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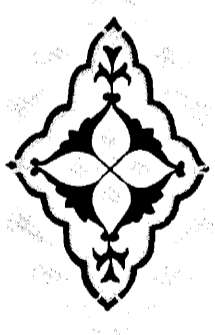
ABDULLA TUKAIN KULTTUURISEURA ry.

STUDIA

IN HONOREM

YMÄR DAHER

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ERÄS AKKADILAINEN LAINASANA TURKIN KIELESSÄ
Armas Saloren
Lyhennelmä

Tekijä käsittelee artikkelissa turkin kielen sanan zambıl (kori) syntyä. Erään sanakirjan mukaan sana johtuisi turkin kielen sanasta zāmbıl, mikä olisi tullut persian-kielisestä sanasta zambīl, joka olisi lainattu arabialaistesta zambīl-sanasta.

Tekijä osoittaa, että sanalla on pitempi historia. Sen mukaan kyseinen turkin kielen sana on lähtöisin akkadin kielen sanasta zabbılu, mikä tarkoittaa palmun lehviä ja kuiduista valmistettua maan ja saven kantamiseen käytettyä korja. Sieltä sana on aramean ja arabian kielten välityksellä lainattu persian kieleen ja edelleen turkin kieleen.

AKKADIAN LOAN WORD IN THE TURKISH LANGUAGE
Armas Salonen
Summary

In this article the author discusses the origin of the Turkish word 'zambıl' (basket). According to one dictionary the word came into Turkish via the word 'zāmbıl', presumably from the Persian 'zambīl' previously loaned from the Arabic 'zambīl'.

The author shows that the word has a longer history than this, that the Turkish word came from the Akkadian word 'zabbılu' meaning a basket made of palm leaves and fibres for carrying soil and clay. From there it came via Aramaean and Arabic into Persian and on into Turkish.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE LABIAL VOWEL SHIFTS IN TATAR AND BASHKIR Talât Tekin

It is well-known that Common Turkic o and u of the first syllable have shifted to ü and ü in Tatar and Bashkir, while the vowels u and ü have become o (a reduced vowel between o and u) and ö (a reduced vowel between ö and ü) respectively: CT qol "arm" > Tat.Bash. qul "arm, hand" (CT qul "male slave" > Tat.Bash. qol id.), CT söz "word" > Tat. süz, Bash. hü id. (CT süz "to filter" > Tat. söz, Bash. hö id.). It goes without saying that these vowel shifts are of great importance for Turkic studies, because they enable us to reconstruct Proto-Turkic labial vowels more accurately. In fact, in the absence of these vowel shifts in Tatar and Bashkir, it would have been quite difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact quality of a Proto-Turkic labial vowel in many cases, for, as Karl. H. Menges has put it, "the indecision or hesitation in the labial category is more widespread and typical for all the Altaic languages".¹

The beginning of the labial vowel shifts in Tatar and Bashkir goes apparently as far back as the XIII century, for already in Codex Cumanicus dating from the XIV century we find a great many examples displaying such quality changes in the labial category, e.g. bu- "to choke" bu-ül-, xuv- "to hunt, chase", kömiš "silver" ~ kümiš, etc. We are indeed fortunate to have at our disposal such a work written in the Latin script which enables us to testify the early changes in labial vowels in Kuman and Kipchak of the XIV century.

As is known, in his excellent dictionary of Kuman, Kaare Grønbech usually gives all the alternative forms of a

word which can be deduced from its various spellings, e.g. boym, buvm (written bogum and buun) "joint", buyday, boyday, boday "wheat", toy-, lov-, luv- "to be born", etc. But he does not always stick to orthography. On the contrary, in quite a many cases he rather "normalizes" the original spellings. For example, Grønbech maintains that spellings like toulu "full", toura "seat", borun "nose", bollach "well", and olu "big, great", alongside tolu, tora (also tōra, tōra), burun, bulan and ulu, should be regarded as orthographical errors and not as a parallel to the vowel shifts in Volga Tatar.²

Grønbech's view, however, is not always shared by other scholars. A. von Gabain, for instance, in her study of the language of Codex Cumanicus,³ often refers, to original spellings given in square brackets after the author's own reading or transcription. Unlike Grønbech, then, she believes that these spellings are phonetically significant and they reflect the sound changes and alternations which occurred in Kuman of the XIII and XIV centuries. I agree with A. von Gabain on her interpretation of such spellings as the reflections of phonetic variations or alternations. In fact, we have every reason to believe that the spellings toulu and toura are not examples of bad or incorrect orthography, but they reflect diphthongization of the Proto-Turkic long vowels *ō and *ō̄: CC toulu i.e. toylu < *tōlu v Turk. dōli: id., dōl- "to become full", Yak. tuol- id., CC toura, i.e. tōvrā < *tōr-ā v MK, Turk. tōr id. As a matter of fact, in Codex Cumanicus and other Kipchak sources we have quite a few examples of this kind of diphthongization, e.g. CC yovut- "to swallow" < MK yut- id. (cf. Turk. yuvut- id.), CC 163,17 joul, i.e. yovul "road" < MK yōl id. (cf. Turk. yōl, Yak. suol id.), CC ōg-, ōv- v ōvg- (aorist ōvger) "to praise", ōgūnc v ōyūnc "praise" < MK ōg- (cf. Turk. ōg- id.), Tarj., Bulg. sōyūn- "to be extinguished", Tuhf. sōvūn- id. < *sōn- (> Hung. szūn- id., Turk. sōn- id.), Tuhf. ōyūš "wet, damp" < *ōš v MK, Turk. ōl, Yak. uōl id. (cf. Tat. yūyēš id.), AH

(text, 40) tōvūr "best seat in a house" < MK tōr (cf. Turk. tōr id., CC tōvrā id.), Tuhf. tōyru "bay" < *tōru (cf. Turk. dōr id.), Tuhf. yūvūn "wool" < *yūyn v *yūyn < MK yūng id., etc.

The reason why Grønbech did not wish to regard spellings like borun, bollach and olu as reflections of a vowel change parallel to that in Volga Tatar (and Bashkir) is that the language of Codex Cumanicus, i.e. Kuman Turkic, is generally regarded as the ancestor of the present-day Kuman languages, i.e. Karaim, Karachay-Balkar, Crimean Tatar and Kumuk, and not that of Volga Tatar (and Bashkir). While it may be the truth, it is also true that Kuman and Kipchak are nothing but two dialects, differing very slightly from each other, and there are many similarities between the language of Codex Cumanicus and present-day Kazan-Tatar, as well as the other languages belonging to the Kuman-Kipchak group.⁴ Moreover, the Kumans of the western sources are always referred to as qipčaq or qifčaq in the Islamic sources, and in Codex Cumanicus itself the language of the Turkic texts is called tatarčā and tatar lili. Therefore I see no reason why we should not make comparisons between the language of Codex Cumanicus and present-day Tatar and Bashkir.

Although some examples displaying vowel changes in the labial category in Kuman have previously been given by Grønbech,⁵ Räsänen,⁶ A. von Gabain⁷ and other scholars, a complete list of such examples in Codex Cumanicus has never been published. In this paper, I will try to compile such a list.

*ō, *ō̄ > u

bul- (121,20; 126,27,28) v bol- "to be, become" < *bōl-; cf. Tat. Bash. bul-, Turk. bol-, (Keruk) ōl-, Yak. buol- id. < *bōl- v Mong. bol- id.
bu- "to choke", buvm "joint", buvm v boym id., boyl- "to be drowned"; Tat. Bash. bu-, Kaz. Kirg. bū-, Kum.

buvi- id. < MK boy- ~ Mong. boyo- "to bind, tie, bundle" (Poppe, Verg. 21).

čuvla- ~ čovla- "to be noisy, make much noise", čov "noise" < MK čoyl-.

(Argu) čayl- id., čoylla- ~ čaylla- (~ šaylla-, žaylla-) "to make noise"; cf. Kar.T. čuw, Kirg. ču, Kaz. šū "noise", Kar.T. čuwla-, Kirg. čuila-, Kaz. šūla- "to make noise"; Tat.Bash. šaw "noise", šawla- "to make noise" < MK šayl-la- id., čayl ~ čaw "sound; fame" ~ Mong. ču "sound, noise, echo; rumor; fame" < *čab (Poppe, Verg. 44).

düvlat "welfare, well-being" / P. dowlat / A. dawlat; cf. Tat.Bash. däülät, Kirg. dölöt id.

xuv- "to hunt, chase", xuvala- freq. < MK goy-; cf. Tat.Bash. ku-, Kaz.Kirg.etc. kü-, Kum.etc. kuv-,

Turk.Turkm. kov-, Az. ğov-, Khak. xoy- id.

xuvun ~ govun "melon" < MK gäyun; cf. Kirg. kön, Az. ğovun, Turk. ğavın, Tarj. (Turkm.) gävun, AH gävun, Tuhf. gävun, govun id.; Nog. kavın, Tat. kavın, Bash.Kaz. kavın id.

guburčaq "box" < *gopurčaq; cf. AH gaburčaq "shell, an inkpot or box made from bark", IM gabırcaq "chest, coffin, box", MK gabırcaq "coffin" Tat. kabırçık "shell", Bash. kabırcaq id. < *qapurcaq ~ Mong. qayırcaq, qayurcaq "small box, chest".

qurıyan "burial mound" < *qorıyan; cf. Tat.Bash. kurıyan id., Tarj., AH, Tuhf. qurıyan "burial mound; fortification", Chag. qorıyan "fortress, fortification", Kaz.Tar. koryan id., Kirg. koryon id., "Turk koryan, koryıyan "barrow, burial mound" < Orkh. qor(T)ıyan "shelter, enclosure, fortification" ~ Mong. qoria "shelter, enclosure, fortification" (Poppe, Verg. 88), qorıyan "enclosure, camp, barracks" < qori- "to shut in, enclose" (= Turk. qori- "to protect").

quv "hollow" ~ govuś "empty, void" < MK govt, govı "hollow", govug, govug id.; cf. Tat.Bash. kuik "bubble", kuis "hollow, cavity", Kaz. kuıdıs id. Bulg. goba id., Turk. kof, kovuk id., Turk. ğovuz id., govza- "to be empty", IM, Chag. govuś "gutter, waterpipe", Turk. koıuś "large room,

ward", Chuv. xävli "hollow" ~ Mong. gobul "gutter, gully, trough".

quvux "chaff" < *govug < MK gavıq id.;⁸ cf. Tat. kavik "dandruff", Bash. kanak id., kaı "skin of a snake", AH gav id., gavla- "to molt the skin (of snakes)", Turk. kavuz "chaff", Kaz. kavız "husk of grain" ~ Mong. qayurasun "chaff", qayura- "to peel off".

suğıra (sungira 122,15) ~ soğra "later"; cf. Bash. huğıra id., huğ "end, outcome; later", Tat. soğ (sic!) id., soğrak "later", Kaz.Kirg.etc. soğ < MK soğ.

suvuğ ~ sovuğ, savux "cold" < MK soıuğ; cf. Tat. suwik, Bash. huwik, Kaz.etc. suwik, Kar.T. suvox id., Tarj., Chag. savug id. < soıuğ.

suçul-, čučul- ~ soçul- "to take off clothes"; cf. Uig. MK, AH suçul- (read soçul-) id., ET suçul-, čučul- id. < *soçul- (cf. MK, etc. soy- "to strip, flay, peel, skin, undress").⁹

tuv- ~ tov-, toy- "to be born; to rise (of sun)"; cf. Tat.Bash. tu- Kaz.Kirg. tü-, Kum.Kar. tuv- id., Turk.Turkm. doğ- id., Az. doğ- "to bear, give birth", etc. / Uig. toğ.¹⁰

tuvur- ~ toğur "to bear, give birth".

tuvara ~ toğru "direct, straight", cf. Nog. tuvara "toward, opposite, straight, right", Kaz.Kirg. tūra, Bash. tura, Balk. tura id., Tat. turı, Az. Turk. doğrı, Turk. doğru id. < MK toğru < Uig. toğur "to cross over", < Orkh. toğ- id., toğa "toward, in the direction of".

tuvuś ~ tovuś, toğvuś "rise (of sun)"; see tuvs-. ıılak ~ oyılaq (ogolach; Grøn. oyılaq) "kid" < *oyılaq; cf. Nog. ıılak Tuv. ōıak id., Tar. oyılaq, Tuhf. oyılaq, avlaq, Chag. oyılaq id.

ıuv "hunt" < *ov < MK āv; cf. Tat.Bash.Kaz. au id., Nog.etc. av, Kirg. ū id., Tar. ō, Az. ov id. < *āv ~ Mong. aba id.

ıuvut- "to console" < *ıovut- < *āvıtt-; cf. AH avut- "to keep a child quiet by amusing it", Turk. avut- id., Tel. ūt- "to console", AH avun- "to be calm and quiet (of a

child)", MK awin- "to feel comfortable", Uig. abin- "to console", abinç, abinçü "comfort, consolation", Uig. Br. aw- "to rejoice"; see yüvüt, yüvütte-.¹¹

uvša- "to caress, fondle" < *oşša-; cf. Kum. uşa-n- id., Az. oxša-, Turk. okşa- id., Turk. oğşa- "to kiss", MK oxša- "to caress, fondle, play" oxşayı "plaything, woman" ~ Tuv. oylan- "to endear oneself", oylanma- id.

uyax "awake" (< *oyaq < *oşuq) ~ oyov id. < *oyay MK oşuq; cf. Tat. Bash. uyau id., Tuv. oduq id., MK oşuq, Uig. oduq id. / *oş-, MK oşur- "to awaken".

uyan- "to awake" < *oyan- < MK oşun-¹²; cf. Tat. Bash. uyan- id., Kum. Kar. Bal. Nog. uyan- id. Kaz. Kkl. Kar. T. L. oyan- id., Az. Turk. oyan-, Turk. uyan- id.

yuxurt "sour cream" < MK yoyurt, cf. Kum. yuvurt, Nog. yuvirt id., Kirg. jürat id. < Uig. yoçrut ~ yoçurt, Turk. Turk. yoçurt, Az. yoçurd id.

yug, yuvug ~ yovug "absolution, forgiveness" < *yoyug; cf. Nog. yoy- "to lose; annihilate; to eliminate, extirpate", Kirg. joy-, Kaz. zoy- id. < MK yoş- "to wipe off, extinguish" < *yoş-, (cf. Turk. yök "non-existent").

yuvançan "lazy, indolent" < *yowan- < *yawan-; cf. Tat. yuan- "to be delayed, linger, stop, be late", yuanic "slowness", Tat. Bash. yuaş "quiet, still, calm, gentle, slow", Kaz. zuwas, Kirg. jös id. < CC yowaşlıq "humility" < MK yawaş, yabaş ~ Mong. nomuqan "peaceful, gentle, mild" < *namukan (Poppe, Verg. 38), nomuyi "inert, lifeless, slow", etc.

yuvuz "base, mean" < *yowuz < MK yawuz, yafuz "bad"; cf. Tat. yabiz, Bash. yañiz, Kaz. žawiz id., Turk. yovuz id. < Uig. yawiz, yabiz id.

*ū, *u ~ o

boya "bull" < Orkh. būqa, būqa, būqa; cf. Uig. MK būqa, Chag. būqa, būya (> P. Äy būqqa), Kaz. Kirg. etc. būqa, Tarj., AH būya, Nog. būya, Az. Turk. būya, Gag. bū'a, Turk. boya < *būqa; ¹³ (Tat. būya, būyay, Bash. būya must be

dialect forms) ~ Mong. būqa id.

boday, boday ~ būyday "wheat"; cf. Tat. boday, Bash. boyday id., Kirg. būday id. < MK būyday ~ Mong. būyday id.

bolax (Grñ. bulax) ~ bulaq "well spring"; cf. Tat. bolak "brook, stream", Kaz. Kirg. Nog. etc. bulak "spring, source", Tarj. bulaq "pool, puddle" < Uig. bulaq "well, spring, canal" ~ Mong. bulay "spring, source".

borun (59,3) ~ burun, brun "nose; formerly; first"; cf. Tat. borin id., Bash. moron "nose", boron "formerly", Kaz. burin id., murin "nose, snout", Nog. etc. burin "nose, formerly", Kirg. murun id., mürda < *murna id.

xorma "date" < P. < A. خرمه xurmā, cf. Tat. Bash. xörmä, Nog. xurma, kurma, Kaz. Kirg. etc. kurma id., Tarj., Bulg. qurma id.

xormat "honor, esteem, respect" < P. < A. خرمات xurmat, cf. Tat. Bash. xörmät, Kaz. kurmet, Kirg. urmat id., Kum. gürmet id.

moxor "seal" / P. مخور mühr, cf. Tat. möher, Bash. möhör id., Kar.-Balk. muxur, Kum. mügür id., but Kaz. Kkl. mör, Kirg. mör id.

monça-yina (Grñ. muncayina) "a little" ~ munça "this much, so much", Tat. monça id., Nog. Kkl. munša id., Kum. munça id. < Orkh. bunça.

monda (61,5) ~ munda "here", cf. Tat. monda, Bash. binda, minda id., Kaz. etc. munda id. < Orkh. bunta.

moniŋ (65,11) ~ moniŋ gen. of bū "this", cf. Tat. moniŋ, Bash. binŋ, Kaz. etc. moniŋ, munuŋ, cf. also Tat. bū "this" < *bū, Kaz. Nog. etc. bū, Kar. L. bū, bo, khak, pu, Turk. Az. bū, Turk. bū, MK bū, Uig. bū, bū, Uig. Br. bū, bov (cf. Tuv. bo "this", monu acc., mön gen. (< monuŋ), minda lok., mön abl. (< mondan), poduva dir. (< bo tapa).

noqta "moment" < P. < A. نقطه nuqta, cf. Tat. nokta "point, dot", Bash. noktä id., Kaz. nükte, Kirg. nokot id. (< Tat.).¹⁴

olu (70,23) ~ ulu "big, great, grand", cf. Tat. olī, Bash. olo id. Kaz. ulī, Nog. ulīī, Kirg. ulū id. < MK uluy < ul "foundation" ~ Mong. ula id.

oqša-, ošqa-, ovša- "to resemble", oqšaš, oqšaš ~ uvšaš "similarity; similar, resembling" < *uyša-, cf. Tat. oxša- "to resemble", Bash. okša- id., Kaz. ukša- id., Nog. uksas-, usas- id., uksas, usas "similar, resembling" < *uyšas, Tat. oxšaš, Bash. okšaš id. < *uyša- < Uig., Orkh. uyus "stem, family, tribe", Yak. ūs id. < *uyus ~ Mong. ū "base, root, basis, origin".

orsū (Grgh. ырşу) "fight, resistance" < *ürüş-; cf. Tat. orış-, Bash. oroş- "to blow up, rebuke, reproach, blame", Tat. oriş "quarrel, battle", Kaz. urış id.

osta ~ usta "expert, master" < *ustā (d), cf. Tat. osta id., Bash. ostalik "mastery", ostad "teacher", Kaz. ustaz id., Nog. usta "master, expert", Kirg. usta id.

oş "here!, voilà!" < *uš; cf. Tat. oş-bu "this, this very", Bash. oş-o id., Kaz. Nog. sol "that, that one" < *uš-ol, Kirg. šol id. < *ušol.

otru, otlu (60,1, 65,20) ~ utru "against", ETJar. otru "opposite", Tuv. udur id. < Uig. utru < *utur-u ~ Mong. utru- "to meet, receive or welcome an arriving visitor", utrumal "encountered, met".

govan-, xovan- "to be happy, to boast", govanč "joy, gladness" < *qıwan- < *qıwan-, cf. Uig. quban-, "to become happy", Tat. Bash. Kaz. etc. kuan- id., Nog. kuvan-, Kirg. kuban- id. < Uig. qıw "happiness, luck" ~ Mong. qubi "part, share, portion, allotment", qubitu "having a share, fortunate".

qoʻrat "strength, power", xovalıan- "to become strong" < l. < A. *قوة* quwat, cf. Nog. kuvat "strength, power", Kaz. quwat id., Kirg. kubat id. Tat. kuät id.

soltan ~ sultan "sultan" < P. < A. *سلطان* sultān, Tat. Bash. soltan, Kirg. sultan, Nog. Kum. Kar.-Bal. soltan (sici) Kaz. Kkl. sümbil id., Kirg. sumbul.

şömbel, Bash. şömböl id.

soğur "falcon" < *suğur < *siğur, cf. Yen. siğur prop. n., Chag. suğur "falcon", Uig. (OQ) şuğar id., ET şuğkar, Tar. şumkar, Turkm. şuğkar, Bash. Kirg. şoğkar id.

< Mong. şoğgor, siğgor id.

sor- "to ask" < *sūr-, cf. Tat. sora-, Bash. hora- id. < *sūra-, cf. ET, etc. sūra- id., Chuv. šara- "to look for, search" < *siura- < *sūra-, Turk. Az. sor-, Turkm. sōra- id. < *sūra- ~ Mong. sur-, sūra- id.

sowsa- (sousa-, Grgh. suvsas-) ~ susa- "to become thirsty" < MK suwsa- cf. Tat. susa-, Bash. huha- id., Kaz. Kirg. sūsa-, Nog. suvsas- id.

toy "flag, banner" < MK tuy, cf. Bash. tu id., Kaz. Kirg. etc. tū id.

touman 73,15 ~ tuman "fog, haze, mist" < MK tuman, cf. Tat. Bash. toman id., Kaz. Kirg. etc. tuman, Turk. Az. duman, Turkm. duman id.

tuviya "helmet" < Mong. duviya, cf. Osm. tuiyalya, tuviya, tulya, Turk. tulya, tolja, IM toulya id.

yola "thin", yoyay- "to become thin" < *yuwya, cf. Bash. yoko, Tat. yuka id. < *yuwqa, MK yuwya, yuwqa id., Orkh. yuyqa id., Nog. yuka, Kaz. žuka (sici), Kirg. župka id.

yolduz (iolduz 122,33) ~ yulduz "star", cf. Tat. yoldiz, Bash. yondoş id., < Nog. yuldiz, Kaz. žuldiz, Kirg. žildiz < Uig. yulduz, yultuz.

yondar- "to assemble", yomug- "to be assembled" ~ yum- "to blink, wink", cf. Tat. Bash. yom- "to shut, close", Kar. G. yondar- "to collect, gather", Nog. yum- "to shut, close (of eye)", Kaz. žum-, Kirg. žum- id. < MK yum- id., Yunyaq "round", yumyi, yumqi "all, the whole of".

yon "hair" ~ yun "wool" < MK yün, cf. Tat. yon, Bash. yon id., Nog. yun, Kaz. žün, Kirg. žün id., Tuhl. yüvün id. < *yüyn < *yuyñ < MK yün ~ Mong. unyasun "wool" (Poppe, Verg. 73).

yovut- "to swallow" < MK yüt-, cf. Tat. Bash. yot-, Kar. T. yondar- id. / *yowdar- Nog. yut-, Kaz. žut-, Kirg. žut- id., Turkm. yuvut- < *yüt-, Turk. yudum "mouthful" < *yütum ~ Mong. oyüci- id. < *uyutī-.

*ö, *ü > ü

čüvire ~ čövre "circumference; around, about", čövir-
"to turn, revolve" / MK čävür; cf. Kar.T. čüvire "circumfe-
rence; around, about", Osm.Chag. čävrä, Az. čävrä id.,
Kar.T. čüvir- "to turn round, whirl", Osm., IM, Qaw. čävir-
id., Tuhf. šövir- id.

kügürčün "dove, pidgeon" / *kökürčgün; cf. Tat.

kügärčäm, Bash. kügärsen id., Kaz.Nog. kögeršin, /

*kökärčgün, Kar.-Balk. kögürčün, Kum. gögürčün id., Kirg.

kögüčkön, kögürčökön id. / *kökürčgän, MK kökürčgün (Br.

kügürčgün, B.A. kökürčkün) / *kök "blue" ~ Mong. köke id.,

kögüljirgene "dove, pidgeon".

kulik "swift, energetic" / *kölük, cf. Kirg. kölük

"packhorse", Kaz.Kl.Nog. kölik id., Kirg. külük "race-

horse", Chag. kölük "racehorse, racer", MK, Uig. kölük

"packhorse" ? / Mong., cf. Mong. kölüg "a strong and swift

horse", Khal. xölög id.

kün- "to confess" ~ könder- "to straighten", köni,

könü "right, correct, true" cf. Tat. kün- "to agree,

consent", künder- "to persuade, convince", Bash. künder-

"to persuade, tame, subdue", Kaz.Kirg. kön- "to agree,

consent; to submit, surrender" / MK kön- "to become

straight; to confess, acknowledge", köndgär-, köndgür- "to

straighten; to make confess".

kürük (Grøn. körük) "bellows" / *körük, cf. Tat.Bash.

küreç id.; Kar.-Balk.Kum. körük, Kaz.Kl.Nog. körük, Kirg.

körük id., Turkm. körük id., Yak. küört id. / *kör-t

~ Mong. kögerge, kögürge, kegünge id., Khal. xörög id.

küvez-lü "proud, haughty" / *köwäz, cf. Tat. köwäz

"dandified, dandy, fop", Bash. köwäz id., Nog. küwez id.,

Kirg. köyrön "boastful, boaster" / *köyar-än, MK köwäz,

köfäz "proud" ~ Mong. köger "boastful", kögeri-, kögere-

"to boast", Khal. xör "boaster, boastful".

süyen- "to lean against, bend over" / *söyä-n-, cf.

Tat. söyä-, Bash. höyä- id., Kaz.etc. süye-, Kirg. süö-

id., Turkm. söye, yak. öyö- id. / *söyä-

tüvir- "to turn, revolve" / *tewür- / MK täwür-id.

/ Uig. täwir- id. / Orkh. tägir- id., Uig. tägirmi "round",

MK tägirmä id., Uig. tägrä "around, about".

üksün-, üpsün- "to recollect, remember" / *ögsin-; cf.

MK ög (B.A. ök) "reason, intelligence, memory" / Orkh. ö-

"to think"; for the suffix cf. Uig. ärksin- "to come to

power, seize power" / ärk "power".

üren- [ürän-] ~ övren- "to learn" / MK ögrän-, cf.

Tat.Bash. öyrän-, Kaz.etc. üyren-, Kirg. üyrön-, Kar. üvrän-

id.

üret- [ürät-] ~ övret- "to teach" / MK ögrät-, cf.

Tat.Bash. öyrät-, Kaz.etc. üyret-, Kirg. üyröt-, Kar.

üvrät- id.

yüvüt "consolation", yüvütle- "to console" / *yövüt

~ *yowut / *yawut / *yawit / *äwüt; cf. CC uvut- "to


console" (see above), Kar. yuvat-, uvat- id., Tat.Bash.

yuat- id., Nog. yubat-, Kaz.Kl. žubat-, Kirg. žubat- id.

/ *äwüt-; cf. Uig.Br. äw- "to rejoice", AH, Turk. awut- "to

console, quite a child" Az. ovut- id., Tel. üt- id.

*ü, *ü > ö

xöküm "judgement", xökümči "lawyer" / P. / A.  hukm,

cf. Tat. xökem, Bash. xököm id., Kl. xükim, Kum. gükümü

id., Kirg. ökim id., Kaz. ökim, "dictatorship".

kömiš ~ kömüš, kömüš "silver", cf. Tat. kömeš, Bash.

kömöš id., Kaz.Nog. kümis, Kl. gümis, Kum. gümüş, Kar.-

Bal. kümüš / MK kümüš; cf. Yak. kömüs id.


kön 60,3 ~ kün "sun", cf. Tat.Bash. kön id., Kaz.Kirg.

etc. kün id.

kövrük "sulphur"; cf. Tat. kükerit, Bash. kökört id.,

Kaz.etc. kükirt, Kar. kügürt id., Bar. kügürt id., Küar,

kügür id., Alt.Sag.Koy. kükür id., Turk.Turkm. kükürt, Az.

kükürd id. ? / P.  gügird.

kövüz "rug, carpet" / MK küvüz id. / MK kiwiz, cf.

Tat. kiyez "felt", Bash. keyed id., Kaz.Kl.Nog.Kum.Kar.-

Bal.Kirg. kiyiz id., AH (Kipchak) kiyiz id., Tuhf. kiyiz,

kiyüz "rug, carpet" / MK kidiz, Uig. kidiz, ki'iz, kiiz id.
ömed "hope" / P. اميد / umid, cf. Tat. ömet, Bash. ömöt
 id., Kaz. Kkl. Nog. umit, Kirg. umit id., Kar.-Bal. Kum. umut
 id.
övüt- "to rub, wipe off" (/ "to grind, mill"), övük
 "millstone", cf. Kaz. Kkl. ügi- "to grind, crumble", Kirg.
ügi- id. / *üki-, Turk. üvüt-, Az. üvüt-, Turk. üvet- id.,
üve- id. / *üki-, MK üki- (B.A. ügi-) id., ükit- caus. ~
 Mong. ügi-, ügi- "to smash, pulverize" (Ramst.)
sövek "bone" / *süväk, cf. Tat. söyäk, Bash. höväk
 id., Kaz. etc. süvek id., Kar. T. süväk, Kar. L. Siwäk id.,
 Kirg. sök id. / *süqök / *süqäk, AH süvük, sünük id., Tuht.
süqük, süväk id. / MK sünük, Uig. sünük, sinük id. / Orkh.
sinük, cf. Yak. unuox, unuox id. / *sinük.
sövlün "pheasant" / MK süglün, süvlün; cf. Fl-Idrak
süglün, Kkl. (Menges 28) süvlün, Turk. sütlün, süylün, sülün
 id., Chag. sülgün, Turk. sülgün id.

As we have seen, the labial vowel shifts in present-day Tatar and Bashkir can be traced as far back as the time of the compilation of Codex Cumanicus, i.e. the early XIV century. The relative abundance of examples displaying quality changes in the labial category suggests that those changes started much earlier than the XIV century, perhaps in the XIII, or even as early as the XII century.

NOTES

- 1) The Turkic Peoples and Their Languages, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 75.
- 2) Komanisches Wörterbuch, København 1942, p. 12.
- 3) "Die Sprache des Codex Cumanicus", Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 46-73.
- 4) These similarities have been pointed out by A. von Gabain (cf. Fund. I, p. 47).
- 5) Cf. Komanisches Wörterbuch, pp. 11, 12, 16.
- 6) Cf. Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen, StOF 15, Helsinki 1949 and Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkischen Sprachen, Helsinki 1969.
- 7) Cf. Fund. I, p. 47.
- 8) Grønbech is mistaken by regarding this word as related to quv "hollow" (KW, p. 205).
- 9) Räsänen equates CC subul- "to take one's clothes" with MK suč in suč qil- "to jump off, leap off (sword)" (VEWT, p. 431). This etymology does not seem to me very likely, for semantic reasons. MK suč in suč qil- should rather be connected with ET (Jar.) šuku- "to start, leap up" which goes back to MK suč'i- "to jump". The latter seems to be related to Turk. sičra- which has the same meaning.
- 10) Gabain's hesitation in determining the quality of this vowel (Altürkische Grammatik, 2nd edition, p. 342) is out of place.
- 11) Räsänen confuses this verb with two (in reality, one) other verbal stems, i.e. with both MK abi-, abit- "to hide, conceal" and Uig. abit- "beraiten, herrichten" (1) (VEWT, p. 2). CC uvut- "to console" cannot be related to MK abi- or abit- for merely semantic reasons. There is no semantic relation whatsoever between the two stems. As for Uig. abit- "beraiten, herrichten", this must be a mistake, for there is no such a verb in Turki. The Uigur verb meaning "to prepare, make ready" is anut-, anit-.
- 12) Räsänen's hesitation in determining the quality of the labial vowel in this word (VEWT, p. 357) is out of place.
- 13) The labial vowel of this word must originally be a long one. The voicing of g in the Oghuz group alone testifies to this assumption.
- 14) Cf. this word, for instance, with CC noqta "halter" (/ Mong. noyta) which survives as nukta in Tatar and Bashkir, as nokta in Kazakh, Karakalpak, Nogay etc., and as nokto in Kirghiz.

TATAARIN JA BASKIIRIN KIELTEN LABIAALIVOKAALIEN
MUUTOSHISTORIAA

Talât Tekin
Lühennelmä

On tunnettua, että yleisturkkilaisien kielten ensimmäisen tavun o ja u ovat muuttuneet ü:ksi ja ü:ksi tataarin ja baskiirin kielissä, kun taas vokaalit u ja ü ovat muuttuneet o:ksi ja ö:ksi. Nämä vokaalimuutokset ovat huvin tärkeät turkkilaisien kielten tutkimisessa, sillä ilman niitä olisi huvin valkoata ellei mahdotonta monissa tarauk-sissa määrittää prototurkin labiaalivokaalien tarkka laatu.

Labiaalivokaalien muutokset tataarin ja baskiirin kielissä alkoivat jo 13. vuosisadalla, sillä jo 14. vuosisadalle ajoittuvassa Codex Cumanicuksessa on monia esimerkkejä näistä muutoksista. Mainittu teoksen perusteella on mahdollisuus todistaa labiaalivokaalien varhaiset muutokset kumaanin ja kiritsäkin kielissä.

Kirjoittaja katsoo, että Kaare Grønbech ei sinänsä erinomaisessa kumaanin kielen sanakirjassaan aina noudata oikeinkirjoitusta, vaan normalisoi alkuperäistä tavuusta. Niinpä Grønbech väittää, että mm. muodot toupa ja borun muotojen tolu, tora ja burun rinnalla olisivat oikeinkirjoitusvirheitä olivätkä Volgan soudun tataarin kielen vokaalivaihtelun mukaisia. Kuitenkin on perusteltua uskoa, että muodot toupa ja tolu ovat heijastuma prototurkin ritkien vokaalien *o:n ja *ö:n diftongisoitumisesta eivätkä kirjoitusvirheitä. Itse asiassa Codex Cumanicus ja muut kirittäkiirteet sisältävät melkoisesti esimerkkejä tällaisesta diftongisoitumisesta.

Artikkelin mukaan kumaanin ja kiritsäkin kielet ovat kaksi murretta, jotka eroavat vain vähän toisistaan. Ei ole mitään syytä olla vertaamatta Codex Cumanicuksen kieltä sekä nykyisiä tataarin ja baskiirin kieltä toisinsa.

Artikkelin liittyä tuettelo Codex Cumanicuksessa esiintyvistä, labiaalivokaalien vaihtelun sisältäivistä sanoista.

ЯЗЫК ТАТАР СЕЛА УСТЬ-УЗА
Э. Тенишев

Село Усть-Уза /tat. Öz/ расположено в живописной местности в 40 км на юго-восток от г. Пензы /Шемлышенский район/. Рядом с селом Усть-Уза мошка-мордовская деревня Муразино, с жителями которого узинцы с давних пор поддерживают добрососедские отношения, а теперь имеют и общее колледживное хозяйство. Узинцы - двуязычны /владеют татарским и русским языками/, некоторые говорят на трех языках /татарском, русском и мошка-мордовском/.

По преданию село Усть-Уза образовали переселенцы из селения Карамалы /на крайнем северо-западе Пензенской области/. С древних времен земли по бассейну средней Волги и ее притоков заселяли буртасы и мордовские племена I/. В связи с ними следует рассматривать такие топонимические названия как Пенза, Инза. В один ряд с именами на "за" надо поставить, очевидно, и название Уза /река и селение/. Усть-Уза - крупное село /около 3 тыс. жителей/, имеющее свою микротопонимию.

Особое название носят отдельные части или кварталы села 2/ : Ају öçö 'Медвежий конец', судасок [<русск. 'судачок'Т], Аглилка [ʔ], ŝingal [ʔ], југагүгид [<југагүгүöç1] 'Верхний конец', Тубаңгид ~ Түбәңгид [<tübäңgë öç] 'Нижний конец', Ута аву́т 'Среднее село', Јару́ аву́д 'Новое село', Мелни́ца аву́ 'Мельничное село', Кула аву́ 'Речное село',

1/ Хвоцев А. Очерки по истории Пензенского края, Пенза, 1922, стр. 18-19; В. Лебедев, Загадочный город Мошки, Пенза, 1958, стр. 15-17.
2/ За все сведения приношу большую благодарность уроженцу с. Усть-Уза Ханафи Садриевичу Уразаеву.