondence. Its discussion will, however, give some further insights.

PU *kūsi* or *ka^wsi* 'Picea, Pinus, Abies; conifer'

Collinder compared this word with Mong. *quši* 'cedar, Siberian pine'. Its MT parallels have been suggested by Sauvageot (1929: 96-97) and recently by Sinor (1975: 252). I have demonstrated that the PS form has been borrowed by PChuvash (1980: 382, 1982: 160-161). The word existed in OT where we find in Kāsgarī *qušiq* 'pine kernel'. The T word was borrowed by M as *qušiya* 'nut, walnut' (on this type of T → M borrowing see Róna-Tas 1971: 389-399). In Ossetian we find *k'ozæ* which is of PPermian origin (cf. Abaev 1958: 638). The MT form is *kasi-kta* (-kta is a common MT suffix).

Here the "Western" data i.e. T and M and the "Eastern" i.e. the MT data are in contradiction. There is also a problem with the U reconstruction. Based on the Finn-Permian data *kūsi*, taking into account the (Qb) Ugric *kowsæ* was suggested. The PS form is *kāšt* and based on this, now Janhunen suggested for PU *kāxsi* (1981). Either the long vowel or the diphthong was the original. Let us suppose that

the diphthong was the earlier:

Finn-Permian	(Ob)Ugric	PSamoyed
$ka^w si > k\bar{u}si$	$ka^w si > ka\beta ti > k\bar{o}y\delta 3$	$ka^w si > ka\hat{s}t+i$

In this case MT *kasi* may be a very early loan from PU *ka^wsi* or a later one from a period common to Ob-Ugric and PSamoyed, the T word can be not earlier than the Finn-Permian period and is surely a loan-word. In the other case:

Finn-Permian	(Ob)Ugric	PSamoyed
$k\bar{u}si > k\bar{u}si$	$k\bar{u}si > ka^w si > ka\beta ti > k\bar{o}y\delta 3$	$k\bar{u}si > ka^w si > k\hat{a}st$

T and M could be early PU words or later Finn-Permian ones, the MT words only loanwords from either PUgric or PS.

The cross references help us to reach some chronological results. Since PChuv borrowed a form **qadi* from some early Samoyed language and the ancestors of the Chuvash left South Siberia in the 4th century at the latest, the PS form can be dated back to the first centuries B.C.-A.D. On the other hand the type of borrowing T *quaiq* → M *quaiya* can be also dated to the first centuries B.C. and A.D. This means that the ancestors of the Turks had to borrow this form earlier. The Ossetian form points to a Permian **kōsə* which was a PPermian form. We have to assume that this word was borrowed by the Alans, the ancestors of the Ossets, prior to the invasion of the Volga-Kama region by the Bulgar Turks, i.e. before the 8th century. A.D.

I am aware that these data do not give too much to the Uralists, according to whom the PFU-PS separation was about 4,000 B.C. and the Fi-Pe-Ugr separation about 2,000 B.C. For the Altaist, however, these data are of importance, since we are in a period when the Huns appear on the steppe and, on their northern border, people are becoming important and are therefore mentioned in the Chinese sources.

A more thorough investigation of the semantic side of the comparisons offers a similar picture.

PU *kāle(we)* 'sister-in-law'

Here the semantics of the "Western" and "Eastern" languages are different. Finno-Permian: 'female relative through a male in-law relative' (Fi: BW, HS, WS, Est: HB, HBW, L: HBW, BW, Mord: HS, Voty: sW, Zyryan: HBW, for the abbreviations see Szij 1979). (Ob)Ugric: 'younger female relative through the wife' (Ost: WS, WB^d, Vog: WS), 'male relative through wife' (Ost: WSH, WB), 'male in-law relative through

the sister' (Vog: SH). Samoyed: 'male in-law relative through a female relative' (Yur: WSH, Tvg, Slk: SH, WSH). In the West basically 'younger female in-law relative through a male member' and in the East 'a male in-law relative, originally through a female member'.

In T we find *kelin* 'daughter-in-law, bride' and in the MT languages *keli* 'brother-in-law (of husbands of sisters)'.

It is almost a general view in Turkic studies that *kelin* is a derivative of *kel-* 'to come', hence *kelin* 'the one who comes (into the clan, the house etc.)'. I have serious doubts about this etymology but no room to discuss it in detail here. In most cases the dictionaries are inaccurate. In Chuvash the word (*kin* < *kelin*) has the meaning "the wife of a relative is generally so called if the latter is younger than the speaker" (Asmarin VI: 223). The Yakut word (*kiŋit*, *kinit* < *kiŋ* < *kelin*) has the following meanings: 'the wife of a younger relative; also son, grandson, brother, member of the clan, husband's brother'. I think the *-n* is here the same suffix as in *qadın* 'elder in-law relative', *yegen* 'sister's child' etc. and has to be connected with the "pronominal *n*".

As we see (Ob)Ugric once more shows an intermediate place between Finno-Permian and Samoyed. Turkic is near to Finno-Permian and Manchutunguz to Samoyed. It is not difficult to recognize the areal features which are of course from different ages. The Votyak "sW" is due to a late Turkic influence (see Szij 1979: 250), the Yakut "HB" and the other 'male relative' meanings came into being after the ancestors of the Yakut moved to the North and settled down among the Samoyeds and Tunguz people. I think that the Ob-Ugric semantics is also relatively late and developed during the later, secondary Ob-Ugric — Samoyed contacts forming one of the well-known Ob-Ugric — Samoyed isoglosses.

With this example I would like to show that I do not consider the above model to be a rigid and synchronic one. The *ante quem* limit is the time around the 4th-5th centuries A.D.; later areal contacts can be separated from those earlier than this period.

I only have space here to discuss one more question. The fact that Collinder separated the three "Kulturwörter": 'needle', 'ski', 'sledge' from the remaining ones, suggests that he considered the latter as "basic words". On the other hand, while discussing the absence of common numerals he remarks: "Zahlwörter können unter günstigen Umständen entlehnt werden..." (1977: 57). I think all types of words can be borrowed

under favourable circumstances. Among the undoubtedly Turkic loan-words in Hungarian we find *gyomor* 'stomach', *kar* 'arm', *köldök* 'navel', *térd* 'knee' to mention only those which denote parts of the body. They were borrowed not because the ancient Hungarians did not have stomachs, arms etc. but as denominations of the parts of body of the animals while taking over a new type of animal husbandry. Later on they were generalized (see Róna-Tas 1981). The two examples above (PU *ala* - ḡlā and PU *ana* - ān) are also connected with animals (see the semantic problems with the T data of *al* and the MT meaning of *ana*).

Some of Collinder's comparisons have to be deleted, the qualification of others has to be modified but some others not occurring in Collinder's 62 item list can be added. New material and more rigorous methods will always change the picture. But this is the normal way of progress in scholarship.

Summing up: Collinder's alternative: "Urverwandtschaft" or "non liquet" does not bring us further forward. We have to reckon with early contacts existing for a longer time — for hundreds, perhaps even thousands of years in the *taiga* region of North Eurasia. A Western and an Eastern area can be well established. Our first task is to investigate the correspondences due to these early contacts. They are of paramount importance because they shed light on the early history of the peoples speaking the Uralic and Altaic languages. Only after having separated what is due to the early contacts can the following question be posed: are the U and A (and also the A among themselves) genetically related? Thinking in historical terms: if we accept that the FU and S languages separated around 4,000 B.C. when did the U and A languages diverge? In the paleolithic? I seriously doubt that with the material being at our disposal and with our present methods we would be able to go beyond the neolithic age when the stabilization of most language families occurred.

PS. The material used in this paper is based on a work in progress bearing the title "Uralic and Turkic". As a consultant to the editors I had the opportunity to use the manuscript of the UrEt. I would like to offer them my sincere thanks for having provided me with this opportunity.

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TIBET

While investigating the knowledge on Tibet prevailing in Hungary prior to Csoma de Kőrös' trip to Asia I came across a curious and dubious entry in the Hungarian Dictionary of Old Documents.¹ The entry runs: *Eg veg tibet* and is dated from 1556. As source the Archives of the Nádasdy family is given where the original was kept under No. 49. To the word *tibet* the Dictionary also gives a German translation: "Eine Art sehr feiner, dichter Wollenzeuge". Since these data seemed to me of importance both for the history of the geographical name Tibet and for Hungary's early relations with Central Asia I tried to check them.

The Hungarian Dictionary of Old Documents is a supplement to the Historical Dictionary of the Hungarian Language² published in 1890–1893. Its material was collected first by I. Szamota and then revised and augmented by Gy. Zolnai who published it in 1902–1906. Unfortunately that part of the archives of the Nádasdy family from which our data were excerpted by Szamota, disappeared because of some disorder, and even were no longer accessible when Zolnai revised the material. I made several efforts to find the document in the present National Archives, but without any success. Thus we have to deal not only with a *hapax*, but we are also in doubt whether the term given is not a miswriting or misunderstanding.

Nevertheless it seemed authentic to me. The orthography is in accordance with similar texts of the same period. *Eg* is in modern Hungarian orthography *egy* "one" and *veg* is *vég* in this case "bolt, roll of cloth, textile" i.e. it has to be translated as "one bolt or roll [of] *tibet*". The German translation was given from a contemporary German Encyclopaedia, by Zolnai.

While going through all Encyclopaediae and dictionnaires available to me, I learned with some surprise that the name of the *tibet* cloth is not documented in Europe before 1827. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles (3rd. ed. 1952 repr.) gives this date and in the great Oxford English Dictionary vol. XI (1933) it is quoted from W. Scott's *The surgeon's daughter* published in 1827: "Tibet, Thibet 1827. Name of a country in Central Asia; used *attrib.* of wool obtained thence, or of cloth or garments made from this or in imitation of it: ... *absol.* Tibet cloth, or a gown or shawl made of it". I shall quote only one more Encyclopaedia, the Brockhaus, which has s.v. Tibet: "1. *Pelzgewerbe*: Felle der eineinhalb bis zwei Monate alten Lämmer einer in Nordchina lebenden

Schafart. 2. *Textilkunde*: ein weicher Kleiderstoff aus dem Haar der Tibetziege (Kaschmirwolle) oder als Imitat aus feinem Wollkammgarn; auch eine Reißwollqualität aus gerissenen Kammgarnstoffen" (Bd. 18, p. 674, ed. 1973.).

Since this had effected the credibility of the early Hungarian data I had to investigate the historical circumstances³ of the appearance of the name of the *tibet* cloth in Europe.

As it is known the kingship of Ladak rose to great power in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. Its glory was short and its decay begun with the piece of 1683. The Mogul rulers of Cashmere asked a great price for their help given to the Ladakis in the battle of Basra against the Mongol-Tibetan troops. Among the terms imposed by them there was "... [to] grant to the Kashmiri merchants the monopoly of the raw wool trade – the great Western Tibetan staple and the raw material for the manufacture of the famous shawls, one of Kashmir's most important industries" – wrote L. Petech in his fundamental work on the Ladak Chronicle.⁴

The Cashmere monopoly of the Tibetan raw wool was more or less complete until the beginning of the 19th century. One of the reasons for the increasing English interest in Tibet was just the famous Tibetan wool, and among the tasks of Moorcraft – who played such an important role in turning Csoma de Kőrös' interest to Tibetan studies – it was not the last to find a way to exclude Cashmere and get a direct accession to the exceptionally fine Tibetan sort of wool. This was made possible at the end of the Anglo-Nepalese war (1814–1816) which ended with the defeat of the Gurkhas and opened a direct access for the English trade agents to the Tibetan wool. Thus it is understandable that the Tibetan wool, the raw material of the famous Cashmere shawls, became known, through massive English trade, in Europe only after the end of the 1810's⁵.

Though I could not find earlier data in European sources I did in Persian. In the dictionary of Steingass (1892, my quotation is from the 2nd ed. 1930) we find *tibit* "soft goat's hair, from which the finest shawls are made; – *tibbat*, *tubbat* "Tibet in Tartary, whence comes the finest musk", *tibid* "soft goat's hair". Steingass took this entry from Vuller's dictionary (1855) where we read (p. 419) *تِبْت* i.q. *تَبَد* "lana mollis et tenera, quam efundo lanae caprinae depectunt et supparo grandiori (شال) texendo adhibent" and as a separate entry *تِبْت* *س* *تِبْت* *س* *تِبْت* "nom. urbis in confiniis Sinarum e qua moschi optimo species afferretur. Tibetum". Vullers took his entry from the *Burhān-i qāṭi*⁶ published by Roebuck in 1818. The *Burhān-i qāṭi* was written by Muhammad Husayn b. Khalaf in 1652 as a practical dictionary based on the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (written between 1596/7–1623)⁷ and this means that our word existed in Persian at least in the first part of the 17th century.

The word is also known in some Turkic languages and dialects. We find it in

Chagatai as تېت (Sanglax, composed 1759, according to Sir Gerard Clauson the earliest Turkish occurrence of the word read by him as *tibit*)⁸, تېيت "Flaumfedern, feine Wolle" (Vámbéry), *tibit* "id., Daunen" (Radlov), see further written Turki تېيت "Mongolian *noyulur* "soft wool, down". Manchu *nungyari* "down", Tibetan *khul* "the soft down of furs" (vocalised as *tebit* in the Wu t'i), Ūzbek *tivit* "puh". New Uyghur *tivit* "puh (koz, ovec; ptic)" (Nad-žip), Uyghur of Ferghana *tivit* "puh (pod šerstju u životnyh)" (Sadvakasov), Tatar dialectal *tebet* = *angar* "vjazannyj platok, šal" (Dialect of Ljambir, Penza), *tibät* = *yörgek* "pelenka" (Dialects of Glazov, Udmurtia and Nokrat, Kirov), *tebet* "kozyj puh, utinyj puh (Siberian Tatar dialect, Tumasheva). In Modern Turkish تېت *tibet* "the soft down of the goats of Thibet and Cashmire; Thibet cloth of the same downy wool" (Redhouse).

From the phonetical structure and the geographic distribution of the Turkic data one can conclude that we deal here with a word of commerce, and if we exclude the modern Turkish data (not recorded in earlier lexicography)⁹ its distribution corresponds to an area which can historically be well defined. From the chronological point of view the data of the Tatar dialects are of importance. The people who now speak the dialects of Glazov and Nokrat moved north from the Kazan Tatar central territory in the early 16th century¹⁰ and had no direct contact with it. The vast territory from Penza to Siberia also hints to a relatively early spreading of the word. Of special interest is the meaning of the Glazov and Nokrat data. The "swaddle" (pelenka) is nothing else than a fine, soft material for swaddling babies; this meaning developed from "cloth made of downy wool", and could also have been the meaning of the Hungarian data.

At this point further problems arise. Is the word connected with the geographical name Tibet at all, and if so, what is the historical background of the earlier Central Asian distribution of the material and the word denoting it.

For the history of the turn of the 15th to the 16th century one of the most important sources is the *Tarix-i Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar. This work, well known to the historians of Central Asia including Tibet, consists of two parts. The second part is a kind of autobiography with a detailed description of the events of its own time and was written in 1541–1542; the first part was written later, in 1544–1547, and is more of a historical survey. The English translation was edited by N. Elias and translated by E. D. Ross in 1895.¹¹ The work, though its author was a Turk, was written in Persian and there exists a later Turkish translation. The author was a commander of the army of Sultan Sa'id Khan (about 1490–1533) who became ruler of Kashgar. Sa'id Khan, a protégée of Babur, occupied Kashgar and Yarkend in 1514: His elder brother Mansur reigned over Uyghuristan, Turfan, Karashar and Kucha. The two brothers concluded peace, and a short but prosperous time followed in the vexed history

of Central Asia. About this period the historian Mirza Haidar wrote: "From this peace and reconciliation between the two brothers resulted such security for the people, that any one might travel alone between Kamul or Khitai and the country of Fergana, without provision for the journey and without fear of molestation" (Ed. Elias and Ross, p. 134). These circumstances favoured the flourishing of trade.

The relations between Kashgar and Ladakh began earlier. The ruler of Kashgar before Sa'id Khan was Abu Bakr. His commander Mir Yali "brought under his power much of Karatigin and Badakhshan and the district of Balur and Tibet as far as Kashmir" (*op. cit.* p. 320). Elias is right when he points out that in this and in other similar sources Tibet was the name of Ladakh, though it was extended also to Baltistan (Little Tibet, in opposition to Great Tibet, i.e. Ladakh) and to Central Tibet (Ursang i.e. Dbu-Gtsan in the Tarix-i Rashidi) and therefore it is difficult to tell in some cases which of the three, or all together, are meant. (cf. pp. 134, 136). According to Petech (*op. cit.*, p. 120) "it is very doubtful that Ladakh was reached by this first invasion, which probably stopped at Skardo or Nubra". I hesitate to join Petech on this point because it could not have been a mere coincidence that Abu Bakr, after his defeat by Sa'id Khan, fled to Ladakh (see Tarix-i Rashidi pp. 327-328 with a detailed description of the pursuit of Abu Bakr). It was only a consequence of this fact that after 1516 the Emirs of Sa'id Khan "had frequently invaded and plundered that country" (*op. cit.*, p. 403). Mirza Haidar further tells us, that in the spring of 1532 "the Khan resolved a holy war against Tibet". This was justified because "... on account of their ignorance and folly, Islam had no progress, and there were still numberless infidels in Tibet, beside those whom the Emirs had subdued" (*op. cit.*, p. 403). The military expedition is related in great detail. Sa'id soon became ill and withdrew. He died on his way back while crossing the Suget pass in 1533 (see Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 124). His successor, Rashid, showed less interest in the affairs of Ladakh. Mirza Haidar himself remained in Ladakh for three more years. Later he left for Cashmere because he was afraid to turn back to Kashgar. Rashid, the new ruler, executed some of his relatives. With this the direct connections between Turkestan and Ladakh seem to diminish to a degree of unimportance.

The "holy war against Tibet" surely had some non-religious purposes in the background. One of them must have been the fact that Ladakh was the place where Abu Bakr had fled to. From Mirza Haidar's fascinating description of Tibet it is also clear that gold mining was of special interest. But equally Tibetan wool and the cloth made of it must have been very attractive. Indirectly this is also made clear from the later aspirations of the rulers of Cashmere, the land where Mirza Haidar had fled to.

The linguistic data quoted above are in accordance with the assumption that the wool and cloth named after Tibet, i.e. Ladakh, became an important object of trade in Turkestan at the beginning of the 16th century. The rulers of Kashgar, and especially Sa'id Khan, had good relations with the Kipchak tribes of the successor states of the Golden Horde. In 1514 – so Mirza Haidar tells us – he went “to the court of Kasim Khan, who was ruler of the Desht-i-Kipchak. At this time his army numbered 300000 men. Kasim Khan received him (Sa'id Khan) with so much favour that the Khan remembered it for years later” (*op. cit.*, p. 133 and in detail on p. 276). Kasim was the son of Jani beg and died in 1518. Mirza Haidar writes about him (p. 273): “Kasim Khan now brought the Desht-i-Kipchak under his absolute control, in a manner that no one, with the exception of Jochi Khan, had ever done before” and in 1513 Kasim Khan “in order to look to his own kingdom, went to Ubaira-Subaira” (p. 282). Elias remarks that in this case he transliterated the fully vocalized Turkic translation but the name has to be the usual *Ibir-Sibir*. The winter-quarters of Kasim Khan was at Karatal (p. 274) along the river of the same name running into the Balkhash. The nephew of Kasim Khan, Baranduk, lived in Saraichuk in the South Urals, and we know that Saraichuk or Saraichik was one of the most important stations on the trading route connecting Europe with Turkestan.¹²

I think that without going into further details it is clear that the historical background of the spread of the *tibet* wool and *tibet* cloth is in favour of the hypothesis that the material and the word denoting it had an earlier and a later history, and that the enigmatic Hungarian data can be connected with the first one.

The Turco-Persian data reflect a *tëbët* ~ *tibit* form and can perhaps help us to solve a further problem. The earliest authentic data on the name Tibet we find in the Runic inscriptions in the form *Twpwt*.¹³ What is the relationship between this form and the later forms with an illabial vowel in the first syllable and a voiced bilabial stop in the middle? The early Sogdian forms (*twpwt*, *twp'yt*) the Late Middle Persian forms (*twpyt*) are related, and the Arabic *t'bb't* as well as the Mongolian *Töbed* all reflect a double Turkic form *Twpwt* and *Twp't*. New Persian reborrowed the Arabic orthography, preserved its vocalisation, but parallel with it, under later Turkic influence, the vocalisation changed and we find *تبت* and *تبت* beside the “Arabic” *تبت*.

For understanding the phonetical changes in the geographic name let us see the history of a Turkic word of similar structure *Old. Turkic*: *töpü* “hill, top”, Runic *töpü*, Uyghur *töpü*, Arabic *töpü*. *Middle Turkic*: *töpe*, *tepe* (13th century, Tefsir) *töpe* (Ibn Muhanna ed. Melioranskij); *tepe* (id. ed. Kilisli Rifat), *töpe* (Hwarezmian, Qutb, Nahcul al Faradis), *tepe*, *töpe* (with -p- Chagatai, Sang-lax), *tebe* (Codex Cumanicus) *tepe* (Houtsma), *tepe*, *depe* (with -p-, Abu

Hayyan), *töpe* (Bulyat al-Muştaq), *töpe* (Kawanin), *töpe* (At Tuhfat, on the margin *depe*, *tepe*) for all data see Clauson¹⁴ p. 436. With the exception of Runic, in all cases the word is written with *b*, and if *-p-* is indicated in the source it is quoted "with *-p-*". In the Modern Turkic dialects the picture is as follows: Oghuz: Ottoman *tepe*, Azeri *täpä*, Türkmen *depe*; Halaj *täpä* (← Azeri) Kipchak: Kazan Tatar *tübe*, Bashkir *tübe*, Karakalpak *töbe* Kumük *töbe*, Karachai-Balkar *töppe*, Karaim-Trocki *i'ob'a*; Eastern Üzbek *tepa*, New Uighur *töpä*, Turki *töpä*, Siberian: Altai *töbe*, *töbö*, ? Hakas *tey*, ? Tuvan *tey*, Yakut *töbö*, *täbä*, Chuvash *tüpe*.¹⁵ The word was borrowed by New Persian as *täpä*, see Doerfer, *TMEN* II, p. 450, with other languages which also borrowed the word.

From the modern dialects it is clear that the word had an original *-p-* and the *-b-* is secondary. Doerfer (*loc. cit.*) suggested that *-e-* is original in this word, and the *-ö-* is due to the labialising effect of the *-p-*. Sevortjan¹⁶ argues that the *-ö-* is original because it is documented earlier. This is not a stringent argument but for our present purpose we do not have to decide the question. What is of importance for our case is the fact that an original Turkic word which is *töpü* in the Runic inscriptions is *tebe* in the language of the Desht-i-Kipchak, as reflected by the Codex Cumanicus. This is the form which prevailed in the Golden Horde in the first half of the 14th century.¹⁷

Turning back now to the geographical name Tibet we find that in the records of the two most important travellers of the 13th century, Rubruk and Marco Polo, we find the geographical name as *Tebet*.¹⁸ This is in full conformity with the data of the Codex Cumanicus on the OT word *töpü*, so we can now reconstruct the Runic form as *Töpüt* (and not *Tüpüt*) and from the fact that the common word *töpü* was borrowed by New Persian as *täpä* and the geographical name as *Tebet* we can conclude that they reflect two different Turkic languages. The latter was used for the denomination of Ladakh by the Turco-Persian writers but also by the merchants, and this form was spread as the name of the *tibet* wool and cloth. Once the name of Tibet became the name of an object of trade, its phonetical history separated itself from its original. In some cases it coincided with that of the geographic name, in others it went its own way. The history of geographical names and the fate of the names of trade-objects have their own rules.

In conclusion I would say that the doubtful and enigmatic Hungarian data of 1556 gave a help to reconstruct the history of the trade relations with Tibet and further threw some light on the perplexing question of the history of the name Tibet.

- 1 Szamota I., Zolnai Gy., *Magyar Oklevél-szótár*. Budapest, 1902–1906.
- 2 Szarvas G., Simonyi Zs., *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár a legrégebb nyelvmélekektől a nyelvújításig. I–III*. Budapest, 1890–1893.
- 3 G. Bethlenfalvy in a paper read before the Csoma de Kőrös Society has dealt with the historical events in NE India before and around the arrival of Csoma de Kőrös. In this paper he has also dealt with the wool trade in detail. I hope that his paper will soon be published.
- 4 Petech, L., *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh (Indian Tibet)*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 160.
- 5 Interesting is the quotation of W. Scott's *The surgeon's daughter* in the Oxford Dictionary: "How could you ... collect all these hard words about India? ... Like the imitative operatives of Paisley, I have composed my shawl by incorporating into the woof a little thibet wool, which ... Colonel Mackerris ... had the goodness to supply me with." It is clear that in this context the word is yet a foreign word. In the next entry cited from 1857: "Edinburgh had thibet in the manufacture" it already became a professional term.
- 6 I have used the Teheran reedition of A.H. 1341.
- 7 See F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature to the end of the 18th century*, in: J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, 1968, p. 431.
- 8 Clauson, G., *Sanglax, A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language*, London 1960, 189 v, p. 53.
- 9 I did not find the word in Zenker's dictionary (1866), in the historical dictionary of Ottoman Turkish (*Tarama sözlüğü*, vol. V., 1971) and in some other older dictionaries available to me.
- 10 The most important recent paper on the dialects of Glazov and Nokrat (or Karino) is: N. B. Burganova, *Govor karinskij i glazovskij tatar*, in: *Materialy po tatarskoj dialektologii*, Kazan, 1962, pp. 19–56. See there the earlier literature.
- 11 *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Mubammad Haidar, Dughlát*. A History of the Monghuls of Central Asia. An English version edited, with commentary, notes and Map by N. Elias, the translation by E. D. Ross, London, 1895.
- 12 See V. Bartol'd, *Sočinenija* II/1, 1963, p. 712 (Original published Baku, 1925). On this trade route described by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti and its importance for the Persian and Coman language of the Codex Comanicus see L. Ligeti, *Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus*, Acta Orient. Hung. 35 (1981), pp. 9–10.
- 13 Kül Tegin inscription E4, Bilge kagan inscription E5, see T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, 1968, Altin Köl II, line 8, see S. E. Malov, *Enisejskaja pis'mennost' tjurkov*, Moscow–Leningrad 1952, p. 57.
- 14 Clauson, G., *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.
- 15 The Chuvash data are irregular, the expected form would be *tépe*, *töpe*. The -ü- shows Tatar influence.
- 16 Sevortjan, É. V., *Étimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskij jazykov*, III Moscow 1980, pp. 197–199.
- 17 I quoted the Turkic word only as a phonetical parallel form to the geographical name Tibet. The question whether Turkic *töpu* ~ *tepe* and *Tibet* pertain together also etymologically is another problem not dealt with here.
- 18 Rubruk has *Tebeç*, var. SL *Tebet* (ed. Wyngaert I, 234), *Thebec*, var. D. *Thebet* (op. cit., I, 271) Marco Polo *Tebet* (ed. Yule-Cordier, p. 48) where we read: "They have also in this country plenty of fine woollens and other stuffs ...".

A D D E N D A

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