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IN CONNEXION WITH THE LANGUAGE OF THE *ṢARḤU 'L-MANĀR*, AN OLD ANATOLIAN TURKISH MANUSCRIPT

by

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İstanbul
(died on the 27th of August, 1960) *

This manuscript, which is preserved in the Haraççıoğlu Library at Bursa under the number 12/53, deals with the bases of the canon law of Islam (*uṣūl-i fiqh*). It was first made known to scholars by Muharrem Ergin (*Bursa kitaplıklarındaki türkçe yazmalar arasında*, in: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, IV, 1950, pp. 120 f.; here its number is given as Haraççıoğlu 697). It consists of 131 folios (20.5 × 14 cms.) of very old thick white paper, with 18, occasionally 19, lines to the page. The text is written in an old Naskhi, generally without vowel-signs (*harakat*) and dots; in some cases even the upper bar of the ﻟ is lacking. There are interlinear and marginal additions. On the upper part of the second page there is a waqf-seal. The manuscript was copied in 804/1401-2. Both author and copyist are unknown. The National Library (Millî Kütüphane) at Ankara possesses a microfilm of the manuscript (Mikrofilm Arkivi A 13) [1].

The work is composed in an easily intelligible language and style. Owing no doubt to the limited range of its subject-matter, the same words, morphemes and even syntactical constructions recur frequently. M. Ergin recognized that its language is of great importance. He suggested that it represents one of the earliest examples of Eastern Turkish; and indeed the Turkish in which it is written does present some features which cannot be accepted as characteristic of Old Anatolian Turkish. But is this text in fact to be ascribed to a language-area outside Anatolia?

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* J. Eckmann, *Mecdut Mansuroğlu (1910-1960)* in: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi 10/1960/V-XVI.

[1] I am greatly indebted to Dr. J. Eckmann for drawing my attention to the manuscript and placing his notes at my disposal. I should also like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. V. L. Ménage (London) for his very careful revision of the English text.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to analyse the orthographical and linguistic characteristics of our manuscript and hence to determine its place of origin.

1. *Orthography*

The orthographical characteristics of the manuscript may be illustrated as follows.

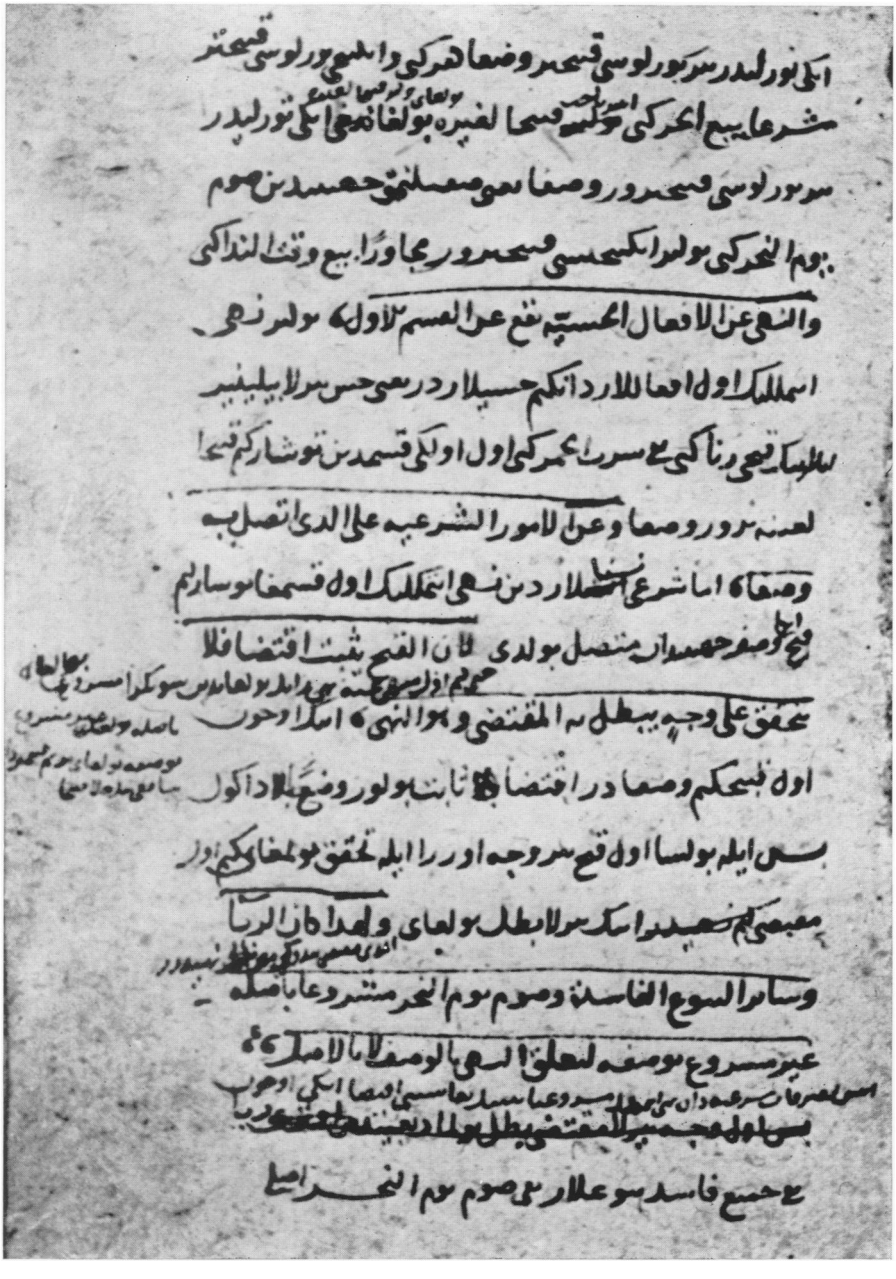
1. It is true, as M. Ergin says, that in the text no vowel-signs are used. But in general the spelling of the words is such that they are not needed: in Turkish words vowels are in most cases written out: مسالللارين كوب سلمك سرلا اول طعن قبول اولنماز *Masā'illerin köp bilmek birle ol ṭa'n qabūl olunmaz* 'By understanding all the problems that criticism cannot be accepted' 61: 16. تيلماز كم بـو سوزلاديكى لفظلك حكمى واقع بـولغـاى *Tilemez, kim bu sözledigí laſżnıŋ ḥukmı vāqi' bolġay* 'He does not wish that the judgement passed upon these words which he has spoken should come into effect.' 117a: 1-2. سجود آلنينى يـيركا قويمقدين عبارتتر *Sucūd alnını yėrge qoymaqdın 'ibārettür* 'Prostration consists of putting one's forehead on the ground' 4a: 8. ايتمازدين اونكدين *ėtmezdın öŋdün* 'before doing' 60b: 12. طاهر بولغاندين سونك *ṭāhir bolġandın soŋ* 'after becoming pure' 90b: 5. اوركايا *özgeye* 'to another' 60a: 15. ناكا *nege* 'to what?' 87b: 14. داكول *degül* 'it is not' 62a: 9.

2. In Turkish words the letter س is in most cases used in both front and back sound groups: سونكرا *soŋra* 'afterwards' 29a: 5. سقلنمق *saqlanmaq* 'to hide oneself' 62a: 9. سونك *soŋ* 'after' 90b: 5. ستمق *satmaq* 'to sell' 20a: 5, 88a: 7. ساعيش *saġış* 'number' 110b: 18.

In rare cases, however ص is to be found in back sound groups: صايمدى *saymadı* 'he did not count' 3b: 2.

3. Sometimes ت is used in the initial position in back sound groups where otherwise ط is to be found: ترور *turur* 'is' 2a: 17, 45a: 12. توبراق *topraq* 'earth' 98a: 12.

4. The sound *ç* is in most cases rendered by the letter ج : اوج *üç* 'three' 1b: 8, 2a: 3. اوجون *üçün* 'for; because' 4a: 4,17, 28a: 15, 35b: 11. كجكان



Bursa Haraççıoğlu Library 12/53, folio 12a

geçgen 'previous' 3a: 16. بشينجى *bėşinçi* 'fifth' 3a: 16. تا شروع ايتماينجا *tā şurū' ėtmeyinçe* 'so long it does not begin' 28a: 5. بولغينجا *bolġınça* 'when it becomes' 26b: 5,17. كيردوكجا *girdükçe* 'whenever it enters' 38a: 7. اوسبونجيلاين *uşbunçılayın* 'as this one' 24b: 8. اصابت اتكج *işābat ėtgeç* 'when hitting' 48b: 15. منع ايتجى *man' ėtiçi* 'restraining' 102b: 31. قجان *qaçan* 'when' 110b: 17.

But چ is occasionally used: اوچ *üç* 'three' 4b: 1. چيقار *çıqar* 'it originates' 3b: 10.

5. The sound *p* is rendered by the letter ب: اليب *alıp* 'taking' 28a: 11. تيب *tėp* 'saying' 1b: 10. بولوبدر *bolupdur* 'is, becomes' 31a: 13. توبراق *topraq* 'earth' 98a: 12.

6. In one case a Turkish ablative suffix is spelt with *alif* and *tanvīn*: نمادا *nemeden* 'from a thing' 50a: 6.

7. The sound *ŋ* is represented either by the compounds نك or نيك, and in one case by ك alone: سونك *soŋ* 'after' 3a: 16, 18b: 1, 66a: 10, 90b: 5. انكا *aŋa* 'to him/her/it' 5b: 16, 89b: 9. انكار *aŋar* 'id.' 37b: 7. انلارنينك *anlarnıŋ* 'of them' 2a: 4. مونكا *muŋa* 'to this' 19b: 8. موككار *muŋar* 'id.' 19b: 8. انكمق *aŋmaq* 'to mention' 2a: 5. اونكدون *öŋdün* 'before' 27a: 10, 60b: 12. سكرى *Teŋri* 'God' 68a: 5. قتيكيزدا *qatıŋızda* 'in your presence' 6a: 5.

8. Words forming more or less a semantic unit, or rather words which are often used together are written as one word in the text: بشينجى قسمدخى *bėşinçi qısım daḫı* 'the third part too' 3a: 16-17. بولمقبلا *bolmaq bile* 'by becoming' 10a: 2. يرمقكبى *yarmaq gibi* 'like splitting' 102b: 6. نقدر *ne qadar* 'how much' 98a: 6. بيلمكترور *bilmek turur* 'it is to know' 3b: 4. قجانكم *qaçan kim* 'when' 44a: 19, 61a: 1, 110b: 17, 18.

9. Rarely some suffixes are written separately from the stem: اقساملار *aqsāmlar* 'the parts' 3b: 11. سكرى تعالى عا *Teŋri ta'ālāġa* 'to God the most high' 68a: 5. تاويل كا *te'vīlge* 'to commenting' 4a: 3. دات در *datdur* 'to make taste' 89a: 11.

The writing out of the vowels, the use of س and ت for both back and front groups, the use of ب and ج for both voiced and unvoiced *b/p* and *c/ç*, the use of the compound letters نك and نيك for *ŋ* and the separation of the endings from the stem in Turkish words are all remnants of the influence of the Uygur script which is to be attested in Eastern Turkish from the first Turkish Islamic literary works of Central Asia through Chaghatay Turkish, right down to modern Eastern Turki. On the other hand the use of the letters ص and ط, of چ for the sound *ç*, of *alif* and *tanvīn* in *-den*, of ك for *ŋ* and the writing as one word of two independent words must be explained as due to the influence of Arabic and Persian spelling-conventions. Thus the text reflects two different orthographical systems.

2. *Phonetics*

The same dualism may be established in the phonetic features of the language of the text.

1. The characteristics which are related to Old and hence Eastern Turkish are as follows:

a. *m-* is used in place of *b-* in words containing a nasal: *miŋ* 'thousand' 117a: 14; *munlar* 'these' 3b: 2, 35a: 6, 62a: 9; *munıŋ* 'of this' 16b: 12; *munı* 'this' (acc.) 4b: 1; *muŋa* 'to this' 16a: 8; *muŋar* 'id.' 19b: 8; *munda* 'in this' 3a: 17; *mundın* 'from this' 2a: 13; *mundan* 'from this' 39b: 7.

b. The *b-* which changed to *v-* in *var* 'there is', *var-* 'to go, to arrive' and *vėr-* 'to give' in Anatolia and the surrounding areas remains unchanged: *bar* 'there is' 16a: 10, 63a: 13; *bėr-* 'to give' 29b: 3.

c. The labialization of the vowels under the influence of immediately preceding or following labial consonants, which is so frequent in Old Anatolian Turkish, is unknown to our text. On the contrary we find here delabialization in the second and following syllables: *artıq* 'more' 65a: 2; *ayttıq* 'we have said' 86a: 14; *bildir-* 'let know' 3a: 10; *bilmedigimiz* 'what we do not know' 61b: 2; *boldığı* 'his being' 124b: 6; *bolmadığı üçün* 'as he is not' 5a: 3; *delīlimiz* 'our guide' 75b: 9; *ola bilir* 'may be' 43a: 16; *ötüri* 'because of' 2a: 13, 28a: 5; *qaytır* 'it turns back' 28b: 11; *törtinçi* 'fourth' 2a: 2; *türli* 'kind, type' 12a: 1, 27a: 17; *yazıqlı* 'sinner' 11a: 14. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule: *olun-* 'to be' 62a: 1, 87b: 14; *öŋdün* 'before' 27a: 10; *ötürü* 'because of' 4a: 6; *türlü* 'kind, type' 90a: 1, 129b: 10.

2. Those features which on the other hand connect our text with Anatolian Turkish may be listed as follows:

a. The disappearance of *-ġ/-g* at the end of the second and following syllables: *tiri* 'alive' 16b: 9; *türli* 'kind, type' 2b: 14, 90a: 1; *yazıqlı* 'sinner' 11a: 4. There are even cases where this apocope has left a rounded vowel as final sound: *aru* 'pure' 64a: 14, *görklü* 'fairly well' 104a: 11; *türlü* 'kind, type' 129b: 10; *yaşlu* 'aged' 33b: 5.

b. Some primary labial vowels survived in spite of preceding non-labial vowels: *bardur* 'there is' 16a: 10, 63a: 13; *cā'izdür* 'it is sound' 98a: 7; *çıqtuqça* 'every time he goes out' 42b: 16; *degül* 'it is not' 16b: 9, 66a: 10; *ėttügi* 'what he has done' 123b: 9; *gendü* 'self' 105a: 11; *girdükçe* 'every time he enters' 38a: 7; *nėçük* 'how' 3a: 10; *qılduq* 'we have done' 28a: 7; *tėdügümiz* 'what we said' 2a: 15.

3. The text sometimes presents phonetic characteristics which are typical of Old and Eastern Turkish side by side with the typical Anatolian equivalent. These are:

a. The Eastern *bol-* 'to be, to become', which predominates: 1b: 16, 3a: 16, 3b: 5, 14a: 3, 4a: 17, 4b: 2, 5a: 3, 6a: 1, 10a: 2, 16a: 4, 19b: 8, 20a: 5, 21a: 11, 27a: 10, 30b: 3, 89b: 18 and *passim*; and also the Anatolian *ol-*, which is less frequent: 3a: 18, 19b: 8, 37a: 14, 42b: 16, 61a: 16, 89a: 2 and *passim*.

b. Initial *t-*, which predominates: *taqı* 'and, also' 2b: 14; *tė* 'to say' 2a: 15; *tile-* 'to wish' 2a: 5, 38a: 13; *tört* 'four' 2a: 3, 110b: 18; *turur* 'is' 1b: 9, 64a: 8; *türli* 'kind, type' 2a: 8; *türlü* 'id.' 129b: 10; and also *d-*, which is less frequent: *daḫı* 'and, also' 1b: 13, 2b: 14; *dė-* 'to say' 22b: 6, 64b: 13; *degül* 'is not' 61b: 15; *durur* 'is' 24b: 8, 62a: 3.

c. *-ġ-/-g-* in initial position in the syllable has in most cases survived. 1) The participle (verbal noun) *-ġan/-gen* has preserved itself everywhere: *bilgen* 'the one who knows' 3a: 16; *bolġan* 'the one who has become' 3b: 5, 28a: 5; *dėgen* 'that which has been said' 22b: 6; *geçgen* 'that which has passed by' 3a: 16; *qalġan* 'that which remains, remainder' 28b: 11; 2) The optative-future *-ġay/-gey* (for examples see p. 321-322). 3) The dative *-ġa/-ge*: *Ādamġa* 'to Adam' 27a: 15; *fi'ilge* 'to the action' 6a: 11; *ızharġa* 'to revealing' 4b: 1; *kāmilge* 'to the perfect man' 5a: 1; *ma'lūmġa* 'to the known' 4a: 18; *nemege* 'to a the thing' 27a: 16; *özgege* 'to another' 16b: 4; *te'vīlge* 'to commenting' 4a: 3; *törtge* 'to four' 2a: 13; *yėrge* 'to the earth' 4a: 8. It has, however, disappeared after the possessive suffix of the third person, in which case the pronominal *-n-* is inserted: *(yoq) bolduġına* 'to its disappearance' 16b: 4; *gendi başına* 'to itself alone' 36a: 4; *cam'ına* 'to the whole' 1b: 10; *ġayrına* 'to another' 89b: 18; *gendi nafsına* 'to itself alone' 89b: 17; *ta'rīfine* 'to its explanation' 3b: 11; *kitāb sözige gir-* 'to enter into the subject of a book' 1b: 7-8. 4) In the deverbal noun *-ġın/-gin* + equative *-ça/-çe* the *-ġ-/-g-* has as a

rule preserved itself: *bolġınça* 'until it becomes' 22b: 17, 26a: 17. After the negative suffix, however, the *-ġ-/g-* is dropped: *şurū' ėtmeyinçe* 'so long as it does not begin' 16b: 13.

d. The intervoiced voiceless consonant is in most cases preserved: *aytır* 'he says' 16b: 16; *ėter* 'he does' 18a: 15; *ėtiçi* 'doer' 102b: 6; *burunqı* 'former' 65a: 8; *ḫastalıqı* 'his illness' 110b: 14. Nevertheless, in some cases this consonant has already become voiced: *aġırlıġın* 'his weight' (acc.) 102b: 13; *boldıġı* 'his being' 124b: 6; *qolındaġı* 'the one in his arm' 38a: 9; *saġış* 'number' 111a: 17.

e. The Old Turkish *ṅ* sound is represented by both *y* and *n*: *qayusı* 'the one' 103b: 12; *qanġısı* 'id.' 103b: 13.

d. The final sound of the aorist negative participle *-maz/-mez* has in general preserved itself: *bolmaz* 'it is not' 21a: 11, 65b: 18; *takallum ėtmezden burun* 'before speaking' 35b: 10; *eylemez* 'it does not' 60b: 16. In one case, however, it is devoiced: *olunmaslar* 'they are not' 11a: 13.

3. *Morphology*

The dualistic character of our text is also visible in its morphological structure.

1. The special features which relate it to Old and Eastern Turkish are:

a. The accusative ending *-nı/-ni*: *qardaşnı* 'the brother or sister' 36a: 10; *munlarnı* 'these' 60b: 6; *nemeni* 'the thing' 104a: 11; *yigirmini* 'the twenty' 3b: 8.

b. The diminutive ending *-ġına/-gine*: *bir zamāngına* 'for just a moment' 37a: 4.

c. Words unknown to Anatolian Turkish: *burun* 'before' 27a: 14, 35b: 10; *köp* 'all, much' 61a: 16; *üçün* 'for' 16a: 14, 35b: 11.

2. Those morphological features which connect it with Old Anatolian Turkish are:

a. The durative or present perfect form *-up/-üp* + *durur/turur*, and even *-uban turur*: *bolup durur* 'it is becoming' 31a: 13; *gelip durur* 'he is coming' 24a: 10; *i'timād ėtip turur* 'he is confiding' 64a: 8; *intihā olunuban turur* 'it is coming to an end' 45a: 11; *vaż' olunup turur* 'it has been established' 4a: 17-18; *muḫāṭab olunup tururlar* 'they have been addressed' 11a: 14; *bayān ėtmek üçün gelmeyüp durur* 'he has not come to relate' 46a: 10-11.

b. The form *-umaz/-ümez*, expressing impossibility: *olumaz* 'it cannot be' 89b: 18.

c. The necessitative-optative and future participle suffix *-ası/-esi* which is attested only in South- and North-Western Turkish dialects: *gelesi yıl* 'next year' 16b: 9; *geleside* 'in the future' 110a: 14.

d. The suffix *-layın/-leyin*, expressing resemblance: *ançılayın* 'like that' 25a: 4; *munçılayın* 'like this, so' 25a: 4.

e. The inessive-adessive suffix *-qı/-ki/-ġı/-gi*: *burunqı* 'the one before' 65a: 8, *avvalki* 'the one before' 16a: 16; *qolundaġı* 'the one in his hand/arm' 38a: 9.

f. The comparative suffix *-raq/-rek*: *azraq* 'less, a little' 65a: 3; *yaşluraq* 'older' 33b: 5.

g. The converbal suffix *-ġaç/-geç*: *işābat ėtgeç. . . nacas bolur* 'when it hits it becomes impure' 84b: 15.

h. Words found only in Old Anatolian Turkish: *bile* 'with' 10a: 2; *degül* 'is not' 66a: 14; *görklü* 'fairly well' 103a: 13; *öŋdün* 'before' 27a: 10; *özge* 'other' 60a: 15; *uşbu* 'this one, this' 18b: 8; *durur* 'is' 61b: 2.

3. Some morphemes typical of Old and Eastern Turkish are found beside their typical Anatolian equivalents. These are:

a. The use of the participle endings *-ġan/-gen* on the one hand and that of *-duq/-dük* on the other hand: *bolġanından soŋ* 'after it had become' 90b: 5; *macāz bolġan üçün* 'because it was an allegory' 28a: 15; *dėgen gibi* 'as he said' 22b: 6; *boldığı gibi* 'as it was' 124b: 6; *qalmadığı üçün* 'as it did not remain' 35b: 11; *girdükçe* 'every time he enters' 38a: 7; *çıqtuqça* 'every time he goes out' 42b: 16; *tėdügümüz* 'what we have said' 2a: 15.

b. The genitive ending *-nıŋ/-niŋ* on the one hand and *-ıŋ/-iŋ* on the other: *anlarnıŋ* 'of them' 3b: 3; *laḫẓnıŋ* 'of the word' 27a: 17; *şarī'atnıŋ* 'of the law of God' 1b: 9; *'ācizligiŋ* 'of helplessness' 110b: 17; *siziŋ* 'of you' 6a: 5.

c. The distributive numeral suffix *-aġu/-egü* and its Anatolian Turkish equivalent *-ı/-i*: *Biregü 'Yūsuf nacasdur' dėse, biregü daḫı 'Arıdur' dėse, ṭa'āmda daḫı biri 'Ḥalāldur' dėse ve biri 'Ḥarāmdur' dėse* 'If one says 'Yusuf is impure', and yet the other says 'He is pure'; and of food too if one says 'It is permitted' and another says 'It is forbidden' 64b: 13-5. Other examples for *biregü*: 20a: 5, 36a: 10, 102b: 6 and *biri* 1b: 12.

d. The ablative suffixes *-dın/-din* on the one hand and *-dan/-den* on the other: *andın* 'from him' 60a: 5; *bolġanındın* 'from its being' 3b: 6; *ikidin* 'from the two' 2a: 10; *ėtmezdin öŋdün* 'before doing' 60b: 12; *ėtmezdin burun* 'before doing' 36a: 6; *gėçedin* 'from the night' 111a: 16; *mundın ötüri* 'on account of this' 2a: 13; *andan* 'from him' 33b: 5; *bolġanından ötüri* 'on account of its being' 28a: 5; *takallum ėtmezden burun* 'before speaking' 35b: 10; *mundan* 'from this' 39b: 7; *taqdīrden* 'on account of the divine decree' 66a: 14; *Şāfi'īden* 'from the Shafiites' 29a: 14.

e. The necessitative-optative and future suffix *-ġay/-gey* on the one

hand, and very rarely its Old Anatolian Turkish equivalent *-a/-e* on the other: *atalġay sen* 'you will be thrown away' 62a: 14; *bilgey sen* 'you should know' 3b: 4; *bolġay* 'it will be' 3b: 5; *bolġaydı* 'it would be' 90a: 15; *bolmaġay* 'it will not be' 46a: 15; *görklü göre* 'he should see it well' 104a: 11.

* * *

On surveying the characteristics set out above one has to admit that the manuscript dealt with includes both features peculiar to Old Turkish and peculiar to Old Anatolian Turkish. But this is not the only Old Anatolian text with such a mixed language. The first such text known to us is that published by C. Brockelmann (*ʿAlī's Qiṣṣa'i Jūsuf, der älteste Vorläufer der osmanischen Literatur*, ABAW, Berlin 1916), composed in 630/1233. Brockelmann recognized the dualistic character of his manuscript and after analysing it closely came to the conclusion that it was the oldest forerunner of Anatolian Turkish. But the language differed to such a degree from Old Anatolian Turkish as then known that scholars were inclined to seek its origin outside Asia Minor. Thus Fuad Köprülü, though admitting its close relation with Old Anatolian Turkish, regards the poem as a product of Chaghatay literature (*Çagatay edebiyatı*, in: İslâm Ansiklopedisi, III, 1945, p. 284). Another work of this kind is the *Bahcatu 'l-ḥadā'iq fī mavʿiẓatu 'l-ḫalā'iq*, copied in 703/1303-4 and described by Ismail Hikmet Ertaylan (in: Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, III, 1949, pp. 275 ff.). The same manuscript was discussed later by Sadettin Buluç, who also published a few pages in transcription and facsimile (ibid. VI, 1954, pp. 119 ff. and VII, 1956, pp. 17 ff.). Minor texts of this kind are a poem of Sayyād Ḥamza (edition and discussion by myself, in: Türk Dili-Belleten, 1956, pp. 125 ff.) and the poems of Calāladdīn Rūmī (edition and discussion by myself, in: UAJb. XXIV 3-4, 1952, pp. 106 ff.). The language of Kadı Burhanaddin (see his Dīvān in facsimile, İstanbul 1943) may also be considered a more or less mixed dialect (cf. M. Ergin, *Kadı Burhaneddin Divanı üzerinde bir gramer denemesi*, in: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, IV, 1951, pp. 287 ff.). Finally an Old Anatolian Turkish translation of the Koran belonging probably to the 14th century and analysed linguistically by G. M. Meredith-Owens (Oriens X, 1957, pp. 258 ff.) is to be added to our list.

Moreover almost all Old Anatolian Turkish texts contain to a greater or less degree elements originally foreign to the so-called Oghuz dialect. This may be illustrated even from the pages of the very much normalized

Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü I, İstanbul 1942; II, İstanbul 1945 and 1953; III, Ankara 1954; IV, Ankara 1957, where we find for example: The use of the letter س in back sound groups: ساغیشی سغش *sağış* 'number' IV, سغرق *sağraq* 'wine-glass' IV, سوغلجان *soğulçan* 'earth-worm' IV, سوچلرلر *suçlarlar* 'they accuse, they blame' IV, ڤسمق 'to press, to squeeze'' IV; the use of ج for the *ç* sound: جاوان *çavan* 'that which flies out, rushes' IV, اجملو *içümlü* 'drinkable' IV, سماج *soymaç* 'naked, undressed' IV, اوج *öç* 'bet, wager' IV, اچماق اوجماق *uçmaq* 'paradise' IV; the use of ب for the *p* sound: دب دکسز *dėp deŋsüz* (transcribed in the dictionary with *-i-*) 'upset' IV, طبشور *tapşur-* 'to entrust' IV, طبراجق *topraçuq* 'just a little earth' IV, یاب یاب یب یب *yap yap* 'gently, carefully' IV; the separation of some suffixes from the stem: جامش‌لق *camışlıq* 'wild, prank, unruly behaviour' IV, چونکل‌مك *çöngelmek* 'to get weak, to lose resistance' IV, طنکاش‌دق *daŋlaşduq* 'we were surprised' IV, دل‌لکن *dillegen* 'censurer, denigrator' IV, أکن‌لی *eginli* 'very inclined' IV, خیرلی‌جه *ḫırlıça* 'fairly orderly' IV, اراق‌سنمق *ıraqsınmaq* 'to consider far' IV, کشی‌لر *kişiler* 'persons, people' IV, قری‌جوقدی *qarıçuġ idi* 'she was a poor old woman' IV, قزللی‌رق *qızıllıraq* 'reddish' IV, قوغ‌جغز *qoġçuġaz* 'small spark' IV, طاكْ سَقْ *taŋsaq* 'strange' IV, یاش‌داش *yaşdaş* 'of the same age' IV; *m-* instead of *b-* in words containing a nasal: *men* 'I' I, *menüm* 'my, mine' IV, *min-* 'to mount, to ride' II, *munça* (transcribed with *-c-*) 'so much' II, *munçılayın* (transcribed with *-c-*) 'like this one' IV, *munda* 'here' II; *b-* not changed to *v-*: *bėr-* (in the glossar *-i-*) 'to give' I; the use of *bol-* 'to become, to be' I-IV; initial *t-* instead of *d-*: *tam-* 'to fall in drops, to drip' I, III, *taŋ* (in the glossar *-n*) 'amazement', *taş* 'outside, exterior' I, II, IV, *tur-* 'to stand, to stop' I-IV, *tün* 'night' I; *-ġ-/-g-* in initial position in the syllable: *azġaş* 'struggle' I, *azġış-* 'to become furious' III, *qayġu* 'suffering' IV, *tuyġur-* 'to make heard or felt' IV; intervoiced voiceless consonant: *butaq* 'branch' IV, *çetük* 'cat' I-IV, *gürpüz* 'sturdy, robust' IV, *qalqı-* 'to spurt out' IV, *yarınqı* 'of to-morrow, to morrow's' IV; the devoicing of *-z* in *-maz/-mez*: *fā'ide bulmas* or *bolmas* (in the text *-u-*) 'it is of no use' IV; the accusative in *-nı/-ni*: *Muḥammadnı 'Alīden*

farḳ ėt- 'to distinguish Mohammed from Ali' II; the distributive numeral *-aġu/-egü*: *biregü* 'somebody' I-IV; the ablative *-dın/-din*: *Andın Şāmdın yaŋa gitdi* 'From there he went towards Damascus' I 208, *öŋdin* 'before' I-IV; words alien to the Oghuz dialect: *burun* 'before' I, *köp* 'much' I, *öŋ* 'before' I, III, IV, *özge* 'other, apart' I, IV.

In Kayseri I chanced upon an Old Anatolian manuscript (The Kayseri Library 3229 *Kitāb-ı Guzīda*) in the introduction of which (3a) it is stated that during the copying its coarse Tartar language with *alġay, bolġay* was normalized. I have been told by R. Rahmeti Arat that he too found a manuscript in Manisa which contained the same statement.

In view of these facts we seem justified in coming to the following conclusion: Already by the time of Maḥmūd al-Kāşgarī there existed two main Turkish dialects: 1) that which Kāşgarī calls 'Turkish' and by which he means presumably the old literary language of Central Asia, and 2) what he calls 'Oghuz', a spoken dialect then in process of development as a second literary language. It is this second dialect which constituted the basis of written Anatolian Turkish. But in the period when the Oghuz dialect was developing as a literary language the tradition of the Old Turkish literary language was too strong to be completely excluded. Consequently in the early texts of Anatolian Turkish we find to a greater or less degree features peculiar to Central Asian Turkish. It is only after the establishment of Anatolian Turkish as a literary language that there commences a reaction against the old written language and a consequent purging of 'foreign' elements. However, with the efflorescence of Chaghatay literature in the 15th century there is a revival of cultural intercourse between the two literary dialects, in Central Asia on the one hand and in Asia Minor and its vicinity on the other.

Finally there arises the problem of another mixed Turkish dialect: A. İnan dealt with texts originating from the Qipchaq region but consisting linguistically of a mixture of pure 'Turkish' and the Qipchaq and Turcoman dialects (Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı — Belleten 1953, pp. 53 ff., and Türk Dili V/53, Februar 1956, pp. 272 ff.). We are perhaps justified in interpreting these texts also as reflecting the influence which the tradition of the Old Turkish literary language exerted upon the Qipchaq dialect in the first phases of its development as an independant literary language in the dominions of the Golden Horde and in Egypt.