REMARKS ON THE SALAR LANGUAGE

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Many areas of Central Asia are little explored from the linguistic point of view. There are tribes of which only the names are known. Therefore, even general information about unknown languages, which is contained in the diaries of travellers who were not linguists, is of great value.

Such a language never explored by linguists is Salar. Nothing was known of it until, at the end of the nineteenth century, two well-known travellers visited the area inhabited by the Salars. One was the Russian explorer of Central Asia, G. N. POTANIN, who visited the Salars in the course of his expedition in 1883-1886, and the other was ROCKHILL, who made his journey in 1891-1892. Although neither was a linguist, both of them collected words and locutions in various languages, which they published in the form of brief glossaries appended to the descriptions of their journeys.

POTANIN published the results of his explorations in his book *The Tangut-Tibetan Borderlands of China and Central Mongolia.* Although this work contains an interesting glossary of the Shirongol language, which belongs to the Mongolian group, and also two Turkic glossaries, i.e., Khara Yogur and Salar, these materials have remained almost unnoticed by linguists. This can be explained partly by the fact that this work is written in Russian and, therefore, not accessible to all orientalists. The book has also become a bibliographic rarity and, outside Russia, very few libraries have it. The new edition of POTANIN’s work is, unfor-

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1 Г. Н. Потанинъ, Тангутско-тibетская окрana Китая и Центральная Монголия, Санктпетербургъ, 1893.
2 Thus, e.g., the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT did not have access to this book when he was compiling his Monguar dictionary, and received it only when the greater portion of the book had already been printed. Cf. A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M., et A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., *Le dialecte Monguar parlé par les mongols du Kansou Occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguar-français*, Pei-p'ing, 1933, p. VI.
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Unfortunately, of little use to linguists, because its editors omitted all the glossaries.

Of the two glossaries, that of Potanin is beyond doubt better than that of Rockhill. While Potanin uses a very simple transcription definitely appropriate for Turcologic purposes, with the result that it is not difficult to identify the Salar words in his transcription with commonly known Turkic words, Rockhill uses Wade’s transcription of Chinese, which is absolutely unsuited to Turkic. Thus Rockhill writes pir-indyé “first month,” isk-indyé “second month,” sekése-indyé “eighth month,” pa-sagon “day after tomorrow,” purui “nose,” t’ich “teeth,” arashé “wood,” etc., which can be identified with the Turkic forms birindži “first,” ikindži “second,” (Salar has iški “two” and not iki), sekizindži “eighth,” basa giin “the day after,” burun “nose,” (burni “his nose” and not burui), tiš “tooth,” and ayač “wood.” One will agree that Rockhill’s transcription is rather primitive. While Rockhill himself compared the Salar words with Osmanli forms, Potanin had the privilege of being helped by Radloff. In a word, Potanin’s glossary has many advantages. One should not, of course, exaggerate the linguistic value of Potanin’s material, because he was not a linguist. Nevertheless, it is possible to get a fair general picture of the languages explored by him.

The subject of this article is the Salar material contained in Potanin’s work. His Turkic material has never been thoroughly explored, but it would be incorrect to say that it was entirely neglected by the Turcologists. First of all, it should be stated that soon after Bang had demonstrated, in the preface to Marquart’s book on the ancient Turkic chronology, the system of the compound numeral nouns used in the Orkhon inscriptions of

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* Potanin, Tungusko-tibetskaya okrinya Kitaya i Centralnaya Mongoliya, Moskva, 1950.

* William Woodville Rockhill, Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1881 and 1882, City of Washington, 1894, pp. 373-376.

For three other glossaries cf. note 4 on pages 198-201 of Paul Pelliot’s Notes sur l’Histoire de la Horde d’Or (Paris, 1949) (= Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot II).

* Rockhill, op. cit., p. 81.

* Rockhill, op. cit., p. 373.

* Rockhill, op. cit., p. 374.
the eighth century—a system contradicting everything known before in the Turcologic field, which, therefore, had greatly puzzled the explorers. BARTHOLOD, in one of his articles, pointed out that exactly the same system was found in POTANIN’s Khara Yogur materials unnoticed by everyone working on the ancient Turkic inscriptions.

The Salar dialect is also mentioned in SAMOLOVICH’s article on the classification of the Turkic languages, but there it is mistakenly referred to as being in the group of the d-languages. As MALOV correctly remarked, the Salar language belongs to the group of “modern,” not “ancient” Turkic languages. According to MALOV’s terminology this means that Salar is an ayaq-language.

I shall proceed to analyze POTANIN’s Salar material which he collected in the village of Tashkul on the Sengir river.

8 J. MARQUARD, Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften, Leipzig, 1898, p. VI.
8 В. Бартольдъ, Система счисления Орхонскихъ надписей въ современномъ диалектѣ, Записки Восточного Отдѣленія Имп. Русск. Археологическаго Общества XVII (1906), p. 0171-0173. BARTHOLOD’s article seems to be little known outside of Russia and is missing in the bibliography appended to A. VON GABAIN, Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1950.
10 I do not have the original Russian edition of the article of A. Н. САМОЙЛОВИЧ, Некоторые дополнения к классификации турецкихъ языков, Петроград, 1922, and, therefore, can quote only the Turkish digest of this article: Türk lehçelerinin tasnifi (classifikasyonu) meselesi, Türkoloji ders hilasaları, Okutan: Abdülkadir İnan, Istanbul, 1936, p. 30.
11 С. Е. МАЛОВ, Памятники древнетюркской письменности, Тексты и исследования, Москва-Ленинград, 1951, p. 7.
12 The village of Tashkul is situated near the eastern border of the Hsiu-hua T’ing expansion of the valley of the Yellow River. According to POTANIN (new edition, p. 195) the Chinese name of that village is Shih-ho (in Russian transcription Ши-хо) and this means “Stone River.” The Turkic name Tashkul consists of the words тašt “stone” and gol “river” or “valley of a river” and is the exact equivalent of Chinese Shih-ho. The Salar material (a glossary and a number of phrases) is on pages 426-434 of Vol. II of the first edition of POTANIN’s work.

POTANIN uses the following transcription, but explains only a few signs of it on p. 410 of the first edition:

\[
\begin{align*}
a &= a & \lambda &= i & \phi &= f \\
b &= b & \lambda b &= i & \chi &= x \\
v &= v & m &= m & \chi &= “aspiration,” although \\
r &= g & n &= n & this corresponds rather to \gamma \\
d &= d & \lambda g &= t & \zeta &= ts
\end{align*}
\]
HILL’s material will be quoted for the purpose of checking and corroborating forms given in POTANIN’s book. I should add that ROCKHILL collected his linguistic material in the village of Ho-tsui-tzü at the mouth of the Ta-t’ung River and in I-ma-mu chuang.

1. The Postlingual Consonants.

The voiceless postlingual stop is rendered by POTANIN with к and the voiced stop with г. In his Salar material he does not make a distinction between ۋ and ۋ or ۋ and ۋ. Therefore, I shall transcribe the Cyrillic letters к and г as ۋ and ۋ. It should be noted that this simplification is of no great importance.

The Common Turkic velar stop *q at the beginning of stems is represented by к, its phonetic value obviously being q, but, in a number of cases, its Salar equivalent is also x (=x of the usual Turcologic transcriptions) and also г (=г). These correspondences greatly resemble the analogical phenomena in the Chagatai language where we find q-, γ-, and χ-.

\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{d} & = d
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{a} & = o
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{e} & = e
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{i} & = i
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{y} & = u
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{y} & = ya
\end{align*}
\]

12 ROCKHILL, op. cit., p. 62.
14 ROCKHILL, op. cit., p. 81.
15 N. POPPE, “Eine viersprachige Zamasari-Handschrift,” Erster Aufsatz, ZDMO 101 (1951) 315-316. A sporadic development q-γ in Chagatai is also mentioned by Martti RASÄNEN, “Zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen,” Studia Orientalia 15 (1949) 151. EMRE’s remark that ϋ does not occur at the beginning of words in Chagatai is not quite correct; cf. Ahmet Cevat EMRE, Türk lehçelerinin mukayeseli grameri (Iık deneme), Birinci kitap, Fonetik, Istanbul, 1949, p. 124. The spirant Ϛ is not mentioned at all by him in this connection. Words beginning with Ϛ as characteristic for the dialects of the Ghuzz and Qıpçaq are quoted by Carl BROCKELMANN in “Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens,” Erste Lieferung, Leiden, 1951, p. 39. On the basis of the then very limited materials on Chagatai, W. RADLOFF correctly stated that in Chagatai the consonants q-, γ-, and χ- occur: Dr. W. RADLOFF, Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Türkischen, Erster Teil, Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischen, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 122-123. The sporadic development of the initial Common Turkic *q into x in some Turkic languages resulted in a complete disappearance of the consonant, i.e., *q>x>Zero; cf. Paul
We shall discuss all these cases separately.

a. The consonant *q- has usually resulted in k-, its phonetic value probably being q. This is the normal development in all the Turkic languages and, of course, also in East Turki which is, in general, close to Salar.

P. 428 kîzîl (қызыл) "red" 18 = ET. 96 19 qîzîl, Uzb. 20 qîzîl, Osm. 21 qîzîl, Divân 22 qîzîl, etc. "red."

P. 427 kaz "goose" = ET. 44 qaz, Uzb. qaz, Divân qaz "goose."

P. 426 koi "sheep," R. 374 koqé "mutton" = ET. 106 qoy, Uzb. qoy, Divân qoy, Osm. qogyun "sheep."

P. 426 kusax < *qursaq "belly" 23 = ET. 10 qorsaq, Kirg. 24 qursaq, Osm. qursaq "stomach."

b. The consonant *q has resulted in x in many cases, as it does sporadically in other Turkic languages.

PELLIOT, "Les formes avec et sans q- (k-) initial en ture et en mongol," Young Pao 37 (1944) 73-101. Many more examples of *q-) Zero in Middle Qipchaq can be found in the interesting article by T. HALASI KUN, "Orta-Kipçaq qa-, k- - O meselesi." Türk Dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar I, pp. 45 ff. In other Turkic languages, on the contrary, x is a rare sound occurring only in loan words or it is there only a combinatorial allophone of the phoneme γ, cf. Karl H. MENGES, Qaraqalpaq Grammar, New York, 1947, p. 19.


P. means Salar in POTANIN’s glossary, the number indicating the page of his book (first edition). The original Cyrillic transcription is given in parentheses only in cases when POTANIN’s transcription raises doubts. R. means Salar after ROCKHILL. ROCKHILL, op. cit., p. 374 has il "red" which is the end of the word qi’zil "red," cf. infra.


Uzbek after Ruseck-izbekes tola sızlik, Taşkent-Qazan, 1934.

Osmanli. I use this rather obsolete term for Turkish of Turkey, because my abbreviation Turk. means "Turkic" (in general). The Turkish forms are given after D. A. Magazanik, Turqueso-russkij slovar', pod red. chl-korr. AN CССР prof. B. A. Gordeievskogo, izd. II, Moskva, 1945. I replace, however, Magazanik’s transcription, which is the official Turkish alphabet, by the Turcological transcription.

Middle Turkic as represented in Divân lüyât at-turk by Mahmüd al-Kâşyârî after Besim ATALAY, Divanî Lügat-î Türk Dizimi "Endeks," Ankara, 1948.

With r dropped as in East Turkî qoşqoq. cf. JARRING, l. c.


POPPPE, op. cit., p. 316; BROCKELMANN, l. c.; RADLOFF notes the development of q-
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P. 430 xati “hard” = ET. 47 qatiq, Uzb. qatīq, Kirg. qatū <$qatīy, Osm. qatū, Divān qatīy “hard.”

P. 430 xalun “thick” = ET. 47 qalin, Kirg. qalīn, Osm. qalīn “thick.”


P. 430 xalun “thick” = ET. 121 qalin, Kirg. qaliq, Osm. qali’n “thick.”

P. 430 xati “hard” = ET. 47 qatiq, Uzb. qatīq, Kirg. qatū <$qatīy, Osm. qatū, Divān qatīy “hard.”

P. 430 xob “get up!” = ET. 99, Icirg. qop- “to rise.”

P. 431 kari kși “old man” = ET. 80 qərī “old,” Uzb., Kirg. qari “old man.”

P. 431 kari “grand-father” = P. 430 qari “old,” Uzb., Erg. qari “old man.”

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Here are a few examples from POTANIN’s glossary:


P. 430 guri “dry” = ET. 30 quruq, Uzb. quruq, Divān quruq—quruq “dry.”

P. 430 gol, R. 374 gol “arm” = Divān, Uzb., Osm., ET. 6 qol “arm.”

The development *q > g (r in POTANIN’s transcription, its phonetic value being GestureRecognizer), occurs in a number of words. This development is known in the Turkic languages. It occurs in Chagatai, in all the Turkmen dialects except in that of the Yomud, sporadically in the dialects of Anatolia, but it is unusual in East Turki. It does not occur in Karakalpak, although the Common Turkic consonant *k is in many cases represented there by an initial g.

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*q in rare cases in the Crimean Tatar language (op. cit., p. 116), in Taranchi (op. cit., p. 121), Chagatai (p. 128), and consistently in Yakut before a or o (p. 133). Cf. RASANEN, op. cit., p. 151.

26 POPPE, op. cit., p. 315.

27 RASANEN, l.c. with reference to Karl Foy, “Azerbaijanische Studien I-II,” MSOS 6(1903) .175.


29 MENGES, op. cit., p. 23; RASANEN, l.c.

30 JARRING, op. cit., p. 111.

31 MENGES, Qaraqalpaq Grammar, p. 31.

32 ROCKHILL, op. cit., p. 375 has tchist “female dog” = tisi it.

33 POTANIN writes l̃. The “soft sign” probably means that l is softer than Russian l and somehow closer to French or German l. I transcribe POTANIN’s l̃ as l and his l as l.
2. Final \( *q > x, \gamma, g \):

The final \( *q \) of a syllable or a stem results in \( x \) in Salar, in rare cases, in a consonant rendered by Potanin with \( \chi \). The latter sound is described by Potanin as “an aspiration.” This very vague definition can mean anything: ‘, \( h \), or \( \gamma \). I think, however, that Potanin’s \( \chi \) is identical with \( \gamma \), i.e., with a voiced velar spirant. In rare cases \( *q \) results also in \( g \) of which the phonetic value probably is \( q \).

a. Let us first discuss the development of \( *q > x \). This development is characteristic of the Azerbaijan Turkic, the Anatolian dialects, and the dialects of the Southern Crimea. It is also known in literary Uzbek and in Uzbek dialects. The phenomenon is also found in Chagatai (especially before the consonants \( l, s, š, t \), and \( č \) ), as represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab and in other sources. This development seems to be old in the Turkic languages, for it had occurred already in the language of the Azerbaijan Turks of the fourteenth century.

The examples of \( *q > x \) are numerous in Salar. Only the following few will be quoted here:

P. 430 ox “arrow,” R. 375 ush “arrow” = ET. 6, Uzb., Osm oq, IM 48 oχ “arrow.”

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44 With the consonant \( r \) dropped. Vide infra.
45 POTANIN, op. cit., p. 410.
47 RÄÄNEN, l. c.
50 POPPE, op. cit., p. 314-315.
51 RADLOFF, op. cit., p. 175; WÜSCKELMANN, op. cit., p. 39.
53 Ibn Mu‘annâ after Мелиоранский.
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P. 427 qadax “nail” = Chag. qadax-qadax, Shor. qadî,44 “nail,” Kirg. qadax “pound.”45

P. 428 toxmax “a big hammer” = Divân toqîmaq “clapper for laundry work, etc.;” Osm., Kirg. toqmaq “mallet, beetle, a wooden hammer.”


P. 431 qulax, R. 374 golak “ears” = Divên qulqaq-qulyaq-qulaq, ET. 31, Uzb. qulaq “ears.”


P. 430 yarux “bright” = Divên yaruq, Uzb. yaraq “light.”

P. 429 yums’ax “soft” = Divên yumiaq, Uzb., ET. 110 yumiaq, Osm. yumiaq-yumus’aq “soft.”

P. 427 vax “to watch” = Divên, Uzb., ET. 67 baq- “to look.”

The consonant h in Arabic loan words results in x:

P. 427 axsax “limping” = IM axsaq, Chag. aqsaq-axsaq, Uzb. ET. 60 aqsaq “limping.”

P. 427 arux “irrigation canal” (in Russian армакс) = Divên, Uzb. arîq “canal for irrigation purposes,” ET. 29 arîq “ditch.”


P. 428 čemûq “flint,” cf. R. 374 chamar tush (= čaqnaq taş) = Divên čaqnaq, Chag. (Muqaddimat al-Adab) čaqnaq taş, ET. 38 čaqnaq tûsî “flint.”

P. 428 axsax “dust” = IM aχsaq, Chag. aqsaq-aχsaq, Uzb. ET. 60 aqsaq “dust.”

P. 427 irax “far, distant” = Divên yûraq, Chag. yûraq “far.”

The consonant h in Arabic loan words results in x:

P. 427 axmax “fool” = Chag. akmaq < Arabic ﺟَمِيق, Uzb. aχmaq, ET. 39 aχmîq “stupid, foolish.”


45 Cf. the semantical parallel in Finnish: naula “nail” and “pound.” The word naula “nail” is a loan from Germanic.

46 RÄŠÄNEN, op. cit., p. 158.

b. In relatively few cases the final *q is represented by g or by y. The latter development is known in Chagatai and in Uzbek and, in particular, in the language represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab. It is noted particularly in the Uzbek dialects spoken in Afghanistan, and in East Turki.

In Salar the following examples are found:


P. 429 *yaragy* (ya*gy*) “foot sole” = P. 430 *ayax* “foot” = Divān *a*ṣaq, Uzb. *ayaq*, ET. 39 *ayagy* “foot.”


P. 428 *tīrgaq* “nail, claw,” R. 374 *terna* “finger nail” = Divān *tīrgaq*, Uzb. *tīrgaq*, ET. 76 *tīrgaq* “nail.”


P. 430 *paliy* (Paliy) “fish” = Divān, Uzb., Kazan Tatar *balq* “fish” > Russian *balq* “smoked fish.”

c. Forms with a final k (= q) are rare in Salar. The general rule seems to be that *q results in x at the absolute end, but remains a stop before a consonant: yok “not” but yok kū “a poor person.”

P. 431 *yakū* “good” = P. 427 *yaxī ulali* (?) “friend” (cf. R. 376 *kishi irshider* “this man is good”: *irshi = yaxī “good”) = Divān *yaxī*, Chag., Uzb. *yaxī*, ET. 44 *yaxī* “good.”


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45 This is r in Potanin’s transcription and is probably to be pronounced as a velar g.

46 This is x in Potanin’s transcription and explained as “aspiration.” Vide supra.

51 Emee, op. cit., p. 122. Cf. the forms with -γ *q in other old sources: Brockem-ann, op. cit., p. 41.

52 Rasānen, op. cit., p. 158.


55 I find in Raquette’s dictionary such forms as *ayagy* “foot,” *e*y “time,” etc.

56 The name of the place called Bailkyl in Moscow, Russia, originates from Turkic *balcīq-balq* “clay, mud, moor.”

57 Yaq means “not” and “poor” in many Turkic languages just as the Mongolian *ugei.*
3. The Common Turkic *q results in x in Salar in the middle of words, in intervocalic position, and also after r (a). This development is rather rare in Turkic. It occurs, however, in Taranchi (otherwise called Uighur, although it does not have anything in common with ancient Uighur) in Eastern Turkestan, and in Azerbaijan Turkic. In all the other cases it is represented by g in Salar (b). This development is common in many Turkic languages.

a. The development *q > x is evident in the following examples:

P. 431 uxu “to read” = Divân oqit-, Chag., Uzb. oqu-, ET. 95 oqo-, Osm. oqu- “to read.”
P. 426 yaxa “collar” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 yaq “collar.”
P. 426 yaxın “near” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. yaqın, ET. 76 yıqın “near.”
P. 428 baxumdži “physician” (derived from baq- “to look, to take care”) = Osm. baqım “care, supervision,” Uzb. baqım “care.”
P. 426 urxan “rope” = Osm. urgan, Chag., Uzb. arqan “rope.”

b. The development *q > g (it is probably g) takes place when the final x < *q occurs in the intervocalic position before the possessive suffix of the third person. This is found in many Turkic languages: in Uzbek in bisyllabic and polysyllabic stems, e.g., ayaq “foot” — ayayi “his foot”; in Taranchi, e.g., qiliq “deed” — qiliyi “his deed.” It is found also in Chagatai, etc. In indissectable stems intervocalic *q results in g (≠ g) in the same bisyllabic stems as in the South Turkic group with a primary long vowel in the first syllable.

P. 431 üzei adagi “the embouchure of a river” < Mongolian adag “end, lower current of a river” = Turkic adaq || azaq || ayaq “leg, foot.”

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57 Radloff, Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Türkensprachen, p. 203.
59 The alternation of the vowel a with a rounded vowel is discussed by Räänen, op. cit., p. 60, where aryan — Osm. organ is quoted. The Turkish word organ means however, in my opinion, only a belt drive and not a rope, which is uryan.
62 Poppe, op. cit., p. 305.
63 Räänen, op. cit., p. 153.
64 The semantic development “end” > “leg” is the same here as in the Mongolian köl “leg, foot” = Turkic kıl “lake.” Lakes in Central Asia often are the end of a river with no river originating from the lake concerned.
4. The Common Turkic consonant *k at the beginning of words remains k in Salar. In a few cases, however, it has become g. As for the Turkic languages in general the consonant *k- is represented by k, e.g., in Ancient Turkic, Middle Turkic, Coman, Chagatai, Taranchi, East Turki, Kirgiz, Kazak, Karakalpak, the Altai dialects, etc. On the other hand, in some Turkic languages the consonant *k- has developed into g. This development is not regular and in some languages it occurs frequently and in others only sporadically. It is more common in Osmanlı (Turkish), in Crimean, Turkmen, and less common in Azerbaycan Turkic. It is unusual in Kirgiz and Kazak but it occurs relatively often in Karakalpak.

a. The cases with an initial k need no further discussion, because such is the usual development in most of the Turkic languages.

P. 428 paga “frog” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. baqa, ET. 40 paga, Turkmen bār 'a6 “frog.”

P. 426 saqal R. 374 sah’al “beard” = Divān, Uzb., ET. 8 saqal “beard.”

RASANEN, l.c.

RADLOFF, op. cit., p. 137-138; Rāsānēn, op. cit., p. 152.

RASANEN, l.c.

MENGES, Qaraqalpaq Grammar, p. 31-32.

MENGES, Qaraqalpaq Grammar, p. 31-32.

Bashkir after P~CCKO-~~UIKM~CKI~~~ non pena~qaeli npoa. H. K.

MENGES, op. cit., p. 31.
b. The examples with an initial \(g < *k\) are rare in Salar. This development should be considered an influence of a language where this is a more common development. It is to be noted that \(g < *k\) is rare at the beginning of genuine Turkic words in East Turki, and the following few examples with \(g\)- in Salar correspond to forms with an initial \(k\) in East Turki.

The last example proves that at least in part of these cases the development \(*k->g\) is due to sandhi. The latter is, in Räsanen’s opinion, responsible for the sonorization of the initial \(*k\) in all the languages where \(*k\) results in \(g\).

5. The final \(*k\) of stems usually results, as \(*q\), in \(x\). This development is rare in Turkic. It occurs in Azerbaijan Turkic, e.g., \(ii'x < *yi'ik\) “load,” \(a'nâx < *âmâqâk\) “anxiety,” and in Balkar, e.g., \(e'sîk\) “door” but \(e'sîx-te\) “in the door.” In Yakut final \(*k\) results regularly in \(x\) after wide vowels.

Räsanen, op. cit., p. 158.
Räsanen, l. c.
Radloff, op. cit., p. 179; Räsanen, op. cit., p. 157.
Poppe, op. cit., p. 322.
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P. 429 ăx (egment) “to plough” = Divăn, Uzb., Kirg., Osm. ek- “to sow.”
P. 431 ămmex, R. 375 ămē “bread” = Osm. ăkmăk “bread.”
P. 428 măşăx, R. 375 măşku “cat” = Chang. măşük, ET. 16 măşük “cat.”
P. 429 tergex “poles supporting the ceilings” = Uzb. tirgāk “pillar, supporting pole,” Bashk. terâk, Osm. dıırâk “pole.”
P. 427 emdăşx “breast” = Chang., Uzb. emcăk, ET. 13 ămē “breast.”
P. 428 kegeliş “partridge” = Divăn, Taranchi, Chang., ET. 83 keklik, Uzb. küklik “partridge.”
P. 427 irăx araxsari (?) “a malicious person” = Divăn erik “skillful, courageous.”

There are only a few examples of *k closing a syllable in the middle of words. It remains k before or after a voiceless consonant but results in g after a liquid.

P. 431 săksăn (cękcęh), R. 373 săksă “eighty” = Divăn seciz on, Chang., Uzb., ET. 31, Osm. săksă “eighty.”
P. 430 năšăkă “inăkă “thin” = Divăn yinēce, Chang. inōkă–yinōkă, Uzb. inōkă–indă, Osm. injā “thin.”
P. 428 tülgă (tölğę) “fox” = Divăn tülü, Chang. tülkü, Uzb. tülü, ET. 40 tülü, Osm. tılı, Karakalpak tülü “fox.”

6. In the middle of words, in intervocalic position, *k results, as far as it is possible to judge from the few examples available, in x, converging with *q. This is an unusual development in Turkic. On the other hand, in stems where *k is geminated in other Turkic languages (i.e., it is kk), it remains k in Salar.

The gemination of the intervocalic consonants seems to be an old phenomenon in Turkic. It occurs most often in numerals as Räsänén states. The origin of the geminated consonants such as kk in iikki “two” and sükiz “eight” is not quite clear and, as Räsänén says in quoting his teacher, the late Professor Bang, it is “a chapter behind seven seals.” It is possible, however, that the gemination is connected somehow with the accent as Menges suggests. At any rate it is interesting to observe that where the other Turkic languages have -kk- the Salar language has k, but where the other Turkic languages have k > g, Salar has x.

78 Räsänén, op. cit., p. 141.
79 Räsänén, op. cit., p. 140.
80 Menges, op. cit., p. 42.
REMARKS ON THE SALAR LANGUAGE

P. 429 čüzür (тюхүр) "to spit" = Chag. tüükür “spittle,” Uzb. tüjür- “to spit,” ET. 112 tüükür-, Osm. tüükür-, Karakalpak tükür- “to spit.”

P. 431 sükiz, R. 373 sekiz “eight” = Divân sekiz–sekkiz, Chag., Uzb. süküz, Turkmen, Anadolu (Urfa) sekkız, ET. 31 sekiz “eight.”

7. The voiced postlingual consonants *γ and *g occurred in Common Turkic only in the middle and at the end of words. The difference in the treatment of the syllables *ay, *oy, *əg, *əg, etc., in various Turkic languages is one of the criteria for the classification of the Turkic languages, e.g., *ay > aγ, av, au, ø, û, ıa; *əg > äg, äy, i, i̯, etc.82

In Salar the consonants *γ and *g remain and the syllables *ay, *oy, *əg, etc. do not become diphthongs or long vowels as in many other Turkic languages. Salar, consequently, belongs, in this respect, to the same group as Chagatai and Uzbek.83 In the latter, however, *ay results in av in the non-initial syllables, a phenomenon familiar also in the literary languages of the Turks of Middle Asia, where it occurs also in the initial syllable of words.84 The syllables *ay, *oy, etc. remain unchanged also in East Turki.85 Potanin transcribes both sounds as r, but in back vocalic stems the consonant is probably g or γ.

*ay > Salar ag:

P. 427 tag “mountain” (cf. R. 374 t’ar with r rendering the velar γ resembling the uvular r) = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 74 taγ “mountain.”


P. 428 yaγ “butter” (cf. R. 374 ak’er, probably < əγ yaγ “white butter”) = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 36 yaγ “fat.”

*aγ > Salar aγa:

P. 427 aγaš “tree” (cf. R. 374 arashé, instead of aγaš with γ mistaken for

81 Råsånen, op. cit., p. 141.
82 Cf. Samoilović’s classification: Inan, op. cit., p. 31; Råsånen, op. cit., pp. 112-113, 118.
83 Poppe, op. cit., p. 309.
84 Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 42.
87 Cf. Råsånen, op. cit., p. 112.
88 Metathesis occurs in this word, derived from yaγ- “to rain,” in various Turkic languages, cf. Råsånen, op. cit., p. 226.
a uvular $r$ = Divan $yu\gamma ac$, Chag. $yu\gamma ac$, Uzb. $a\gamma ac$-$ya\gamma ac$, ET. 136 $ya\gamma ac$ “wood.”

\[ *a\gamma i > Salar a\gamma i: \]

P. 427 $sagir$ “deaf” = Chag. $sa\gamma ir$-$sa\gamma ru < *sa\gamma ru$, Osm. $sa\gamma ir$, Karakalpak $sa\gamma ru$ “deaf.”

P. 429 $bagri$ “liver” (the correct translation is “his liver”) = Divan, Chag., Uzb. $ba\gamma ir$, Kirg. $b\gamma i$, Karakalpak $ba\gamma i$ “liver.”

P. 429 $a\gamma il$ “people” = Divan $a\gamma il$ “sheep corral,” Chag., Uzb. $a\gamma il$ “shelter for cattle,” Bashkir, Karakalpak $a\gamma il$ “village” > Russian $a\gamma il$ “a Tatar village, a village of the natives in the Caucasus.”

P. 431 $a:\gamma r$ “heavy,” P. 426 $buyagir$ “pregnant” < boy “body” and $a\gamma r$ “heavy” = Divan $a\gamma r$, Chag., Uzb. $a\gamma r$, ET. $a\gamma r$, Karakalpak $a\gamma r$ “heavy,” Kirg. $a\gamma r$ “heavy.”

P. 430 $a\gamma z$ “mouth,” P. 428 $agir$ “beak” (the correct translation is “his mouth” and “his beak”), R. 374 $aks$ “lips” = Divan, Chag., Uzb. $ay\gamma z$, ET. 75 $ay\gamma z$, Karakalpak $ay\gamma z$, Kirg. $ay\gamma z$ “mouth.”

The group *$a\gamma u$ develops in two different ways: when *$\gamma$ stands at the beginning of the second syllable, it results in $agu$ in Salar; when *$\gamma$ stands at the beginning of a syllable more remote from the beginning of the beginning of the word, it results in u:

P. 431 $agu$ “poison” = Divan, Chag., Uzb. $ay\gamma u$, ET. (Le Coq) $\gamma a$, Turkmen $\gamma a$, Osm. $ay\gamma i$, Karakalpak $u$, Kirg. $u$ “poison.”

P. 430 $pi\gamma u$ “calf” = Divan $buzayu$, Chag. $buzayu-buzawu$, Uzb. $buzaq$, ET. 15 $mozaq$, Karakalpak $buzaq$, Bashk. $bizaq$ “calf.”

\[ *o\gamma i > Salar u\gamma i: \]

P. 426 $agri$ “thief” = Divan $o\gamma ri$, Chag., Uzb. $o\gamma ri$, ET. 121 $o\gamma ri$ “thief.”

\[ *a\gamma u > Salar o\gamma u: \]

P. 428 $ogul$ $pala$ “son, boy” (pala “child”), cf. R. 374 $ao$ or $\ell i$ “boy” = Divan, Chag., Uzb. $o\gamma ul$, ET. $o\gamma ol$, Kirg. $u$ “son.”

P. 430 $sxur$ *$s\gamma xur$ < $so\gamma ur$ “marmot” = Divan $so\gamma ur$ or $su\gamma ur$ “rabbit,” Uzb. $su\gamma ur$, Kirg. $s\gamma ur$ “mountain hare,” Bashk. $h\gamma xur$ *$so\gamma ur$ “marmot.”

Abnormal developments, however, are the following:

P. 431 $sok$ $su$ (probably $s\gamma q$ $su$) “cold water” = Divan $so\gamma uq$, Chag. $sawuq$, Uzb. $sawuq$, ET. 19 $sawuq$-$sawaq$-$so\gamma uq$, Turkmen $sawuq$, Osm. $so\gamma uq$, Kumyk $sawuq$, Azerb. $so\gamma x$-$s\gamma x$, Kirg., Kazak, Kazan Tatar $suq$, etc. “cold.”

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89 Cf. Rässänên, op. cit., p. 113. It is to be noted that this word developed irregularly in most Turkic languages. Thus in Telengit it should be *$\dot{a}$č, etc.

90 On $a\gamma i$, $a\gamma r$, and $ay\gamma z$ cf. Rässänên, op. cit., p. 114.

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P. 429 yurγiν “blanket” = Divān yo-yurγan, Chag. ya-wurγan ~ ya-yurγan “blanket.” Salar yurγiν is probably due to a metathesis such as we have in the form yorγan in the South Western group of the Turkic languages: yurγiν < *yur-ρiν = SW yorγan (cf. Osm. yorγan < yorγan < yorγan < yorγan).92

*uγ > Salar u in the initial syllable, ũ in the remaining syllables:

P. 432 yu “wash!” = Divān yu-< *yuγ-, Uzb. yu-< *yuγ-, ET. 130 yu- “to wash” = Mo. uγia-< *uγiYa- “to wash.”
P. 426 ulle< *uluγ “big” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 45 uluγ “great.”

8. The postlingual consonant *g results in g-γ.

*eg > Salar eγ:

P. 428 peγ (peγ) “prince” (the meaning is identical with that of Mongolian noγan) = Divān bey, Uzb. biγ, Kazan Tatar boy, ET. 9 bey “a native official.”

*egi > Salar e (perhaps only in Modern Mongolian loan words):

P. 428 termen “mill” = Divān, Chag. tāγirmān, ET. 72 tāγirmān, Kazak tirmān, Kirg. tārbān, etc. “mill” = Mo. tegerme, Khalkha tērme “mill.”93

*ōγ > Salar iγ:

P. 428 būγiriz (= būγiřiz) “kidney” = Uzb. būγrāk, ET. 60 būγrāk, Osm. būγrāk ~ būγrāk, Turkm. būγrāk, Taranchi būγrāk, Kirg. būγrōk, Karakalpak būγrāk “kidney” = Mo. bōgere “kidney.”94

9. The groups *iγ and *iγ have developed differently in the initial syllable and in suffixes in certain Turkic languages.95

*iγ > Salar ig-γ; in the non-initial (suffixal) syllables Salar has i, thus belonging, in the classification of the Turkic languages, to the i-group.96 In loan words taken from other Turkic languages Salar has ig (or iγ).

a. In original words:

P. 429 igha- “to cry, weep” = Divān, Uzb. igha-, ET. 23 igha- “to cry.”
P. 426 igh “spindle” = Divān yiq “spindle,” Uzb. yiqiγi “spinning wheel,” ET. 112 yik < *iγ, Osm. iγ “spindle.”
P. 431 ari “clean,” P. 431 ari imes “unclean” = Divān arīγ, Kirg. arū “clean, immaculate.”

92 Cf. Rāsānen, l.c.
93 Cf. Rāsānen, op. cit., p. 119.
94 Cf. Rāsānen, l.c.
95 Rāsānen, op. cit., p. 124.
96 Rāsānen, op. cit., p. 124.
97 Cf. Iśān, op. cit., p. 31; cf. Menges, op. cit., p. 27.

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P. 427 isi “hot” in isi su “hot water” = Divān isiq, Chag. isiɣ, Kirg. isiŋ, ET. 51 isiŋ < isiɣ “hot.”


b. In loan words:

P. 426 agrıq < ayirɣ “sick, ill,” a loan from an iq-language = Divān ayirɣ, Chag. ayirq, Kirg. ĕr, ET. 53 & 107 ayirq “illness, sickness.”

P. 428 atığ (a'tıq) < adıɣ “bear,” cf. R. 135 1st ațe “bear” 97 = Divān aðy, Soyt aðy, Sagai aʒı, Chag. ayıq, Turkm. ayı, etc. 98 ET. 9 ağıq “bear.”

*ig > Salar ɨɣ:

P. 428 ɨgit kısı “a young person” = Uighur, Coman, Chag., etc. ɨgit, 99 ET. 139 ɨgit “youth.”

P. 427 igna (ıńq) “needle” = Chag., Osm. igna, ET. 77 igna “needle.”

10. To conclude the discussion of the postlingual consonants it should be noted that *γ and *g remain at the beginning of suffixes. Salar belongs, consequently, not to the qalγan-type of Turkic languages.100


P. 434 ɨn ɨśagan (ɕını̞ əɨəγa̞) “you said” (əşıγan is a nomen praeteriti with the suffix -γan-γi̞n).

11. The mediolingual consonant.

Common Turkic had only one mediolingual consonant and this was *γ. It occurred at the beginning of words and in medial and final positions. Let us start with the initial *γ.

In various Turkic languages *γ- results in ɣ-, j- (dʒ-), ž-, Ǧ-, and Yakut s-.102 Salar is a γ-language like Chagatai, literary Uzbek (and the so called yoqče-dialects of the Colloquial Uzbek), East Turki, Osmanli, Turkmenian, etc.

*γ The Common Turkic consonant *d (⁎g) before *i or *ı results in ç or dʒ in Salar.

The form a'tığ goes back to ətıq < adıɣ < aðy. This word is, nevertheless, a loan word in Salar, because the regular development of final *γ is ı and not ʾı.103

100 RASANEN, op. cit., p. 123.
101 Cf. RASANEN, op. cit., p. 121.
102 RASANEN, op. cit., p. 121.
103 Cf. RASANEN, op. cit., p. 121.
104 RASANEN, op. cit., p. 155.
105 RASANEN, op. cit., p. 188.
106 MENGES, op. cit., p. 106; RASANEN, op. cit., p. 188 ff.
P. 428 yatmiz “to lie down” (a verbal noun) = Divān yat-, Chag., Uzb., ET. 65 yat-, Karakalpak, Kazak dżat- “to lie.”
P. 428 yüz (103) “face” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. yüş, ET. 35 yüz, Kazak, Karakalpak dżüz “face.”
P. 428, R. 375 ya “bow” (for shooting) = Divān ya, Osm. yay, ET. 13 ya yar, Karakalpak dżay “bow.”
P. 427 yagymır, R. 374 yagımır “rain” = Divān yaqımır, Chag. yamır, Uzb. yamır, ET. 94 yamır, Kazak, Karakalpak dżam-ıır “rain.”
P. 427 yol (RJ) “road” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 98 yol, Karakalpak, Kazak dżol “road.”
P. 427 yalgil (RJ~) “light, not heavy” = Chag., Uzb., E. yeqil, Karakalpak dieqıl “light, not heavy.”
P. 426 yolkurib yur “to run” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. yûr- , ET. yur- “to run,” Karakalpak dżür “to run.”
P. 427 yel (RJ) “earth” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 31 yer, Karakalpak dżer “earth.”
P. 428 yel (RJ) “spring, well” = Divān yul “spring.”

12. In a few words, the initial *y is represented in Salar by dż as in Kazak, Karakalpak, Kirgiz, Nogai, certain Uzbek dialects (the so called dżoqči-dialects), etc.103

The number of words with dż- in Salar is less than the number of words with y-. Therefore, I believe that dż- occurs only under the influence of the neighboring dż-languages, e.g., Kazak or in loan words from non-Turkic languages.

P. 428 dżugurdz < *džurdraq < *yurdraq “fist” = Divān yurduq, Altai yurduq, Kirg. dżurdurq, Karakalpak dżurdurq; Chag., Osm. yumruq “fist,” the latter being influenced by yumalaq “ball, round.”

103 Menges, l. c.; Räšänen, op. cit., p. 185.
The initial consonant of foreign words is also rendered by də:

13. A common phenomenon in Turkic languages is the disappearance of the initial *y, particularly before the narrow vowels i, i, and also ü.105

14. In final position *y remains as such (i. e. as y or i):

15. Prelingual consonants.

The voiceless prelingual consonant *t is represented as t at the

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104 The form dəgirmeme, given by Potaņin is probably a Kazak form, while Rockhill’s ĭgěrm is what we should expect Salar to have.
105 Radloff, op. cit., p. 168-169; Räsänen, op. cit., p. 190; Poppe, op. cit., p. 322.
beginning and at the end of words unless it results in č. The latter development will be discussed later.

The voiceless stop *t remains t in most Turkic languages.\(^\text{106}\) The languages of the South Western group, where initial *t frequently results in d, are an exception. In Karakalpak *t- is also represented in many words by d.\(^\text{107}\) This development occurs, however, in single words in almost all Turkic languages.\(^\text{108}\)

P. 430 tor “net” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. tor, ET. 77 tor ~ to “net.”

P. 431 tört “four” (cf. R. 373 tūē = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 40 tört “four.”)

P. 431 tokuz, R. 373 tokos “nine” = Divān, Chag. toquz ~ toqquz, Uzb. toqquz, ET. 77 toqos “nine.”

P. 430 toği “wedding” = Chag., Uzb., ET. 132 toy “a wedding festival.”

P. 430 toğus (TOHGYC) “pig” = Divān toğus, Chag., Uzb. toğγus, ET. 86 toğ (g) oğ “pig.”


P. 429 teñ “perspiration” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. ter, ET. 85 tær “perspiration.”

P. 430 tuz “salt,” R. 374 t’uē “white salt” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 100 tuz “salt.”


P. 427 temir, R. 374 témur “iron” = Divān temir, Chag. temir, Uzb. temir ~ temir, ET. 57 tymyr “iron.”

P. 427 tamır “artery = Divān tamar ~ tamır ~ tamur, Chag. tamur, Uzb. tamır, ET. 6 tomar “artery.”

P. 426 tivā (TÝB), R. 375 teuye’ “camel” = Divān, Chag. teve, Uzb. tiyā, ET. 15 tivā “camel.”

P. 427 armut, R. 375 armut “pear” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. armut, ET. 84 a(r)mü “pear.”

P. 428 kanat “wing” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 135 qanat “wing.”

P. 428 at, R. 375 at “horse” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 51 a~ET at “horse.”

P. 429 bulut “cloud” = Divān bulit ~ bulut, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 bulut “cloud.”

16. In intervocalic position or before a vowel and after a liquid consonant the voiceless stop *t usually remains in Salar and does not become voiced, as in the case of many other Turkic lan-

\(^{106}\) RÄŠÄÅÅ, op. cit., p. 158.

\(^{107}\) MENGES, op. cit., p. 30-34.

\(^{108}\) RÄŠÄÅÅ, I. e.
guages. Thus Salar is in this respect like Chagatai, Uzbek, and East Turki, but it differs, e.g., from Altai, Telengit, etc.

P. 426 aš kaı̂natur “to cook” = Divân, Uzb., ET 12. qaynat- “to boil.”
P. 427 otun “fuel” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. otun, ET. 41 otun “fuel.”
P. 427 katun kē “woman,” R. 374 kadun or kadunksh “woman” = Divân qatun, Chag. χατυν, Uzb. χατυν ~ χατιν, ET. 136 χατυν, Osm. qadin “woman, lady.”

P. 427 ātē (373), R. 373 ētē “to-morrow” = Divân, Chag. erte, Uzb. ertē, ET. 123 ērtē “to-morrow.”

P. 427 altun, R. 374 altun or altun “gold” = Divân altun, Chag., ET. 44 altun, Uzb. altin “gold.”

P. 428 otačī “physician” = Divân, Chag. otači, cf. Mongolian otači < Uig. otači “physician, herboologist.”

The development *t > d in intervocalic position occurs only in one word and is probably due to the influence of one of the Turkic languages where this is a common phenomenon: ¹¹⁰

P. 431 idi, cf. R. 373 yētē “seven” = Divân yetti, Chag. yeti~yeti, Uzb. yetti, Karakalpak dżeti, Altai, Telengit yätti, etc.,¹¹¹ ET. 105 yete, Osm. yedi “seven.”

17. The consonant t is probably greatly aspirated in Salar and this may explain why in a few cases Potanin renders it with the Cyrillic letter у = тs:

P. 427 otuzn (отзуң) ~ otun “fuel” = ET. 41 otun “wood, logs,” Uzb. otun “a log for fire.”
P. 427 aį tsutseldži “lunar eclipse”: tsutseldži is a past tense of tsutsel- *tutul- “to be eclipsed,” Uzb. tutul- “to be kept,” cf. Karakalpak aį tutilu “lunar eclipse.”

P. 429 ősīq (оциг) ~ ütüğ (үтүг) “threshold,” cf. Divân öt- “to pass, go through.”

18. The consonant *t before *i, *ī and *ū results in č in Salar. In the intervocalic position it results also in dž:


¹¹⁰ Päätänen, op. cit., pp. 149 ff.
¹¹¹ Further examples in Menges, op. cit., p. 40.
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P. 434 ačixči ə*ačiqtí* “he became hungry” = Divān ačiqtí, Chag., Uzb. ačiq- “to become hungry,” Osm. adšiq- “to become hungry.”
P. 430 ardži ə*art + possessive suffix -i “the back of the hand” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. art “the hind side.”
P. 434 otin kalab tosvi “all the fuel has burnt” where tosvi is a past tense of tos-
P. 429 ēixīr (χιξύψ) “to spit” = Chag. tükkürük “spittle,” Uzb. tüfür- “to spit,” ET. 112 tükü, Osm. tüükür- “to spit.”
P. 427 ēičīn “smoke” = Divān tüttün, Chag., Uzb. tüttün, ET. 109 tuštn “smoke.”
P. 431 ton ēixkuri “to sew a coat” = Divān tık-, Uzb., ET. 105 tık- “to sew.”

19. Contrary to SAMOiloVİČ’s definition, Salar is a y-language and not a d-language.112 The ancient *d (*δ) in the middle and at the end of stems has resulted in y and remains d only after *n, *m, *l, and *r.113

It is true, however, that the word for “foot” occurs in Salar with d. Cf. P. 426 yalan adax “bare foot.” But, on the other hand, on page 430 of POTANIN’s glossary, “foot” is ayax, and the above form adax is the only example for -d- ə*δ. Therefore, there is reason to assume that adax is a loan from one of the Turkic languages still preserving -d- ə*δ.114

P. 430 ayax “foot,” P. 429 ayag čiɣi “foot sole” = Soyot, Karagas adaq, Yakut atax, Sagai, Shor azaq.115 Chag., Uzb., Osm., etc. ayaq, ET. 39 ayaɣ “foot, leg.”
P. 428 kuɣrux “tail” = Chag., Uzb., ET. 118 qyurug, cf. quduruq, quruzuq, etc. “tail.”116
P. 430 toq “wedding” = Chag., Uzb., ET. 132 toy “a wedding festival.”

Before *i or *i the consonant *d results in č or dž:
P. 428 ačix, cf. R. 135 isht atsê “bear” = Divān ašiy, Uzb. ayiq, ET. 9 ayïq “bear.”

112 INAN, op. cit., p. 39.
113 Cf. RÅSÅSEN, op. cit., pp. 162 ff.
114 RADLOFF, op. cit., p. 111-112.
116 Aptullah BATTAL, Ibnii-Miḥennâ Lügati (Istanbul nüshasınıms türkçe bölügenim endeksidir), İstanbul, 1934, p. 56.
The past tense is formed in the Turkic languages with the endings -dim, -dîn, -dî, etc.\textsuperscript{119} In Salar the consonant *d of this ending has become dž under the influence of the following *i. This development resembles greatly the development d > j in Mongolian in which there is a verbal form in -dži: cf. Khalkha -dži of the past tense and of the so called conversum imperfecti,\textsuperscript{120} = Mo. -juyui < *jiyui (past tense) and -ju < *ji (conversum imperfecti).\textsuperscript{121}

P. 434 bičidži “he wrote” = Divân bitidi “he wrote,”\textsuperscript{122} Khalkha bitišidži “he wrote.”

P. 434 keni (< *kelinnī) aldži (< *aldehyi) “he married” (“he took a daughter-in-law”) = Divân aldži “he took.”\textsuperscript{123}

P. 433 kar yagdži “it snowed” (Potanin’s translation “it snows” is not correct), P. 433 yagmur yagdži “it rained” (verbatim: “rain rained,” Potanin translates as “it rains”) = Divân yağdži “it rained.”\textsuperscript{124}

P. 433 mus toqdži (Töhtazkei) has frozen = Divân toqdi “it froze.”\textsuperscript{125}

P. 429 aži kicilendži “the moon has decreased” = Divân kicikledi “he considered him inferior” or “belittled him,” “despised him.”\textsuperscript{126}

P. 433 mus iridži “the ice has melted” = Divân eritti “he caused to melt.”\textsuperscript{127}

20. After r, l, m, and n the consonant *d results in d (or t) provided that the immediately following vowel is not *i or *i.

P. 426 tašinda “outside” from taš “outside” = Divân taš, Uzb. taşqari “outside.”

P. 428 yultus, R. 373 yuldus “star” = Divân, Chag. yulduz, Uzb. yıldız, ET. 113 yuldüz, Osm. yıldız “star.”

P. 427 kündüşi (kyndış) “day” = Divân, Chag. kündüz, Uzb. kündüz –kündüz, ET. 25 kunduz “daytime,” Osm. gündüz “the whole day.”

P. 481 sanduv (sandวก) “chest, trunk” = Chag. sanduq, Uzb. sandiq “chest” < Persian.


\textsuperscript{120} N. Poppe, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, Wiesbaden, 1951, pp. 80, 85.


\textsuperscript{122} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 95-96.

\textsuperscript{123} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 17.

\textsuperscript{124} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 736.

\textsuperscript{125} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 639.

\textsuperscript{126} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 348.

\textsuperscript{127} Besim Atalay, op. cit., p. 190.
The intervocalic ċ in loan words remains and is sometimes rendered by POTANIN with t:

P. 426 adām “Adam” = ET. 69 adām, Osm. adam “man” < Arabic.
P. 429 cadīr “tent” = ET. 129 cadīr, Osm. cadīr “tent” < Persian.
P. 426 xudā “God” = ET. 44 xudā “God” < Persian.
P. 429 sadīx “bow case” < Mongolian; cf. Khalkha sūdāg, Mo. sa-yaday “bow case.”

P. 427 yatā “to be tired,” yatāmiš “tired” < Mongolian; cf. Mo. yada- “to be unable, to be tired.”

Initial and final ċ of loan words becomes t:

P. 426 ċah “God” = ET. 44 ċah “God” < Persian.

21. The affricate *če remains at the beginning of words and in intervocalic position. It becomes voiced in the suffix -či of nomina agentis.128

P. 431 čūm “grass” = Chag. čūp “a grass stalk,” Kirgiz čūp “dry grass,” Karakalpak čūp “grass.”

P. 426 čīn “wolf” < Mongolian; cf. Middle Mongolian činā, Mogol činā, Khalkha činā, Mo. čın “wolf.” ROCKHILL (p. 375) has puri “wolf” = Kirg. böri, Uzb. böri-börü “wolf.”

P. 426 čamča “woman’s dress” < Mongolian čamčа “shirt.”

P. 426 čư “to call” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. čư “to come out.”

P. 429 čul “to call” = Divān,129 Chag., Uzb. čal- “to call.”

The intervocalic d in loan words remains and is sometimes rendered by POTANIN with t:

P. 426 adām “Adam” = ET. 69 adām, Osm. adam “man” < Arabic.
P. 429 cadīr “tent” = ET. 129 cadīr, Osm. cadīr “tent” < Persian.
P. 426 xudā “God” = ET. 44 xudā “God” < Persian.
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P. 426 čamča “woman’s dress” < Mongolian čamčа “shirt.”

P. 426 čư “to call” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. čư “to come out.”

P. 427 čula “to call” = Divān,129 Chag., Uzb. čura- “to call.”

P. 429 čul “to call” = Divān,129 Chag., Uzb. čula- “to call.”
Otherwise -č- results sometimes from *st and from -dž- < *ǰ in loan words:


P. 428 kādža “to bite” < Mongolian; cf. Mo. qaja-, Kh. zadza- “to bite.”

P. 429  ámbidža “donkey” < Mongolian; cf. Mo. eljigen, Kh. ildžig, Kalm. eldžing “donkey.” Rockhill, p. 375, has ésh “ass” = Uzb. ešā “ass, donkey.”

22. In final position *č results in š. This development was noted by me in Chagatai, as represented in the dictionary Muqaddimat al-Adab, before the consonant t. It occurs also in other Chagatai texts. In Karakalpak, Kazak, etc. it has resulted in š in all positions.

P. 428 iši, R. 375 esko “goat” = Divān eckē, Chag. eckē, Uzb. ečē, ET. 44 egy “goat.”

P. 431 iś, R. 373 ush “three” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. ść, ET. 122 ść “three.”


The final š < *č sometimes remains even in intervocalic position, a trait characteristic for Kazak and Karakalpak:

P. 426 išinde “within” = Uzb. ičidē, ET. 54 ičidā “in,” Karakalpak īšindā “in, within.”

23. The Common Turkic spirant *s is represented in Salar by s in all positions. This is also the case in most Turkic languages with the exception of Bashkir, Turkmen, and Yakut.

P. 430 sol ăl “left hand,” cf. R. ellt “hand” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 sol “left.”

P. 430 az saš “white haired,” cf. R. 373 ah’e or ah’aseu (!) “white” = Divān, Uzb., ET. 47 sač “hair.”

133 Poppe, l.c.
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P. 430 siqne “the younger sister,” cf. R. 374 ération sanyé “sisters” = Divān, Chag. singil, Uzb. sinjil, ET. 108 sinjil “younger sister.”
P. 430 sor “ask!” = Chag. sor-, Uzb. sora-, ET. 7 sora- “to ask.”
P. 428 süt, R. 374 sut “milk” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. süt, ET. 72 sut “milk.”
P. 426 kusax “belly” = Chag., Osm. qursa “stomach,” ET. 72 sīt “belly.”
P. 427 isī “hot” = Divān isīq, Chag. isīq-ī, Uzb. Kirg. issiq, Karakalpak, Kazak, Osm. issī, ET. 51 jssiq “hot.”
P. 427 āsnā “to yawn” = Divān, Chag. āsnā-, Uzb. āsnā- “to yawn.”

24. The Common Turkic *š also and the sound ʃ in loan words remain as š. In final position it is often soft and, therefore, transcribed by POTANIN as ʃ (113). Divān does not differ from most Turkic languages in the treatment of *š where it is represented by š. The situation is different, however, in Kazak and Karakalpak where *š has resulted in s. 120

P. 430 šīra “a small table” < Mongolian; cf. Khalkha širē, Oirat širē, Mo. šīre “table.”
P. 427 qap “head” = Uzb. šaytan, ET. 27 šeytan “devil” < Arabic.
P. 427 paš, R. 374 pasi “head” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 48 baš “head.”
P. 426 aš kainatur “to cook” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 39 aš “food.”
P. 431 yitmiš, R. 373 yemush “seventy” = Chag., Uzb. yetmiš, ET. 105 yetmiš “seventy.”
P. 430 kūmiš, R. 374 kumush “silver” = Divān, Chag. kūmiš, Uzb. kümüş, ET. 107 kümüş “silver.”
P. 430 piya guš “owl” = Chag., Uzb. bay guš “owl.”
P. 431 yakši “good” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. gayšī, ET. 44 gayš “good.”
P. 431 kisī “person” = Divān, Chag., Uzb. kisi, ET. 85 kisi “person.”
P. 427 kishe “to chew” = Divān, Chag. kewšē-, Uzb. kavša “to ruminate.”

An unusual form is īski, R. 373 skē “two” = Divān īki-ikki, Chag., Uzb. īki-ikki-eki, Osm., Anatolian (Urfa), Yakut, etc. īkki where the intrusive ʃ is a further development of *y before *k: *ikki > *yikki > *yki > *ski > īski. This development occurs also

RÄSÄNEN, op. cit., p. 142.
MENGES, op. cit., p. 96.
RÄSÄNEN, op. cit., p. 141.
in the language of the Sarö Yögurs in Ma-chuan-tzü where we find škoś “two.”

It is to be noted that the initial *y results in an s-sound (namely $) also in Monguor spoken in Kansu, e. g., sge “big” = Mo. yeke; seniê- “to laugh” < *yiniye- < *iniye- = Mo. iniye-, Kh. inê-, etc. In IVANOVSKY’s Dagur material we also find words with an initial š < *y.¹⁴⁰

25. The Common Turkic *z < Proto-Turkic *⁺ = Mongolian, Tungus, and Korean r is represented by z which in final position sometimes becomes s.

P. 427 semiz “ fat” = Diván semiz-semüz, Chag., ET. 36 semiz “fat.”

P. 431 otuz “ thirty,” cf. R. 373 utush (!) = Chag. otuz-ottuz, Uzb. ottuz, ET. 121 otoz “thirty.”

P. 430 tuz “ salt,” R. 374 t’us “white salt” = Diván, Chag., Uzb., ET. 101 tuz “salt.”

P. 430 siš “word” = Diván, Chag., Uzb., ET. 137 söž “word.”

P. 431 kos “charcoal” = Chag. qoz, Osm. qor “hot coal, burning coal.”


P. 428 kaxin “kettle” = Chag., Uzb., ET. 60 qazan “kettle.”

P. 428 tišin “knee” = Diván, Chag., Uzb., ET. 61 tiz “knee.”

P. 431 kózí “lamb” = Diván, Chag., Uzb. qozí, ET. qozí “lamb.”


The consonant *b is represented by p at the absolute beginning of words. When following, in a sentence, a word ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant, the initial labial is voiced (i.e. it is b) and may even result in the spirant v. In this connection it should be remarked that Common Turkic *b- results in p in a number of Turkic languages.¹⁴¹ It is also known that in some Turkic languages certain voiceless initial consonants become voiced in quick speech when the preceding word ends in a voiced consonant or a vowel (sandhi).¹⁴²

¹³⁸ C. G. E. MANNERHEIM. “A Visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs,” JSFOu 27 (1911) 61.


¹⁴¹ A. O. IVANOVSKIJ, Mandjurica, Образцы солонского и дахурского языковъ, Санктпeterбургъ, 1894; Н. Н. Поппе, Дагурское наречение, Ленинград, 1930, p. 137.

¹⁴² RÅSÅNEN, op. cit., p. 169.
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P. 427 paś “head” = P. 431 übi başi “house master” (“the head of the household”); R. 374 pash “head” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 48 baś “head.”
P. 432 bar “is” = P. 427 var “is” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 57 bar, Anat., Azerb. var, Crimean war “is.”
P. 432 temir ver “give some iron!” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. ver-, Osm. ver-, Azerb. vär-, Crimean ver- “to give.”
P. 432 vagur “go!” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. bar-, Osm. var-, Crimean war- “to go.”
P. 427 wax “to watch” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 67 baq- “to look, to take care.”
P. 431 purb “trumpet” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 70 baq- “to look, to take care.”

In a few cases, the initial v is a prothetic consonant before a rounded vowel. In other words, in these cases, it is by origin a “consonantized vowel,” e. g.:
P. 430 vur “to shoot” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 18 bala “child.”
P. 431 pir “one” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., Osm. bir, ET. 80 bi(r) “one.”
P. 430 palta, R. 374 palta “axe” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. balta, ET. 7 palto “axe.”

Potanin’s material contains, among others, the following isolated words with an initial p:
P. 428 pal “honey” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. bal “honey.”
P. 431 pir, R. 373 pir “one” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., Osm. bir, ET. 80 bi(r) “one.”
P. 430 palta, R. 374 palta “axe” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. balta, ET. 7 palto “axe.”
P. 426 pilü “honey” = Mongolian; cf. Khalkha bili, Mo. bürüü “honey.”
P. 431 pür “trumpet” = Mongolian; cf. Kh. bür, Mo. bürüge “trumpet.”

The following words occur only with b-:
P. 430 bars, cf. R. 375 pass “tiger” = Divân, Chag. bars, Uzb. yolbars, ET. 122 ba(r) “tiger.”
P. 429 bulut “cloud” = Divân bulut-bušt, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 bulut “cloud.”
P. 426 borsug “badger” = Uzb. borsuq, Karakalpak porsiq, Osm. porsuq, Bashk. burhíg, Kazan Tatar buruug “badger” > Russian ṣapçuq.
P. 429 basa giñe (gyñe) “the day after to-morrow,” cf. R. 373 pa-sagon = Divân baza “after, later.”
P. 426 bar köşi “rich” (the opposite of yoq köşi “poor man,” “a man with nothing”), cf. R. 376 parkış “rich” = Divân bar “big, great” (semantics: “is” — “big” — “rich” like Russian батый and Ukrainian бато “much”), Chag. bar “is” and “property,” Osm. var “is” and “property.”

143 Cf. Rasann, op. cit., p. 169.
144 Cf. Rasann, op. cit., p. 194.
27. The Common Turkic *b in final position has disappeared in Salar. The intermediate stage was probably *w or *v as in many other Turkic languages.\(^{145}\)

P. 426 su < *sub “water” ~ P. 428 suγ (cyχ) with a secondary γ, R. 374 su “water” = Ancient Turkic sub, Divān, Turkmen, Uzb. suv, Osm., Azerb. su, etc.\(^{146}\) ET. 131 su “water.”

P. 427 kūše- < *kevše- < *keviše- “to chew” = Divān, Chag. kevše-, Uzb. kāvšā-, Osm. gevše- “to ruminate” = Mongolian: Mo. kebide-, Kalm. kev- “to ruminate.”\(^{147}\)

P. 427 üj < *āb “house” (cf. R. 374 oyē or āwē) = Ancient Turkic āb, Divān āv, Osm. ev, Azerb. āv, Turkm. āy, Kazak āy, etc. “house.”\(^{148}\)

P. 426 tūvā < *tābā or *tāwā “camel,” R. 375 teuyē = Divān, Chag. tāvā, Coman tōvā, Uzb. tūyā, Osm. deve,\(^{149}\) ET. 15 tūvā–tygā (with a secondary g) “camel.”

P. 426 tavaz “dish” = Osm., Kazan tabaq, Uzb. tābāq–tāvāq, etc.\(^{150}\) ET. 28 tabaq (tavaq) “dish.”


28. Common Turkic did not have the initial *p which existed in Common Altaic but had already disappeared in a pre-Turkic period.\(^{152}\) Its only trace, at the present time, is the spirant h at the beginning of a number of words in Chagatai, Uzbek, Azerbaijan Turkic, etc.\(^{153}\) The consonant *p exists, however, in the medial and final position and results in -p- (~b-, ~w-) and -p.\(^{154}\)

In Salar *p results in b ~ p in final position, in v ~ b after a liquid consonant, and in b in intervocalic position.

\(^{145}\) Radloff, op. cit., pp. 189-184, 186; Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 27; Räsänenn, op. cit., pp. 124 ff.

\(^{146}\) Cf. Menges, op. cit., p. 28; Räsänenn, op. cit., p. 197.


\(^{148}\) Räsänenn, op. cit., p. 128.

\(^{149}\) Räsänenn, op. cit., p. 129.

\(^{150}\) Räsänenn, op. cit., p. 126.

\(^{151}\) Cf. Räsänenn, op. cit., p. 125.


\(^{154}\) Räsänenn, op. cit., pp. 171-172.
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P. 427 *sipsa* “broom” = Diván *süpürğu*, Chag. *süpürğu-* *
süpürți*, Uzb. *süpürți*, ET. 14 *supurği*, Mo. *süpür < *sipür “broom.”

P. 428 *kób* “much, many” = Diván, Chag., Uzb. *kôp*, ET. 70 *kop “many.”


P. 430 *sap* “handle” (of a tea pot) = Diván, Chag., Uzb. sap “handle of a knife.”

P. 428 *yarvax < *yapraq “leaf” = Diván *yapyrçaq*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 *yapraq “leaf.”

The only example of -*p- > m* is:


Such examples of *m < -*p- also occur in other Turkic languages.155

29. The Nasals.

The nasal consonants do not differ from their usual developments in other Turkic languages.

The consonant *m* is in all positions represented by *m*. Also, where in the language of the Orkhon inscriptions and in Osmanli there is an initial *b* followed by a nasal (either in the following syllable or closing that beginning with *b*) we find in Salar the consonant *m*. Salar also has the consonant *m* instead of the initial *b* in a few words not containing a nasal in the following syllable.156


P. 430 *mîŋus (МОНГУС) “horn” = AT. (Uig.) mîŋîs ~ mîŋîs ~ mûńûs, Diván, Chag. mûńûs, Uzb. mûnzûs, Turfan *mînûs, ET. 51 mûţûs, Tar. mûńûs (Le Coq mûńûs), Osm. boynûz, etc. “horn.” 157

P. 428 *mins (МЫНС, probably mîŋîs) “brain” = AT. (Uig.) mîŋîs ~ mîŋî, Diván mîŋî, Chag. mûн, ET. 13 mîn, Blk. mîńûs, etc.158

P. 428 *muz “ice” = Diván, Chag. mûz, ET. 53 mûz “ice.”

P. 431 *kamiš “reeds” = Diván, Chag., Uzb. qamîş, ET. 96 qumûş “reeds.”

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155 Radloff, op. cit., p. 213.
158 Räsänen, op. cit., p. 201.
159 Räsänen, l. c.
P. 427 temir (темир), R. 374 témur "iron" = Divân, Chag. temür, Uzb. temir, ET. 57 tymur "iron."

P. 430 yumită, R. 374 umota "egg" = Divân yumurtça, Chag. yumurtta, Uzb. yumurqa "egg."

30. The consonants n and η are represented as n and η respectively. The final n is often rendered by POTANIN with ḳb (= ń) while η is transcribed ḳr (= ng) in the middle of words and ḳ (= n) at the end of words. This system reminds one of the Russian Sinological transcription in which the Chinese -n is rendered by ḳb, while the Chinese -ng is transcribed as ḳ (or ḳ in post-Revolutionary books).

P. 430 moqus (МОГУС) "horn," vide supra.
P. 431 miq (МИК) "one thousand," vide supra.
P. 428 koqri (КОКРИ) "bell" = Divân qoqrayu, Chag. qoqraya, Kirg. qoqray, ET. 10 qoqrayk "bell."
P. 430 inč (ИНЧ) "saddle" (with a secondary η < *γ < *γ < *d) = Divân eber, Krg. āzār, Sag. izār, Coman, Osm. āgār, Chag., Tar. āgār, Uzb. āgār, etc., 160 ET. 101 āgār "saddle."
P. 431 yün (ЮН) "wool" = AT. (Uig.), Divân, Trkm. yün "hair, wool," Kūār. yün "feather," etc., 161 Chag., Uzb. yün, ET. 137 yün "wool."

31. The Liquids.

The liquid sounds *r and *l are generally represented by r and l respectively. In Salar the consonant r remains in final and medial positions but is dropped at the end of syllables before the consonant t or s. An inconsistent disappearance of the consonant r before other consonants occurs in all Turkic languages. Thus RADLOFF shows the disappearance of the consonant r in verbal endings originating from the auxiliary verb tur in Kazak (in his terminology "Kirgiz"), Shor, and Sagai.162 The plural suffix -lar has lost its r in Karachai in the Northern Caucasus.163 The disappearance of r before consonants is frequent in East Turki.164

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160 RÅSÅNEN, op. cit., p. 133.
161 RÅSÅNEN, op. cit., p. 200.
162 RADLOFF, op. cit., p. 193.
163 From my recollection. My material on the Karachai language was lost during World War II. This observation, however, is not new, because it was already made by W. PROHLE in his "Karatschaische Studien," Keleti Szemle 10; cf. RÅSÅNEN, op. cit., p. 215.
164 JANING, op. cit., p. 114. The examples to which reference is made concern the groups -rp- > p, -ry- > y, -rz- > z, -rq- > q, -rγ- > γ, and -rl- > l.
and this phenomenon constitutes the most characteristic common trait of both East Turki and Salar. This phenomenon seems to be rather old and Brockelmann has indicated the disappearance of $r$ before a consonant in the dictionary *Divān Luyāt at-Turk* and in other old sources.\footnote{Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 37.}

\textit{a.}  
P. 426 bar kāš, R. 376 pərkīš “rich” = ET. 57 bar “is.”  
P. 426 yūr (ATORY) “to run” = Chad. yūr−yūr−, Uzb. yūr−yūr− “to run,” ET. 150 yur “to walk.”  

\textit{b.}  
P. 431 yumīṭa, R. 374 umota “egg” = Divān yumurtqa, Chad. yumurtqa, Uzb. yumurqa “egg.”  
P. 427 ātā, R. 373 ātē “tomorrow,” P. 431 atāsi “morning” = Divān, Chad. erte, Uzb. ārtā, ET. 74 ārtā “morning.”  
P. 429 otu “middle,” P. 430 pāšt ātāsī “the top of the head” (lit., “the middle of the head”) = Divān ortu−utra, Chad., Uzb. orta, ET. 72 orta “middle.”  
P. 431 qut “worm” = Divān, Chad. qurt, ET. 137 qurt “worm.”  
P. 428 aslan “lion” = Divān, Chad. aslan, Osm., Azerb. aslan “lion.”

32. Potanin distinguishes between two types of $l$. The dull $l$ (= $l$, Russian л) is rendered with л, while the front $l$ (= the French or German $l$) is transcribed as $l$ at the end of syllables. In other positions the front articulation of $l$ is indicated by vowels (я, ә).  
P. 426 saqal, R. 374 sah’al “beard” = Chad., Uzb., ET. 9 saqal “beard.”  
P. 427 altun, R. 374 altan or altun “gold” = Divān altun−altin, Chad. altun, Uzb. altin, ET. 44 altan “gold.”  
P. 428 yuldus “star” = Divān, Chad. yuldus, Uzb. yuldiz, ET. 113 yulduz “star.”  
P. 428 oγul pala, R. 374 öll “son” = Divān, Chad., Uzb. oγul, ET. 110 oγol “son.”  
P. 427 palčiq (ПАЛЬЧИГ) “mud” = Divān, Chad., Uzb. balčiq, ET. 75 pātiq “mud.”


In a few cases the final *l* of a syllable before *t* disappears. This development occurs irregularly in all Turkic languages, and, particularly in Karakalpak, a final *l* often disappears before a suffix, unless it is a case suffix which begins with a consonant. The disappearance of the consonant *l* before *t* is old in the verb *keltīr*- > *kitür*- “to bring” and is attested to in old sources.

P. 432 *otur* “sit down!” = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 108 *oldtur*-, Osm., Kazak *otur*-, Sag. */dir*-, Soyot *olur*-/*dur*-, Oirot *oldtut*-, Ancient Turkic *olur*-, Yakut *olor*- “to sit down.”

33. The Vowels.

Because Potanin was not a linguist nor trained in phonetics, he renders the Salar vowels approximately. He frequently does not distinguish between *u* and *ü*, and is inaccurate also in other aspects. It is difficult to judge from his manner of transcribing whether the vowel *e* is closed or open, i.e. whether the vowel in question is *e*, *ε* or *ā*. It is not possible either to determine whether the vowels *ö* and *ü* in Salar have the same quality as the corresponding vowels in Anadolu pronunciation (*ö* and *ü*), German (*ö* and *ü*) and French (*eu* and *u*) or whether they are central (mixed) vowels, i.e., *ö* and *ü* (otherwise transcribed as *o* and *u* respectively) as in Volga Tatar, Bashkir, Karakalpak, East Turki, and some other Turkic languages. Nevertheless, one who does not insist on details is able to get a general picture of the vocalism of the Salar language.

166 Rasānen, op. cit., p. 211.
167 Menges, op. cit., p. 52.
168 Brockelmann, l.c.
169 Rasānen, op. cit., p. 235.
172 Jarring, op. cit., p. 23.
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As a general remark it should be said that in Salar there is no distinction between primary (Common Turkic) long and short vowels. For example, the word *öt “fire” (versa *ot “grass”) occurs with o:

P. 429 ot “fire,” with o as in otun-otzun (probably øðun) “wood” in P. 427, etc.173

Salar does not have secondary long vowels resulting from the groups *ay, *oy, etc., because the consonant *γ is preserved:

P. 427 tag “mountain” = Oirot, Telengit tû, Dîvân, Chag. tay “mountain.”
P. 428 ogul pala (however, R. 374 has œll) “boy, son” = Abakan öl, Telengit âl, Chag. oyul “son.”

It is difficult to determine whether the vowel o is long in P. 431 sok su “cold water” < *soyuq sub = Oirot, Telengit, Lebed, Shor, Sagai sôq “cold,” Kirg., Kazak, Karakalpak sù “water.” The inadequate transcription of Potanin does not enable us to draw any conclusion on this subject.174

34. Let us proceed with the discussion of the Common Turkic vowels *a, *o, and *u. They are preserved as such in most Turkic languages.175 In Salar they remain the same.

P. 426 arux “irrigation ditch” = Dîvân, Chag., Uzb. ariq, ET. 29 əriq “ditch, canal.”
P. 427 kaz “goose” = Dîvân, Chag., Uzb. qaz, ET. 44 yaz “goose.”
P. 426 yazin (я́зин) “near” = Dîvân, Chag. yaqin “near.”

In the Turkic languages there is an alternation of the vowels a–o, e.g. Chag., Uzb. arqa “back” = Koibal orqa, etc.176 However, the appearance of o instead of the vowel a of most of the Turkic languages in a few examples in Salar requires, in my opinion, another explanation. The words concerned are in Potanin’s transcription:

173 Råsånen, op. cit., pp. 64 ff.
175 Råsånen, op. cit., p. 60.
176 Råsånen, l. c.
P. 430 kozkā “rib” = ET. 98 qabar’yā “rib.”
P. 430 sovan “plough” = Tatar saban, Bashkir haban “plough.”
P. 431 tovar “silk” = Divān tavar “property,” Taranchi tabar “bright silken stuff with a floral design,” etc., cf. Mo. tavar “property” > Russian товар “goods.”

It is important to note that one of these words occurs also in Rockhill’s glossary and there it is given with a: cf. R. 373 asman “sky.” It is known that unstressed o, especially in syllables preceding a stressed syllable, tends to be pronounced in Russian as an indistinct and reduced a, e.g., окно “window” = āknō. The result is that words with such a vowel a are often written in Russian with o, e.g., Козак instead of the more correct form Казак: “cossack” < Turkic qazaq “an independent man, bachelor;” товаp “textile” < Turkic tavara-tabar, etc. It is beyond doubt that Potanin wrote the above words according to the usual Russian spelling, rendering the unstressed vowel of the initial syllable with o. Besides, here he was influenced precisely by the Russian spelling of the word товаp “goods” and, perhaps, also by the proper name Osman resembling in Russian pronunciation the word asman “sky.”

Another phenomenon is the palatalization of the vowel *a under the influence of an initial y or a following y (j). In Salar the following examples of *a > i (or é according to Rockhill) are found:


35. The Common Turkic vowels *o and *u are represented as o and u respectively:

P. 426 yok (ňok) kisi “poor” < Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 77 yoq “no.”
P. 431 sok (= sōq?) su “cold water” < Divān soyuq, Uzb. savuq, ET. 19 sawuq “cold.”

177 Räsanen, op. cit., p. 81.
178 Rockhill, op. cit., p. 376 has yarkish “poor.” This can be a distorted yog kisi = yiq kisi “a poor person,” unless yar is somehow connected with Turkic yar “friend” < Persian.
179 Rockhill does not have this word, but gives tsormo “cold” (p. 376) which I cannot identify.
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P. 427 otun-otun (oçoj ?) "wood, fuel" = ET. 41 otun-otan "fuel."
P. 427 yol "road" = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 99 yol "road."
P. 426 ulla "big" = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 45 uly "great."
P. 426 su-P. 428 sux, R. 374 su (or ossu) 180 "water" = Divān suv, Chag. su, Uzb. suv, ET. 131 su "water."
P. 431 yumita, R. 374 umota (u is to be pronounced, obviously, like English u, i.e., yu) "egg" = Divān yumurt-yay, Chag. yumurtQA, Uzb. yumurqa "egg."
P. 421 burun "nose," R. 374 purui (obviously a distorted burni or purji "his nose") = Divān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 78 burun "nose."
P. 427 yuldus (Ioldyj), R. 373 yuldus "star" = Divān, Chag. yuldus, Uzb. yuldi, ET. 113 yuldus "star."
P. 430 tušan gume "gopher" (Russian cənostaba) with a secondary u < *av-*ab in tušan "hare" (tušan gume means lit., "hare mouse" or "rabbit mouse") = Divān tavishqan, Chag. tavishqan, ET. 47 tavishqan-tovishqan "hare."

There is only one example of i < *u:

P. 429 tišax "nostril" = Chag. tumçuq "beak, snout," ET. 78 tsumçuq "nose."

Therefore, it is not possible to draw conclusions, though there is an alternation u -i in the Turkic languages.181

In several cases, the difference between the vocalism in Potanin’s material and the data of other Turkic languages may be based on Potanin’s errors, e.g., P. 429 kui kütkeüdzi "shepherd" -P. 426 koq "sheep." Cf. R. 374 kojé "mutton" = Uzb., ET 106 qoy "sheep"; P. 431 oxu "to read" instead of oxu- = Uzb. oqu-, ET. 95 ogo- "to read."

The vowel *i remains as such but frequently it is represented by i. Rockhill never has i, probably because he was unable to distinguish it from other vowels. The vowel *i has converged with *i into an indifferent vowel in many cases in East Turki.182 It seems that this occurs after or before the consonants q and y.

P. 427 kis pala "daughter," cf. R. 374 ke’zeu "girl" = Divān, Chag., Uzb. qiz, ET. 24 qis "daughter."
P. 427 kiš, R. 373 kish "winter" = Divān, Chag., Uzb. qish, ET. 135 qish "winter."

180 The form ossu is obviously a Mongolian form, cf. Mo. usun, Khalkha usbu, Urdu usu, Kalm. usq "water," etc.
181 Rāsānēn, op. cit., p. 61.
182 Rāsānēn, op. cit., p. 83.

P. 428 *kızıl* (кузьылы) "red" (Rockhill has on p. 374 *iI* "red" and the preceding word is *keuzeul* "yellow." This is, of course, a misunderstanding and both words have to be put together as *keuzeuil* = *kızıl* "red" and not "yellow") = Divân, Chag., Uzb. *qızıl*, ET. *qızıl* "red."

Under the influence of *y*- and *č*- the vowel *i* becomes *ı*:


P. 427 *ıraq* < *yıraq* "far" = Divân *ıraq*, Chag. *ıraq*, ET. 36 *ıraq*, Osm. *ıraq* "far."

P. 426 *kıın* *çikkan* yani "east." ("the place where sun comes out") = Divân, Chag., Uzb. *çiğ*, ET. 20 *çiğ* "to come forth."

36. In this connection, I should point out that in a number of words with a rounded vowel in the initial syllable, the vowel *i* (i) in the second syllable remains as such, while in some other Turkic languages the vowel of the second syllable is a rounded one: 183


Salar, however, gives preference to a rounded vowel not only after a syllable with a rounded vowel but also after unrounded vowels:

P. 427 *otun* "wood, fuel" = ET. 41 *otun* "fuel."

P. 430 *móqûs* (монтысъ) "horn" = Divân *müqûs*, Chag. *müqûs*, Uzb. *moqûs*, ET. 51 *mûqûs*, Osm. *boynuz* (probably influenced by the word *boynun* "neck") "horn."


The vowel *i* instead of *ı* can be explained by the fact that in Russian *н* palatalizes the preceding consonant, but the Turkic vowel *ı* does not palatalize the consonant. The vowel *ı* not palatalizing the preceding consonant is often presented by Russians with *У* (= *ı*).
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P. 429 yarimtux “half” = Chag. yarimçuq, cf. Mo. jarimdûy “half.”

P. 430 arug “slim” = Divân arug “tired,” Chag. arug, Uzb. aråq “slim.”

P. 430 xatun “thick” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. qalin, ET. 121 qalin “thick.”

P. 430 katun kë, R. 374 kadun or kadunksh (= kadun kë) “woman” = Divân qatun, Chag. yatun, Uzb. qatîn~yatun, ET. 135 qatun “woman.”

P. 430 karangu “dark” = Divan qaralyu, Chag., Uzb. qaranyu, ET. 24 qaraqyu, Kirg. qaraqyi, Bashkir qaraqyi’ “dark.”

P. 431 gumir (gûmyûr), R. 374 kuomeur “coal” = Divûn, Chag., Uzb. kûnur~kûnûr “coal.”

P. 430 süh (cyûcî) “word” = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 137 söz “word.”

The suffix -lyy / -luy is -lüy in P. 430 küślüy “strong.” This suffix appears in some Turkic languages with i / i, in others with u / ü whereby the rounded vowel is not always due to the influence of the preceding syllable. 185

37. The front vowels *ö and *ü remain, in general, as such:


P. 427 köz (közdî) “eye,” R. 374 kuso (!) or kos = Divân, Chag., Uzb., ET. 35 köz “eye.”

P. 481 tört “four,” cf. R. 373 tüü (!) = Divân, Chag., Uzb. tört, ET. 40 tört, Osm. dört “four.”

P. 427 kül (kûldî) “ashes” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. kûl, ET. 7 kul “ashes.”

P. 427 tüün (tûñû) “yesterday” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. tüün “night,” ET. 188 tüünükün “yesterday.”

P. 426 kün (kûnî) çikkan yani “east,” P. 427 kündüs (kundüsî and this means correctly “his day”) “day,” R. 373 kun “sun” = Divân, Chag., Uzb. kûn, ET. 25 kun “day.”

P. 426 yükürûb yûr (yûkürûb yûr) “to run” = Divân, Chag. yügûr~, Uzb. yügûr~yûgûr, ET. 100 yüyûr- “to run.”


There is in the Turkic languages, however, the irregular development *ö > ü 186 and in Salar a few words with *ö occur with the vowel ü:

P. 431 gumir (gûmyûr), R. 374 kuomeur “coal” = Divûn, Chag., Uzb. kûmûr~kûmûr “coal.”

P. 430 süh (cyûcî) “word” = Divûn, Chag., Uzb., ET. 137 söz “word.”


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P. 428 kümir (кумыйр) "bridge" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb. köprük, ET. 13 köprük—kopruk "bridge."

P. 426 tiš kürmiš (курмишь) "one who saw a dream" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 104 kör. "to see," cf. Konya guren "görün " seeing."

P. 427 kürgündüz "dove" = Dívān kökürkünk, Chag. köverken, Osm. güverdüz "dove."

Under the influence of the consonant š < *š and š < *č the vowels ō and ő developed into i. This development is known in Turkic, though effected by other causes.

P. 428 tiš < *tiš "dream" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 29 tüş "dream."

The above named consonant also prevents the vowel from becoming a rounded one:

P. 429 at (ат) "meat" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb. et, ET. 71 at "meat."

P. 427 atā (атэ) < *ārtā, R. 373 été "tomorrow" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb. erta "morning, tomorrow," ET. 74 ārtā "morning."

P. 427 semiz "fat" = Dívān, Chag., ET. 36, Osm. semiz "fat."

P. 427 emdēx "breast" = Chag., Uzb. emēčak, ET. 13 amēčk "breast."

P. 428 mənzi (мынзи) "forehead" = Dívān, Chag. menţi, Osm. beniz "face."

Common Turkic had two vowels of the e-type: *ā discussed above, and another one which was e, i.e., a narrow (or closed) e. In Salar, *č has resulted in i:


P. 431 čičeš (чижек) < *čeček "flower" = Dívān, Uzb. čeček "flower," ET. 39 čičeš "blossom."

P. 430 iq (ин) < *yq "sleeve" = Dívān, Chag., Uzb. yen "sleeve."

P. 430 ilax < *elak "sieve" = Dívān, Chag. elge- "to sift, to screen," Uzb. elak "sieve."

187 RASANEN, op. cit., p. 62.

188 RASANEN, op. cit., pp. 63, 96.

189 The back pronunciation of e (= ĉ) is common in Buriat. The Russians always transcribe it as ĝ. The famous Mongolist Tsebèn ŽAMCARANO wrote his name Ľžābēn.

39. The Common Turkic vowel *i remains as i. In many cases in monosyllabic words ancient *i developed at an early date into i:

P. 427 tïš, R. 374 t’ích “tooth” = Dívān tïš < *tïš, Chag., Uzb., ET. 123 tïš “tooth.”
P. 431 pîr, R. 373 pîr “one” = Dívān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 80 bîr “one.”
P. 431 džïgirma, R. 373 īɢërmi101 “twenty” = Dívān, Chag. īɢïrmi, Uzb. īɢïrma, ET. 126 īɢërma “twenty.”
P. 426 īɨnde “within” = Dívān īɨnde, Chag. īɨndâ, Uzb., ET. 56 īɨdâ “in, within, inside.”

40. Conclusion.
Salar belongs, beyond doubt, to what is generally known as East Turki. East Turki is the common name for the Turkic dialects spoken in East Turkestan. It consists of several dialects.102
Salar shares the following characteristics with East Turki:
1. Both are ayaq- and tay-languages;
2. Both have y- at the beginning of words and not dž-.
3. Both have š and not s as in Kazak.
4. In both of them the final consonant r of syllables is dropped in many cases.

On the other hand, Salar differs from East Turki as explored by Raquette and Jarring.

1. Salar has the participle in -mïš which, according to Jarring, does not occur in the dialects spoken East of the Kucha oasis, i.e., in the dialects of Qarashar, Turfan, and Qomul.103
2. In Salar the consonant *c at the end of syllables and words results in š which is a development unknown to the other East Turki dialects.
3. The consonant *t before *i, *i, and *ü results in č in Salar but does not in the remaining dialects.

Thus, although Salar differs from the remaining dialects of East Turki, it is only one of its dialects and is not an independent language.

101 The form given by Rockhill (īɢïrmi) is probably the genuine Salar form, while Potanin’s džïgïrme is obviously a Kazak form.
103 Jarring, op. cit., p. 4.