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The Turkic Languages and Peoples

An Introduction to Turkic Studies

2nd, revised edition

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG

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PREFACE

The bulk of the present book was written during the first half of 1962 under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies, as project No. 106 of the series "Research and Studies in Uralic and Altaic Languages", with the title "Introduction to Turkic Studies". The manuscript was delivered to the sponsoring institution in September 1962. At the same time, Dr. L. Reichert of the Publishing House Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, offered to include the book among their publications. Dr. O. Pritsak, the Editor-in-Chief of the Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, and the Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, decided to have the book appear in the Ural-Altaische Bibliothek. I wish to thank both gentlemen for the interest they are taking in my work.

While preparing the manuscript for the printer, I added illustrative examples, tables and diagrams showing suffixes or patterns of declension. I changed some chapter headings and inserted several new points of substance. However, no new chapter has been added and none has been taken out. Thus, while in some respects the book has grown, it still is in essence an introduction to Turkology, not a comparative and historical grammar. This holds particularly for the Syntax, which is treated together with the Morphology in the same chapter. This combination, which my book shares with most of the preceding works, reflects the insufficiency of work hitherto done on the syntax of the Turkic languages. In the last years, two books on Turkic syntax have appeared in the USSR: the 3-rd volume of the Исследования по сравнительной грамматике тюркских языков, edd. N. K. Dmitrijev, N. A. Baskakov, and Je. I. Ubrjatova, 230 pp., Moscow, 1961, containing 10 articles, and one year later, likewise under the sponsorship of the Институт Языкознания of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Исследования по синтаксису тюркских языков, ed. Je. I. Ubrjatova, 219 pp., with 5 articles. As I recently said concerning the latter in some of my review-notulae in the UAJbb., these are so far preparatory studies, valuable since they are necessary, but still far from a comparative treatise on Turkic syntax. So far, with the exception of some special cases, statements on Turkic syntax are generally limited to the basic features, which since the works of Heinrich Winkler are well-known. Thus, in the present book, there is more emphasis on the dissolution of the typical, basic Turkic and Altajic syntax—and this is to be found in the section on structure-changing developments—than an ad hoc presentation of Turkic syntax.

No sections on conjunctions, particles and interjections have been given. As the rise of the conjunction, originally an alien category in Altajic, results from grammatical subordination, it is treated in the section on structure-changing developments. The particles of Turkic, still to be compiled, are in their morphological role not lacking some interesting features. The interjections, as in some other language families, seem to exhibit over-all regionally determined peculiarities.

Among the examples quoted from the various Turkic languages, occasionally those from the less known and less accessible languages are given preference,

Bahan dengan hak cipta

since Ancient Turkic and particularly Osman-Turkish are generally better known to Western students.

Time and again, I refer for the sake of comparison or for the illustration of certain features of Turkic, to Indo-European, having in mind not New-English or the modern Indo-European languages of Europe, but languages of the "classical" Indo-European type, such as Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Lithuanian, Old-Church-Slavic or Russian.

I always try to have the reader visualize the Turkic language group as a member of the Altajic language family and, with the help of a few specific features to make him see, in the farther distance of space and time, Altajic—and with it Turkic—in its relations to other language families such as Uralic, Drāviḍian, Japanese, Korean and Indo-European.

As this book contains not only an outline of the comparative and historical grammar of the Turkic languages but also an outline of the history of the peoples speaking those languages, the title "The Turkic Languages and Peoples" seems more appropriate than the original "Introduction to Turkic Studies", which may serve well as subtitle.

The original manuscript was written in English. About one third of the entire manuscript was dictated to Mrs. L. Osterweil, who, in addition to being an excellent typist, also suggested some stylistic refinements.

The Director of the Chinese History Project, my friend, Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, sympathetically followed this as earlier scholarly efforts of mine. His experienced secretary and assistant, Mrs. Ruth S. Ricard, went over the whole manuscript, suggesting a number of improvements in style and expression. I take pleasure in giving my sincere thanks both to Mrs. Ricard and Dr. Wittfogel.

Pentecost 1964

Washington Depot, Conn.

Karl H. Menges

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PREFACE AND ADDITIONS TO THE SECOND EDITION

When last spring the Publishing House of Otto Harrassowitz proposed a reprint edition of this book, I had serious doubts concerning a mere reprint, for, in the last 20–30 years Turkology and Altaic research had developed further and, with the time progressing, my own views have changed inasmuch as they took a clearer direction on a number of problems. Thus, I did not consider a plain reprint as warranted and felt gratified when the Publishers agreed on the addition of an introductory chapter to this edition that would contain basic remarks on some new developments as well as some addenda et corrigenda, all of which had become necessary during the course of those last years and should not be adjourned to a possible enlarged 3-rd edition. In this reprint edition an attempt was made to take into consideration developments and changes which had taken place and were not to be left unnoticed.

Due to a number of practical considerations, a large-scale revision was unfortunately out of the question, even if it would have demanded a few pages of additions and a few dozens of alterations within one line on a page of text. After detailed discussion with Mr. Michael Langfeld, Director of the Publishing Department, I was agreed that minor and major alterations of the text which I considered necessary should be placed in a special chapter to precede chapter I of the text, "Sketch of the History of Turkic Studies". For practical purposes, these additions are strictly arranged in accordance with the original pagination of the entire text which in this way does not have to be altered.

In view of their significance for Altaistics and Turkology, a few principal remarks should be made here.

At the time when I wrote this book, the Altaic language family comprised, in my opinion, Turkic, Mongol, and Tungus, whereas I considered Korean and Japanese as probably related with Altaic, but the fact that RAMSTEDT while treating Korean as genetically related but omitted Japanese completely, demanded further close attention. Everybody who is well-acquainted with Altaic, even with one Altaic subgroup only, notices a certain amount of isoglosses, and not only in the syntax, linking Japanese with Altaic, while the Korean-Altaic isoglosses are less conspicuous.

The appearance of Roy Andrew MILLER's "Japanese and the Other Altaic Languages" (Chicago, 1971) filled, in an optimal way, the gap in RAMSTEDT's work, so that now the genetic relationship of Japanese with Altaic was definitely evidenced. This naturally concerned also the dialects of the Rjū-Kjū-Islands whose close genetic relationship with Japanese had been recognized by HATTORI Shirō some years earlier. Intensive study of Japanese as well as of Korean confirmed my view of the genetic relationship of both languages with Altaic, wherewith the Japanese-Altaic isoglosses are not only more numerous than the Korean-Altaic isoglosses, but also rather rectilinear in contrast to those connecting Korean with Altaic which exhibit in a number of instances a much more intricate development that not rarely had undergone serious perturbations caused by non-Altaic substrata and adstrata along the northeastern fringe of the Sinitic and the Altaic languages.

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There are six Altaic language families, three of the Inner Circle, Turkic, Mongol, Tungus, and three of the Outer, Korean, Japanese, Rjū-Kjū. The farther genetic relationship with Uralic, Indo-European and Dravidic is in some instances illustrated with examples, generally taken in accordance with the Nostratic theory as proposed by ILLIČ-SVITYČ (cf. his "Opyt", infra, bibliogr., p. 197) and the Moscow school. When writing this book, ILLIČ-SVITYČ's basic work had not yet been published, so that quotations from Nostratic were due to my own research.

The secundary origin of the phonemes *š* and *z* in Turkic except Ṭ̆avaš—from proto-Altaic **ḷ* (**l_2) and **ṛ* (**r_2) can now be verified with the help furnished by parallels from within the six Altaic families as well as by those from the other Nostratic groups. The deficiency of this development in Ṭ̆avaš points to a relatively late origin of Turkic *š* and *z*, although *ś/š* < **ḷ* (**l_2) in Middle-Korean and in Japanese, as was first recognized by R. A. MILLER, reveal a sibilantic ingredient in the **ḷ* as antedating the final differenciation of the six historical Altaic families. Some etymologies adduced below indicate early vacillations which must have occurred during the formative period of **ḷ* (**l_2) to *ś/š*.

Likewise, the existence of genuine proto-Altaic **h-* < **p-*—as against secundary, prothetic origin—can be verified by comparison with the other Altaic and Nostratic languages.

Results of research published during the last 30 years and therefore not taken into consideration in this book are listed below in the addenda to the appropriate sections of the Bibliography, pp. 187 ff. The following should be mentioned also here:

The Etymological Dictionary of the Turkic Languages by E. V. SEVORTJAN, "Etimologičeskij slovaŕ ťurkskix jazykov", vol. I: vocalic anlaut, 767 pp. (1974), II: *b-* 350 pp. (1978), III: *v-*, *g-*, *d-*, 395 pp. (1980), IV: *ǯ̌-*, *ž-*, *j-*, 293 pp. (1989); continuation delayed.

K. RÖHRBORN, "Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien", Lief. 1–4, *a—ayat-*, 298 pp. (1977 ff.), continued.—Rec. i. a. K. H. MENGES in Anthropos, 75, pp. 65–86 (1980).

V. I. CINCIUS (et aliae): "Sravnitel'nyj slovaŕ tunguso-maňčžurskix jazykov. Materiały k etimołogičeskomu słovaŕu", I: *a—ŋ*, 672 pp., II: *o—ə̊*, 471 pp. + indices, pp. 473–992; Leningrad 1975 and 1977.

E. R. TENIŠEV: "Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika ťurkskix jazykov. Morfologija". 560 pp. Moskva, 1988.

L. JOHANSON: "Aspekt im Türkischen. Vorstudien zu einer Beschreibung des türkeitürkischen Aspektsystems", 334 pp., Uppsala 1971 is the first major and hitherto unsurpassed work on the aspects in Turkic and therewith on Turkic syntax in general; while chiefly dealing with old and modern Osman, it is likewise of great value for research in the syntax of other Turkic and Altaic languages. Apart from

G. DOERFER's aforementioned work on Xalač, his „Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen" are now complete: III, 670 pp. (1967), IV, 1–255 + addenda and indices, pp. 255–640 (1975).—In this work, equally valuable for history, ethnology and culture as well as for lexi-

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cology of the Turkic and neighboring peoples and languages, not rarely etymologies are proposed in which clear cases of genetic relationship are treated as borrowings; for this cf. N.N. POPPE's review in CAJ, 10, pp. 75–79. For Turkic, other Altaic, and Oriental elements in Slavic, particularly Old-Russian cf.

K.H. MENGES, "Vostočnyje elementy v 'Slove o Polku Igoreve'", 266 pp., Leningrad 1979. (Due to a serious mistake in translation, on p. 78, line 12 from bottom, the negation was omitted, so that this sentence has to begin: "Последний звук не (omitted) был неизвестным ...".

As the basic material for the living Turkic languages texts taken down by dictation from "native informants" have always been given preference, while the modern "literary languages" have generally been avoided, and this in view of the fact that many, if not all, modern literary languages have undergone artificial treatment. While this latter fact can be observed in the instance of many literary languages, like those of Europe, certain changes to which some of the Altaic languages of the former USSR have been subjected are throughout more incisive than those found in European literary languages. Since many Turkic languages still are very close to each other, often more so than Slavic or Finnic languages, just that dialect of a given language had to be given the rank of literary language which differed most from a closely related neighboring language. Such differences were minutely observed in the orthographies of the various languages, even to the extent that one and the same sound of two or more different languages was to be written differently (e.g. ķ in Qazaq vs. k in Qyrγyz for the same sound *q*; ɵ and γ in Qyrγyz vs. ö and ÿ in Ojrot and Xaqas, for *ö* and *ü*; etc.). A certain role is played by syntactical features taken over from Russian, and by the selection of vocabulary, in a certain percentage of foreign, Russian, words to be adopted in a given literary language. While interesting in themselves, all these features obumbrate the original nature of a given language. With regard to the Turkic languages of the former USSR, or Russia resp., the preference given to RADLOFF's "Proben (Obrazcy)" was principally adhered to in the I-st vol. of the "Fundamenta" (1959) while in the corresponding II-nd vol. of the "Jazyki Narodov SSSR" (1966) unilaterally are represented the various literary languages, the reason being that those latter had in their great majority been "created" after the Russian Revolution only. In the wake of industrialization, collectivization, sedentarization and similar ways of "social engineering", dialect differences, dialect boundaries, even entire dialects and languages were altered, effaced, or disappeared altogether. Some small nationalities are given as literary languages the language of a bigger neighbor, although, and often while, this neighbor may speak a completely different language. All those events of the recent past had, and still do have, incisive significance for the linguistic situation in the former USSR—facts that have no lesser significance for Turkology.

As a consequence of this situation and the attitude of the totalitarian state, the work of the Soviet Turkologists is uniformly concerned with the modern literary languages, and work on other, genuine sources is relegated to "dialectology". Thus, the unique treasure of RADLOFF's "Proben" and even his great Dictionary, the "WB", belong to the least (if at all) quoted

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works in the former USSR. A similar fate is shared by AŠMARIN's irreplaceable "Thesaurus linguae Tschuwaschorum" (17 parts, 1928–1950; Kazaň, Čeboksary), similarly, but to a lesser degree, by PEKARSKIJ's Jakut-Russian Dictionary; only in the Ṭăvaš and Jakut Republics these works enjoy greater attention. It is to be hoped that now Turkology in the lands of the former USSR will begin to overcome this state of immobility and stagnation, as for decennia it has been hampering the natural, free development of research and scholarship.

Another crucial problem is that of numerical data. In this book it chiefly concerns the figures of population, the great majority of which are those of the USSR. As most of those figures, if not all of them, have been falsified—this fact always was surmised in the West, but finally acknowledged even by the formerly leading Soviet newspaper "Pravda" as late as in autumn 1991—this means that at the best we may take the figures as closer or farther approximations to reality. This is to be borne in mind, also with regard to figures as those of geographical and other physical conditions. Misleading data are also met with in regard to questions of habitat, dislocation, dispersal or relocation of nationalities in connection with the just mentioned political developments.

Thus, the figures as quoted in the 1-st edition of the book have not been altered. Correct figures are not yet available. Likewise, not altered were, for mere technical considerations, figures casually occurring and referring to years and events the exact data of which are either unimportant or uncertain. Reliable figures of Turkic peoples outside of the USSR/Russia, spreading from the Pacific to the gates of Vienna, perhaps with the exception of Turkey, are not available either.

Quotations of works, second and further editions of which appeared after the publication of this book, were either left unaltered or, in some cases, were supplied with the addition of new data from subsequent editions.

Some additions and a few corrections that were to be made on the text, follow below in the original order of the pages (p. 1 ff.).

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1 p. 7:

Dr. Annemarie von GABAIN, at Hamburg University 1949–1966, died on 15 January 1993. Later, since 1978, Turkology has been taken care of by Dr. Petra KAPPERT. At Mainz University, in 1981 Dr. Johannes BENZING was succeeded by Dr. Lars JOHANSON of Upsala; at Göttingen University, Dr. Gerhard DOERFER, 1966–1988, by Dr. Klaus RÖHRBORN, in 1992, from Gießen University. At the Freie Universität Berlin, Dr. Barbara KELLNER-HEINKELE was in 1990 appointed as Turkologist; formerly, she had been at Frankfurt University where she was succeeded in 1993 by Dr. Marcel ERDAL. In 1984, Turkology was established at Bamberg University with Dr. Klaus KREISER.

2 p. 10:

In the USA, Turkology was not represented before World War II, while Osman-Turkish was sporadically taught at a few universities, within Oriental Departments such as Biblical Studies, Semitic, or Indo-Iranian, so at Columbia University in the Department of Indo-Iranian Languages, where lecturers took care of Osman. The head of the Department, Professor A. V. Williams JACKSON, in connection with his Manichaean studies, worked on Manichaean fragments of the Turfan finds and thus was in close touch with Professor BANG.

The situation changed completely with the beginning of the War. A number of hitherto neglected or "unknown" languages of Eastern Europe and Asia were to be given attention. Turkic was, still in the shape of Osman, offered in practical instruction at some universities, but chiefly for the needs of the war situation. But generally, it was not known that outside of Turkey there existed quite a number of Turkic languages and peoples, their ill fate being, however, the fact that none of them had an independent state of their own and, thus, a lesser or no weight on the agenda of the various curricula and on the planning boards. The Turkic peoples outside of Turkey had to be approached via the Soviet Union,—and this proved to be a very difficult task, practically hopeless. Thus originated the—wrong—opinion that in this case a knowledge of Russian was sufficient.

In the academic year 1941/2, Columbia University accepted my offer to introduce Turkology. It was the year subsequent to that of the establishment of Slavic at the then Department of East European Languages. Students came from Slavistics where they had learned of the importance of Slavo-Turkic relations; students came also from the well-frequented Intensive Language Courses which were being sponsored by the Government for the war effort, in various languages at a number of universities. From the subsequent year on, Turkic was officially listed as being offered within the Department of East European Languages, and after the foundation of the Department of Slavic Languages, in 1946, in this Department, under Altaic Languages, and after 1954, in the new Department of Uralic and Altaic Languages. Years later, after the War, Turkic and in a few cases, also Altaic Studies were introduced at some universities by scholars who had come from Europe and Asia by new waves of immigrants, such as e. g. Nicholas N. POPPE who introduced Altaic at the Russian and Far Eastern Institute of the Uni-

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versity of Washington in Seattle (Wash.), Omeljan PRITSAK, at the same Institute, later at Harvard University, Andreas TIETZE, at U. of Illinois, Urbana, 1952–7, U. of California, Los Angeles, 1957–73, and J. ECKMANN, U. of California at Los Angeles (in the 1960/70es), Denis SINOR, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Due to retirement and death, some of the chairs of Turkology and/or Altaic became vacant and were not filled, as e.g. at Columbia or at the University of Washington in Seattle, the reasons generally being problems of funding. Thus, those specialties were discontinued. It is deplorable that in a country that possesses as highly developed a potential for research, science and scholarship as the U. S. A., a number of subjects of research and teaching such as Altaic and other subdivisions of Eurasian Studies, generally being listed under Humanities, were being reduced to such a degree as presently seen,—when there was no ephemerous, pressing need for them. But in the last years, after the historical events of 1989, the political situation has changed drastically, and Turkic and other peoples of the former Soviet-Union enter a new phase of their development.

3 p. 47
speech. These *Čimuḍa* or *Čumuḍa* are probably the same as the *Čomul*/*Čumul* with Kāšγarī.

4 p. 59
Research in the Turkic dialects scattered over the entire plateau of Iran, which heretofore had generally been considered as belonging to the Oγuz group of the Turkic languages, Section A. II, conducted in 1968–1973, by the three Xalaǯistan Expeditions under the leadership of Professor G. DOERFER, has shed light onto the linguistic situation of Turkic in that area. Apart from dialects that form part of Oγuzic, and a further group of dialects appearing as transitory links between Oγuzic and Central-Asiatic (A. I), numerous dialects were discovered which with a considerable amount of characteristics are to be considered as anterior to both groups, A. I and A. II, and as representing a state of development transitional from Proto-Turkic to historical Turkic, preceding the differentiation into the later historical languages (of the groups A, B, C). One of the outstanding archaisms of these dialects, undoubtedly the scattered relics of an earlier language, Xałač, is the preservation of initial Proto-Turkic **h-* < Proto-Altaic **p-*, found there as almost a regular feature, surviving in no other Turkic language, but confirmed by Middle-Mongolian, Monguor, Dahur, Tungus, and the Outer Altaic Languages (and Nostratic). A further archaism is found in the preservation of the Proto-Turkic vowel length which otherwise is found in Türkmen and with certain individual features in Jakut and Ṭ̆avaš. Quite ancient is also the sound *d* < *đ*, as in *hadaq* "foot" < **hađaq* < **hadaq* < (Proto-Alt.) **padaq* as likewise found in Sojoŋ and Karaγas (group IX). Some of the various imperative formations, of which DOERFER lists 10, may likewise be of high age. The absence of stress on the case suffixes as those of the instrumental, aequative, and locative also points to great age. With *š*, *z* from Altaic **l̤*, **r̤* (= **l*$_2$, **r*$_2$) Xałač exhibits a typical Turkic feature. With its

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desonorization of Altaic **g-*, **d-*, > *k-*, *t-*, Xałač is in line with all the Turkic languages except those of the Oγuz group und Tuva (Sojoŋ, Karaγas, group IX). The prefixation of *jo-/jö-* with a special type of imperative is definitely more recent, originating from a verbal composition with *jory-* "to walk" as auxiliary. Likewise, more recent developments in Iranian neighborhood and under permanent influence thereof, the typically Turkic vowels *ö* and *ü* have been delabialized in the great majority of Xałač dialects, and the vowel-harmony has been lost completely, features shared, under the same conditions, e. g. by (City-)Özbek (A. I. 4). These developments were accompanied by a forceful influx of Iranian, i. e. preponderantly New-Persian lexical material.

Thus, Xałač would probably best be listed under A as predecessor of both A. I and A. II.

For Xałač and its dialectology, cf. G. Doerfer, "Grammatik des Chaladsch", 258 pp., Wiesbaden, 1988, "Lexik and Sprachgeographie des Chaladsch", Textband und Kartenband, 534 pp., 50 Kartenskizzen, Wiesbaden 1987, idem & Semih Tezcan, "Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Xarrab)". 232 pp., Budapest 1980, and many pertinent articles by the same author.

5 p. 61

The Karaγas are now after Soviet usage often called Tofałar. *Tofa* is a collectivum and identical with *Tuba*.

6 p. 62

Concerning Japanese and Korean cf. preface to this edition.

7 p. 63

Syntax: Non-Altajic features weak, except for Lit.-Qar. with its entirely Semitic syntax.

8 p. 67

For the alphabets used in Ancient Turkic cf. the tables in A. v. Gabain's "Alttürkische Grammatik".

9 p. 75

ischen Sprachen" I, (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 39 ff., 143 ff. For further discussion of Turkic long vowels cf. the publications of Poppe, Doerfer, and Bajčura (v. in Bibliography).

10 p. 80

Vocalic ablaut, generally left unnoticed, is in Turkic as in the other Altaic languages not so rare as to be omitted completely.

12 p. 86

Initial **d-* and **g-* are evidenced for Proto-Turkic and Altajic and the Nostratic paralleles. Thus, in Turkic, there is an original distribution e. g. in the dental series, of initial Altajic **t-*, **d-* < Nostr. **t'-*, **t-* (**ṯ-*), of *-t-*,

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-d- < Nostr. **-t-*, (**-t'-*, **-t̂-*), and of *j-* < Proto-Tk. **ď-* < Alt., Nostr. **d-*, a pattern clearly recognizable in the tripartition of the system of initial occlusives, eliminating (in IE) the series of the tenues aspiratae, and extant in all six Nostratic families as assumed by ILLIČ-SVITYČ (cf. his "Opyt ...", pp. XII ff. and "Sootvetstvija smyčnyx v nostratičeskix jazykax", Etimologija 1966, pp. 304–355; Moskva 1968). The details of this development have not yet been sufficiently investigated for Turkic.

13, 14 p. 89
at one time seems to have been more repanded, and then, to *r*, cf. *aďaq* > *ura* "foot", *qaďyn* > *xorən* "birch", *quďuruq* "tail" > *xüre*; unlike *z* < *r*, e.g. in *pəru* 'calf', the prototype of which yielded Tk. *bozaγu/buzaγu* 'id.'. In position before *r*, this development does not take place: Qγ. *süjrö-* "to drag", Ča., N.-Uj. *südrä-* (< Uj.): Ťăv. *sədər-/sěděr-*.

15 p. 92
**ňār* = Mong. *niraj* "newly born, fresh" < **ňāraj*, Manžu *ňārxun* "id." (POPPE). Its common-Mongolian equivalent is the word for "sun, day", *nara*,

16 p. 93
"tear" = *śu̯t; kiši* "man, person": Qq. etc., Qar. Ł. H., Jak. *kisi*, Qb., Sa. *kizi*.

17 p. 95
—Japanese and Middle-Korean likewise have *s/ś* < Alt. **l̥* [l_2]—. RAMSTEDT who first tried to solve the problem of the Turkic phonemes *š* and *z*, came to the conclusion that this state of affairs in the great majority of the Altajic languages represented, in this respect, common-Altajic features which they had preserved, while Turkic exhibits innovations. This view is generally held by the Finnish school (RÄSÄNEN, POPPE, AALTO, JOKI).

18 p. 96
In Proto-Altaic, there were sounds probably similar in quality to the cerebralized Dravidian *ṛ* and *ḷ* (or *r̥* and *l̥*); the sound development or substitution of the **l̥* in Hungarian by *lč* as e.g. in Hung. *ďümölč* ("gyümölcs") = Tk. *jemiš* "fruit" points to an earlier sound that had not been preserved in its original quality in Altaic and Uralic so that *ďümölč* would go back to **žümöl̥/žimäl̥* in proto-Uralic and **žemül̥/žemil̥* in Proto-Altaic. Ancient-Turkic renditions of Indic cerebralized consonants evidence qualitative properties of those sounds that do not exist in Turkic.

19 p. 98
RÄSÄNEN, EtWb., 51, favors BANG's derivation from Tk. *eš* "comrade" + dimin.-suff. *-(g)äk*, but likewise mentions the Mongolian and Manžu parallels. In SEVORTJAN's Etym. Dict., I, p. 317 f. an account of the various, hitherto (1974) existing theories on the origin of *äšäk* is given, however, without any decision, while the authors seem to favor the assumption of Altajic **elžiken* < proto-Alt. **äl̥di-kän* "donkey". With this, the relationship with Ancient-Anatolian forms and ultimately Sumerian *anšu* "id."—so SCHRA-

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DER's theory: Sum. *anšu* < *asnu* ≫ Lat. *asinus* etc.—is, although probable, still far from any solution. On Latin *asinus*, Gr. ὄνος cf. POKORNY, "Indogerm. Et. Wb.", p. 301 and WALDE-HOFMANN, "Lat. Et. Wb." I, p. 72 f., where by the way Holger PEDERSEN's equation of Armen. *ēš*: IE **ekos* "horse" is considered as "ganz fraglich", highly questionable. Too many intermediary links are missing. In view of the linguistic data available so far, Armenian *ēš*, gen. *išoj*, can only be considered as an early Turkic loanword in Armenian, like e.g. *oč'xar* "buck" < Tk. *qočqar* "id.", with syllable dissimilation, or *davar* "small cattle" < Tk. *tavar*, Ujγ. "movable property; small cattle", Ča., Osm. "small cattle, sheep" (WB, III, 985), *davar*, Osm. "small cattle", Ča. (WB, III, 1645), Osm. "id." (STEUERWALD, "Tk.-Dt. Wb.", 204).

20 p. 99

Q'išwa ("Ketchua") *pišqa* etc. "five", would point to a relatively great age of Tk. *š* < **ļ* as well as to a relatively late migration of the ancient Q'išwas to the American Continents, after having separated from a greater early-Turkic community in Asia. DUMÉZIL has evidenced the first six Q'išwa numerals as related to the Turkic ones. The genetically related numerals of Uralic are likewise the first six. The final *-š/-l* in the second element of the numerals *aṫtmyš, jetmiš* may be explained as alternating with one of the other suffixes, *-s, -r, -d*, and *-l* of this element, all being ancient plural suffixes, as found e.g. in Dravidian.

21 p. 124

On the etymology of *nä* "what?" cf. K. H. MENGES, "Japanisch und Altajisch", pp. 82 ff.

21a p. 125

The Altajic interrogative **i-*, still extant in Tungus and Japanese, occurs, as so far known, in Saγaj only, with the emphatic element *-mä, imä* as in *nämä*, as first noticed by BANG (cf. "Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen. 1. Das türkische Interrogativpronomen", ABAW, 1917, § 32, pp. 31 f.); the interrogative **mi-*, **mi-n-* "who? what?" which so far had been known in Turkic from Ṭăvaš only, *měn* "what?" has lately been found by BASKAKOV in Qumandu. Both pronouns are Nostratic. Altajic **i-* is to be separated from the demonstrative **i-*, **i-n-*, as listed in ILLIČ-SVITYČ, "Opyt", I, No. 134, p. 270 f. as **'i/(?)'e*, the demonstrative (and personal) pronoun; **mi* "what?", ILLIČ-SVITYČ, "Opyt, II", No. 300, pp. 66 ff., but it is not identical with the interrogative enclitic Tk. *-my/-mi* etc. For detailed discussion cf. "Altajische Studien, II: Japanisch und Altajisch", pp. 82, 90 f.

22 p. 131

is productive in all Tungus languages (*-ra/-rĕ/-ro*), also in Japanese and Korean.

23, 24, 25 p. 140

Both Tuva languages make in the 1-st pers. pl. imperat. the clear distinc-

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tion between exclusive and inclusive, an important relic from Proto-Turkic and Altaic occurring also in Jakut. The old suffixes *-aŧy/-äli*, often also *āŧy//-āŧ* designate the exclusive, while the 1-st. pl. inclusive is a combination from the suffixes of the 1-st and the 2-nd ps. pl. , *-aŧŋar/-äliŋär* < **aŧy-ŋar* < **aŧy-ŋ-ŧar* where the typically South-Siberian suffix *-ŋ-ŧar* replaces *-yŋ-yz* of the other languages, cf. Kγ. exclus. *parāŧ* "let us go!", 1. pl. incl., Lit.-Soj. *qyŧ-ȳŧ-yŋar*) "let us (all) do!". The combination of suffixes of the 1-st person with those of the 2-nd is apparent in the structure of the suffixes of the inclusivus in Tungus, Mongolian and Drāviḍian, also in Muṇḍā. This has so far been established for the Tuva group, but the two other South-Siberian groups also seem to possess this particular feature (Cf. MENGES, "South-Siberian Turkic languages, III", CAJ, V (1959), p. 115 ff. and "Handbuch der Orientalistik", edd. B. SPULER, vol. V, Altaistik, 1, pp. 119 ff.). For Japanese the exclusivus/inclusivus has been established by R. A. MILLER (JOAL, p. 176 ff.). CASTRÉN considered the exclusive form as a special modus which he termed "precative", while Š.Č. SAT, the author of the grammatical sketch of Tuva (Lit.-Soj.) in the "Тувинско-русский словарь", Moscow, 1955, p. 695, considered this form erroneously as a dual. This mistake is repeated by O. PRITSAK with regard to Šor and Abaqan in "Fundamenta", pp. 618, top, and 638, top.

26 p. 145
common-Altajic times, as RAMSTEDT (MSFOu, LII, p. 210) supposes. Additionally to the negation it should be mentioned that Ṭăvaš *an*, the "negated imperative particle" is the only living genuine relic of the Altaic—and Nostratic—verbum negativum in Turkic. As with the negated imperative the stress of the entire phrase de natura hits the negation, it was just Ṭăvaš *an* that was preserved from proto-Turkic down to the present time. A borrowing from neighboring Finnic languages is not to be assumed (cf. on this CAJ, 31 (1987), pp. 11 f.; on parallels in Korean and Japanese "Japanisch und Altajisch", pp. 96 ff., 100 ff., in Draviḍian Anthropos, 72, (1977), pp. 168, and on those in Nostratic ILLIČ-SVITYČ, "Opyt", I, nos. 128, 129). RAMSTEDT's explanation of the Turkic negation, in the "Einführung", II, MSFOu 104 (1952), pp. 106 and sub c 190, is erroneous, since he refused to recognize the genetic relationship of Altaic with Uralic. JEGOROV, Ṭăvaš Etym. Dict., p. 26 f., is inclined to see in *an* an influence from neighboring Udmurt and Komi. On the contrary, RÄSÄNEN, "Formenlehre", p. 232, was on the right track to a solution (cf. also COLLINDER, "Hat das Uralische Verwandte?", pp. 147 ff.; 1965).

27 p. 145
instead of, but along with, *qaŧ-ba-γan—män* "I did not remain", Qq. *körgö-*

28 p. 160
causative of this formation, of *qody* "below, unten". On this cf. now my article in Hungaro-Turcica, Studies in Honor of Julius NÉMETH, pp. 101–117; Budapest 1976;

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29 p. 161
new" of *saŋa* < *jaŋy, köγör-* "to become blue". The desiderative in *-sa-* has an exact equivalent in IE: Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti, vi-vid-i-ʂa-ti* "(he) desires to become acquainted", Lat. *vi-s-ō* (of *vid-ē-re*) "I visit", Goth. *ga-wei-s-ō* "id.", etc. (BRUGMANN, "Kurze vergl. Grammatik", §§ 632, 635, pp. 488, 492);

30 p. 161
on the Japanese privative verbs in *-si-* and derivative nouns in *-si-fi* that exactly correspond to the Turkic formations cf. R. A. MILLER, JOAL, pp. 257 f., likewise my "Japanisch und Altajisch", pp. 98 f. where also the parallel formations in *-si-* and *-si-dea* in Samojed are adduced;

31 p. 165
The etymological dictionaries of Turkic have been mentioned above; cf. also the additions to the Bibliography.

32 p. 166
In view of the statement p. 98 on *äšäk* > Armen. *ēš*, the foregoing cannot be maintained any more; *öküz* could be considered as IE loanword, probably < Tox. (Kučā) *okso* and the Germanic words "id."; DOERFER, TMEN, II, p. 65 was with *äšäk* on the right track; but Tk. *öküz* cannot be separated from Mong. *üker*, M.-Mong. *hükär*, Monguor *fuguor* "ox", the IE cognate of which is e. g. Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu*, Skŋ. *paśu-*, Āvest. *pasu-*, NHG *vieh*, IE **peḱu-* "wool, sheep, cattle" (POKORNY, Et. Wb., p. 797). The *-r* in Mong. and *-z* in Tk. are ancient collective suffixes;

33 p. 169
some doubts about this etymology, and a connection with Drav. Tamil *kutirai*, cf. K. H. MENGES in Materialia Turcica 7/8, 1981/2, HAUSSIG-Festschrift, pp. 276 ff.;

34 p. 169
in the Ljao-Šy "Chief-Commander".

35 p. 170
written *q'mγ, qmγ*), in the instrum. *qamaγ-un* "entirely". It might but just as well be from Tk., Mong. *qamu-* "to gather, bring, hold together", Uj. *qamu-γ* "all", as RÄSÄNEN thinks (EtDict., 229 sub **kamu*).

36 p. 182
and assumed by him to be all-Altajic. In view of the syntax of Korean and Japanese which was not unknown to WINKLER, his views are basically correct, especially since, as now known, the free syntax of Tungus is typical of the two northern languages, Ewenki and Lamut, not of the entire Tungus family. The Common-Turkic and Common-Mongolian syntax consists of a rigid system of sentence structure along the pattern subject-object-predicate, the subordinate links always preceding the ruling ones (the rectum-regens

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construction), with no subordinate sentences but only coordinate clauses being used, no oratio obliqua

37 p. 186
What has been said above concerning Russian influences in the lexical composition of the Turkic languages of the Russian Empire and the former Soviet-Union, is almost equally valid for those in the syntax. This is seen in the usage of subordinative conjunctions, almost exclusively *ki*, and certain patterns of word order, unknown in unadulterated Altajic syntax. Very much the same role plays the Chinese language vis-à-vis New-Ujγur, in this case with the determination to displace Russian equivalents. While this contest seems to deal chiefly with the word material of New-Ujγur, influences in the syntax are so far almost unnoticeable. The phonological as well as the semantic peculiarities of Chinese certainly present a number of serious obstacles to their adaptation and integration in the entire system of the Altajic languages, also Turkic.

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TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription is the same as in all my publications; it is consistent for all languages quoted. A slight divergence is found only in the spelling of ʒ and ǯ for the voiced palato-alveolar affricates which I formerly rendered as dz and dž. The sign j always means the i consonans, i̯, and y the velar equivalent of i, like Russian ы or Polish y, etc. As hitherto, also here for the tenues mediae or lenes, g̊, d̥, b̥ are written instead of the small majuscles G, D, B used by the Société Finno-Ougrienne, and others.

A dot underneath the consonantal sign designates velar or velarized quality; only for words from the Indian languages, Indo-Iranian, Drāviḍian and Muṇḍā, this dot designates the cerebralized (retroflex) nature of the given consonant.

ʲ is palatalization mark,

ʿ is aspiration mark, but can also serve for the ʿajn; in the case of doubt, as e. g. in Caucasian languages, the ʿajn would be rendered by ʕ;

ʾ is spiritus lenis or hamza (opening of the vocal chords) or glottal stop;

ˍ under a consonant sign designates glottalization (q̠, k̠, t̠, p̠, c̠, č̠).

The Russian e in word- or syllable-initial position is, according to its phonetic value, always rendered as je.

The transcription is consistent, and equally applied, for the sake of clarity, to personal, tribal and geographical names which occur here frequently. Incorrect and misleading spellings of the few more commonly known names can be checked in newspapers or other similar writings.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used throughout are the international ones and self-explanatory. The abbreviations of language and tribal names, usually intelligible, are the same as I have always used, a complete list of which is given herewith.

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE LANGUAGES QUOTED

Ab., Abaq.	= Abaqan, Southern Siberia; cf. Xaqas.
Alt.	= Altaj proper or Ojrot (Ojrat) Turkic
Anat. or Osm. Anat.	= Anatolian dialects of Osman
Ar., Arab.	= Arabic
Arm.	= Armenian
AT	= Ancient Turkic (Orxon and Ujγur)
Az.	= Ăzerbājǯānian
Bałq., Błq.	= Bałqar (North Caucasus)
Bar.	= Baraba (Western Siberia)
Bašq., Bšq.	= Bašqurt, Baškir (in Southwest Ural region, Baškirskaja ASSR)
Bält., Blt.	= Bältir (Abaqan group)
Buddh.-So., Buddh.-Soγd.	= Buddhist-Soγdian
Bulg., Blg.	= Bulgarian
Buŕ.	= Buŕat(-Mongolian)
CC	= Language of the Codex Cumanicus (1303), quoted by Radloff, WB, as "Kom." = Qoman, Quman.

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Chin.	= Chinese
Christ.-So., Christ.-Soγd.	= Christian-Soγdian
Ča.	= Čaγataj, this term often comprising, in quotations from the WB, early and pre-Čaγataj (Qaraxanidic, Xwārazmian, and "Middle-Turkic").
Čoł.	= Čołym-Tatar, on the Čołym river, Abaqan group
Dołg.	= Dołganic, language of the Jakutized Samojeds and Tunguses in the southern part of the Tajmyr peninsula, North-Siberia
Ew.	= Ewenki-Tungus, often called Tungus proper or simply Tungus. The names of the subdivisions, dialects, not abbreviated
Fr.	= French
Gag.	= Gagauz
Hind.	= Hindūstānī
Hung.	= Hungarian
IE	= Indo-European
Iš.	= Išimli, Išim-Tatars, West-Siberia.
Jak.	= Jakut (or Saxā), Northeast-Siberia
Jap.	= Japanese
Jyš-K.	= Jyš-Kiži, or Tubałar, Ojrot group, Altaj mountains
Kamaš., Kam.	= Kamaš, or Kamašinic, South-Samojed group
Kāš.	= language of Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī
Kγ.	= Karaγas, Tuva group, South-Siberia; sometimes also called Tofałar, (Russ. pl.) Tofałary
Kor.	= Korean
Kü., Küär.	= Küärik, South-Siberia
Lam., Lamut	= Lamutic, Lamut-Tungus or Ewen, Northeast-Siberia
Leb.	= Lebed′-Tatars or Qū-Kiži, Ojrot group, South-Siberia
Lit.	= Literary
Lith.	= Lithuanian
Ma.	= Manǯu, South-Tungus group
Mad′., Magy.	= Magyar, Hungarian
Man.-So., Man.-Soγd.	= Manichaean-Soγdian
Mγ., Mong.	= Mongol; without further designation, this means Literary Mongolian
MHG	= Middle-High-German
Miš.	= Mišär(-Tatar)
MPers.	= Middle Persian, Pahlavī
NE	= New-English
NPers.	= New-Persian; usually = Pers.
NUj.	= New or Modern Ujγur, in Eastern (Chinese) Türkistan = OT
OChSl.	= Old-Church-Slavic
OHG	= Old-High-German
Ojrat, Ojrot	= Altaj languages proper, together with Teleut and Tubałar
OPers.	= Old-Persian
ORuss.	= Old-Russian
Orx., Orxon	= language of the Orxon Inscriptions, Northern Mongolia; also Ancient or Kök-Turkic, Kök-Türk.

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Osm.	= Osman, or Turkish proper, the language of the Osman Empire and of Turkey
Osm. Anat.	= Anatolian dialects of Osman
Osm. Balk.	= Balkan dialects of Osman
OT.	= "Turki" or "Eastern Turkish, Ost-Türkisch" after the WB; = NUj.
Özb.	= Özbek
Pers.	= Modern or New-Persian
Phl.	= Pahlavī, Middle-Persian
Qač., Qč.	= Qač(a), Abaqan group
Qar.	= Qarajīm in the Crimea
QarŁ.	= Qarajīm of Łuck (former Southeast Poland)
QarT.	= Qarajīm of Troki (former Northeast Poland)
Qarač'.	= Qarač'aj in the North Caucasus
Qb.	= Qojbał, Abaqan group
Qč.	= Qač(a), Abaqan group
Qγ.	= Qyrγyz
Qlm.	= Qalmyq, Xal'maq, West of the lower Volga in the Caspian Depression and in the Örgeni Hills; West-Mong., Mongolian Ojrot group
Qmnd.	= Qumandū in the northeast Altaj; Ojrot group
Qmq.	= Qumuq, Qumyq, Daghestan, Caspian coast
Qn.	= Qazanły, Qazan (Kazaň)-Tatars, ASSR Tataristan
Qojb.	= Qojbał = Qb.
Qpč.	= Qypčaq; Qpč.-Özb. = Qypčaq-Özbek
Qq.	= Qazaq, SSR Qazaqistan, and in Eastern Türkistan
Qqłpq.	= Qaraqałpaq, Southeast of Lake Aral in eastern Xwārazm, an ASSR of Özbekistan; a Qazaq dialect with a literary language
Qom., Qum.	= language of the Qomans, Qumans, or Połovьci; = CC.
Qrm.	= language of the Qrym-Tatars, and the Oγuz Turks along the southern coast of the Crimea
Qum.	= Qom.
Qūr.	= Qūrdaq, West-Siberia
Qyz.	= language of the Qyzył(-Tatars), Abaqan group
Russ.	= modern Russian, New Russian, New-Great-Russian
Sa.	= Saγaj, Abaqan group
Sałb.	= Salbinian or Sałba dialect of Qojbał
Sart.	= Sartic, after the WB = City-Özbek, or Iranized dialects of Özbek
Skṛ.	= Sanskrit
Soj.	= Sojoŋ, also called Uŕaŋxaj or Tuba, Tyba, Tuva, the language of the AO (Autonomous Region) of Taŋnū-Tuva (source valleys of the Jenisej river); often in the Mong. pl., Sojot. The name Tuba, Tyba, Tuva is avoided here to differentiate it from the Ojrotic Tuba or Tubałar. But instead of Lit.-Soj. also Lit.-Tuba and Lit.-Tuva occurs.
Suo., Suomi	= Suomi-Finnic, or Finnish proper, in Finland
Syr.	= Syriac
Śak.	= Śaka, or "Khotanese"
Šor	not abbreviated; Abaqan group

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Tar.	=	Taranči, in the Ili valley, northern part of East Türkistan; Tar. is a dialect of NUj.
Tara	=	language of the Tara-Tatars, West-Siberia
Tel.	=	Teleut, Täläŋit and Tölös, in the Altaj mountains; Ojrot group
Tkm., Türkm.	=	Türkmen, "Turcoman"
Tob., Toboł	=	language of the Toboł-Tatars, along the Toboł river, West-Siberia
Tuba	=	language of the Jyš-Kiži, RÁDLOFF's "Schwarzwald-Tataren", or Tubałar; Ojrot group
Tung., Tg.	=	Tungus; cf. Ew.
Tūr.	=	Tūrały, Tatars of the Tūra river, West-Siberia
Tüm.	=	Tümänli or Tümän-Tatars, near the town of Tümän, T'umeň, West-Siberia
Ṭ., Ṭăv.	=	Ṭăvaš, or Čuvaš
Uj.	=	Ujγur, or Classical Ujγur
Ur., Ural.	=	Uralic (Finno-Ugro-Samojedic).
Uŕaŋxaj	=	Soj.
W.-Sib.	=	West-Siberian
Xaq., Xaqas	=	the languages of the Abaqan or Xaqas group, South-Siberia
Xłx., Xałx.	=	Xałxa, the modern spoken and written (Lit.-Xłx.) language of the Mongolian People's Republic
Yrt., Yrtyš	=	the language of the Yrtyš Tatars, Southwestern Siberia
Žč., Žürč.	=	Žürčen, the Tungus language of the founders of the Žürčen, Ju-Čen, Njü-Čžen 女 眞 or 金 Ćźin-Dynasty (1115–1234); texts are later

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I. SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TURKIC STUDIES

As long as Byzantion intercepted the attacks of the continually growing Osman power, the Western Roman Empire could indulge without serious molestation in internal affairs and the unceasing quarrels of its independent states. In the 15th century, with the final attack on metropolitan Byzantion, the city-state to which the Eastern Roman Empire had shrunk, the Turks were again given more attention, as can be seen from a few books which appeared at about the time Constantinople was taken over by the Turks. Among these books are the famous adventure account "De ritu et moribus turcarum", 1438–58, by SCHILTBERGER, who had spent some years as a slave in Turkish hands. A century later, when matters had become really serious, Hungary had been taken and the Turks were on the way to Vienna, there appeared books like "Commentarii delle cose de Turchi di Pavlo Giovio et Andrea Gambina, con gli fatti, et la Vita di Scanderbeg", 1541, and the one by GEORGIEVIZ, "De turcarum moribus", in 1544, first in Antwerp and a year later in Paris, followed by E. G. POSTELLE's "De la république des Turcs", published in 1560 at Poitiers. More books followed, for instance SIR PAUL RYCAUT's big volume, ca. 800 pp., containing many etchings, on the Turks, their state, army etc., Italian edition, 1680, German edition Augsburg, 1694; or the famous book by BUSBECK "Quae extant omnia; quibus accessit epitome de moribus Turcarum [scil. by GEORGIEVIZ, cf. supra]", London, 1660. The Turks, a dangerous factor not only in the realm of political power but also in that of religion and basic philosophical concepts (Weltanschauung), were finally recognized as a serious problem to be coped with through optimal preparation. Publications appeared which compared the Western Empire to that of the Osmans; these publications often aimed at calling attention to the weakness of the West, its differences, dissensions, internecine strife, disorders of various kinds, contrasted with a unified, strong, well-disciplined power devoted to its ideals—often overrated either through ignorance or intention. In this category belongs, for instance, "L'Espion dans les cours des princes chrétiens", subtitled "ou lettres et mémoirs d'un envoi secret de la Porte dans les cours de l'Europe, où l'on voit les découvertes qu'il a faites dans toutes les cours où il se trouva, avec une dissertation curieuse de leurs Forces, Politique, et Religion". This work was anonymously published by an Italian (J. P. MARANO), based on an Arabic original; it consists of six little volumes, about 350 pages each, published in Cologne in 1731. It deals with the years 1637 to 1682, a time when Central Europe, especially Germany, had suffered greatly as a consequence of the Thirty Years War.

Works dealing with the language of the Turks, such as grammars, finally began to appear in the 17th century; for instance:

HIERONYMUS MEGISER, "Institutiones linguae Turcicae, libri quatuor", Leipzig, 1612;

ANDRÉ DU RYER, "Rudimenta Grammaticis linguae Turcicae", Paris, 1630, 2-nd ed., 1633;

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D. F. M. Maggio, "Syntagma linguarum orientalium, quae in Georgiae regionibus audiuntur. Liber secundus: complectens Arabum et Turcarum orthographiam et turcicae linguae institutiones", Rome, 1643, 2-nd ed., 1670;
Meninski, "Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, institutiones, seu grammatica Turcica", Vienna, 1680, reimpression, 1756, Dictionary, 1780.

From this time on, an interest in the Turkish language remained continuously alive, as grammars such as the following clearly show:
Viguier, "Elémens de la langue turque", Constantinople, March 1790, 462 pp., 4°; or
C. C. de Carbognano, "Primi principj della grammatica turca, ad uso dei missionarj apostolici di Costantinopoli", Rome, 1795, 730 pp., in 4°.

Then followed the grammars by Jaubert, Paris, 1823, containing also some Middle Turkic texts; Kazembeg, Qazan, 1839 and 1846; Zenker, Leipzig, 1848, etc. While many, if not all of these and later grammars, go along with the Osman-Turkish grammarians in pressing the language into the schemas of the Arabic grammar, the first one not to do so, i.e. to treat Turkish according to its own natural categories, is Jean Deny's work "Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte Osmanli)", Paris, 1921, 1218 pages. In spite of certain shortcomings due to obsolescence, in view of the development of Turkic research during the last forty years, this is still the best and most complete grammar of a single Turkic language, descriptive as well as to a considerable degree comparative and historical.

While the Russians lived in the more immediate vicinity of Turkic and other Altajic peoples, and this over a longer period of time, such a situation did not result in books and grammars, as was the case with the Europeans. Only the general growth of interest in Asia—and for Russia, apart from the Osman Empire, this was Central Asia primarily—led, around the end of the 18th century, to a number of exploration works in which finally the humanities also participated. Among them the work of Julius Klaproth deserves mention; the latter was a tireless traveler, researcher, and collector of materials on practically all the languages of the Russian Empire and adjacent lands; cf., for instance, his "Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien (1807–1808)", 3 vols., Berlin and Halle, 1812–1814 (740 + 626 + appendix 288 pp., tables, and maps), containing not only word lists in such Turkic languages as Qarač'aj and Qumyq, but also a treatise on the language and script of the Ujγurs (vol. 2, pp. 481–576). It was also Klaproth who stated in his article "Comparaison de la langue des Tchouvaches avec les idiomes turks" (*J.A.* of 1828, pp. 237–246) that Ṭăvaš was a Turkic language.

In the 1840's the young Finnish scholar Matthias Alexander Castrén travelled for a number of years over northeastern Russia and Siberia, laying the foundations for all future linguistic and ethnological research on the unexplored parts of the Russian Empire. Together with his extraordinary pioneering work, often under most arduous circumstances, on the Ugric and Samojedic languages, he likewise spent his energies on the exploration of Jenisejic, Buŕat, and Ewenki-Tungus dialects, and of the Turkic languages, Qojbał and Karaγas. Even today his observations and materials on these languages are of basic value for all research. While Kazembeg, Budagov,

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Berezin, and Il'minskij worked on various languages of the Islamic Orient, Turkic included, the Sanskritist Otto Böhtlingk of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg wrote the first and still the best and most complete grammar of the Jakut language, which he had been studying in St. Petersburg with a "native informant": "Die Sprache der Jakuten", more than 500 pages, in quarto, St. Petersburg, 1851. As Ujγur was still unknown at that time, and the Orxon inscriptions had not yet been found so that the available comparative material was quite insignificant, the opinion, however erroneous, that Jakut represented a particularly archaic form of Turkic could easily arise. Even the Čaγataj language was very little known in that period. The first person to call attention to Čaγataj was H. Vámbéry, who had been kidnapped on a trip to Central Asia and kept as a slave for some years at the Court of the Xan of Xīwa. After his release he had brought back with him a number of Čaγataj manuscripts. During the 1870's and 1880's, Vámbéry made the first attempt at a general description of the Turks, whom he considered one people, and of their ethnological and historical background, mainly on the basis of his experiences in Türkistan. In the 1860's Wilh. Radloff began his research. Originally intending to study the linguistics and ethnology of the Tungus peoples of Siberia, in 1859 he started his extensive research activities in the field of Turkic in the Altaj and the Minusinsk area, later in eastern Qazaqistan as well. From this resulted the first three volumes of his "Proben" (I, 1866; II, 1868; III, 1870). He continued his collections of language samples with the West Siberian Tatars (IV, 1872), and after a long intermission, with the Qyrγyz in the T'ien-shan (V, 1885) and with the Taranči belonging to the New-Ujγur in the Ili region (VI, 1886).

At that time, Central Asia was to a very large extent still unknown. Only in the last quarter of the 19th century did the geographical exploration of Central Asia begin, chiefly by Russian but also other geographers such as Roborovskij, Kozłov, Potanin, Semónov-T'aň-šanskij, Obručev, Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard, the two brothers Grum-Grzymajło, and last but not least, Sven Hedin. In the course of some of these expeditions, primarily those of Sven Hedin, evidence of archaeological remains was discovered; after a few samples of wooden sculpture had been found by Sven Hedin on the fringes of the dreaded Taqlamaqan Desert which covers nine-tenths of the Tarim basin, the implications of links with India and Buddhism aroused the keen interest of the Orientalists. At about the same time, the Turkic Runic Inscriptions of the upper Jenisej and the Orxon had become known (1889). A Finnish expedition of 1890 and one by Radloff in 1891 took copies of the inscriptions, so that two Atlases were published in 1892. The Orxon inscriptions also contained a Chinese text. The great Danish philologist V. Thomsen was the first to succeed in deciphering the inscriptions, after which Radloff gave the first translation of the two big Orxon steles, which later had to be corrected in a number of passages by Thomsen and Bang-Kaup, who at that time was still at Louvain in Belgium. In the years 1896–7, five stones containing Runic inscriptions were found by a group of Finnish scholars in the Tałas basin near the town of Aulijä-Ata (now Žambuł) in southern Qazaqistan.

With these discoveries Turkology gained momentum and attracted a larger group of Orientalists than it had hitherto done. But this was only the beginning

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of archaeological discoveries. The greatest results came from research in Central Asia, chiefly the Tarim basin and the adjacent regions to the north, from the Ili to the Tałas valley, and in the east along the ancient routes to China. The first discoveries were made in 1897 and 1898 by the Russians Roborovskij, Kozłov, and Klementz who were soon followed by the four Prussian Turfan expeditions under Grünwedel, Huth and von Le Coq (I: Nov. 1903 to March 1904; II: Sept. 1904 to December 1905; III: December 1905 to June 1907; IV: January 1913 to February 1914). While these two groups had chiefly studied the northern part of the Tarim basin south of the T'ien-shan, expeditions under Sir Aurel Stein, the eminent geographer and archaeologist in the service of the Anglo-Indian government, explored the southwestern, southern, and southeastern parts of the area, north along the K'un-Lun range (I: 1900–1901; II: 1906–1908). While the French expeditions of Grenard and Dutreuil de Rhins (1893) came to a sudden and sad end when the latter was murdered, the expedition under P. Pelliot (1906–9) was quite successful, especially with regard to text materials. From Japan came expeditions under Otani and Tashibana, both members of the Buddhist clergy of Japan; Yoshikawa worked in the Tarim basin, also with great success and rich reward.

Discoveries were made of ruined cities, temples, churches, monasteries in or near cities and in caves, which yielded a wealth of frescoes, stucco, sculpture, fragments of architecture and architectural ornamentations, occasionally silken draperies with illustrations and inscriptions, and last, but not least, texts for the most part written or printed on Chinese paper. The transportable objects excavated by these various expeditions now represent special treasures of the museums of Leningrad, Stockholm, Paris, London, Delhi, and Tokyo. The best collection of wall paintings was to be found for a time at the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, where quite a number of complete walls and even some chapels from the cave monasteries near Turfan were on exhibit, inasmuch as the German expeditions had been well equipped for sawing off, detaching, and packing wall paintings, so that they could be transported over the long and difficult route from Turfan to Berlin. Unfortunately, these masterpieces of medieval Central Asiatic art, chiefly Buddhist, inspired and molded by Hellenism, were destroyed by war, along with the Museum, in 1944–45.

The finds of the different expeditions complemented each other in an optimal way. Manichaeism, whose literature had completely fallen prey to persecution, was rediscovered through Türkistan; our knowledge of Buddhism and, in a lesser degree, of Nestorian Christianity was happily enriched. The excavations yielded texts in 17 languages and 24 different forms of writing, some of which, e.g. Soγdian and the two Toxarian languages, were discovered only here in Türkistan. Le Coq was fully justified in saying that not since the excavation, in 1845, of the ruins of Nineveh by Sir Austen Henry Layard had any exploration been made which was comparable in the importance of its results to those in Central Asia ("Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-Turkistan", p. 10; Leipzig, 1926).

Only a portion of those precious finds were in Turkic, but it was among them that a great number of texts in Ujγur and a small number in the language and script of the Orxon runes turned up. Among many hundreds of fragmentary texts, some of them juridical and trade documents which yielded little

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information about the language and written, moreover, in an almost illegible cursiva, there were some long portions of the "Suvarṇaprabʿāsasūtram (Ałtun Jaruq)", "The Sūtram of the Golden Splendor", and the Abʿidʿarmakōśasūtram, written by the great Buddhist teacher Vasubandʿu. Besides Nestorian and Manichaean texts, and also insignificant manuscript fragments in Orxonic runes, a little booklet of almost one hundred pages was found, in 1907 in Ḏun-Ḥuaŋ, by Sir Aurel Stein; Thomsen published it in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1912; it is of Šamanist content.

With the decipherment of the Old Turkic Runic texts and the Ujγur literature, Turkology became a completely new, very broad discipline; it ceased to be the knowledge of Turkish, Čaγataj and a few other Turkic languages of the Islamic world which usually were dealt with only as an appendix to Islamic studies.

While in Russia Radloff and his pupil Małov, joined only later by a few others, began to work on the Central Asiatic finds, the tireless field explorer Le Coq was joined in his efforts by F. W. K. Müller in Berlin, and W. Bang in Louvain. The latter had already taken an active part in the reading and interpretation of the Orxon and Jenisej inscriptions. Both men had a tremendous erudition: F. W. K. Müller, the decipherer of Soγdian, had mastered all the great literary languages between the Atlantic and the Pacific across the Asian continent—with the exception of the Caucasus—and Bang had actively worked before as Anglist and as Iranist—the latter while a pupil and later colleague of Charles de Harlez, deciphering, with Weissbach, Old Persian inscriptions; later he was active as an Altajist via the Manžu language. V. Thomsen in Copenhagen was essentially of the same caliber; while perhaps originally more specialized in Indo-European, he later broadened his activities to general comparative linguistics. None of the last three mentioned had ever been out in the field. P. Pelliot in Paris was originally a Sinologist who came to Altajic studies via the Chinese linguistic and cultural complex. In spite of his active work in Ujγur, Pelliot always seemed more attracted by Mongolian languages, especially Ancient Mongolian.

Radloff had an enormous output, however much the quality of his work may now and then be sharply criticized by others, as was done, for example, by Bang; he was the great pioneer in the field of modern Turkic languages (the "Proben", 10 volumes of text and 10 volumes of translation). He published the Ancient Turkic inscriptions, Ujγur texts, the Islamic Qutađγu Bilig from the period of the transition from Ujγur to the Islamized language of Central Asia—so-called Middle Turkic—and the four-volume "Attempt at a Dictionary of the Turkic Dialects" (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), still indispensable for the Turkologist and hence reprinted in 1960 and 1964. The reprinting of his "Proben" would equally be of the utmost importance, especially since many of the Turkic languages as well as the ethnological and folkloristic features so richly represented in Radloff's texts are fast becoming obliterated by the newly-formed literary languages, or have even, in a few cases, already become extinct.

Prior to the great discoveries, Turkology as a university subject was represented at only five universities: two in Russia and three in Europe. In Russia, Turkology was originally represented at Qazan University; in 1854

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Turkological studies were divided into two categories: those with a regular university curriculum, which were established in the capital, and those pursued from a practical standpoint, which were retained in Qazan within the Division of Missions of the Spiritual Academy (Духовная Академия). At St.-Petersburg University KAZEMBEG, BEREZIN and BUDAGOV worked. Of the Qazan group, IL'MINSKIJ and VERBICKIJ should be mentioned; the latter later worked in the Altaj, where with a group of missionaries he became one of the first explorers of the Ojrot language, well represented in the "Grammar of the Altaj Language", a result of the teamwork of members of the Russian Orthodox Mission in the Altaj. Later, with the rapid growth of Turkology, the University of Qazan was again endowed with a Chair of Turkology.

Two of the three European chairs were in Austro-Hungary, in Vienna and Budapest, while in the former Turkology consisted preponderantly of a knowledge of Turkey and its language, as represented at the Orientalische Akademie, founded in 1753, a Chair of Turkology was established at Budapest University in 1864. Here were such men as VÁMBÉRY and J. THURY, working on Osman, Čaγataj, and general Turkology, the practical Osman studies being relegated to the Orientalische Akademie which had been opened there in 1891, with the Osmanist IGNÁCZ KÚNOS as director. The latter's Osman dialect texts were published as the 8th volume of RADLOFF's "Proben". West of Vienna only Paris had any provision for Turkic studies. Similar to the Viennese Oriental Academy, the École Spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, the present-day École Nationale des langues orientales vivantes, was reorganized in 1795. Research as well as practical studies was always encouraged at this fine institution of higher learning, where such men as JAUBERT and BARBIER DE MEYNARD, QUATREMÈRE, and PAVET DE COURTEILLE worked. The latter two were the first to study Čaγataj, too, and to work on the first complete Čaγataj texts ever to be published in Europe; so far these have also remained the last ...

As a consequence of the discoveries made in Central Asia, a new center for Turkological research originated in Berlin, with F. W. K. MÜLLER (Prussian Academy of Sciences), LE COQ (Ethnological Museum), K. FOY (University) and others engaged in work on the Turfan manuscripts and block prints. Here, perhaps more than in any other country of Europe, the first World War made itself felt, since it resulted in the almost total retardation of all such "luxury studies" and the discontinuation of research in the field. Moreover, once the immediate consequences of the war had been lived through in Europe, and the Russian Revolution with its aftermath had come to an end, possibilities for research in the field were not revived to the point which had prevailed before the war, nor does it seem likely that they will do so for the remainder of this century. It was not until 1927 that Turkology was endowed with a chair at Berlin University, the only one in Germany, while Turkish studies in connection with Islamistics were found at about a half dozen German universities. BANG, who had always worked in close collaboration with the Berlin research group, was called to Berlin, where he worked until his rather unexpected death in 1934. Apart from occupying himself with the analysis of Ujγur texts, he worked on the principles as well as a series of basic problems of the comparative and historical grammar of the Turkic languages. With this BANG became the uncontested

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founder of modern Turkology. Later he was actively aided by his pupils A. von Gabain, now at Hamburg University, and ʿAbdurrašīd Raḥmatī-Arat, at the University of Istanbul († 1964). As both have been engaged chiefly in Ancient Turkic studies, the interest of this writer and his later research have been directed towards the living Turkic languages, comparative Turkology, the Tungus languages, and Altajistics, and the problems of genuine and contact relationships. Once hopeful plans for excavation work, mainly in Soviet Türkistan, have unfortunately had to be buried due to the adversity of the times.

In the 1940's, J. Benzing began to work actively in Turkology, mainly in the field of Ṭăvaš studies. Besides Turkological work, he has been engaged in Tungus studies as well. At present, Dr. Benzing is at Mainz University.

Originally coming from the school of the Ukrainian Orientalist Krymśkyj in Kijev, O. Pritsak completed his Turkological training at Berlin with Dr. von Gabain who was at that time the only pupil of Bang's living in Germany. After a number of years spent at first at Göttingen, later at Hamburg University, in 1962, Dr. Pritsak accepted an invitation to come to the USA for permanent work. Besides being a Turkologist, he has been engaged in equally valuable research in the fields of the other Altajic languages and of Oriental history.

With the destruction wrought by the war, plus the division of Germany and more particularly of the city of Berlin, the entire Orientalist center of Berlin, including the Prussian Academy and the former Museum of Ethnology, have been virtually annihilated, although quite a number of Turfan manuscript fragments have been preserved, since they were removed from Berlin before the great destruction set in.

Of the young German scholarly generation who had accomplished their University studies after the last war, G. Doerfer must be mentioned here who came to Turkology and Altajic Studies via Slavic and Vasmer's school at the Freie Universität Berlin. Dr. Doerfer is at Göttingen University and has been working in various Turkological problems, the syntax of the Old-Mongolian Jüan-Čʿao-Ḅi-Šy, and on the Altajic loanwords in New Persian.

It is surprising that notwithstanding the great Orientalist tradition of the country, the Second Republic, the Bundesrepublik, does not have one single chair of Altajic Studies, and Turkology is usually limited to Osman-Turkish Studies. Within the plan of expansion and reform drafted for the German Universities a few years ago, of the 1200 additional chairs provided for, only two were allotted to Altajic, and this as extraordinary, not as ordinary ("full") professorships. 1

Despite the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary following the first World War, Turkology remained practically unaffected in Hungary; hence the scholarly situation there favored the further development of Turkology. There J. Németh (general and comparative Turkology; Turko-Hungarian relations; Turko-Mongolian relations, Caucasian Turkic languages—together with W. Pröhle —, and Osman dialectology) and his school deserve special mention. In Cracow, which was also the seat of the Polish Academy of Sciences of the young Polish republic after 1918, Turkology was well represented in the person of Tadeusz Kowalski, whose great merit lies in his exploration of the Qarajīm language. From the Budapest school also stem Ligeti, Sinor, and T.

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Halasi-Kun; the first two had also received considerable training from Pelliot in Paris. Ligeti has proceeded very much along the lines of Pelliot's research, i.e. the Far Eastern approach to Altajic studies. Sinor has been interested in the over-all relations within and outside the Altajic languages, and T. Halasi-Kun started his valuable research work in the old Qypčaq languages. From the Cracow school came A. Zajączkowski, now at Warsaw University and the Polish Academy of Sciences there. He received part of his training at Bang's school, and worked on his native Qarajīm language, on the word formation of the Turkic languages, and on critical editions of Qypčaq texts, i. a. valuable Qypčaq-Arabic glossaries. To the younger generation belong M. Lewicki († 1955), E. Tryjarski, and St. Kałużyński.

At present there seems to be nobody in France to continue Pelliot's work, since the latter never had an actual school of his own. Bazin and Irène Melikoff are basically pupils of Deny.

In England, no Turkological studies resulted from the great Central Asian discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein; rather, it was Iranistics and Indology which profited from them.

In Denmark after V. Thomsen, Turkology had a brilliant representative in K. Grönbech († 1957), who worked on problems of general Turkology and on the Quman language. One young Swedish Turkologist, G. Jarring, who had come to Bang's school for his final training, was to be one of the two Westerners who later collected text samples of contemporary Turkic languages in Central Asia ("Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkistan" and "Materials for the Knowledge of Eastern Turki", 4 fascicles). As he proved to be an excellent field worker, it is particularly deplorable that he should have completely abandoned this work to enter the diplomatic service of his country. Aside from Jarring, the well-known Swedish Uralist Bj. Collinder has fruitfully engaged in Turkological studies ("Reichstürkische Lautstudien", dealing with modern Osman phonology).

As the Finnish scholars were chiefly pursuing problems of Uralic, the Altajic languages were not studied with equal interest. Paasonen, along with his Uralic research, had engaged in Ṭăvaš studies (i. a. a small Ṭăvaš dictionary). Later Räsänen became a devoted scholar of Turkic as well as of comparative Altajic linguistics. He worked particularly in Volga Turkic and its historical relations with neighboring Finno-Ugric languages, made an excellent collection of dialect samples of the Osman Anatolian dialects, by far superior to the more voluminous but phonetically rather superficial collections edited by Caferoğlu (Istanbul), and published his two volumes of "Materials on the Phonology (1949)" and the "Morphology (1956) of the Turkic Languages". At present he is engaged in compiling an etymological dictionary of the Turkic languages.

A great number of Turkological problems are dealt with (for instance Ṭăvaš) or touched upon by J. G. Ramstedt in his numerous works on Altajic linguistics (cf. especially his two volumes of "Introduction to Altajic Linguistics", *MSFOu.*, vol. 104). It was the Finnish school of Ramstedt that exerted considerable influence upon N. N. Poppe in Leningrad during his formative years, Poppe himself becoming an active research worker in the field of Altajic in general and in Mongolian and Turkic in particular. His great Turkological merits are in the field of Ṭăvaš, Jakut, and Čaγataj.

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In Russia after the Revolution, three of RADLOFF's pupils worked, namely S. JE. MAŁOV, A. N. SAMOJŁOVIČ, and N. F. KATANOV, the latter himself a Saγajian who had collected all the texts on the South-Siberian Turkic languages included in Vol. 9 of the "Proben"; he was professor at Qazan († 1922), while the other two were in Leningrad. MAŁOV worked very much along the same lines as RADLOFF, and was the main continuator of his work (†1957). SAMOJŁOVIČ was engaged chiefly in studying the literature and literary history of the Central Asiatic Turks. His deportation to a labor camp and his death there in 1938 was a great loss for Turkology.

A man who came to Oriental studies from comparative linguistics, JE. D. POLIVANOV, did basic research in the 1920's in the Turkic languages of Soviet Türkistan, and laid the foundations for Özbek dialectology. A detrimental factor also for Turkology was the doctrine of MARRism, which from about 1925 to 1937 was the only officially recognized method of linguistic research, with the result that an entire generation of young scholars who might otherwise have become linguists dropped out of the field, going into other related subjects, usually ethnology. This is the reason why quite a few studies in Turkic (and other languages) have been done by ethnologists, and listed under the heading of ethnology. To these belong especially such studies as those of FJELSTRUP and MAŁOV in Abaqan dialects, of POTAPOV and DYRENKOVA in the area of Ojrot and Šor. In this way an entirely new domain of research was opened up, namely that of the North-Tungus languages: the original research was ethnological, and the first text samples were gathered as folklore materials. Only after MARRism had been officially declared "erroneous, false, and obnoxious", could the original disciplines somehow be revived; at least MAŁOV and DMITRIJEV (Osman, Türkmen, Qumyq, Bašqurt, Ṭăvaš) were still alive and active; some people such as POLIVANOV, who later perished in exile in Türkistan, and JUDAXIN worked in the centers of some of the national republics in Türkistan; the Indo-Europeanist BOGORODICKIJ became an active Turkologist in Qazan, and had pupils such as ʿĀLIMǰĀN ŠARAF (ŠARAPOV). Younger Turkologists like KONONOV (Osman and Özbek), BASKAKOV (mainly Aralo-Caspian languages; general Turkology), and BOROVKOV (Čaγataj and New-Ujγur, † 1962) began to work. The losses were apparently being gradually repaired. Nonetheless, the interruption of large-scale, high-level linguistic Turkological studies and training of successors during those thirteen years is still making itself felt, in spite of the fact that a considerable number of recently trained young forces already begins to do research work, as e. g. E. R. TENIŠEV, M. S. MIXAJŁOV, A. M. ŠČERBAK, F. D. AŠNIN, and others, notwithstanding many in the Turkic Federated Republics of the USSR. B. A. SEREBRENNIKOV is working i. a. on problems of the Volga-Turkic and Volga-Finnic languages.

The contribution of Turkey to Turkological studies is very small. Apart from older lexicographical products entirely in the vein of Arabic tradition, there is only the work of one outstanding scholar, MĀḤMĀD FU'ĀD KÖPRÜLÜ-ZĀDĀ, who though chiefly a great writer and literary critic, has produced a number of important studies, primarily in the field of Osman, Āzerī, and Türkmen literature, Turkic folk literature, and the traces of Turco-Mongolian Šamanism in the popular traditions of the southwestern Turks. Like Russian scholarship under the influence of MARRism, Turkish scholarship suffered from

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the quasi-totalitarian superimposition upon all historical, philological, and linguistic studies of the official Kemalist state myth proclaiming the Proto-Anatolian origin of the entire Turkish "race" and the Proto-Turkish nature of the Hittite language. Naturally, under such conditions, with a state doctrine contrary to all historical and linguistic evidence, objective scholarship was suffocated or prevented from developing. Only in the years following the last World War, long after KEMAL ATATÜRK's death, was there finally some relief. Independent scholarly work slowly began to develop. Among these younger Turkish colleagues M. MANSUROĞLU (History of Osman and Old Osman; † 1960) and H. EREN must be mentioned, while the work of RAḤMATĪ-ARAT and CAFEROĞLU, neither of whom is an Osman Turk by origin, has been briefly characterized above. A great volume of work remains to be done in Turkey, not only on the rich treasures of the unique manuscript collections, but also with regard to dialectology, dialect geography and the compilation of a the-
saurus of the Osman Turkic language and its dialects, to name only the im-
2 mediate tasks.

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II. DISTRIBUTION OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES, AND SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THEIR MIGRATIONS

A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES

At present the Turkic languages stretch along a latitudinal strip lying roughly between the 35° latitude N. and the 55° latitude N., from the Baltic to Southern Siberia. While in its western half this expansion zone is rather narrow, hardly amounting to more than 5° of latitude, east of the Caspian Sea it is about 20° of latitude in width. The most compact areas of Turkic speech are along the southern zone, with a great preponderance in the southwest; smaller but scattered compact Turkic speech areas are also found elsewhere, especially in the northwest. Completely isolated Turkic speech areas scattered among other languages are found all around the entire Turkic zone, but with particularly interesting groups located at the northwestern and northeastern extremities of that zone. Together they constitute two distant, marginal Turkic groups.

The Turkic languages are still, in the main, being spoken today along the western half of the huge, semiarid steppe belt of Asia and Eastern Europe, a region quite appropriately termed Eurasia by certain Russian scholars. From there, Turkic-speaking groups have penetrated into the forest zone in the north, and into the arid, desert-like zone in the south. Thus, the main area inhabited by the Turks is still a considerable portion of those regions of Asia which we must assume to be the oldest living grounds of the peoples speaking Altajic languages. These are regions which particularly favored the development of pastoral nomadism, the way of life and mode of production under which the Turks and generally the Altajians first became known in history. It is a way of life which gradually they abandoned and are continuing to abandon, first becoming sedentary and engaging in agriculture, and then finally, in most recent years, even engaging in modern industrial production.

The Turkic languages spoken farthest west are the Balkanic dialects of Osman and Gagauz in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Makedonia. These seem to form two groups, one of possibly pre-Osman origin, and a later Osman one. To the former belong the Gažaly in Deli-Orman (Eastern Bulgaria), who, according to V. A. Moškov, are descended from the Päčänäg, Uz, and Torci (?), the Surguč (Moškov's etymology, Surguč from Sur + guč < γuz = oγuz is untenable), numbering about 7,000 people in the district (vilājät) of Edirnä, who call themselves Gagauz. In Moškov's opinion, they, too, go back to the Päčänägs (?) and the Makedonian Gagauz; they number ca. 4,000 people in southeastern Makedonia. To the latter belong subdivisions of the Osmans who came or were sent out from Anatolia to settle in the Balkans:

1) the Jürük (also Konjar) in Makedonia;

2) the Qaramanly, Turkicized Greeks, the majority of whom have remained Christian and are found in the region of Qaraman in southern Anatolia, south of the Lykaonian Desert (the Central or Salt Desert of Anatolia), while some also live scattered over the Balkans;

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3) the Qyzyłbaš, very few people, who are found in the Deli-Orman as well as in and around Gerłovo in Bulgaria. They are Muslim sectarians of evidently Šī'itic affiliation (cf. the nickname of Qyzyłbaš);

4) other Turks of Gerłovo and Tozłuq, a mixture of Osmans and Osmanized Bulgars, living near Gerłovo and Osman-Bazar. Which of these groups, and how many people from each group, were resettled in Turkey about fifteen years ago is still not known.

The Turks of Bosnia seem to have all been of Osman origin. While Islam is still holding its own, the language has been disappearing ever since the retreat of Turkey from Serbia (1866), so that by 1931, when I visited Mostar and Sarajevo, only the older generation—at that time about 55 or over—still spoke Turkish with great pleasure. In the Balkans, Turkish is now becoming gradually extinct, and is being replaced by South-Slavic.

Equally far west is the Qarajīm language as spoken in the three enclaves of Troki (Trakai) in southeastern Lithuania, near Vilnius (Wilno), Łuck, and Hałyč in West-Ukraine, and in the Crimea near Jevpatorija. Altogether, according to Baskakov, they number no more than 6,000 people. Farther on, near the Danube estuaries, are the Gagauz of southern Bessarabia, now a part of the Moldavian S.S.R., north of the Danube estuaries (124,000 people); there are also relics of the formerly more numerous Crimean Tatars and Noγaj groups, south of the Danube estuaries, in that part of northeastern Bulgaria generally called Buǯaq (the Turkic translation of ancient, Slavic жгль, rendered by the Byzantines as ὄγγλος). In the northern steppe part of the Crimea, up to the second World War, lived the Crimean Tatars ("Noγaj"), most of whom are now settled in Türkistan. Around the town of Perekop we find some Noγajians, remainders of Noγaj groups who, not so long ago, were scattered all over the Pontic steppes from the Caspian to the Buǯaq. South of the Buǯaq, from the easternmost part of the Balkan peninsula, known as West and East Rumelia (the latter from Osman *Rūm eli* "district of Rome", i. e. Constantinople), to eastern Anatolia, stretches the area of Osman Turkish, or Turkish proper, which, with its approximately 50,000,000 people, constitutes the most numerous and compact Turkic language area. The Transcaucasian region of ancient Urarṭu and Armenia, still interspersed with Armenian and Kurdish minorities, is gradually and almost inadvertently going over to Āzerbājǯānian, with its more compact areas in the territory of ancient Albania in Soviet Āzerbājǯān and Southern or Persian Āzerbājǯān, an area which, prior to the Turkic immigration, had been Iranian-speaking for a long time. In numerous but scattered and isolated communities all over Persia, Azerbajǯanian is spoken, inasmuch as each of the bigger Persian towns, at least, contains an Azerbajǯanian community. A more compact, still nomadic group is found in the south of Persia under the name of the leading group, the Qašqajī (Qašqa'ī), numbering ca. 400,000 people. In the summertime these people live in the high valleys of the Zagros Mountains, southwest and west of Isfahān, hence mostly in the vilājat of Isfahān, while in the winter they live on the plateaux southeast of Šīrāz, around the town of Fīrūzābād, in the vilājat of Šīrāz. The Ajnallu, who are often mentioned along with the Qašqajī, are nothing but a subdivision of the entire tribal complex called Qašqajī; their language does not differ from that of the Qašqajī. Azerbajǯanians are

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also found in northern ʿIrāq. They have a population of 2,274,805 in the Soviet Union (census of 1939), while their population in Persia and the ʿIrāq can only be estimated: around 3,500,000 in Persia, and something over 100,000 in the ʿIrāq.

A few other small Turkic-speaking communities are found in Syria and probably Israel, as well as in Egypt, i.e., all over the former provinces of the Osman Empire. These Turks are generally designated as Türkmens (ترا كه), a term which evidently has been used to distinguish them from the Osmans proper, although it is improbable that they are actually Türkmens (cf. infra). In Syria they are found in a few villages around Ḥomṣ in the north, and Damascus in the south. According to oral information, a small minority of Turkic-speaking people seems to live in southern Israel, near Bĕ'er-Ševaʿ. Still less is known about the Turkic-speaking villages in the Nile delta.

In the Ponto-Caspian steppes, east of the Crimea and the Azov Sea, and south of the Volga-Don triangle, formerly inhabited by the Turkic Noγaj and the Mongolian Qalmyq, Turks are now to be found only in the southeastern-most corner: these are the Türkmens of Stavropol' (in 1926, ca. 8,000 people), who live in the district of the same name, small groups on the lower Kuma, in the immediate neighborhood of the Noγaj who dwell in the desert-invaded steppes between lower Kuma and lower Terek, while a small group of Noγaj are found near the famous Russian spa of Mineral'nyje Vody. The Noγaj seem to number 41,000 all told. Southeast of the Noγaj, in the lowlands south of the lower course of the Terek, southeastwards between the Caspian and the foothills of the Daghestanian Caucasus, live the Qumuq (according to Baskakov now 135,000 people), who in the southeast touch upon the Azerbajǯanians.

Up to 1943, Qarač'aj and Bałqar lived in the Caucasian Mountains northwest, north, and northeast of Mt. Elbrus, the former inhabiting the uppermost valleys of Kubaň, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Laba, and Podkumok (75,737 people in 1939; 123,800 according to Baskakov), the latter in the higher valleys of Baqsan, Čegem, and Čerek (in 1939: 42,666 people; 42,000 according to Baskakov). Towards the end of the 1950's, these two peoples were permitted to return to their Caucasian homelands; as it seems, they had been in Türkistan.

In Transcaucasia, the small Turkic group of the Qara-Papax ("black caps") should also be mentioned. These people live between the upper Kura (Mtkvari) and Arpačaj Rivers, on the boundary line between Armenia and Georgia in the Soviet Union (6,311 people in 1926, in the districts of Axal-K'alak'i and Leninakan), and in Persian Āzerbājǯān around Sulduz on Lake Urmija (ca. 15,000 people).

From the Volga estuary on up to the city of Qazan (Russ. Kazaň), Qazan Tatars are found in smaller and scattered settlements. Their majority, about 4,000,000 people, live, however, in the plain between the Volga-Kama triangle and the western slopes of the southern Ural Mountains. Tatars are also to be found living rather far west of the central Volga, in and around Gor'kij (Nižnij-Novgorod), Penza, and Ul'janovsk (Simbirsk). The majority of these are the Mišär (Мещера), about a quarter of a million people, who live in and around the town of Kasimov (Qāsim-ov) and along the Oka, in the district of R'azaň; the Kasimov Tatars on the territory of the old khanate of Kasimov (ca. 1452–1681); and on the eastern end of the Qazan Tatar language area, along the Ural

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River, in the Bašqurt Republic, the Tiptär, ca. 300,000 people. BASKAKOV gives the number of the Tatars, including those of western Siberia, as 4,969,000 people.

West of the Volga, near Kazaň, along the Svijaga River, Tatar borders on Ťăvaš which, according to BASKAKOV, is spoken by about 1,500,000 people in the A.S.S.R. of the same name. The great majority of the Ťăvaš live south of the Volga, on which their capital Šupăškar—Russian Čeboksáry—is situated; only a small number of Ťăvaš live on the left (northern) bank of the Volga. Along the southeastern extent of Qazan which has no clear-cut boundaries separating it from Bašqurt, these two languages are in constant contact with each other. Outside of its main area, in the drainage system of the Bełaja River on the southwestern slopes of the Ural Mountains, Bašqurt is spoken in certain major enclaves south of Kujbyšev (Samara), east of the Volga, and east of the eastern slopes of the Ural Mountains, west and north of Čel'abinsk. They number about one million people.

East of the Caspian begins the most homogeneous area of Turkic languages, roughly from the 35° to the 55° latitude North as far, approximately, as the 90° longitude East, that is, the western Gobi. The largest portion of this area is occupied by those speaking Qazaq, about five million people (according to BASKAKOV only 3,581,000), while the population of Qazaqistan amounts to about seven million people, found, roughly, between the 42° and 52° latitude north, and the 45° and 90° longitude east. This area coincides, on the whole, with the S.S.R. Qazaqistan. South of this huge area are situated, from west to east, those of Türkmen, Özbek, Qyrγyz, and New Ujγur.

Türkmen is spoken by 1,004,000 people (BASKAKOV) east of the southern basin of the Caspian Sea, from the Qara-Boγaz on, bordering in the south on Persian, in the east on Özbek, in the northeast on Qaraqałpaq and Qazaq, and in the north on Qazaq. In the south it reaches into some regions beyond the Soviet-Persian boundaries, in the southeast slightly east of the right bank of the Amu-darja, and farther on into Afghan territory.

Özbek is spoken by 6,004,000 people (BASKAKOV), preponderantly in the valleys of the lower Zärafšan River and the upper Syr-darja, in the Farγāna-Valley, as well as in the plains west and northwest of the western T'ien-shan Mountains, and north of the Hindukush range in northern Afghanistan.

Qyrγyz is spoken by 974,000 people (BASKAKOV), almost exclusively in the valleys of the T'ien-shan, south of Qazaqistan, on the Pamir, in the Alaj Mountains south of Farγāna, and by scattered groups as far south as the high valleys of K'un-Lun and Qaraqorum.

In the southeastern quarter of this rather unified Turkic language area of Central Asia, in Eastern or Chinese Türkistan, New-Ujγur is spoken by ca. 3,500,000 people in the oases north of the Tarim River, along the southern slopes of the T'ien-shan, and in the south of the Taqlamaqan Desert along the northern slopes of the K'un-Lun Mountains, as far east as the towns of Čerčen and Čarxłyq west of the Łōp-Desert. East of Kāšγar and Jarkent, along the Tarim River, a rather big Qazaq-speaking area has recently been formed by Qazaq groups from beyond the T'ien-shan Mountains.

Areas of Turkic language farthest to the southeast are those of the Sary Jögur ("Yellow Ujγur") and Sałar, in the Chinese provinces of Kansu and

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Cʿiŋ-Ḥaj; the former are found on a narrow strip of irrigated land between the foothills of the Richthofen Mountains (Nan-Šan) and the Great Chinese Wall on the upper Edzin-gōł, between Ǧan-čžou and Lan-čžou. The Sałar live scattered between the southeastern shores of Lake Cʿiŋ-Ḥaj (Kökö-Nōr) and the upper Ḥuang-ḥo.

This Turkic language area of Central Asia is connected with that of Southern Siberia by a very narrow strip of Qazaq along the southwestern spurs of the Altaj Mountains, in fact just south of the Bełúxa, the highest peak of the Altaj. In the north, all along the central Turkic language area, the garland of the now rather scattered West Siberian Turkic languages spoken by about 1,000,000 people (Baskakov) follows at a distance of ca. 200 to 400 km the northern boundary of the Qazaq language area, loosely connecting the Volga-Ural languages with those of South Siberia. These West Siberian languages are usually named after the rivers along which they are spoken; these are, from west to east, Tümän, Tura, Toboł (Tobuł), Tara, Išim, Qūrdaq, Yrtyš, and Baraba, which reaches the Ob′ near Tomsk and there comes close to the Čołym (Čułym) language of the South Siberian Abaqan group, spoken along the lower course of the Čołym River, the far-flung eastern tributary of the Ob′.

The South Siberian Turkic languages (spoken by ca. 140,000 people) extend from the central Altaj and the source-river valleys of the Jenisej, between the Sajan Mountains in the north and the Taŋnū-Ōła in the south, often called Uŕaŋxaj (in Chinese Wu-njaŋ-ĝaj 嗚娘改, Wo-laŋ-ĝaj 斡朗改); they proceed northeastward along the Abaqan River and Abaqan Mountains towards the upper Jenisej and north to the Kuzneckij Ała-Tau, and they end with the far-flung groups speaking the Čołym language (11,125 people in 1897) along the river of the same name. Three groups are distinguishable here:

I. the Ojrat (Ojrot) group—47,700 people in 1939 (45,000: Baskakov); in the southwest of the entire area, i. e. in the Altaj Mountains;

a) southern languages: Ałtaj-kiži, Täläŋit, and Tölös, Teleut (Täläŋät); and

b) northern languages: Tuba (Jyš-kiži), Lebed′ (Qū-kiži, Čałqandū-kiži), on the river of the same name, and the Qumandū-kiži. According to material recently furnished on these dialects by Baskakov, the three northern dialects show almost all the typical features of the Abaqan group, with one important exception, so that they may well be considered, along with the Šor language, as transitional to the Abaqan languages. As these dialects, when investigated 100 years ago by Radloff, did not exhibit these characteristics, these may be due to recent influences from the Abaqan languages, Šor in particular.

II. The Abaqan or Xaqas group (52,600 people in 1939; 57,000 according to Baskakov) consists of the following: northeast of the above-mentioned one, the Šor (12,601 in 1926; 15,000: Baskakov), on the rivers Mraś (Pras, Mras-Su), Tom′, and Kondoma (Qondum), in the neighborhood of such mining centers as Kuznéck and Kémerovo; furthermore, within the Xaqas Autonomous Region, along the Abaqan River towards the northeast and north of the Abaqan Mountains, there are the Bältir (12,000 in 1926), Saγaj (3,019 in 1897), Qojbał (1,015 in 1897), Qača (20,000 in 1935), and Qyzył (7,959 in 1897). In the first quarter of this century, some scattered Qojbał groups were still to be found east of the Jenisej, on the Tuba and Qazyr Rivers. Here belongs also the insufficiently known language of the Čołym Tatars (also мелецкие, мелетские,

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татары, Milet-Tatar, Pilet-Čon), a small group of Turkicized Samojed-Ostjaks (Selqup) or Jenisej-Ostjaks (Ket) now being Russified, living on the lower course of the Čołym, the largest southeastern tributary of the Ob′. The languages of the Küärik ("chipmonk") and the Käʒik, the neighbors of the Čołym Tatars—the Küärik on the river Kija, the Käʒik around the town of Mariinsk—seem to represent a transitional link between the West Siberian Turkic languages and those of Southern Siberia; but while Küärik seems closer to West Siberian and the Ojrot group, the position of Käʒik, which RADLOFF links with the Toboł dialect of West Siberian, is not clear, inasmuch as text materials are lacking.

III. The Tuba group comprises two languages:

a) Sojoŋ (Sojot, Uɾ̀aŋxaj, or Tuba, Tuva, Tyba, Tufa proper), on the source rivers of the Jenisej and in Uɾ̀aŋxaj, which now is the Tuvinskaja Avtonomnaja Obłasť; some scattered Sojoŋ groups ar still living in the adjacent Ajmaq (district) of Qobdo in the Mongolian People's Republic;

b) the Karaγas, also called Tuba, Tyba, and in modern Soviet publications often called Tofałary (543 people in 1851; ca. 600, BASKAKOV), found northeast of Uɾ̀aŋxaj, on the northeastern slopes of the eastern Sajan Mountains, on the upper courses of the Udá and Biɾ̀usá Rivers, the two source rivers of the Taséjeva, a tributary of the lower Angará. The Karaγas are indicated in Stieler's *Handatlas*, plate 68, M–5.

The most remote Turkic group is that of the Jakuts in northeastern Siberia. Their settlements nearest to those speaking the South Siberian Turkic languages are ca. 1,200 km away, separated from the latter by the Siberian tajga (virgin forests), numerous big rivers, a territory sparsely inhabited by Russians, Buɾ̀at-Mongols, and Tungus. The Jakuts number about one-quarter of a million people (236,000: BASKAKOV), who occupy an enormous territory mainly in the drainage systems of the Léna, Jána, Indigírka, and Kołymá Rivers to the northeast, that of the Xatánga west of the Lena, and along the coasts of the Northern Glacial Ocean. The majority of Jakuts are found along the central and lower course of the Lena, and all along its two main tributaries, Ałdan and Vil′uj. Far to the northeast, the Jakuts reach slightly beyond the Kołymá, with a few groups even to be found on the New Siberian Islands; in the northwesternmost region of their expansion they are found along the southern slopes of the Byrranga range of the Tajmyr peninsula, towards the P′asina and Jenisej Rivers. In this area Jakut has superseded Tungusized Samojedic groups and thus produced the Dołgans (ca. 3,500 people). Although Russian ethnologists, e. g. DOŁGIX, have taken field notes on the language of the Dołgans, nothing extensive has been published about it; consequently, their language or dialect is still not well known at the present time.

B. HISTORY OF THEIR MIGRATIONS

At the time the Turks, or at least Turkic tribal groups, first became known in history—and this from Chinese sources—they were living in the northeastern part of the Central Asiatic steppe zone, i. e., roughly speaking, in present-day Northern Mongolia. This region is part of the entire area which

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is also to be considered the main dwelling or roaming grounds of all the ancient Altajic peoples. Although it is not known whether the Huns actually formed a part of the complex which can linguistically be defined as Turkic, there are ethnological reasons for considering them Turkic or close to the Turks. Moreover, the Chinese consistently connect later Altajic peoples, whose Turkic nature is well known, with the Hunnic (Ḥuŋ-Nuo 匈奴) complex, while they derive the Žuan-Žuan (蠕蠕[1]), for instance, from the Ḏuŋ-Ḥu (東胡 "east barbarians"), and the like. This is still, however, no proof; we might well compare this procedure with the tendency of Western sources, especially Byzantine and Latin ones, to connect the Huns with the Skythai, or later on to call Altajic nomadic invaders from the east either Skythai or Hunni. To verify this we have only to consult Gy. Moravcsik's "Byzantino-Turcica", under the respective entries. Such ethnika as Skythai or Ḥuŋ-Nuo had almost become appellativa. In general, Chinese historiography is superior to that of Western, or rather all non-Chinese sources. But proof is not furnished as long as there are no linguistic facts beyond those few words, usually titles, mentioned as Hunnic by the Chinese sources, which words are so undifferentiated as to be ascribable to any Altajic language group. Insofar as we are dealing with nomadic groups of the Hun or other Altajian type, which established their famous "steppe empires", it would be far-fetched to consider a given nomadic complex as consisting linguistically and ethnically of *one homogeneous group only*. It is well known from detailed historical descriptions that neither the Qytaň—alias Ljao—, nor the "Mongolians", nor the Golden Horde, nor the "Čaγatajians" were ethnically or linguistically homogeneous; the Proto-Mongolian Qytaň contain, even in their ruling or "inner" groups, an important clan of non-Mongolians of Ujγur nationality—that of the "Imperial Maternal Uncles", Śjao 蕭; since after the conquest of west central Asia, Western Türkistan, the great majority of those "Mongolians", who extended the empire towards the Caucasus and all over Russian Eastern Europe, were Turks, the "Mongolian" successor state in Eastern Europe was the preponderantly Turkic "Golden Horde". In the struggle for power over China in the 4th century A. D., between the Proto-Mongolian T'o-Ḅa 拓拔 — the Tabγač of the ancient Turkic Orxon inscriptions—and Chinese groups, Turkic tribes seem to have played an important role in ensuring victory to the Tabγač, so that in 388 they were able to usurp power over China and establish their Wej Dynasty. Whatever the Huns may have been linguistically—Turks, Mongols, less probably Tungus, but possibly an Altajic group which was an intermediary between Turkic and Mongolian (which problem will be reconsidered later on, cf. sub Ṯăvaš)—it is highly improbable that Turkic-speaking groups did not participate in their campaigns or even political organization. The Huns are the Altajic group on which the earliest historical records exist. They go back to the 3rd century B. C. It would seem that their consolidation, towards the end of the 3rd century, on the vast northern steppes of present-day Mongolia, as well as their warlike movements, caused unrest in China, and the

[1] For the variae lectiones of this name cf. J. Markwart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen", p. 73; Wittfogel and Fêng, "History of Chinese Society, I: Liao, 907–1125", p. 85, n. 11.

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downfall of the C'in Dynasty—which had started the gigantic construction work of the Great Wall against the northern invaders—followed by a regrouping of Chinese forces and political strength under the Former Ḥan Dynasty (206 B.C. — 9 A.D.). The struggle with the Huns characterizes the entire foreign policy of the Former Ḥan Dynasty, continuing well into the Later Ḥan Dynasty (22–220 A.D.). Hunnic power was at its height during the reign of Mao-Ḍun (209–174 B.C.) who, as a supreme ruler of the Hunnic tribes, bore the title of San-Jü 單于, which for the next three-quarters of a millennium was the highest title of the Altajic nomadic confederacies on the steppes of east Central Asia.

Mao Ḍun not only made inroads into China proper, but succeeded in taking possession of adjacent parts of Chinese territory for quite some time. Finally, aside from military victories which, by themselves, are not always decisive in dealing with nomadic powers, the Chinese succeeded in sowing and fostering discord among the different Hunnic groups striving for supreme power, so that by the end of the Older Ḥan Dynasty there already existed a northern and a southern Hunnic state. A third group which the Chinese could play against the Huns was the Śjän-ḅi 鮮卑, a tribal conglomerate from the eastern part of the northern steppes, who lived north and northeast of the Huns in eastern Mongolia and Manchuria. We may well consider, as does Pelliot, that this was the nucleus tribal group of the later Mongolians. While during the Later Ḥan Dynasty the southern Huns became the vassals of the Chinese, the northern ones remained independent. However, in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. they were overrun and conquered by the Śjän-ḅi. At the end of the Later Ḥan Dynasty, 216 A.D., the southern Hunnic state was dissolved; this time the Hunnic power was broken forever. By the time Hunnic power had begun gradually to decline, towards the end of the Older Ḥan Dynasty, in the first century B.C., certain Hunnic tribal groups had already moved westward as far as the plains of present-day southern Qazaqistan. There, in the lowlands of Eurasia, with their boundless pastures, they came into close, if not immediate, contact with the ruling populations of that vast area which extends as far west as the Carpathian Mountains. These were the Skythai, who were in retreat from the west, being themselves of European, possibly Northeast-Caucasian, origin, close to the present-day Northwest-Caucasians of the Čerkes-Qabarda complex, with a strong admixture and superstratum of Iranian origin. And now those same Iranians who had caused the eastward migration of the Skythai were here their immediate western neighbors. These Iranians are historically known as the Sarmatai (and Sauromatai) in present-day Ukraine, and beside the Massagetai and Thyssagetai the strong nomadic complex of the Alanoi and Aorsoi. It is upon these groups, especially the latter two, that Hunnic westward pressure was soon to be exerted.

When, after their defeat by the Śjän-ḅi, a certain number of the Northern Huns moved westward with their Šan-jü, they were reunited with those Hunnic tribes that had been living in that area since the middle of the first century B.C., and had increased in number through Hunnic westward migrations during the first century A.D. From the time of the campaigns of the Ḥan general Ḅan-Č'ao, during the first century A.D., the Tarim basin—present-day

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Eastern or Chinese Türkistan, the Chinese province of Sinkiang—had been under Chinese control; hence the Hunnic groups who wanted to evade Chinese overlordship had to avoid this region of Central Asia, keeping instead to the steppes north of the T'ien-shan Mountains. With the decline of Chinese power that set in with the end of the Later Ḥan Dynasty, the Huns were able to push the Chinese out of such parts of Central Asia as the Tarim basin and adjacent areas, so remote from the Chinese motherland. As a result, the relatively exact information on the Huns made available up to that time by Chinese sources was now discontinued; it is only from the middle of the 4th century on that we again begin to have news about them, this time from Western sources, since it was then that the Huns were about to become as dangerous to the Western countries—especially the Roman Empire—as they had once been to the Chinese.

The Xionitai (Χιονῖται), who between 356 and 358 appeared on the northeastern borders of the Sasanian Empire in Xorāsān and, in 359, on the northern slopes of the Caucasus, were at least in part Hunnic or Hunnic-led tribes. In 375, dangerous tribal groups bearing the name of Οὖννοι, Unnoi, respective Hunni, moved westward from the region of the Maiotis (Azov Sea) towards the frontiers of the (East) Roman Empire; twenty years later they were found in the immediate neighborhood of both Roman Empires. At times they were engaged in struggle, but more often in alliance, with the numerous Alanic and other tribes from the plains of Eastern Europe, mostly those of the various East Germanic, i.e. Gothic groups, such as the Bastarni, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Gepidae and Langobardians, all of whom had been aroused by the pressure exerted from the east by the Huns on the peoples of Eastern Europe over quite a long period of time. It was this that started the Great Migrations in Europe and the tribulations of the Roman Empire which had not yet come to an end by the time of Attila's defeat in 451, in the battle on the Catalaunian Fields near Châlons-sur-Marne, deep inside the confines of the West-Roman Empire. The consequences of these events were already essentially changing the ethnographical and linguistic aspect of Europe, and giving it the shape it still generally has today. After their defeat Attila and his tribes retreated to their strongholds on the steppes of Pannonia, present-day Hungary, while soon after Attila's death in 453 they retreated even farther, moving into the lowlands of the Danube and the southwestern Ukraine. It is in this area that Attila's youngest son Irnäk (Ἡρνάχ) was able for a short while to maintain his rule over his father's tribes, but not to hold together his father's political and military organization, which soon disintegrated. Nevertheless, more tribes of undoubtedly Hunnic origin soon arrived on the Pontic steppes between the estuaries of the Danube and the Volga; these were the Saraguroi (Σαράγουροι), the Urogoi (Οὖρωγοι), and the Onoguroi (Ὀνόγουροι), mentioned by such Byzantine historians as Rhetor Priskos and Suidas for the year 463. These tribes seem to have joined the confederacy led by Irnäk. Some years later, after 482, the name of the Bulgaroi (Βούλγαροι) seems to be used in the Byzantine sources to designate the confederacy (or its most representative group?). They were found in Scythia Maior around the estuaries of the Danube, in what the Greeks called Onglos (Ὄγγλος: from Slavic жгль, "corner", and which, accordingly, was later called by the Osman Turks Buǯaq—"corner"

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—a part of which is present-day Dobruǯa in northeastern Bulgaria), and farther east, as far as the Kubaň area northwest of the Caucasus Mountains. The Bulgaroi's center seems to have been in the eastern part of their realm, on the steppes along the Kubaň River. It is not clear whether these Bulgaroi, whose name appears here in connection with that of the Hunnic tribes, were also Hunnic in origin, or merely belonged to a Hunnic tribal confederacy, for there are no data from that period which would permit us to draw a conclusion, nor is there anything that would indicate what languages were spoken by these tribes. As we shall see later on, the Bulgaroi, or at least tribes going under their name, were, if not the first, at least very early Turkic-speaking immigrants in Eastern Europe. This realm of the Onoguroi—the names of Onogunduroi (Ὀνογούνδουροι) and Unnogunduroi (Οὐννογουνδοῦροι) also occur—of Hunno-Bulgarian composition, was by far less hostile and dangerous to the Roman Empire than the first Altajic wave, that of the Hunnic tribes. The Byzantines soon sent them missionaries and even established a bishopric under Qardušt, who had studied the Hunnic language and, after seven years of work, finally succeeded in translating the Holy Scriptures into that tongue (ca. 544). Unfortunately, this invaluable source of the Hunnic language has not come down to us. Around the middle of the century, the Hunno-Bulgarian realm divided into a western part, west of the Maiotis, ruled by the Kutriguroi (Κουτρίγουροι), and an eastern part, east of the Maiotis, that of the Utiguroi (Οὐτίγουροι). These two realms were subdued in 560 by the Mongolian Avars who, in 555, had come from East Central Asia along the same route as the Huns, circumventing Iran and countries under Sasanian control, and suddenly appearing on the Pontic steppes and overrunning the sedentary communities of the Antai (Antes). The latter were Eastern Slavs living north of the Hunno-Bulgarian realm, between the Dnepr and the Carpathians. In 558, the Avars, or rather an Avar group, raided Thuringia. In 567, they made Pannonia their stronghold. It was probably with the Avars (Žuan-Žuan 蠕蠕) and the Proto-Mongolian 吐谷浑 T'u-jü-ḫun that the title Qaγan was first introduced to designate the great chief or supreme ruler, in place of the older title Šan-jü (= Jabγu?). Ethnically and linguistically, however, nothing seems to have changed after the Avar conquest, since the latter, not caring to tarry on the steppes of booty-poor Eurasia, obeyed their urge to attempt a conquest of the Roman Empire, and marched into the Balkans.

It will probably never be possible, in view of the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous composition of the nomadic tribes, to determine when and with or under which tribes the Turks first penetrated into Eastern Europe and further. In this connection the problem of the Turcilingi should be mentioned; this is a tribal group found along with Germanic groups, apparently always East-Germanic ones, which is usually considered to be itself Germanic. Theodoric the Great is quoted by Jordanes, in his *Getica*, as complaining to the Emperor in Byzantion about the oppression of Rome at that time by the (East-Germanic) Rugi, along with the Turcilingi. Without engaging in conjecture or speculation about this tribe name, we must nonetheless conclude that it can hardly have been invented. Perhaps the name was taken over by an East-Germanic group, inasmuch as Germanic and Hunnic tribes often moved together as good friends.

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Meanwhile, in the old homeland of the Huns, certain changes had taken place. The Turks who had been living north and northwest of the Huns, and who had submitted at the time of Emperor Wej T'aj-Wu (424–452) to the Žuan-Žuan, members of the Proto-Mongolian Śjän-ḅi confederacy, had moved into parts of the territory which had formerly belonged to the Huns. Around 552 they had been able to shake off the Žuan-Žuan yoke, and were now coming into closer contact with the Chinese, who were at times friendly, at times hostile. While the Žuan-Žuan had begun to move away from the close vicinity of the Chinese at the end of the 5th century, and to follow in the footsteps of the Huns, the Turks, whose name appears in Chinese sources (cf. the Wej-Šu, the Annals of the Tabγač, the T'o-ḅa-Wej Empire) as T'u-ĝ'üä (突厥), i.e. Türkü t, the plural of Türk, were able to unite into a larger tribal confederacy consisting of two apparently equally strong groups, an eastern one, Ḏuŋ-t'u-ĝ'üä (東 | |), and a western one, Si-t'u-ĝ'üä (西 | |). From the middle of the 6th century to the middle of the 7th century, these groups absolutely dominated the northern part of the Central Asian plateau from the Amur lands—even at times the Yellow Sea—to the Yrtyš, later on extending their dominion further west, going south along the high mountain fringe that separates the Central Asian plateaux from the forests and steppes of Siberia. In the 6th century, after they had shaken off the supremacy of the Mongolian Žuan-Žuan, — the later Avars —, they attained an impressive amount of power with their far-reaching expansion towards the west, where they came into contact and collision with the Sasanian Empire on the territory of Toxaristan, on the upper Amu-Darja (the Oxos, Ὦξος, of the Greek, the Vaxšu of the Āvestā), at the border of ancient Baktra, and finally of Xorāsān. Their fame soon spread to Constantinople which was seeking an ally against the all-too-powerful Iranian state under Xosrau Anūširvān. In 568 a Byzantine delegation was sent out under the leadership of the Nestorian Zemarxos (Ζήμαρχος), who after about four months of overland travel, north around the Black and Caspian Seas, met the Western Jabγu of the Qaγan of the Türküt somewhere in his summer camp in the Ektagh, south of the Altaj. Shortly afterwards, the Türküt sent a delegation of their own to Constantinople, in response to which the Byzantines, in 576, dispatched their second delegation under Valentinos to Qaγan Ektel. The Byzantine sources mention that the Türküt had brought with them a δίπλωμα γεγραμμένον Σκυθικοῖς γράμμασιν ("a document written in Skythian letters"), but neither the language nor the content of the Diploma is disclosed! This alliance was too bold a concept for the times, the main obstacle being undoubtedly the enormous distance separating the two powers. Nevertheless, as time went on, the Türküt, who already were in control of the entire vast steppe area of what is now Qazaqistan up to the Volga River, seem to have increased in number throughout these far-western regions of their steppe empire, around the lower Volga. There they came more and more into contact with the Bulgaroi, the various Hunnic tribes, and the Xazaroi (Xazars). The latter entered, or were incorporated into, the western Türküt confederacy.

In their struggle against Sasanian Persia, in 578 and 588, the Türküt were not successful, support from Constantinople and the Xazars notwithstanding. In their rear, China was gradually reconsolidating under the more unified rule

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of the Sui Dynasty (581–618), which defeated the tribes of the Türküt in 581; very soon after, in 582 or 583, this steppe-empire, the vastest in existence before the advent of Čingis-Qaγan, divided into that of the Western Türküt, with its gravitational center in the Tałas region of present-day southern Qazaqistan, and that of the Eastern Türküt, or the Kök-Türk—"Blue Turks"—with its center in northern Mongolia, the old center of the formerly united empire. This was in the Orxon region, with its capital in Qara Bałγasun, or Qara-Qorum, as it was later called. During the internecine wars in China at the end of the Sui Dynasty, the Türküt support of the opposition party was decisive in bringing the T'aŋ Dynasty to the throne (618–907). However, T'aŋ T'aj-Czuŋ, concerned about the extent of Türküt power, tried to reduce its influence in Chinese affairs to an absolute minimum. In the course of these wars, the Türküt once marched to the very walls of the capital, Lo-jaŋ (in 624), but in 630 they were utterly defeated by the Chinese and forced to recognize Chinese supremacy. In 659, the Chinese forced the qaγanate of the Western Türküt into submission. A forceful Türküt counter-movement under Eltäriš Qaγan drove the Chinese troops out in 682, and revived the independence of the Türküt. Thus the Türküt were once again the overlords of the entire steppe area north of the Great Wall, from the Yellow Sea to the Yrtyš, and remained so until the Ujγurs took over power. The glory of the Kök-Türk Empire, as restored after its liberation from Chinese control, found its literary expression in the earliest Turkic literary monument, the Kül-Tegin stele of the Orxon inscriptions, dated 732 and 735. The Western Türküt were now usually called the On-Oq tribes, and were once again separated from the Eastern Türküt, this time under the leadership of the Türgäš tribe. In the early years of the 8th century, on the western plains and in and around Soγdiana, they were exposed to Arab attacks. The Western Türküt or On-Oq tribes were finally subdued in 766 by the Turkic Qarłuq, who had moved on from Eastern Mongolia, east of the Ujγurs. Toward the end of the 8th century, they accepted Islam under their Xan Ǯoγbu (= Jabγu, Ǯabγu).

In 745, not long after the erection of the Kül-Tegin monument, the Kök-Türk Empire was overrun by the Ujγurs. In the Chinese sources, Ḅej-šy, Wej-šu, and T'aŋ-šu, their name is given in various forms such as Jüan-Ḥo (袁紇), Wu-Ḥo (烏護), Wu-Ḥo (烏紇), Wej-Ḥo (韋紇), Ḥuj-Ḥo (回紇), and Ḥuj-Ḥu (回鶻). The earliest mention made of them gives the name Jüan-Ḥo (not Ḅjao-Ḥo—a misreading), a tribe subordinate to the non-Turkic tribe Ḡao-Č'ě (高車 "high carts"), since they were identical with the Europaeoid Ḍiŋ-liŋ 丁令 (零, 靈), possibly relatives of the Qyrqyz, located north of the Xuŋ-Nuo, perhaps in the western Bajkal region. In the early 7th century the Ujγurs freed themselves from their Turkic, i.e. Türküt overlords, and took possession of the Selenga region south of the Bajkal in the close northern and northeastern vicinity of the Orxon. They are mentioned in the Orxon inscriptions, along with other peoples of Turkic speech. The main tribes of the first Ujγur qaγan were the Toquz Oγuz ("nine Oγuz"). In 758 the second qaγan, Mä-Č'üä, conquered the territory of the Qyrqyz on the upper Jenisej, mainly located in the Minusinsk basin. This area was famous for its highly developed metal work and handicrafts, which often displayed the well-known Eurasian "animal style" typical of the bronze finds of the Majkop quryans, the Volga-

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Kama culture, and those of Nojin-Ōła and the Ordos region. At the time the Qyrqyz seem to have been the foremost representatives of metal culture in north-central and northern Asia. By the time they were conquered by the Ujγurs, the Qyrqyz had already been strongly influenced by the Turkic, i.e. Turko-Chinese culture of East Central Asia. A few words of the Qyrqyz language quoted in Chapter 217 of the T'aŋ-šu show a strong Turkic cultural and linguistic influence, but they do not permit us to make any judgments as to whether the Qyrqyz, prior to their complete Turkicization, spoke a Samojedic or a Jenisejic language. As powerful neighbors in the immediate vicinity of the Chinese Empire—the emperors often being related by marriage with the Ujγur ruling house—the Ujγurs were called upon by the Chinese time and again to give assistance during periods of internal difficulty. On one of these occasions, in 762–3, the Ujγurs pilfered and sacked the capital Lo-jaŋ, where they had been stationed for a time. While the Chinese influence upon them was very strong in political, economic, and probably social affairs as well, Iranian and other western influences were certainly not weak either. These were penetrating through the Tarim basin, mainly along the great trade routes—the so-called silk roads—and were being carried by East-Iranian, usually Soγdian, merchants into the Orxon region. We can easily conclude this from an examination of the Ujγur script, an adaptation of the Soγdian style of Syriac cursive writing. We can likewise conclude this from the fact that Nestorianism and Manichaeism gained a foothold with the Ujγurs. In 762 Manichaeism became the State religion and the Ujγur Empire became the only state known to us to have raised Manichaeism to such a position. Moreover, it extended its protection over this religion outside of its own territory, into both China and Islam-occupied Samarqand. Buddhism penetrated to the Ujγurs from Gand'āra in Northwest India, via Bāmijān, Baktra, and possibly also Buxārā and Samarqand, introducing to this region the remarkable features of the Greco-Buddhist art of Northwest India, which is named after the land of its origin. With the Ujγurs we can observe a most interesting confluence of diversified cultural tendencies and strata which led to the formation of a unique culture and, what is more, to a vast translation literature in the Ujγur language from many of the foremost languages of the east, south, and west of Asia. This took place, it would seem, not in the Orxon region proper, but in the later home of most of the Ujγurs, the Tarim basin, particularly the northern oasis belt south along the T'ien-shan Mountains. It is from this region, and not from the lands of the Selenga and its tributaries that almost all the hitherto known cultural documents of the Ujγurs, literary and artistic, stem. This is probably due to the fact that at the time Ujγur culture was maturing under these strong influences, the majority of the Ujγurs had already moved from the Selenga region into the Tarim basin, which we may well call Eastern Türkistan. Buddhism finally became the predominant religion with the Ujγurs, while both Manichaeism and Nestorianism lost ground and then gradually disappeared. It is also from Eastern Türkistan that the first authentic Manichaean texts were recovered, and therewith our knowledge of the Manichaean creed considerably and essentially enlarged. Prior to this discovery our knowledge had been based solely on the apologetic anti-Manichaean literature, especially St. Augustine. Manichaeism had been so

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severely persecuted under both the Roman and Sasanian Empires that nothing had been preserved of it.

Toward the end of the 8th century, along with all of Eastern Türkistan, the Ujγurs were subdued by the Tibetans (790–91), who for a while even occupied the most important cities of that country, and by their allies, the Turkic Qarłuq, who at that time lived in the Ili and Tałas regions of modern southern Qazaqistan, which probably had belonged to the West Türküt qaγanate but was ruled from 766 on by the Qarłuq. The transition of an evidently considerable number of Ujγurs to agriculture and a sedentary way of life must have so weakened even their defensive strength that their state was apparently easily overthrown in 840 by the rebellious Qyrqyz, under the qaγan Jaγłaqar, attacking the Orxon region from the west—the upper Jenisej—and actually destroying the Ujγur state and its possessions in modern Mongolia. The majority of the Ujγurs in the Orxon region apparently fled to Eastern Türkistan, some to the Qarłuqs in the Ili and Tałas regions, and some southward to the then Ġan 甘 prefecture (the later province of Ġan-su) and adjacent Chinese territory, as well as to the realm of the Tanguts (Si-śja: 西夏). The above-mentioned Sary-Jögurs of modern Ġan-su may well have descended from those refugees of 840. The Qyrqyz were not able to extend their power over Eastern Türkistan. In the early 10th century the T'aŋ Dynasty was overthrown, and in the ensuing rebellions the southeastern neighbors of the Ujγurs, the Mongolian Qyṭaň, who before 840 had been the subjects of the Eastern Türküt ruler on the Orxon, usurped power over all of northern China north of the Yang-Tsekiang (Jaŋ Czė-Ćźjaŋ) soon extending their dominion to east, north, and west. In 924, they marched into the Orxon realm, overthrew the Qyrqyz rule and pushed the Qyrqyz back to their homelands on the upper Jenisej. Some of the Qyrqyz hordes seem not to have moved back into the Jenisej valley, but to have followed a westerly direction, in the famous tradition, and kept to the southern spurs of the Altaj Mountains where they, or at least a large proportion of them, were still living long after the Mongolian campaigns had finally destroyed their realm on the Jenisej (1207–09). Several times the Qyrqyz revolted against Mongolian supremacy, once in 1218 when Činġis Qaγan marched on Xwārazm, and again in 1254 when the new Qaγan, Möŋkä (Mäŋgü), was elected. Although Mongolian authority had been restored on the upper Jenisej in 1270, Qubłaj-Xān in 1293 ordered a certain number of those Qyrqyz to be resettled in Manchuria. It is natural, under the circumstances, that the Qyrqyz gradually lost all their former cultural achievements. Coming back to the Qyṭaň, the Ujγur element in the entire Qyṭaň tribal and post-tribal complex was the most important foreign element therein. In imperial times it was second to the Chinese, but in essence, of course, less foreign than that of the Chinese. The consort family of the imperial Ljao house (Qyṭaň) was the Ujγur clan Śjao (蕭). Later on, in Ljao Buddhism, the Ujγurs seem to have played a foremost role as mediators, and perhaps also missionaries and translators. It is probable that while the Great Ljao Script was, like Tangut, Žürčen, and Japanese, of Sinitic nature, the Small Ljao Script was similar to, or a derivative of, that of the Ujγurs.

Long before Altajic-speaking groups had wandered westward on to the plains of "Turan", — i.e., the lowlands between the Ural Mountains, the

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Caspian Sea, Iran and the Yrtyš River,—that vast portion of Asia had been inhabited by Iranian-speaking peoples. While in the main these were nomads who roamed the steppe areas, there were three regions of relatively compact sedentary, agricultural, and also city-dwelling peoples. To the nomadic group belonged, in approximate historical sequence, the Iranized tribes of the Skythai, the Medes, Sarmatai, Sauromatai, Parthians, Alanoi, Aorsoi, Massagetai, Thyssagetai, Sakai, Dahae, and the Kurds; to the sedentary ones belong the Persians, the Baktrians, Soγdians, and Xwārazmians. At the beginning of the Altajic invasions, apart from the Persian proper, two Iranian-speaking areas offered serious obstacles to those expansions and migrations: Soγdiana and Xwārazm. The Huns and Avars apparently did not stop in or around these two regions, but the Turks, after taking possession of the vast steppes of Turan, gradually began to infiltrate into the pasture lands and finally also into the agricultural territories of those sedentary, fertile, oasis states with their small-scale irrigation systems. The destruction of the latter was a major weapon in the hands of the nomads, but the ensuing famine catastrophes which decimated the sedentary populations did not add to the well-being of the nomadic conquerors. Thus there was taking place, although with considerable loss to the sedentary people and their civilization, a certain process of acculturation of the nomads, who in turn were exerting a degree of biological and linguistic absorption on the local Iranian population. This process seems to have been completed in Xwārazm at the time of the Mongolian conquest (1220), but it is still going on today in the territory of ancient Soγdiana—present-day Özbekistan—where the Iranian population, the Tāǯīks, descendants of the Iranian Soγdians who, after the Islamic conquest (8th to 10th centuries) spoke New-Persian, still constitute a not inconsiderable percentage of the sedentary population, especially in the cities. As late as 1929, Tāǯīks comprised 80% of the population in Buxārā, ca. 60% in Samarqand, and ca. 30% in Taškent, inasmuch as about one-half of the sedentary peasant population of the Zarafšan valley and the Syr-darja system was Tāǯīk. As we shall see later on, this gradual Turkicization of the Iranian population of Soγdiana has brought about a clear-cut dialectological division of modern Özbek.

While certain more compact Turkic groups, collectively designated as the Tribal Confederacy of the Western Türküt, had spread out over the steppes of Turan as far west as the lower Volga, from the 6th century on single Turkic groups or fractions thereof may well have come west along with, and soon after, the Huns and Žuan-Žuan–Avars. During the rule of the Western Türküt qaγanate and the consolidation of China in the 7th century, more tribes moved westward and settled in increasing numbers in Soγdiana proper. As early as the 4th and 5th centuries, Xwārazm, which in contrast to Soγdiana had as its only natural protection the waters of the Amu-darja, began to fortify its smaller townships and even villages and single, isolated farmsteads. This was not done in Soγdiana, where more numerous cities, and in extreme cases high mountains, offered more protection; the main weakness of Xwārazm, and particularly of Soγdiana, was the political disunity among the various city-states and their loose connection, if any, with the Sasanian Empire. The situation was very similar to that of the oasis states in Eastern Türkistan.

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Thus, in spite of their relatively large populations, they were rather easy prey for their nomadic invaders.

At about the time that the Arabs were setting foot on Spanish soil and fighting the battle of Xerez de la Frontera (711), Arab troops marched into Soγdiana where they took Buxārā and Samarqand, and then met fierce resistance from both the Soγdians and the Turkic steppe dwellers who were being supported by the T'aŋ Chinese. In 737 and 739 the Türküt were defeated on the Syr-darja, which now became the northeastern frontier of the Arabian caliphate. In 751, the Arabs clashed near Tałas with a Chinese army which they defeated — with difficulty, but they did not continue their advance further east. Despite the fact that the Arabs left garrisons in all the bigger towns of Soγdiana, Islam did not become the dominant religion until well into the 10th century. Eastern Türkistan was Islamized from Soγdiana, with the help of the Qaraxanid Dynasty, 992–1130, but did not become Islamic until the end of the 12th century, immediately before the Mongolian invasion.

A great number of the Turkic tribes which, under the overlordship of the Western Türküt, had migrated into Turan—i.e. the Ili-Tałas region, Soγdiana, Xorāsān, and Xwārazm—seem to have belonged to the Oγuz tribes, a group of which were the above-mentioned Toquz-Oγuz. These Oγuz evidently differed to an insignificant degree from the other eastern and western Türküt whose tribal confederacies comprised a number of Turkic groups who, speaking other dialects not classifiable with the Oγuz, constituted the majority of the Turkic tribes of Turan or Western Türkistan, as this region of Turan can henceforth be called. From here, this mighty Oγuz tribal group set out for further conquests of Iran, Arab countries, and the Byzantine Empire. A tribal confederacy was formed which became known as the Sałǯuq Confederacy (in spite of the Turkish spelling with sīn, and the defective writing of the first syllable, I have deliberately used the sound harmonic form Sałǯuq, with "a" in the first syllable, which is well attested in Armenian sources and is also found in the Sanglāḫ). The Sałǯuq were Islamic, which facilitated the conquest of the Islamic countries to the west. Before setting out on their westward campaigns, they were to benefit politically, in 1047, from the division of the Qaraxanid Empire into two parts: an eastern one—Türkistan—which lay east of the Syr-darja and came under Qaraxanid rule, and a western one, which lay west of the Syr-darja and came under Sałǯuq supremacy. The Qaraxanids likewise were promoters of Islam over the Turkic paganism of the steppes. On the other hand, they used the Iranian national traditions—for example the Iran vs. Turan opposition—to achieve their own ends, identifying Turan with nomadism as did the Iranians themselves. They also called themselves the Dynasty of Afrāsijāb. The Sałǯuq were themselves under very strong Iranian influence, cultural, social, and political.

As the political events of the Sałǯuq have become generally quite well known through Osman and Persian history, they will therefore be treated much more briefly here than less known features of the history of Turkdom.

A large proportion of the Oγuz tribes—practically all those in and around Xwārazm on the Aralo-Caspian steppes—did not follow the Sałǯuq but remained independent. These were mainly the tribal units of the Dükär and Jazyr, who had shifted their location, probably along with other Oγuzic and West-

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Türküt tribes, soon after the Arabs had defeated the military might of the West-Türküt qaγan in 737 and 739, on the Syr-darja, the Jinčü-Ögüz—"Pearl River"—of the Orxon inscriptions. Those early Oγuz rulers in the Aral region had the title of Jabγu, and resided in Jaŋy-kend (Dih-i-Nau, "New Town"); their sovereignty extended over a number of townships on the Syr-darja and eastward as far as Ałmałyq and Taraz (Tałas). Of all the Turkic conquerors of originally Iranian Western Türkistan, with its sedentary agricultural population, only the Oγuz had, to a relatively large degree, taken on an incipient agriculture, without, however, abandoning their cattle-breeding and pastoral nomadism. They were probably in a state of transition to agriculture comparable to that of the semi-sedentary Özbeks in Farγāna thirty and more years ago. The Oγuz tribal groups in the Aralo-Caspian steppe zone soon proved to be of considerable force. In that area they occasionally collided with the Päčänägs, who, as we shall see later, were part of the later Northwest-Turkic tribal confederacies, generally mentioned in Islamic sources as Qypčaq, along with the Bułγars, Xazars, and Xwārazmians, whose statehood they soon took over (1041). While this dominion lasted for only two years, it prepared the way for the ultimate Turkic domination of Xwārazm by a Sałǯuq group which, with its stronghold in that rich and fertile land, was to dominate Türkistan and Iran as well as some adjacent territories up to the Mongolian conquest (1220).

Some Oγuz tribes seem to have pushed very far west as early as the second half of the 10th century. The Turkic tribes on the eastern bank of the Dnepr, such as the Torъci (Торъци) and Berendĕji (Берендѣи), who are mentioned in the Old-Russian chronicles, and some of whom had become the special Palace Guard of the great princes of Kijev, seem to have been Oγuz. In the 10th century, some eastern groups of the Päčänägs on the steppes between Jajyq and Volga, who were the northwestern neighbors of the Oγuz, joined or were forced to join the Oγuz Tribal Confederacy.

Islam slowly penetrated into the Oγuz tribes which time and again had reacted hostilely to it. By the end of the 11th century, the conversion of all the Oγuzic tribes, as well as some of the outer ones in the far northwest, seems to have been achieved.

The Qaj(y) tribe in the Aral lowlands on the lower Syr-darja, supported by the Bajat, exerted a kind of supremacy over the Jazyr living along the northeastern shores of the Caspian in Maŋqyšłaq and the Sary Qamyš regions, but when they tried to force the Sałyr of the upper Syr-darja into their incipient larger confederacy, the latter revolted. Sałǯuq, the xān of one of their tribes, the Qynyq, moved southward with an apparently rather large group of people. He then proceeded to meddle in the affairs of the collapsing realm of the Samanids, the Iranian rulers of the southern portion of Western Türkistan, whose capital was Buxārā, بخارا, the then most renowned center of Islamic culture and learning, and was about to take over the Samanid realm when the more powerful Qaraxanids, at the turn of the second millennium A. D., pushed Sałǯuq out of this important land of Central Asia. The Oγuz moved southwestwards and, for the time being, remained in northern Xorāsān, north along the Hindu-Kush and Köpet-dagh Mountains, where they came under the harsh rule of the Γaznawids, whose yoke they shook off in 1035–1040, aided by the Persian population of Xorāsān.

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Thus, the Sałǯuq power got its start, as under the leadership of Toγruł-Beg they immediately took possession of all of Persia, overran Trans-Caucasia (1045) and Mesopotamia, conquered Baγdād and exerted their dominion over the Caliphate (1055). Toγruł-Beg's son, Ałp-Arsłan, continued his father's policy of conquest as he took over the greatest part of the Caliph's empire. After the battle of Mancikert against the Byzantines, 1071, aided by Päčänäg auxiliaries who had deserted the Roman army and gone over to the Sałǯuqs', the Emperor Romanos IV Digenes was even captured. The Sałǯuq armies advanced westward and were able to take possession of Anatolia, the last but most significant remnant of the eastern, Asiatic, provinces of the Byzantine Empire, as far as a line no more than 200 km (120 miles) distant from the coast of the Aegean Sea. After this powerful advance towards the capital of the East-Roman Empire, the western part of that empire gathered its forces for the protection of Byzantion; this led to the Crusades, whose forceful, but in the long run unsuccessful and inadequate battles delayed but did not eliminate the Sałǯuq–Islamic drive against Constantinople and the entire eastern half of the Empire. While the western part of the Sałǯuq empire was in a state of war, under its rule, Iran and Türkistan, during the latter part of the 11th and the 12th centuries, witnessed a unique florescence of the arts and literature. This began in the reign of Malik-šāh (1072–1092) and his Grand Vizier, the Persian Niẓāmu-'l-Mulk. The Turkic Oγuz tribes in time came under Persian influence both in Persia proper and in Türkistan and Xwārazm. The capital, Marw, which had been a big city during the later years of Parthian rule (249 B.C. to 224 A.D.)—almost contemporaneous with the two Ḥan Dynasties—and was now exceeding its former size and splendor, under Sałǯuq rule apparently again had slightly over half a million inhabitants. (The little Türkmen town of Mary, situated on the western fringe of the huge ruined area of ancient Marw, had 19,000 inhabitants in 1928). Apart from its position as capital of the Sałǯuq state, Marw was a most important intersection of trade routes going from China to Constantinople and Rome, and from India to Xwārazm, the Volga region, and the Baltic Sea. Its foremost industry was textiles, especially silk-weaving. Towards the middle of the 12th century, Sałǯuq power in western Central Asia came to an end in 1141 when Sanǯar, the last great Sałǯuq ruler, was defeated in the battle at Qatwan, near Samarqand, by the Qara-Qytaj (or Si-Ljao, "Western Ljao"), who after the destruction of Qaraxanid power, had moved on from Eastern Türkistan and the Tałas region. Hostile Oγuz tribes had sided up with the Qara-Qytaj and had brought terrible devastation to Marw (in 1153), from which the city never recovered. During the disintegration of the Sałǯuq Empire in the east, Oγuz tribes moved into Afghanistan and India, but political power was reconsolidated in Türkistan and finally extended all over Iran by the Xwārazmian šāhs, who likewise were of Turkic Oγuzic origin. In the west, Sałǯuq power disintegrated into regional and local dynasties, such as the Ḥamdānids in Syria and Palestine, and the Sałǯuqids of Rūm, i.e. those tribes in Anatolia from which the xāns of the Osman tribe were descended in the 13th and 14th centuries in northwestern Anatolia, around Brusa. These were later to become the Osman Sultans and conquerors of the Byzantine Empire (May 28–29, 1453, fall of Constantinople).

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These Oγuz tribal confederacies laid the foundations for the present-day Turkic populations of Türkmenistan, Iran, Trans-Caucasia, Anatolia, and the Balkans, who form the southwest Turkic language group, also called the Oγuz languages. The Gagauz in Bessarabia and the South-Crimean Turks go back to these same Oγuz groups. Whether the few Turkic splinters in Syria, Israel, and Egypt, often designated as Türkmens, go back to those early Salžuq conquest movements or are of more recent date, having been settled there during the Osman Dynasty, it is up to now impossible to say.

The Oγuz tribal tradition was laid down in the Oγuz-nāma and a rather late Ujγur text on Oγuz Qaγan. The traditions living on in these highly legendary texts permit us to trace them only as far east as the Yssyq-köl, on which the camp of Oγuz Qaγan was situated.

The anthropological features of the Oγuz Turks exhibit their strong intermixture with non-Altajic peoples, i.e. peoples who did not belong to the large anthropological group known as the High Asiatic, Altajic, or Central Asian branch of the Mongolian race. The Oγuz were the first Altajians to stay for some time, and in some numbers, on the Aralo-Caspian steppes originally held by northern, respective eastern, Iranians such as the Alans, the Aorsoi, Massagetai, Parthians, Śakas, also some Soγdians and other peoples. This is particularly recognizable with the Türkmens and the strong Iranian, or rather Caucaso-Iranian, influence on their ethnical type. The other descendants of the Oγuz, as for example the Osmans, similary exhibit the features of the peoples they once subdued, Iranians, Greeks and some Caucaso-Anatolian peoples, so that where those Oγuz peoples are concerned the Mediterraneo-Caucasian influence is considerable. Even today, in western Central Asia, the Amu-darja is an anthropological boundary between the Oγuz peoples living west of it and the Central Asiatic peoples living east of it, who have a strong preponderance of their original Altajic anthropological features. The Amu darja had been the northeastern frontier line of Outer Iran until the Oγuz arrived.

In the 7th century, tribal groups known by the name of Χάζαροι (Xazaroi) seem to have organized into a political unit representing the westernmost group of the Western Türküt. These groups lived and roamed on the steppes around the Volga estuaries, marching at times much farther west towards the Don and the Crimea. With the annihilation of the Western Türküt Qaγanate by the T'aŋ Chinese in 657–9, the Xazars became independent. At the same time, between 650 and 675, they moved far west and southwest to the Kubaň and even the Dnepr, no doubt under pressure from the east by newly-arrived Turkic hordes, probably Western Türküt or people who had been under Western Türküt overlordship. By 680, the Xazars had organized their own statehood, keeping to such ancient Turkic traditions as the double-rule, exerted there, according to Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, by the χαγάνος (= *qaγan*), the πέχ (= *beg/beḡ*), and the like. Despite strong influences and at times pressure from Christianity and Islam—it was the Xazars who were forcefully holding the Caucasian approaches at Därbänd and the Darjal-Gorge in the upper Terek valley against numerous Arabic assaults, thereby keeping the Arabs and their Islam out of Eastern Europe for a long time—they accepted Judaism as their state religion under Xān Bułan (ca 740?). A certain

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number of Jewish communities in the Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula with the city of Kerč, which were now included in the Xazar realm, were instrumental in bringing this about. Another possible source of Judaism was Xwārazm. However, the majority of Xazars did not profess Judaism, but were divided into Christians, Muslims, and pagans, i.e. Šamanists. For a realm that had originally been nomadic and which extended over a vast area,—from the 8th–11th centuries the Xazars had control over all of Eastern Europe east of the Dnepr, Desná, and Oká Rivers, and the entire Volga basin with the lower course of the Kama, and also that of the Jajyq (Ural River) to the east—the Xazar realm exhibited great longevity; it continued in existence from 680–1030, when it was defeated and invaded by the Qūn, the Qumans. This durability was chiefly due to a close relationship with the Byzantine Empire which always supported the Xazars against their enemies. Marriage ties were not rare between the respective ruling houses; Empress Irene was originally a Xazarian princess who was converted in Constantinople in 732, and later acted against her husband, Emperor Leo III, and her father-in-law in defense of the veneration of images during the period of iconoclasm.

In 833, the Byzantines dispatched technicians to the Xazars, who helped in such undertakings as the erection of the important fortress and town of Sarkel, on the lower Don (the Бѣла Вежа, "White Tower", of the Old-Russian chronicles, and the مدينة البيضا, "White City" of the Arabs), which was to serve as a Xazar stronghold against the Rūs, the Russo-Normans, and the dangerous Ugric nomads, the Magyar or Hungarians. It was only towards the end of the 9th century that the latter moved westward into Pannonia, where they took possession of the Puszta, the steppe with its pastures. The Xazars were a most valuable ally for the Byzantine Empire, especially as a listening post situated right at the gateway of all the great and dangerous westward movements of the nomadic invaders. The Normanno-Russian Great Princes of Kijev, as well as the Volga Bulgarians, were the vassals of the Xazars. Xazar influence on them was noticeable; thus, for instance, the Great Princes of Kijev bore, until the 11th century, the Altajic title of коганъ (*qaγan*). Great Prince Sv'atosław of Kijev emancipated himself from Xazar overlordship after he defeated the Xazars in 965–8. In 988, the Xazars had to abandon Tamátarxa (Ταμάταρχα, Тъмуторокань) to Mstisław, who thereupon became its ruler.

The Xazars are usually called Turks or are classified with the Turkic peoples. In this form this is certainly incorrect, for the Xazars contain groups of different national and linguistic origin, as did all the nomadic groups reviewed thus far. But particularly in the case of the Xazars, two anthropologically different groups constituted the national body: one very dark, and the other fair-skinned and light in type; also their language is described as differing from Turkic but resembling that of the Bulgars. It might well be concluded that the dark type belonged to an Altajic-speaking group or groups, or perhaps to some of the post-Hunnic tribes whose names bear the suffix -γουροι. Some of these have been cited as belonging to ἡ μαύρη λεγομένη Βουλγαρία ("the so-called 'Black Bulgaria'", Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos), or the Սևորդիք Sevordik'—"black sons"—of the Armenians. They presumably spoke Hunnic, Hunno-Bulgarian, or Bulgaro-Turkic, while the light and fair-skinned people were probably of Finno-Ugric, perhaps Ugric and Proto-Hungarian origin or

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affinity. This is not entirely cogent, since, as we shall see later, the Turkic Qumans were evidently in the main fair-skinned, blue-eyed, and blonde-haired Turks. A North-Iranian (Alanic, Oset'i) substratum should not be excluded.

Despite the relatively high cultural level of the Xazar realm and its close ties with Byzantion, not a single line in the Xazarian language, not a single inscription has been found so far; no mention is made in historical sources of any Xazar writings, books, or literature.

The consolidation of the Xazar realm towards the end of the 7th century eliminated to a considerable degree, although not completely, the tribal anarchy existing in the wake of the disintegrating Hunnic and Avaric Empires. At least two tribal movements of foremost significance resulted, one going towards the Danube, the other up the Volga River. Κοβρᾶτος (Qubrat), ruler of the Κοτρίγουροι, who was baptized in Constantinople in 619, was able to shake off the Avar yoke and establish an independent realm on the eastern Pontic steppes, with its center of gravity on the Kubaň; it was called ἀρχὴ τῶν Οὐννογουνδούρων (state of the Unnogúnduroi), or ἡ Μεγάλη Βουλγαρία (Great Bulgaria). Later on, the third of Qubrat's five sons, Asparux, evading the threat of Xazar supremacy, started to migrate westward to the Danube, the frontier of the Byzantine Empire, which he finally crossed, thus forcing his way into Byzantine territory. In 679 he established himself on the pasture grounds between the Haimos (Balkan Mountains) and the Danube, with the acquiescence of Byzantion. The Bulgarians soon spread all over the two provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thrace. In their new home the Bulgars were to be found in the immediate neighborhood of Slavs, Greeks and, in the cities, Armenians as well. The most compact population around them was that of the Southern Slavs, so that with the progressive sedentarization of the Bulgars, efficiently supported by the Byzantines, the former in some 200 years underwent linguistic Slavization, and came under the strong cultural influence of Christianity and the Greek language and civilization. It was the "Inner Tribes", those of the ruling house and their most closely affiliated clans, which offered the longest resistance to sedentariness and Christianity. But a successful palace revolution by Xān Boris, in 864, brought the long-expected results. With this the Slavic language penetrated also into the Inner Tribes, and Altajic-Bulgarian was more and more replaced by Slavic. Thereupon the Bulgars became the first Slavic people to develop a literature, still preponderantly translations from Greek ecclesiastical texts, the Old-Church-Slavic literature which for a long time served as an example for all literary activity of the Southern and Eastern Slavic nations of Byzantine Orthodox faith. Prior to 864, the Bulgars had used Greek on the few Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions preserved in northeast Bulgaria. Only one inscription has been found so far which seems to be in Proto-Bulgarian; it is written in Greek script but is as yet uninterpreted. We must not neglect to mention that the ethnical type of the present-day Slavic-speaking Bulgarians exhibits very strong features of the High Asiatic or Altajic racial type, much more so than their immediate and eastern neighbors, the Osman-speaking Oγuz Turks of the Balkans and even Anatolia.

The tribal movement up the Volga River was also caused by pressure from the Xazars, who wanted to have the restless Hunno-Bulgarian tribes farther

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away from the center of the state. Thus, with considerable Xazar "support", those Hunno-Bulgarian tribes who, to a large degree, seem to have amalgamated by that time into a larger unit, retreated from the lower Volga and Don rivers to the region of the Volga-Kama confluent which had always been a crossroads for migrations and cultural exchanges. It is also famous for the previously-mentioned prehistoric Volga-Kama bronze and iron finds, characterized by the "Animal Style". Thus, Volga-Kama was a cultural colony of Majkop and the other sites of the Animal Style in the Caucasian lands, and probably the most important link for the latter with the Minusinsk basin in Southern Siberia. At the time of the Hunno-Bulgarian immigration, however, there were no remains from those times, since the Volga-Kama culture had evidently been destroyed long before by peoples forming part of the powerful expansion waves of Indo-European-speaking groups, probably early Iranians. In the Volga-Kama region the Hunno-Bulgarians were still under Xazaric influence but sufficiently remote to be checked. The Xazars evidently did not object to the penetration of Islam to this unrestful people, inasmuch as they adopted Islam in 922, the year Ibn-Faḍlān, the well-known Arabic traveller and emissary of the Caliph, made a journey along the Volga to visit them. His account of this trip is one of the best contemporary sources on those lands to come down to us.

The realm of those Hunno-Bulgars or Volga-Bulgars was politically destroyed by the Mongol conquest of the Volga region in 1236; later—in 1361—its remnants were incorporated into the realm of the Golden Horde. With the Mongolian conquest, the Turkicization of a certain part of the Volga-Bulgars set in, and Turks now began to come and settle down in greater numbers in that area. They were the later Turks of Qazan, the northern center of the Golden Horde. Another part of the Hunno-Bulgars remained relatively unassimilated by the Turks, and still exist as the Čuvaš (Ṭăvaš) nation. With and after the downfull of the Xazars in the second half of the 11th century, the Hunno-Bulgarian conglomerate which had remained in its later habitat along the Kubaň river, in so-called Black Bulgaria, i. e. in the southern part of the Xazar realm, were absorbed by those Turkic tribes which overran and destroyed the Xazar state and took possession of parts of Greater Xazaria. Some of their Turkicized descendants still exist under the name of Qarač'aj and Bałqar in the Caucasus, northeast of Mt. Elbrus. It was probably during the rule of the Golden Horde that they were gradually pushed out of the grasslands north of the Caucasus. Whether the tribal name of Bałqar is to be considered a continuation of Bułγar is not at all certain, especially in view of the Małqa river along which the Bałqar are (or were) living.

Those peoples who destroyed the Xazar realm and finally absorbed its population were the Päčänägs and Qumans, who laid the foundation for the population of Northwest-Turkic speech in Eastern Europe. In Islamic sources, these peoples are often called Qypčaq, the same name, of unknown etymology, by which the Eurasian plains are designated. However, the Turkic peoples who had marched on to the steppes of present-day Ukraine, long after the disintegration of the Hunnic Empire but evidently between the formation of the Bulgarian Tribal Confederacy and the invasion of Xazaria by the Qypčaqs, did not belong to the latter; they must originally have constituted

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the westernmost outpost of the Western Türküt Empire and thus belonged to one of the Oγuz Confederacies. They are better known through the Old-Russian chronicles, although the latter furnish no information about their earlier whereabouts. At the end of the 9th century, when the Magyars marched through the Pontic steppes and crossed the Dnepr near Kijev in 898, on their way westward to Pannonia, those Oγuzic Turks were evidently already located there. In the Old-Russian chronicles a number of tribes are mentioned, such as the Торъци (Torъci), who were apparently the strongest among them and had a kind of leading position, the Берендѣи (Berenději), the Ковуи (Kovuji), the Турпѣи (Turpěji), and the Каепичи (Kajepiči: "sons of Qaj(y)-opa"). If the sequence given by the Old-Russian chronicles is correct, the Kovuji, Turpěji, and Kajepiči appeared later than the Päčänägs and Половьци (Polovьci = Qumans), and this would probably mean that they were not Oγuzic tribes but belonged to the Qypčaq group. This latter assumption would be corroborated by the form of the name Ковуи if that name derives from the word for swan, *qoγu*, *quγu*, (>)**quvu* > *qū*, as the totem animal of that tribe, and thus exhibits the typical Qypčaq development of γ to *v* (cf. more about this in K. H. Menges, "The Oriental Elements in the Old-Russian Igoŕ Tale", p. 1ff.). According to the Old Russian Annals, the Torъci served as auxiliaries in 985 for Great Prince Vladimir of Kijev, the later Saint Vladimir, in his campaign against the Bulgars. The bodyguard of Vladimir, as of many other Great Princes of Kijev, was made up of Torъci. They had their quarrels with Old-Russian princes of other cities, as for instance with Vsevołod, by whom they were beaten in 1055; five years later they suffered a crushing defeat by the three united princes: Vsevołod, Iźasław, and Svatosław, from which the tribe never recovered. But in the meantime, much more dangerous enemies of the ancient Russians had already moved on to the Trans-Dneprian steppes and into the immediate neighborhood of the Old-Russian principalities: the Päčänägs (the Πατζινακῖται of the Byzantines), and following on their heels the Połovьci or Qumans. The steppes of Central Asia seem to have been an inexhaustible reservoir of most dangerous enemies for non-nomadic mankind. Around 862 the Päčänägs—the Old-Russian form Печенѣгъ would suggest a closed *e* in the last syllable: Päčäneg—appeared on the Don, pressed from the east by the Oγuz, as Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos and Mas'ūdī have reported. But up to 948 some of their tribes were found on the steppes between the Volga and Jajyq. All through the 10th and a considerable portion of the 11th century, the Päčänägs roamed about the steppes between Dnepr and Volga. In the middle of the 11th century, the Qumans appeared in this area. After having overrun and finally destroyed the Xazar realm in 1030–50, as Ibnu-'l-Aþīr reports, they were now on their way to drive the Päčänägs off the lands between the Volga and the Danube. According to Matt'ēos Uŕhajec'i, in 1050–51, at the "[people of the] Snakes" (*avzic'n* աւձից), the Uz and the Pacinnakk' were beaten by the Fallow Ones (Խարտեշք *Xartēšk'*, the "Blonde, Fallow" = Połovьci; cf. K. H. Menges, "Igoŕ-Tale", p. 1–14). Where this took place is unknown. Already by 1055, five years before the great defeat of the Torъci, the Qumans had appeared in the immediate neighborhood of the Russians, who were defeated by them in 1061. In 1080, the Torъci came from east of the Dnepr, hard-pressed by the Päčänägs and

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Qumans, from Perejasłavl' and the Trubež river, but were defeated by Vladimir Vsevołodovič. The power and drive of the Fallow increased so much that the Päčänägs became their allies with the aim of defeating the Old-Russian principalities as well as Byzantion itself. This alliance suddenly assumed the most threatening aspect. Both tribal groups marched united into Bulgaria for the great attack against the East Roman Empire in May 1091. The Byzantines, who at that time had no strength whatsoever, succeeded in persuading the Xān of the Qumans to side with them by promising him all the spoils of war. Thus, in the battle on the Marica, the Päčänägs suffered their final defeat, after which they were massacred mercilessly. Only a few scattered groups escaped to Pannonia and settled among the Hungarians, where the name of the *Bäšäňő̄* (Besenyő) still lives on. The Qumans returned to the Pontic steppes where they began to harass the Russians. In the years 1095 to 1105 the Torъci were often still mentioned as auxiliaries against the Połovьci. In 1096–7, the Torъci, Berendĕji, and some Päčänäg groups which had not participated in the proposed war against Byzantion, were engaged in fighting with the Russians. In 1105 the Torъci and Berendĕji were beaten by the Quman Xān Boňaq (Бонякъ); in the 12th century the name of the Torъci ceased to be mentioned. The Berendĕji were finally vanquished by Vladimir Monomax (who ruled until 1125); in the 12th century their name too disappeared. During the 12th century the power of the Połovьci was steadily growing all over the steppes east of the Dnepr. Their relations with the Russians were partly of a friendly, partly of a hostile nature; intermarriages were not at all uncommon. In 1185 the Old-Russian prince Igoŕ Śvatosłavič marched against them; after an initial success he was utterly defeated by Xān Qončaq. This exploit has been sung in the Igoŕ-Tale, the Слово о Пълку Игоревѣ, the only Old-Russian text of a completely secular nature.

In the first years of the 13th century, the Połovьci again marched southwestward into Bulgaria and Thrace, and tried to establish a stronghold in the latter. When in 1202 Roman Mstisłavič of Galič invaded their territory, they hastily returned to the Pontic steppes. Very soon afterward the Mongolian menace began to draw near. In the beginning of the third decade of the 13th century, the Mongolian armies started their invasion of the Pontic steppes. Xān Kötän (Котянъ), who had survived the first battles with the Mongolians preceding that of the Kałka, was the father-in-law of Mstisłav Mstisłavič of Galič; he asked the latter for the support of the Russian princes against the Mongolians. The South Russian princes met under Mstisłav in Kijev and agreed on an attack against the Mongols. At that time the Quman Xān Basty was baptized. The Russians, along with the Połovьci, drove the Mongolians back from the Dnepr as far east as the Kałka River, but disagreements among the Russian princes caused their own and the Połovьcis' defeat (1223 or 1224). Xān Qončaq's son Юрьгии, Jurьgii (Örgü, Ürgö?) was the Ju-li-ĝjä who figures in the biography of Čiŋgis Qaγan's general, Sübūtäj, contained in the Jüan-Šy, the Dynastic Annals of the Mongolian (Jüan) Dynasty, as one of the two chiefs who had been beaten on the river Ḅu-czu (-ḥo) by the Mongols under Sübūtäj.

The Połovьci also had relations with Georgia; for example, David III, the "Renewer" (1089–1125), had married a Quman princess. Quman groups served

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as auxiliaries in the Georgian army and helped defeat the Sałǯuqs in 1121. In 1206 Queen T'amara, in alliance with the Połovьci, vanquished the Sałǯuqs of Qonija.

The Połovьci were apparently preponderantly pagan, not Muslim like the Volga-Bulgars. No Muslim names for the Połovьci are known; some of their names were Christian, for instance Jurij Končakovič, or Daniił Kob'akovič, who fell in the Kałka battle. Probably those Qypčaqs who had been brought or sold to Mamlūk Egypt had become Islamized only in Egypt, having previously been pagan. In the middle of the 14th century, the Berber Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the famous Arabic traveller and geographer, landed on the "steppe of Qypčaq", opposite Kerč (al-Karš). He later stated in his book that the Qypčaqs were Christians. This was not long after the only text in the Quman language, the *Codex Cumanicus* of 1303, had been written, somewhere in the Crimea. But it would seem that in the 12th century the Qypčaqs were still preponderantly pagan. This can be inferred from the Old-Russian chronicles; also Bishop Vasilios of Edessa, in 1142, referred to them and the Päčänägs as pagan.

We may well assume that the Połovьci suffered from the Mongol invasion and the establishment of Mongolian supremacy over Eurasia much more than the Russians. They did not lose their freedom and independence, but as a people they disappeared quite soon from the Pontic steppes; evidently some of them were drawn into the Turkic tribal groups that had moved into the Volga region with and soon after the Mongolian invasion; some of them moved westward and were soon absorbed by the Russians; only a few tribes, each of them probably small in number, survived along the Pontic north-coast which continued to be part of the Byzantine Empire, along with a number of Western, Genoese and Venetian, trade colonies. These tribal groups were the Qypčaqs designated as Christian by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and it was for them that the *Codex Cumanicus* was written. For linguistic reasons, there can be little doubt that a great part, if not all, of the Qarajīm in the Crimea and the extreme western part of the Soviet Union are of Quman origin.

The Old Russian name Połovьci is only the equivalent of the name by which they are designated in western sources: Valvi, Valwen, etc., and the Xartēšk' of Matt'ēos Uŕhajec'i. It is undoubtedly a translation of the name Quman by which they are also designated, and which is possibly their original tribal name derived from the Turkic *quba*: "yellow-red, reddish, yellowish". This referred to the color of their hair, which distinguished them from the great majority of Altajic-speaking peoples. In Hungarian they are called *Kūn*, plural *Kūn-ok*, a form not uncommon in Hungarian place and family names, inasmuch as the Qumans seem to have survived the longest in Hungary, where they arrived after the Päčänägs and in greater numbers, probably only after the Mongolian invasion. The Qumans seem to have originally formed part of a larger Mongolian tribal confederacy, the Śi (< **Qaj*), 奚, which had also once belonged to the 鮮卑 Śjän-ḅi Confederacy. As I have shown in my study on the Igoŕ-Tale, the name of the Qumans can be traced back to that of the 庫莫奚 K'u-mo-śi (< **K'o-māg-qaj*), the older name of the Śi. Before moving west they must have been living in northeastern Mongolia, east of those Qyrqyz who had taken over the Ujγur Empire on the Orxon. The form **Qūn* which underlies the Hungarian *Kūn* may be either a contraction of

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**Quba-n* or a survival of the **Qūn* mentioned by Bērūnī, which MARKWART connects with one of the earliest forms under which the Jenisej Qyrqyz are mentioned in the Chinese sources, 堅 昆 Gjän-kʻun. The tertium comparationis which gives this comparison considerable weight is the fact that these early Qyrqyz are described by the Chinese as "green-eyed, fair-skinned, and blonde". The Połovьci-Qumans, along with the ancient Jenisej-Qyrqyz, are the two outstanding examples of blonde, fair-skinned, blue-eyed peoples within an overwhelming mass of peoples belonging to the High Asiatic (or Altajic, Mongolian) race. Some slight traces of an underlying fair-skinned and blonde or reddish population are found in the Minusinsk basin, where they still are very occasionally encountered. But at the time of such explorers as PALLAS in the 1770's and CASTRÉN and RADLOFF in the 1840's and 1860's, they were somewhat more numerous, for instance among the Saγaj, Qojbał, and certain other subdivisions of those people speaking Abaqan-Turkic (cf. on this: K. H. MENGES, "Zum Stammesnamen der Saγaj", in *C.A.J.*, 6, 1960, pp. 110ff.). These definitely un-Altajic, non-Mongolian racial features, suggesting European or Europaeoid affinities with some ancient Central Asiatic peoples, are to be linked with far-flung eastward migrations of Skythai or Skythoid populations as the latest wave of such movements, and with an older—perhaps much older—expansion of Mediteranneo-Caucasian, Palaeo-European peoples whose descendants are probably the Jenisejians (or Jenisej-Ostjaks) and their older, now extinct, South Jenisejic relatives, the Kotts, Ara, and Asa. While there is now substantial archeological evidence of a dolicho-cephalic Europaeoid Skythian migratory wave, which came to a standstill around the first century A.D., the Jenisejic languages, still insufficiently explored with regard to their affinities, exhibit features clearly pointing to a Palaeo-Caucasian origin. All this evidence points to older, in part very archaic links with Ancient Europe from which fair-skinned, blonde-haired people must have migrated towards Central Asia, not only in the person of the Toxarians, but prior, and possibly long prior, to them. The problem of Americanoid racial features found among the Turks of the Minusinsk basin will be touched upon later. For details concerning the above passage, cf. J. MARKWART's "Über das Volkstum der Komanen", Abhdlgn der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1914, pp. 25–241, and the two review articles on this work, by P. PELLIOT: "A Propos des Comans", *J.A.*, série XI, vol. 15, pp. 125–185, 1920; and V. V. BARTOL'D, "Novyj Trud o Połovcax" in Russkij Istoričeskij Žurnał, 1921, pp. 138–156, handily found in H. H. SCHAEDER's Introduction to J. MARKWART's "Wehrot und Arang", pp. 25*–51*, 1938; further, K. H. MENGES, "Igoŕ-Tale", as quoted.

Činǧis Qaγan's grandson Batu (who ruled from 1227–1255), son of Činǧis Qaγan's eldest son Žoči, tried to extend far to the west the frontiers of his father's share of Činǧis Qaγan's empire, going through southern Poland into Silesia. Emerging victorious in the Battle of Liegnitz (1241), he then retreated through the Balkans to Saraj, the Mongolian capital on the lower Volga near Astraxan, to be present in the same year in Qara-Qorum for the election of the new Great Qaγan after Ögädäj's death. Batu, although he could not incorporate Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Balkans into the Mongolian Empire, completed the Mongolian conquest in the west and consolidated the ułus of Žoči which was soon called the realm of the Golden Horde or Qypčaq,

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extending from Eastern Poland and Moldavia toward the Yrtyš, while the frontiers with the ulus of Čaγataj ran along the lower courses of Amu and Syr-darja. At first Xwārazm belonged to the Golden Horde, but was lost in 1262–5 to the ulus of Čaγataj. In the north of the empire, no frontier existed. The Caucasian kingdoms and almost all of Asia Minor with its Salǯuqid successor-states recognized the sovereignty of the Golden Horde. In Western Asia matters changed in 1260, when the Mongolian successor-state of the Il-Xāns in Persia took possession of the former Salǯuq territories, so that Därbänd and the Terek became the frontiers between the Golden Horde and the empire of the Il-Xāns. In contradistinction to some of the preceding passages, I have not enlarged on the history of the Golden Horde, especially since this subject has been well known since the appearance of B. Spuler's standard work on the history of the Golden Horde and P. Pelliot's review book, "Note sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or", which contains a great number of most valuable linguistical observations on Altajic tribal names and terms.

Unlike the other successor-states of Činǧis Qaγan's empire, that of the Golden Horde, despite its Islamic creed, did not achieve a cultural unity supporting its political system; hence it easily disintegrated in the 15th century into virtually independent states, smaller xanates, those of Qazan, Astraxan, the Crimea, the Noγajs, Western Siberia, and that of Qāsimov-Meščersk on the lower Oka. While the latter had always been a Muscovite protectorate, the Golden Horde was annihilated as a political power by the Russian conquest of Qazan in 1552, and Astraxan in 1556, under Ivan IV, the Terrible. Then followed the xanate of West Siberia and later that of the Crimea, which latter could lean for quite some time upon the Osman Empire.

It was under the realm of the Golden Horde that the Tatars and the Noγajs came into their later habitat. Both names are of Mongolian origin. Noγaj goes back to Mongolian *noqaj, noxaj* = "dog", probably since the dog was the totem of the Mongolian tribal groups which originally bore that name. The name of the Tatars first appears in the Orxon inscriptions; the Kül-Tegin monument mentions only the Otuz-Tatar ("Thirty Tatars"), while in the Chinese texts the Tatars, Ḍa-t'an 達旦, Ḍa-Ḍa 韃靼, do not occur before 842, which is quite late. In the Dynastic Annals of the Qyṭaň and Ǯürčen their name is rarely found. In its place Czu-ḅu 阻卜, Czu-p'u 阻鞊, are used, a term which resembles the Tibetan designation for the Mongols, Sogbo. The Tatars were originally and basically a Mongolian tribal confederation of major importance among Činǧis Qaγan's tribes. Later on, after the Mongolian campaigns up to the Volga basin, the Turkic groups, which had come with and after the Mongolian armies, were assigned to the Mongolian Tatar tribe, and therefore assumed this name as their over-all designation—a recurrent feature of the tribal history of Eurasia. The Tatars were distinguished by region into those of Qazan, Astraxan, the Crimea, Qāsimov-Meščersk, and Western Siberia. The Tatars centered in and around the former realm of the Volga-Bulgarians, on the estuary of the Volga and on the northern approaches to the Crimea. The Noγajs seem to have originated from a tribal group under Ämīr Noγaj of the Golden Horde (1280?–1299), who was a descendant of Ǯoči-Xān; down to the 19th century they lived all over the Ponto-Caspian steppes between the

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Caspian and the Dobruža. After the downfall of the Golden Horde, the Noγajs were divided into a northern group, the "Small" Noγaj and a southern group, the "Great" Noγaj. The former were the close neighbors of the Bašqurts and the West Siberian Tatars; the latter were at that time on the Syr-darja, where they were joined by the Maŋγyt-Noγaj who had originally been Mongolian Maŋγyts and had once formed one of the main groups of Ämīr Noγaj on the steppes north of the Black Sea. Following the trend of their eastward (return) migration into the Aral steppes, the Qara-Qalpaqs and the Özbeks apparently also returned from the Pontic steppes and the Volga basin respectively. At that time (16th century) the Small Noγajs had already moved far westward. Most of the Great Noγajs followed soon afterward, attracted by the xāns of the Crimea. Today, except for the above-mentioned groups between Kuma and Terek and near Mineral'nyje Vody, there are only a few Noγajs left in the Dobruža, once the refuge of those Noγajs who had been living in the western Ukraine and Bessarabia and who wanted to remain subjects of the Osman Sultans after their former territory had become part of Russia.

The Bašqurts apparently did not participate in any of the major and spectacular movements of Altajic tribes, but they too once lived or roamed farther to the east, in Western Siberia. They moved into their present habitat probably not later than the time of the consolidation of the Golden Horde, when the Noγajs were also forcefully pushing westward. As late as the 9th century, relic groups of the Alans were living in the territory the Bašqurts inhabit today, but these were soon absorbed by various westward-moving Turkic tribes. The first mention of the Bašqurts was by Ibn Faḍlān in 922, at a time when they belonged to the Volga-Bulgarian empire. In 1236 all of the Bašqurt tribes came under Mongolian power, and later formed part of the realm of the Golden Horde. With the disintegration of the latter, the Bašqurts' territory was divided into three parts, pertaining respectively to the xanats of Qazan, the Noγajs, and West Siberia.

As to the racial features of the Bašqurts, they may be said to be strikingly heterogeneous; no other people in their entire surroundings has as many characteristics pointing to repeated admixtures from the east as well as the west and north. Apart from outspokenly Mongolian, i. e. High Asiatic, features, the ones indicative of ancient Uralic and Skytho-Sarmato-Alanic influences are most noticeable. The Bašqurt language, too, has similar features indicative of heterogeneous influences which will be discussed later.

The continuous Russian eastward expansion, which gained momentum with the weakening of the Golden Horde, displaced and finally absorbed a number of Turkic and non-Turkic peoples living east and southeast of the Russians. Thus the Volga region and the major portion of the Pontic steppes were finally taken over by the Eastern Slavs, the later Russians and Ukrainians. Much the same happened to the Ural region and Western Siberia, most of the steppes north of the Caucasus, and certain latitudinal strips of Central and Eastern Siberia. This Russian movement has not yet come to an end.

But it was not only the Russians who displaced Turkic tribes from the Ponto-Caspian steppes; in 1632, Qalmyq tribal groups of the Torγut and Dörböt, who had migrated, in 1616, from the Dzungarian realm in Western Mongolia, the southern Altaj, and Dzungaria proper, reached the lower Volga

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and Don estuaries. As they were soon followed by additional Qalmyq tribes, the Qalmyqs now became a new power in the Volga-Don triangle. Their friendly relations with Russia contributed essentially to the expansion of Russian supremacy in these areas, the adjacent Caucasus, and even further east toward Persia and Xwārazm. In contradistinction to the other, Turkic, nomadic groups, the Qalmyqs professed Buddhism in its Lamaist form. After the Mongolian invasions, the Qalmyqs made the last of the larger westward movements of Altajians. In 1771, after dissensions with St. Petersburg, about two-thirds of the Qalmyqs reemigrated to Dzungaria. Unfortunately, this proved to be a death march for most of them, since hostile Qazaq tribes robbed them of almost all of their cattle and possessions. When the survivors reached Chinese territory in Dzungaria, they found none of their Qalmyq brother tribes left following the Chinese annihilation of the Dzungarian realm. On the Ponto-Caspian steppes the Qalmyqs controlled that part between Emba and Don; only later were they pushed out of the area between Emba and Ural by the Qazaqs, and finally also out of the area between Ural and Volga, so that Qazaq tribes of the horde of Bökäj were roaming on both sides of the Volga estuary, but without penetrating westward into Qalmyq territory. The earlier Volga-Tatar inhabitants of the lower Volga and its estuaries had been forced out of this area or absorbed by the Qalmyqs who had also made a strong wedge between the different Noγaj groups and between the eastern Noγaj tribes and the Crimean Tatar xanate. The Qalmyqs had likewise put an end to Čerkes aspirations concerning Astraxan (which they had taken in 1532 and held on to for a few years), and they had control for quite a long period over the northern access to the Caucasus, extending their power as far as eastern Daghestan, where the Turkic Qumuqs were their vassals.

The territory of present-day Qazaqistan was the scene of successive, almost unceasing, Altajic migrations from east to west. While with the disappearance of the Huns and the Avars (4th–6th centuries A.D.) this territory had been held by Turkic groups, it was only after the disintegration of the ułus of Čaγataj, under the last Timurid rulers, that Qazaqistan's Turkic population ceased to change essentially. As the vague term *qazaq* indicates (WB, Ča., Qn., Crimean [Qrm.] "free, independent man; vagabond; he who seeks adventures; unmarried"—besides also being one which designates peoples: "the Qazaq", "the Cossacks", and therefore with the Altaj-Turks, i. e. the Ałtaj-kiži, Teleut, Lebed', "the Russians"), these steppes, which most of the time were remote from any firm control, were the ideal gathering place for all kinds of rebels, dissidents, insurrectionists, irregulars who had deserted from their armies, adventurers, and robbers, whether on a tribal or an individual level, so that these steppes were generally rife with danger, including political danger. Long after the Russian conquest of Türkistan, completed by the occupation of Taškent and Samarqand (1867–1873—the official date of the annexation of Türkistan is February 17/March 2, 1865), the steppes, i. e. present-day Qazaqistan, remained only loosely and nominally connected with the Russian Empire. It was there that in 1916 the huge Turkic-Islamic insurrection broke out. Only after the establishment of Soviet power did these steppes come under firm control. The Qazaq people and language are of heterogeneous origin: they consist primarily of various Oγuz and Qypčaq elements in which,

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finally, as the language demonstrates, the Qypčaq ones definitely gained predominance, so that the present Qazaq language belongs to the southeastern, i. e. Aralo-Caspian, branch of the Northwest-Turkic or Qypčaq languages. As in numbers, the Qazaq are at least as strong as the Tatars, and almost on a par with the Özbeks, the three latter being the most numerous Turkic peoples of the Soviet Union.

In the Amu-darja delta and along the lower course of this river live the Qara-Qałpaq—173,000 people according to Baskakov—who also belonged to one of the major tribal confederacies under the Golden Horde and the "Great" Noγajs. It is quite possible that they were in part descended from the Čьrnii Kłobuci, Чьрнии Клобуци, who were first mentioned in the Old-Russian chronicles as living in the steppes near Kijev, east of the Dnepr. Since the 17th century, the Qara-Qałpaq and the Qypčaq-Özbeks have, to some degree, gone over to agriculture, but they have never completely abandoned their nomadism. The differences between Qara-Qałpaq and Qazaq are so insignificant that the former can really be considered a dialect of the latter, notwithstanding the influence some Qara-Qałpaq dialects have undergone from Türkmen and Özbek. A few small groups of Qara-Qałpaq live in the diaspora near Xīwa, in the region of Astraxan, near Qokand in Farγāna, and even in Afghanistan. Neither the exact location nor the population figures for these groups seem to be available. In its division into northeastern and southwestern dialects, Qara-Qałpaq shows a few transitional features from Qazaq to Türkmen. The dialects of Astraxan, Farγāna and Afghanistan have not been investigated as yet.

The Qazaqs are very close relatives of the Qypčaq-Özbeks or the Özbeks proper, who are direct descendants of those Özbeks who migrated back from the eastern part of the Ponto-Caspian steppes toward Xwārazm. They originated from the eastern tribes of the ułus of Ǯoči, the "White or Blue Horde", in the domain of one of Ǯoči's two sons, Šajban, and probably derived their name from the Ämīr Özbek of the Golden Horde (1330–1340), in whose army they may have served. As in the case of so many other tribes, this is not at all well attested, and is complicated, moreover, by the fact that the Özbek, too, were originally not an ethnical and linguistic unit, but a political one. The diversity of their ethnical composition is well illustrated by their tribal and clan names; among almost 100 known names, there are found the most famous Turkic and Mongolian tribal names and still other ones which point to the Qara-Qytaj and even the Tangut. Although the latter belonged to the Tibeto-Burman language group, and had once established an empire (in 1032, the Śi-Śja, 西夏, to which numerous Ujγurs had fled in and after 940), for Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī Taŋgut was "a language and a Turkic (sic) tribe near China". As a state, the Taŋgut realm existed from 852 to 1227, the year of Čiŋgis Qaγan's death, which occurred during one of his arduous campaigns against the Taŋguts. The latter were mentioned in the 5th century in the Ƀej-Šy, and in 734 on the Turko-Chinese inscription of Qošo-Cajdam. Later the Özbeks, under the xān Moḥammad Šajbānī, marched on Buxārā and Samarqand. With the conquest of the latter, in 1499, they usurped the power in the Türkistan part of the empire of the Timurids. They pushed the Čaγatajid Bābur-Xān out of all of Türkistan. After his defeat in Farγāna, in the years 1508–9, he marched through Kābulistān and across the mountains into Hindūstān,

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where he established Čaγatajid, and hence Činggisid, rule over the northern half of India. This dynasty, which is called that of the Great Moghuls, remained in power until the British conquest of India, de jure even as late as 1857. Šajbānī, who wanted to have himself proclaimed the Caliph and to extend his power over Persia, which he attacked, was killed in battle against Šāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī (1510). In and around the cities, the Özbek language was slowly assimilated into that of the Čaγataj-speaking Turkic population of Western Türkistan, which itself had been exposed to a long and direct contact with the language of the Iranian population. This language was Persian, which had largely replaced Soγdian after the Islamic conquest of Soγdiana (from the 8th century on). While the modern Özbek literary language still leans strongly on Čaγataj, which down to the Russian Revolution was the literary language of all of Türkistan—also exerting considerable influence upon the Qazan-Tatars—and while it shows only a few features of definitely Qypčaq origin, the Özbek dialects clearly exhibit the different degrees of Iranization, mirroring their transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life (cf. infra). After their invasion of Türkistan and the consolidation of their power there, the Özbeks established their own rulers, separate from those in Samarqand, in Qokand and also in Buxārā and Xīwa, the oasis region of Xwārazm. There they came into conflict with the Türkmens and occasionally with the Qazaqs. The fight with the Türkmens over Xwārazm in the 16th century caused the impoverishment and finally the decay of that realm, from which it never actually recovered. The Türkmen influence in Xwārazm is clearly recognizable in the typical Türkmen features of the Özbek dialect of Xīwa (cf. infra).

After the abolition of Čaγatajid rule in Türkistan at the beginning of the 16th century, the Türkmens were constantly being torn apart by neighboring and rival powers: the Özbeks and Persians; occasionally the Qazaqs and the xānates of Xīwa and Buxārā. This situation prevailed until the pacification of the Türkmen tribal groups by the Russians, which process actually came to an end only in 1904, after the sanguinary battle at Gök-Tepä. Since that time, the Oγuzic Türkmens have been compelled to remain more or less within the territory they presently inhabit. As recently as the 1920's Türkmen tribes have repaired to qyšlaqs ("winter camps") as far south as Balūčistān, so that the northern frontiers of Persia actually existed for them only on the map, until a most rigid surveillance of all border regions was put into effect by the Soviets. The great majority of the Oγuzic Türkmens live in the narrow, stretched-out irrigation zone along the northern slopes of the Köpet-dagh and the Trans-Caspian railroad, with fewer groups living along the Amu-darja, especially its lower course in Xwārazm, near Xīwa.

Through groups speaking Oγuzic dialects, usually most closely related to those of Āzerī, and who live scattered almost all over northern and Central Persia, the Türkmens are connected with their close Oγuzic relatives in the west, the Āzerī, named after their last and present habitat, the ancient Aryan land of Āzerbājǰān, Ἀτροπατήνη in Greek, Āđarbāđgān in Pahlavī, and Atrpatakan in Armenian, meaning "the Abode of the Fire"— unless this is a popular etymology for an older, non-Iranian name dating back to a period at the end of which a South-Caucasian people, the Albanians, Ալուանք Alvankʿ, Ἀλβανοί or الران were living in that area. During the period of Sāsānian, and

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later, Arabic rule over Āzerbājǯān, the population apparently became heavily interspersed with Persians, by whom it was finally absorbed. After Altajians, from the Huns and Avars on, had repeatedly marched into and through Āzerbājǯān, the first ones to remain there were Oγuzic Turks who had invaded the land with the Sałǯuq conquest in the 11th century. Since that time, the Turkic population of Āzerbājǯān has remained relatively stable, occasionally infiltrated by Osman and Türkmen-speaking groups. This stability appears to be a very surprising fact at first glance, especially in view of the extremely fast-moving stream of history in which so many and quite different peoples were involved. But this becomes more understandable when we consider the relatively late appearance of the Turks and their relative homogeneity of descendancy from the Oγuz Tribal Confederacy. Later on, neither the Mongols nor Timur-Läŋk, with his Čaγatajians and Mongols, left any major detectable ethnic or linguistic traces. Early Hunnic, Avaric, Xazaric, Päčänäg and Qumanic traces which must surely have once existed are no longer discernible at all. As the history of Āzerbājǯān is quite well known, I will not dwell on it here.

North of the Āzerbājǯān language area and of the main chain of the Great Caucasus, live the Qumuq on the northern, northeastern, and eastern slopes of the Daghestanian Caucasus between the foothills and the Caspian Sea, from Därbänd to Aǯy-Su, not far from the lower Terek river. While in the south they are confined to a rather narrow strip, in the north they fan out a little towards the Terek river. The middle part of their territory, between Därbänd and Maḫač'-Qał'a, is interrupted by a strip of Hürkilinian (Dargwa), extending from the mountains towards the coast. This language belongs to the Lakk'-Dargwa sib of the Daghestanian or Northeast–Caucasian languages. On the lower Terek they are separated by a not too large strip of desert-like steppes from the bulk of the Noγaj. The Qumuqs speak a Qypčaq language which, apart from a few influences coming from immediate Caucasian neighbors, has quite a number of southwestern, Āzerī, features. Ethnically, the Qumuqs are probably predominantly Caucasian, having undergone Turkization at different epochs beginning with the period under the Turkic contingents of the later, so-called pseudo-Avars, and ending with the different phases of the realm of the Golden Horde, the latter becoming the determining Turkic element. There exist Qumuq villages linguistically Daghestanian in origin, among them even some of Čečenian population (whom the Qumuq call Mičiγyš). As a remainder of the Arab domination over Daghestan, the Qumuqs were ruled together with a number of northeastern and eastern Daghestan peoples by the so-called Šamxal, who originally resided in the mountains of the Lakk', who were also called Qazy (Γāzī)-Qumuq. In 1578 the latter shook off the rule of the Šamxal, who shifted the scene of his activity to Bujnaq, and after 1640 to Tarxu, said to have once been a fortress of the Xazars. Throughout their existence, the Šamxals recognized Persian sovereignty. In 1725, the year of Peter I's death, the Russians put an end to the rule of the Šamxals, and from that time on Russian influence grew steadily. The Qumuq participated in the Mürīdist insurrection under the Imām Šāmīl (1834–59), but did not play a leading role in it. When the insurrection was finally put down by the Russians in 1859, after a quarter of a century of fighting in Daghestan, the Qumuqs, along with the Daghestanians, were incorporated into the Russian Empire.

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Even more than the steppe wastelands, the high mountain regions offer ideal refuge, and are therefore reservoirs of peoples and languages, thus enabled to preserve themselves for a long period of time, even for ages. In the Caucasus, the Qarač'aj and Bałqars survived in this manner, as did the Qumuqs, all of them protected by the nearby mountains. In the same way, the T'ien-Shan mountains of Central Asia proved to be a safe refuge for a number of peoples. Like those East-Iranian peoples who have survived up to the present in the Ałaj, Qara Tegin, and Pamir, the Qyrqyz have survived in the T'ien-Shan, where they are the northern neighbors of the New-Ujγurs of Chinese Türkistan and the Tarim basin, the eastern neighbors of the Özbeks, the southern neighbors of the Qazaqs. The Qyrqyz were first mentioned in Chinese sources as early as 201 B.C. under the names of Ǧo-K'un 鬲昆, Ǧjän-K'un 堅昆, and later, in the T'aŋ-Šu, as Ǧjä-ĝu, 結骨, Ḥo-ĝu, 紇骨, or Ḥja-ĝ'ja-szъ 轄戛斯, and indicated as living in the Minusinsk area. They are described by the Chinese in the T'aŋ-Šu as having definitely Europaeoid features, green (blue) eyes, red hair, and white skin. Prior to their Turkicization, which began in the Minusinsk basin under the influence of the Türküt and the Ujγurs, their southern, southwestern, and southeastern neighbors, they probably spoke a Jenisejic language—which does not mean that Jenisejic was their primordial language. In 840, they overthrew the Ujγur Empire, but had to retreat before the Qyṭaň (Ljao) in the early 10th century, when the latter forcefully expanded into Central Asia. While from the time of Qyṭaň expansion on, exact data about their further whereabouts are lacking, it is quite possible that as early as the 10th century, some Qyrqyz tribes moved westward into the eastern T'ien-Shan, which at that time still belonged to their short-lived empire. Additional Qyrqyz tribes followed them sooner or later, especially during the time of the Mongolian campaigns when, with the defeat of the Mongolian Käräjit and Najman, shifts and ensuing migrations took place along the northern fringes of the eastern part of the Central Asiatic plateaux. In the middle of the 13th century, Wilhelm von Rubruck, special envoy of the Pope to the Great Qaγan in Qara-Qorum, mentioned that the Qyrqyz were living north of Qara-Qorum, i. e. still in the region of their first historical movement. By the time of the disintegration of the Timurid Empire, they seem to have reached the T'ien-Shan area in greater numbers. Only after the crisis caused by the attaining of independence of Moγulistan, as this northern part of Čaγataj's ulus is called, the eastern Qazaq hordes emerged, along with the Qyrqyz of the T'ien-Shan. However, during the internecine strife among the Timurids of Moγulistan, a great portion of the Qyrqyz seems to have succumbed to the forces of aggression. During the first part of the 16th century, they were important allies of the Qazaqs, and in the struggle against Moγulistan they also supported Ḥaqq-Naẓar-Xān, who at that period ruled not only over the Qazaqs and Qyrqyz but also the Noγajs. Ḥaqq-Naẓar was not able to take Taškent and defeat the Timurids, or to defend his empire in the east against the repeated incursions of the West-Mongolian Ojrats (or Qalmyqs). Thus the Qazaqs were forced to retreat northwestward to the steppes, and the Qyrqyz took to the high valleys of the T'ien-Shan ranges. In 1703, the Ojrats of the now consolidating Dzungarian Empire (Qalmyq *зөөγar* = "left hand or left wing of the army") in northwestern Mongolia and Dzungaria forced the last

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Qyrqyz tribal groups remaining in the Altaj to emigrate to the region between the Bałqaš Lake and the T'ien-Shan, where after about twenty years the Ojrats were also to exert pressure. It was then that the Ojrats, under the Xān Gałdan Cereŋ (1727–1749), drove Qyrqyz tribes temporarily out of the T'ien-Shan into Farγāna and the Ałaj; some Ojrat spearheads penetrated as far west as the Pamir and Badaxšān. The Qyrqyz returned to the T'ien-Shan soon after the great defeat of the Ojrats under Amursana (1757) by the Manchu-Chinese. From that time on, the Qyrqyz seem to have remained in the region where they are still located at the present time, i. e. mainly the high valleys of the western T'ien-Shan, the Pamir, Ałaj, and even the northwestern K'un-Lun and Qara-Qorum ranges. Since 1867 the great majority of the Qyrqyz have been under Russian supremacy.

Of all their Turkic neighbors, it was the Qazaqs with whom they had the closest contacts. Thus these influenced the Qyrqyz language, and especially the literary language of recent date, inasmuch as the models and guides for the new literary language and literature which the Qyrqyz were establishing at that time had to be taken from their northern neighbors, the Qazaqs. The Qyrqyz language, in its T'ien-Shan habitat, acquired a number of northwestern features representing isoglosses with the Qazaq and other Aralo-Caspian and Northwestern languages, which prior to the movement out of the Jenisej region and northern Mongolia, it most certainly did not possess, for there the Qyrqyz were Turkicized by the Türküt and Ujγurs. On the other hand, as we shall point out later, it is improbable that the majority of the typically Northwestern linguistic features originated prior to the Mongolian campaigns. Therefore, it is quite difficult to assign to modern Qyrqyz a definite position in either the Northwestern or Central Asiatic groups.

A number of Turkic tribes are known historically to have been living in the T'ien-Shan area in a larger sense, prior to the arrival of the Qyrqyz. However, no literary remnants are extant from any of these tribes, so that it is impossible to determine their exact position in the various Turkic groups.

To the northwest of the Qyrqyz, the Kimäk were soon displaced westward, evidently by West-Türküt, resp., Oγuz tribes, until their traces were lost on the Aralo-Caspian steppes, where they were apparently taken over and absorbed by some Qypčaq tribes—if they were not Proto-Qypčaq themselves. In addition to a tribe called Tatar, the Kimäk had one called Qypčaq. Possibly the tribe name goes back to an older Ikki Jimäk, as MARKWART believes, for one of their first tribes bore the name of Imäk. That not all Kimäk tribes moved out of the T'ien-Shan area is evidenced by a statement of Kāšγarī to the effect that the Jimäk were "with us", i. e. the Türks of Kāšγar of the middle of the 11th century, Qypčaqs, although they considered themselves different (edd. BROCKELMANN, p. 245). After this appeared the Qarłuq, who in 745 had helped to overthrow the qaγanate of the Eastern Türküt in the Orxon region. As they had collided with the Ujγurs, they had marched out of the territory of the Eastern Türküt and, in 966, overthrown the Türgäš, the ruling clan of the Western Türküt. There the Qarłuqs maintained their power for a relatively long period of time, somewhat more than 200 years. At first they allied themselves with Tibet, so that they could resist the Chinese. While Christianity, in its Nestorian creed, had made converts among them, e. g. the tribe of Čigil,

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on and north of the Yssyq-köl, one of their rulers, "Ǯaγbu" (= title jabγu/ǯabγu) accepted Islam (ca. 775–785). In this way Islam penetrated into its most remote northeastern area, supported from Western Türkistan, and, particularly during the 11th century, from Samanid Buxārā. By leaning upon worldly power, Islam also withstood the strong influences of the Buddhist Ujγurs, especially after 840.

A new tribal confederacy, mentioned, for still unknown reasons, in the Islamic sources as the Toγuzγuz (= Toquz Oγuz: "nine Oγuz"), moved in from the east and displaced part of the Qarłuqs. Whether these were Oγuz under Ujγur domination is not clear; often the form Toγuzγuz is used by Muslim authors to designate one of the later Ujγur states in or around the eastern T'ien-Shan. Obviously the terms Toγuzγuz and Ujγur overlap, but in what sense—political, ethnic, or linguistic—it is quite impossible to say. One of the Toγuzγuz tribes, that of the Jaγma ("plundering raid"—Kāšγarī, also Qyrq-Jaγma, the "Forty Jaγma"), seems to have been the tribe from which the Qaraxanid dynasty descended. This, too, is not definitely clear, since the possibility that the Qaraxanids were of Qarłuq origin is not excluded.

The Qaraxanids began their rule in 992, and maintained it until they were crushed by Je-ljü Ḍa-Šy, the first ruler of the Qara-Qytaj. They soon extended their power over the entire western part of the Tarim Basin and the Samanid Empire of Buxārā, which they took over in 999. They were checked on the Amu-darja by Muḥmūd of Γazna, who came from a dynasty of Western Türküt, probably Oγuzic, origin.

Thus, under the frequently shifting supremacy of the Qarłuq and Toγuzγuz in the T'ien-Shan region, there were a number of smaller tribes who belonged to one or the other group, but whose linguistic or dialectological identity cannot be established. Among these were the Čigil (Ǯigil) and west of them the Tuxsy, who lived northwest of the Yssyq-köl in theČu valley. Kāšγarī also has the name of Tuxsy Čigil. Southwest of the Yssyq-köl in the Kök-šaγał Tau, north and northwest of Kāšγar, were the Jaγma, and west of them, near and to the east of Özgänd, the Jabaγu (Kāšγarī: Jabaqu). All of these minor tribes seem eventually to have been absorbed into the larger units of the Qyrγyz, Qazaq, Čaγatajians, and New-Ujγurs. Of all these tribes, apparently only the Qarłuq, who were probably the strongest in numbers, have left some traces which appear now and then in Turkic texts of or about Qaraxanid times, i. e. that period between the end of classical Ujγur and the beginning of the West Türkistan Islamic literary language, usually called Čaγataj.

We have indicated above that the greatest portion of the Tarim Basin or Eastern Türkistan was subjected to Turkization from the middle of the 6th century on, when the Western Türküt occupied the Ili basin and adjacent territories. The Chinese attempts to reestablish their supremacy there in the middle of the 7th century, or the concurrent efforts by the Tibetans, between 670 and 692 and again between 790 and 860, did not seriously hamper the continuous infiltration of Turkic groups who, prior to the Ujγur immigration (after 840), had probably belonged, for the most part, to the Western Türküt. Only a few years after the Ujγurs were forced to leave their homeland on and near the Orxon, they were able to establish two realms in their new land, both in the year 847: one in Ganˇ-Su, which in 1037 came under Tangut rule—from

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these Ujγurs are descended the Sary-Jöγur of our day — the other in Eastern Türkistan, with Qočo (from Chinese Ǧao-Čʿaŋ) in the Turfan oasis, as its capital. While in both of these realms the Ujγurs finally adopted a sedentary and even urban way of life, it was in the western realm, that of Ǧao-Čʿaŋ, in Eastern Türkistan, on that ideal crossroads of culture, peoples, and languages, that the Ujγurs became the first Turkic people to develop a considerable literature, albeit of translations. This literature was almost exclusively religious, and pertained to the three great faiths of pre-Islamic Central Asia— Christianity in its Nestorian creed, Manichaeism, and Buddhism. The Nestorian texts are rather few in number, while the majority of the texts have a Buddhist content, inasmuch as Buddhism, probably through the strong support of Ljao China, finally won out over the other two competing religions. Manichaeism had penetrated into the Tarim basin quite early, and had firmly established itself there with the Soγdians, Śakas, and Toxarians, thus finding its way into the Türküt Empire where it gained considerable influence, so much so that in 762 Manichaeism became the official religion of the Ujγur state on the Orxon. At that time the strongest religious competition was being offered by Nestorianism; Buddhism was to become strong later on; with the Ujγurs it gradually gained ground only in Eastern Türkistan.

The Ujγurs migrated into the Tarim basin from the northeast. They lived on both sides of the Tʿien-Shan mountains, though of course in greater numbers on the southern side, where they gradually absorbed the original population. The latter spoke various Indo-European languages, East-Iranian, Soγdian, and Śaka (with Krōraina, Chinese: Lou-lan), and the two Toxarian languages belonging to the Kentum group of Indo-European: Toxarian A, which was spoken in the oasis of Turfan in an around its center in Qarašahr (Toxarian of Agni), and Toxarian B, or Toxarian of Kučā, spoken farther east in the oasis of the same name. From the Soγdians the Ujγurs took the script, while they evidently used but rarely the Runic script of the Orxon as well as the intricate Brāhmī in which Toxarian is written. The southern oasis belt along the northern slopes of the Kʿun-Lun range was not Turkicized to any large degree before the Mongol conquest. For the most part, Śaka-speaking people lived in this area, whose center was Xotan, a great stronghold of Buddhism. The western part of the Tarim basin, after the expansion of the Qarłuqs, was preponderantly peopled by the latter, not by the Ujγurs, and formed an important part of the Qaraxanid Empire. After the conversion to Islam of the Qaraxanid ruler in 960, this empire proved destructive for the high civilization the Ujγurs had achieved under the influence of Nestorianism, Manichaeism, and Buddhism. For now, in the ensuing wars for all of Eastern Türkistan, led by the Qaraxanids and continuing after the ułus of Čaγataj had been established, all the famous temples, monasteries, and churches of Eastern Türkistan, with their rich monuments of art and probably thousands and thousands of texts, fell a prey to intentional destruction and to utter desolation. Their ruins and the surviving objects, many of which were brought to the museums of St. Petersburg/Leningrad, Berlin, Paris, London, Delhi and Tōkyō, still offer an impressive sight, especially the Buddhist ones representing the best examples of the "Greco-Buddhist" style of Gandʿāra, which attained its richest development in that part of Central Asia and accompanied Buddhism into China, Korea, and Japan.

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Kāšγar became the center of Islam in Eastern Türkistan, and hence the center of Islamic literary activity from which a few texts in "Middle Turkic", as the Islamized late Ujγur is often called, have been preserved. However, it was not until the middle of the 14th century that the whole country became Islamic, and in the south single islands of Buddhism survived much longer. Islam, which has always found its foremost artistic expression in architecture, has not created a single monument of value in Eastern Türkistan. This is particularly surprising when we compaıe Eastern Türkistan, where Islam finally remained the only religion, with Spain or even Sicily, where Islam existed for limited periods that came to an end many centuries ago.

After the Mongolian conquest, the Ujγur lands lost all political and cultural significance. They were separated by high mountain ranges from the then center of Islamic and Turkic culture which was to be found only in Western Türkistan.

Apart from the Ujγurs and the Qarłuq (and tribes belonging to their complex, whatever that may have been), there was another people to be found in the north, in and around Bešbałyq (Soγdian: Panžīkaþ): these were the Basmył, who are also mentioned in the Orxon inscriptions. In 742/5, along with the Qarłuqs, they were the allies of the Ujγurs when the latter overthrew the Türküt. Later on the Ujγurs conquered them in the region of Bešbałyq. However, they continued to exist as a political unit even after this, for in 1050 the Ba-szŭ-mu 拔思母 paid tribute to the Ljao. Kāšγarī mentions still other tribes, the Arγu in the northwest, showing some urban features, and two nomadic tribes: the Čaruq around Barčuq (probably = Marałbeši), and the Čomuł in the north, whom Kāšγarī refers to as "a tribe with a language of its own but which also speaks Turkic". This may mean that the tribe in question was not yet completely Turkicized, as it undoubtedly was a tribe of Iranian speech, the Čumuḍa or Čimuḍa mentioned in the K'arōšṭī texts from Nija (cf. 3
H. W. Bailey in *J.R.A.S.*, 1939, p. 87).

All these tribes were in time assimilated by the Ujγurs, and have added to the composition of the present-day Ujγur people.

The Turks of Southern Siberia did not become known until very late. Two peoples who had already been Turks for some time were mentioned by the Chinese as living in the area of present-day Southern Siberia, the Qyrγyz or Qyrqyz, and the Ḍu-ḅo 都播 or 波. Mention of these latter appears first in the Sui-šu, the Annals of the Sui Dynasty (581–618), then as a listing under the year 647 in Chapter 217 of the T'aŋ-šu, which contains quite a little information on Northern Tribes, Altajic and non-Altajic. At that time, the Ḍu-ḅo, whose name survives in those of several Turkic peoples of Southern Siberia, were still members of the South Samojedic group which, as indicated by passages in the Sui-šu and the T'aŋ-šu, had once extended their domain as far south as Urjaŋxaj or Taŋnū-Tuva, i. e., the large valley between the Sajan Mountains in the north and the Taŋnū-Ōła in the south, through which the source rivers of the Jenisej, Bej-Käm, Xua-Käm and Uług-Käm flow. Thus, Tuba, Tuva etc. is the name of the largest people of the Urjaŋxaj or Tuba/Tuva group speaking South-Siberian languages. It is also the self-designation of the Karaγas of this same group, and of one of the Ojrot tribes in the Ałtaj proper, which is also called Jyš-Kiži; moreover, the Qojbałs are called Tuba by the Saγajs of the Abaqan group.

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The Ḍo-lan-ĝo mentioned in the same chapter of the T'aŋ-šu are found, at least nominally, in the Täläŋät (Täläŋit, Täläŋüt) of the Ojrot group. A number of the clan names of the South-Siberian Turks reflect historically well-known Turkic and Mongolian tribal and clan names, e. g. Qyrγyz, Qydat (probably with Mongolian plural suffix -t), Tölös (= Tölis or rather Töliš of old; this form also seems to have reached this area through the intermediary of the Mongolians, for in view of the Tölis mentioned in the inscriptions, it cannot be traced back to *Töläz), and Tirgäš; a clan belonging to the Tuba (Jyš-kiži) is the imperial Türgäš/Türgiš of the Western Türküt. Also Qypčaq, Märkit (also Mörküt) and Najman (also Najma, Majma, and Majman) which are the names of the northern enemies of Činĝis Qaγan, who after their defeat were driven out of the steppes into the forests of the Taŋnū-Ōła and the Altaj. Later, in 1207, Ǯoči-Xān subjugated a number of "forest peoples" in the same northern regions. The Altaj belonged to this ułus, the famous Kök, later Aq Orda—"Blue", or "White Horde" —, until in the middle of the 15th century it became part of the West-Mongolian Dzungarian Empire of the Ojrat, "the Confederate". Their name became their final tribal designation, Ojrot. Their clan names Moγoł and Tatar may date from the times of the ułus Ǯoči, if they are not older.

Notwithstanding the fact that, to our knowledge, the Altajians, with the exception of the Tungus, have from time immemorial been typical steppe peoples, practicing pastoral nomadism—although there may have been some exceptions—it is entirely improbable that these "forest peoples" of Southern Siberia, living north of the vast Central Asiatic steppe zone, were of Altajic, Turkic, affinity. The peoples who lived in those forests were either of Uralic or Jenisejic stock; when of the former, they belonged to the South-Samojedic or Sajan-Samojedic group, remainders of which were still to be found as late as the middle of the last century in Southern Siberia, on the northern slopes of the Altaj Mountains and those of the Sajan as well. The same is true for such Jenisejic peoples as the Ara, Asa, and Kotts, who, by the end of the 19th century, had all died out or been absorbed by Turkic peoples and Russians. These two ethnical and linguistic groups of peoples were dominant in the entire region of Southern Siberia where, as we can readily conclude from archaeological finds in the Altaj and Minusinsk regions, they had at one time absorbed various Europaeoid peoples, earlier those of an unknown Skythian affinity, later those of perhaps Iranian or related Indo-European affinity, who prior to the period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. had penetrated eastward into the entire Altaj area. Some of the later descendants of those Europaeoid peoples, not untouched by influences from the local "aboriginal" Jenisejic population, appeared later as the Qyrqyz and the *Qumaγaj, the ancestors of the Qyrγyz and the Quman/Połovьci. The others remained there and underwent complete absorption by Jenisejians and/or Uralians.

Certainly, by living in the neighborhood of those Altajic steppe-empires which at times had considerable political weight and certain cultural features, the people of Southern Siberia were influenced by the state organization, political superiority, and cultural facets of these empires, one of which was language. But those South-Siberians were not merely barbaric "forest people";

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in the Minusinsk basin, at least, they had cultural features of their own which were by no means negligible, such as their metallurgy, which connected them with the far western metallurgical center on the Kama and thence with the Caucasus. These metal workers who passed on their Animal Style to the Far East were no savages. They were the direct ancestors of the later historical Qyrqyz. The Chinese held Qyrqyz metal work in high esteem, especially their weapons. Traces of Qyrqyz smelting apparatus can still be found in the forests of the Minusinsk region. Their metallurgy somehow came down to their successors in the area, finally ending with the Turkic tribes in the Altaj and Abaqan Mountains, who for this reason were first called by their Russian conquerors the "smithy Tatars" (Кузнецкие татары), most of them being the Šors of today. It is known from archaeological finds that agriculture was quite widespread among them, as well as small-scale irrigation systems necessitated by the semi-arid climate of the Minusinsk basin. The Ḥudūd-al-ʿĀlam of 946 gives the name of a Qyrqyz town, كجكث, which can be read as Kämič-Kaþ, with the Soγdian *-kaþ* = *-kand, -kanþ*,—"city, town" — in the second part of the compound, and the first part containing what may well be the ancient name of the Jenisej — Käm. Rašīdu-'d-Dīn (13th century) mentions this name too. What language did they speak? Their activity—we know nothing of the character of their state—seems to have come to an end with the great expansion of Altajic peoples, probably during the first Great Migrations to the west. This may still have been almost half a millennium before Türküt power was established in the Orxon-Selenga drainage system. Prior to their onslaught upon the Ujγur Empire in 840, the Qyrqyz seem to have already been Turkicized to some degree. This is to be concluded from the report on the Qyrqyz in Chapter 217 of the T'aŋ-šu, where some names and titles of dignitaries and officers are given, as is usual in Chinese accounts; some few appellativa also occur. The titles are clearly "Altajic" insofar as the "Altajic" title system *is* Altajic, as we have repeatedly stressed—i. e. borrowed from the Türküt, Ujγurs or others. The fact that the Ancient Russians possessed Altajic and Old-Norse titles and dignities does not make them Norsemen or Altajians. Then there are a few appellativa of Altajic origin which might give evidence, to however small a degree, of Altajic influence. This influence had definitely reached them from the south, across the mountains. Otherwise there is no evidence of either the existence of any Altajic people or peoples, or even of any further Altajic influences in that area.

The Turkic penetration of Siberia took place very late, and in its latest phase during the Great Turkic Migrations. This penetration was not spectacular, as was that resulting from most of the other migrations, since it was slow and not accompanied by warlike conquest. Such conquest was not possible in the forests (*tajγa*) of Siberia. The number of migrants was also fewer than those involved in other major movements over Eurasia. A further peculiarity of this migration was its direction: it moved either from south to north or from west to east.

From the Yrtyš steppes and out of Dzungaria, single dispersed groups probably turned eastward time and again toward the western and northern slopes of the Altaj. But Turkic-speaking tribes seem to have headed there in greater numbers only during the 12th century, when Čiŋgis Qaγan was about

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to unite his tribes into an imperial confederacy of terrifying striking power, forcing a number of Mongolian and non-Mongolian Turkic and other tribes or tribal groups under his rule and into his army. After the Käräjit, Märkit and Najmans were defeated in the north, all resistance to Činǧis Qaγan seemed foolish. This was particularly well demonstrated by the defeat in 1207 of the Qyrqyz of the Altaj, their further resistance all through the 13th century, their second great defeat towards the end of the century, their dispersion and the deportation of a great proportion of them to Manchuria in 1293. Thus, those who loved their independence tried to evade Mongolian conquest and supremacy; freedom had to be sought not on the vast open steppes, but under cover of the forests behind the great northern mountains. This was the beginning of a movement of Turkic groups into Southern Siberia and further on. As history has shown, these groups were affected only peripherally by subsequent great events; the situation became serious for them again only with the Russian conquest of all of Siberia. But after 1207, the last of the cultural accomplishments which the Qyrqyz had once achieved in the Minusinsk area quickly decayed, as did their agriculture. The Minusinsk region once again became a steppe area, but the name Qyrqyz was not forgotten: it lived on in a number of tribal groups of the different Siberian Turkic peoples, a sign that these groups were either once a part of the Qyrqyz tribal confederacy, or were actually Qyrqyz themselves.

Linguistically, the South-Siberian Turkic languages can be clearly divided into three groups, the Ojrot. the Abaqan, and the Tuva languages. Among those three, the second and third have a greater number of features in common than has either with the Ojrot group, which stands somewhat apart. While the Abaqan and Tuva languages have developed on the basis of heterogeneous sub-strata, a greater differentiation with regard to common Turkic has taken place. This cannot be said of Ojrot, which shows many more similarities with common-Turkic than the other two Siberian Turkic language groups, which in this respect constitute an intermediary link between common-Turkic and Jakut. The sub-stratum of the above-mentioned nature, Samojedic and Jenisejic, has exerted a much more considerable effect upon the Abaqan and Tuva languages than upon Ojrot. Thus, Ojrot possesses a greater number of isoglosses connecting it with the Qypčaq languages—more closely with those of the Aralo-Caspian branch—and with those of the Central Asiatic group, Orxon, Ujγur, Čaγataj, and New-Ujγur. The changes in Abaqan and Tuva are, as in the case of Jakut, innovations chiefly due to sub-strata. This should probably be interpreted as due less to an earlier infiltration of Turkic-speaking groups into Southern Siberia, northeast and east of the Altaj, and a later one into the center and south of that mountain system, than to an evenly progressing Turkicization of the entire South-Siberian area where, in the extreme southwest—i. e. in the center and south of the Altaj Mountains proper—the number of Turkic-speaking peoples was increasing at a faster rate than in the northeast and east of that region, since it was constantly being populated by newcomers from the steppes of present-day Qazaqistan and Central Asia. This would account for the above-mentioned features displayed by Ojrot in contradistinction to Abaqan and Tuva. It must also be mentioned here that as recently as the middle of the last century, quite a number of Turkic-speaking

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tribes (or peoples) such as the Qojbał, Madur, Tajgy, Kamaš, Karaγas, and others, were still speaking South-Samojed or were just undergoing Turkicization. A similar observation cannot be made about the Jenisejians, who evidently had been absorbed a few generations earlier by the Southern Samojeds and the Turks—and probably to a still greater degree by the Russians. The eastward penetration of Turkic into the Kuzneckij Ała-Tau, the Abaqan region, the Minusinsk basin and the northern slopes of the Sajan Mountains is of recent date. This later expansion might have started not too long before the beginning of the Russian conquest of Southern Siberia (in the first years of the 17th century), and it had not come to an end before the Turks themselves began to succumb to absorption by the Russians.

This is also illustrated by anthropological features; among those peoples speaking Ojrot, tribes or groups living in the northern Ałtaj, such as the Tuba (Jyš-kiži), Qumandū, Čałqandū, and the Šor show a number of features reminiscent of Europaeoid races (especially the Uralian branch according to DEBEC's terminology), which they exhibit in common with a great percentage, if not all, of the Abaqan Turks, while those in the southern Altaj—the Ałtaj-Kiži, Täläŋät, Täläŋüt — are typical and true representatives of the Central Asiatic branch of the High-Asiatic or Mongolian race, as are the Mongols themselves, the Tuba of the Uźaŋxaj Tuba group, and the Jakuts. Ethnological and religious characteristics such as traces of an ancient matriarchal society, Šamanism, and material culture link the peoples of the northern Altaj and the Abaqan group with their Samojedic and Jenisejic sub-strata, which is not more than natural, but is nonetheless an important fact. Features of an Americanoid race allegedly found with peoples of the Abaqan group cannot be discussed here, but we incline more and more to the opinion that these too might well represent a variety which had its roots in one of the Europaeoid components, possibly of Caucasoid origin, linguistically paralleled by the Caucasian features of Jenisejic, culturally by metallurgy.

The Jakuts by far outnumber the other non-Slavic nationalities of Siberia; with a population of a quarter of a million people, they rank second only to their close southern neighbors, the Buźats, who number about 350,000. Their own designation is Saxā (also Saqā), the Jakut equivalent of the term "Jakut" which the Russians first learned, and which must go back to *Jaquγa-t/ Jaqaγu-t. Nothing is known about the history of the Jakuts prior to the Russian conquest of their land, which started in 1632 on the Lena, and was completed in 1636–1648 on the Indigirka and Kołyma Rivers. Originally the Jakuts must have lived around Lake Bajkał, and since their economy shows definite features of horse- and cattle-breeding nomadism, they must also have lived somewhere in the steppe zone of Central Asia, probably, like the other Altajians, in its eastern part. In their tribal traditions, a clear recollection of the wars of Činǧis Qaγan and his oppression of the Jakuts is preserved, and reference is made to the fact that the ancient Jakuts were pushed out of the "happy southern lands" and forced to move northward. It is quite possible that this was as late as the late 12th or early 13th century, but this may have provided the final impetus for their moving down the Lena River and spreading as far northeast and northwest as they did, after Proto-Jakut tribes had already begun to move in that direction earlier. This may have begun at the time of

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the Türküt Empire. It is further possible that the Quryqan, the Üč Quryqan, "Three Quryqan" of the Orxon inscriptions—the Ĝu-li-ĝan of the T'aŋ-šu—formed at least part of the Proto-Jakut tribes. The Quryqan, along with the Ujγur, originally belonged to the Turkic Töliš Confederacy, which was ultimately absorbed into one or both of the Türküt Empires. They apparently lived east of the Qyrqyz and the Ujγurs, and east of Lake Bajkał. The major Jakut migrations in northern and northeastern Siberia may have started at the time of the Mongolian campaigns under Činǧis Qaγan, and come to an end at the beginning of the 18th century, although in the sub-Arctic and Arctic zones of Siberia a slow but intensive migration appears to have continued right down to this century, resulting in the Jakutization of the Ṇanasan, the Tavgy-Samojeds, some tribes of whom had been Tungusized prior to their absorption by the Jakuts; these Tavgy-Samojeds are now the Dołgans. Those who were putting immediate pressure on the Jakuts and pushing them from the south towards the Barguzin valley, east of Lake Bajkał, were the Buŕats, whose strong influence is felt in folklore, the motifs of epic songs and tales. The Buŕats or Proto-Buŕats were most probably those Mongolians from whom the Jakuts received or took many cultural features, among them quite a number of Mongolian loan words. Moreover, apart from identical anthropological features, the Jakuts share with the Buŕats a number of isoglosses typical of a certain regional distribution around Lake Bajkał, in a wider sense of that designation, in which the adjacent Tungus also participated.

Moving down the Lena River and beyond the Bajkał, the Jakuts did not find themselves in a vacuum; in the immediate neighborhood north of the Central Asiatic border mountains, the eastern continuation of the Sajan Mountains in the Xamar-Davan and the Stanovoj ranges, the inhabitants were the Tungus who belong to the third and easternmost Altajic group. Further on, beyond the 55°–57° latitude North, the Jakuts must have encountered the first of the southernmost tribal groups of Jukagirs and Palaeo-Asiatics, who were being pushed north and northeast by the Tungus under pressure from their other Altajic relatives. It was probably through the Jakut migrations down the Lena that the Tungus, and finally the Jakuts themselves, displaced the Jukagirs and Palaeo-Asiatics, and pushed them to the most remote, fearful parts of the entire continent, to the Kołyma and beyond. The Tungus were pushed northwest and northeast, so that the Jakuts drove an enormous wedge into the extensive but sparsely inhabited lands of the Tungus, with the result that the latter were now distributed around the Jakuts who hold the great water courses. The Jakuts seem to have absorbed quite a number of Tungus tribes, Ewenki as well as Lamut and Negidal, and further to the northeast those of the Jukagir, plus some of the Palaeo-Asiatic Čukči, Koŕaks, and Eskimos (Juit), the contacts with whom can clearly be recognized from Jakut folklore. In the far north, the Jakuts had to assume many features of the mode of life and production of their new neighbors and subjects, which corresponded to their new Arctic environment, so that they became reindeer breeders, hunters, and fishermen. Only the southern Jakuts, with the tribe of Xaŋγałas and those under their influence, were able to maintain a high degree of sedentary life with horse- and cattle-breeding and an incipient agriculture. From their Tungus neighbors they learned reindeer-breeding, more highly developed in

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the north, of course, but known by practically all the Jakuts. The words for reindeer are all foreign, except *taba*, from common Turkic *täbä, tävä* = Mongolian *tämä-gän*, "camel", which means that the reindeer now fulfilled in this sub-Arctic region the tasks previously performed by their earlier domesticated animal, the camel.

There is an interesting tradition which survives in Jakut folklore to the effect that the Jakuts once possessed a script which was lost on the way to the north, when their heroes Omoγoj Bāj and Älläj, escaping from their enemies on rafts, had to throw their books overboard into the floods of the Lena.

The Jakut language is one of the two marginal Turkic languages, the other being Volga-Bulgarian, resp. Ţăvaš. Whereas Ţăvaš stands so far apart from common-Turkic that there is room for doubt whether it should be included in the Turkic group at all, the Jakut language is definitely Turkic. While it has been separate from the other Turkic languages for a long time, it shows all the features of a recent development which perhaps was incipient at the time the great Jakut migrations began, but which did not actually get under way during the migrations. The two South-Siberian Turkic groups, Abaqan and Tuva, represent a kind of transitional link between common-Turkic and Jakut. Nevertheless, Jakut possesses some unique features, not only in its lexical material, as would be quite natural, but also in phonology and grammar, whereby it constitutes a separate Turkic group of its own. As there are no clear-cut language frontiers on the Eurasian continent east of the German language area, the European language-delimitation being chiefly due to the rise of national states in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries from the disintegrating Roman Empire, Turkic has no clear-cut border lines either. Even the southeast Anatolian border between Osman and Arabic is not defined everywhere by the geographical boundary between Anatolia and the northern part of the Syro-Arabian desert. More intricate are the boundaries between the Turkic languages themselves, resulting in particular from the permanent and repeated large- and small-scale migrations which have gone on even down to the middle of this century.

C. LANGUAGES ADJACENT TO TURKIC.

With Jakut, the Turkic languages now border in the extreme northeast on Tungus, Jukagir, and the Palaeo-Asiatic languages; the South-Siberian Turkic languages border on Xałxa Mongolian in the south and Buŕat-Mongolian in the east. In the northeast there were once Buŕats and Ewenki-Tungus tribes, who have now been completely replaced by Russians. In the north, Russian is becoming more and more the principal, if not the only, neighbor tongue, where 100 years ago Jenisejic (*Kōtu*, pl. *Kōťuan*) and South-Samojed languages were still to be found. Farther to the west, all along the northern fringe of Turkic represented by the West-Siberian languages and Qazaq, Russian is now practically the only neighbor, whereas up to the middle of the last century, contacts existed with Samojeds, the South-Samojedic Ost'aks (Selqup), single groups of the Juraks, and, towards the Yrtyš farther west, the Ugrians, mostly the Ugro-Ost'aks (Xanty). Between the Ural and the Volga, the immediate

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neighbors of the Turks, apart from the Russians, are the southern Permaks, the Vot'aks (Udmurt), and nearer to the Volga the Volga-Finns, i. e. west and south of the Kama the Čeremisses (Mari), west of the Volga the Mordvins, who have been living for a long time strongly interspersed with Russians in the neighborhood of Volga-Tatars and Mišärs (Qāsimov-Tatars), and south of the Ṭăvaš. All over the western border East-Slavic is the neighboring language; in the Balkans, South-Slavic. On the former Pontic steppes between the Caspian and East Rumelia, the present vilājät of Edirne (Adrianopolis) of Turkey, Turkic is spoken only by splinter groups within the Slavic-speaking population. But the variety of neighboring languages is greater in the relatively small area of the Caucasus. While Noγaj today has lost almost all direct contact with Caucasian, except for a few Noγaj splinter groups near Mineral'nyje Vody in the vicinity of smaller Abxaz and Čerkes (Adyγe) groups, Qarač'aj-Bałqar and Qumyq border on Caucasian languages, Qarač'aj neighboring in the west and north on Qabarda (East-Čerkes), and in the east on Oset'i—mainly its Digor dialect; in the south, across the main Caucasian range, Mingrelian and Svanet'i are its neighbors. The Qumyqs live on the northeasternmost fringe of Daghestan, separating the latter from the Caspian. Here their neighbors are, from north to south: the Avars, with a small group of Lakk's in the north (these Avars have nothing to do linguistically with the Proto-Mongolian Avars of the Great Migrations, but as some of the latter may have taken refuge in this region, their name has become the generic designation of the present-day Daghestanian Avars who do not have a name of their own), the Dargwa and Qajtaq (the Qajtaq [Xajdaq] language contains a few Middle Mongolian loan words from the time of Činγis Qaγan or before), and in the southeast Āzerī, interspersed with Tat, a northwest Iranian language. Āzerī is in contact throughout its northern and northeastern sectors with Tat, which is as strongly represented there as Āzerī. In the north of Āzerbājǯān, all along the main Caucasus range, numerous Daghestanian languages border on Āzerī; these are, from east to west: Budux, Ǯek, Xinalug (Kättitturdur), Udi (Uti), and, on the border with Ḳaxet'ia, Avar again. In the west we find Georgian (K'art'uli), in the southwest, in Qarabaγ, Armenian and Kurdic, and in the southeast, Talyš, the closest relative of Tat, while on all sides of Āzerbājǯān Persian influence is strong, as it has always been; next in influence comes Armenian. The presence of Russian everywhere is self-evident.

Osman borders in the west on South-Slavic, i. e. Bulgarian, and, in parts of Yugoslavia, on Serbo-Croatian; to the south of the Balkans it touches on Greek, which until 1922 was found spoken in all the bigger Turkish towns and all along the Anatolian west- and south-coasts. However, for the last forty years, Greek-speaking people have been found in fairly large numbers only in Constantinople. In the extreme northeastern part of Anatolia, Turkish borders on Laz (Čan), on the Čorox River; farther to the south, all over Armenia, it borders on Armenian, which, subsequent to the massacres at the end of World War I, more and more receded under the pressure of Turkicization and the resulting emigration of the Armenians, while the other Anatolian neighbors of Turkish, the Kurds, kept to the high mountains and tenaciously resisted all attempts at verbal or even actual Turkicization. The Kurds are found in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, and in small, usually scattered, nomadic groups all

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over central and southern Anatolia as well. In the southeast, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian borders, Semitic in the form of Arabic is the neighbor of Turkish. The numerous Turkic groups scattered all over Persia are under constant influence from Persian, an influence which is strong with the city-dwellers but much weaker with the nomads such as the Qašqajī in the south, or a few Türkmen tribes along the northern border of Persia and in the Alburz, between Astrābād and Damγān. Only Persian or Southern Āzerbājǯān has a relatively compact, preponderantly Turkic, population. Persian is the southern neighbor of Türkmen and Özbek, and has been omni-present for a long time in the cities of Türkistan, where it is usually called Tāǯīk; up to 30 years ago, Tāǯīk was still the native language of 80% of the inhabitants of Buxārā, 60% of Samarqand, and 30% of Taškent. In the southeast, Özbek borders not only on Tāǯīk, but, in northern Afghanistan, occasionally on Paṣtū (Afghanian proper), and in southern Farγāna, in the Jaγnōb valley, on Jaγnōbī, the northwesternmost Pāmīr language, while the other Pāmīr languages have some insignificant contacts with Qyrγyz. In the cities of Eastern Türkistan, New-Ujγur has been in continual contact with Chinese for the past 200 years, and for different periods prior to that, while on the northeastern and eastern fringes Mongolian is the neighboring language, usually Xałxa; in the northeast, south of the Altaj Turks, West Mongolian Qalmyq (or Ojrot) may be found. The Sary-Jöγur and Sałar, completely cut off from Turkic, are in a preponderantly Chinese neighborhood. However, Mongolian and Tibetan occur in the southern part of its area, in the province of Cʿiŋ-Ḥaj (Kökö-Nōr), on the Ḥuaŋ-ḥo and near Lan-Čžou.

D. ORIGINAL HABITAT OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES

The history of the Turkic migrations clearly points to the eastern portion of the vast Central Asiatic steppe zone as their starting point. It was an unending westward stream of Turkic tribes which had been flowing ever since the destruction of the Hunnic Empire by the Chinese, and which did not come to an end until quite some time after the Mongolian invasions. Prior to the Hunnic invasions of the Near East and the Roman Empire, no Turks, and probably not a single Altajic tribe, had ever pushed westward. It may well be assumed that for about a millennium prior to the Hunnic movements, no Altajic-speaking peoples had ventured west of roughly the 90th meridian east of Greenwich, or a line which can be drawn from the southwestern spurs of the Altaj to the Łōb-Nōr and the Kʿun-Lun range. West of this line there lived people speaking Indo-European languages, mostly Iranian, and Skythian or other unknown languages, who separated the Uralians and Altajians from each other. East of the 90th longitude east, the entire Central Asiatic plateau territory was inhabited by Altajic-speaking peoples. After the Huns had moved out, the Turks probably lived in the entire northwestern part of the region, from the Altaj Mountains proper east to the northern part of the Xiŋgan Mountains, which separate Mongolia from Manchuria. Whether the northeasternmost portion of Mongolia, sometimes called Bargu, formed part of that ancient Turkic habitat, is difficult to determine. Most of the southern

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boundary and all of its eastern sector was occupied by Mongolians, while neither Turkic nor Mongolian reached as far as the Pacific, where Chinese and Koreans were found in dense, compact populations.

Thus prior to the Great Migrations, Turkic was spoken by preponderantly pastoral nomadic tribal units and confederations, who showed the anthropological features of the Central Asiatic branch of the Mongolian or High-Asiatic race. They lived in the eastern portion of the Central Asiatic, semi-arid steppe belt as the immediate western and northern neighbors of the Mongolians, by whom they were separated from the Chinese in the earlier phase of their historically attested existence. In the west, their neighbors were, however separated by vast stretches of desert—the Łōb Desert—, the Indo-European peoples of the Tarim basin; in the northwest, the Samojeds and Jenisejians, in the north and northeast the Tungus, in the east and south the Mongolians, and in the southwest people speaking Tibeto-Chinese languages, such as the Tibetans, Taŋguts, and others. A closer determination of the original dwelling region of the Turks is not possible, nor even probable, since nomadism excludes easily-definable border lines.

Throughout all the historic times during which they have been known, the Turkic peoples have been living in the northwestern and western part of the area which once was inhabited by the peoples speaking Altajic languages. To the extent of our historic information, the Huns seem to have occupied the southwest and perhaps even the south of that area, the Mongols the southeast and east. It is not yet clear whether the Mongolians reached beyond the Xiŋgan Mountains into present-day Manchuria, or whether the latter, prior to the Hunnic movements, was still inhabited by peoples speaking Tungus (or Manǯu-Tungus) languages. The fact that no Tungus peoples took part as a major unit in any of the Great Migrations, admits of the conclusion that at the time the Altajians entered history, i. e. with the Hunnic movements, the Tungus had already been forced to migrate away from the territories in the immediate neighborhood of the other Altajians. This Tungus migration seems to have taken place some time before the other Altajians apparently began to form tribal units or confederations of any significance. This is indicated by the fact that with the Tungus no clear indications of an earlier habitat on the Central Asiatic steppes, with its corresponding forms of pastoral nomadism, have been found. The Tungus seem to have been nomads of the Siberian tajγa for a very long period, engaging in hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding. This probably took place in the zones immediately adjacent, in the north, to the Central Asiatic steppes from around Lake Bajkał to the Amur basin, and finally, to the Pacific coast. In this way, the Tungus were separated—and protected—by high mountains and quite inaccessible forests from the other Altajians who remained on the steppes. The Tungus languages still bear witness to this long and apparently ancient separation from the other Altajic languages.

Not discussing here the position of Korean, and not including it in the Altajic group of languages proper, this group originally comprised four large families:

I. Hunnic, originally in the southwest and south of the Altajic area, although we know so little about it that we include it in Altajic mainly because it apparently survives in Volga-Bulgarian and present-day Ṭăvaš;

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II. Turkic, originally in the northwest and west;
III. Mongolian, in the center and southeast; and
IV. Tungus, in the north and northeast.

Of all of these, Turkic represents the most recent evolutionary type, while Mongolian, though more archaic than Turkic, nevertheless shows a more recent type of development than does Tungus, which is the most archaic type of Altajic, and thus serves as an excellent "time-table" for relative evolutionary age in Altajic.

For the times prior to the separation and differentiation from the primordial nucleus groups of Altajic, which were later to become the four Altajic divisions mentioned above, a habitat must be assumed which probably comprised all of the Central Asiatic steppes, so that the term "Altajic" languages is actually justified, since it designates that group of languages spoken around the Altaj Mountains, in a wider sense of the term, in this case on the steppes extending to the south around the Altaj. The assumption of a mountain area, such as the Altaj proper or the Altaj-Sajan system, as a region from which numerous and often relatively populous tribes originated, is devious, and for natural reasons out of the question. The term Altaj and Altajic is very handy if understood in the above-defined, larger, not too literal sense.

The assumption of a habitat farther west for the primordial Altajic group imposes itself for some important reasons, namely, the genuine relationship with Uralic and the ancient and profound linguistic contacts, besides features of genuine relationship, between Altajic and Indo-European. While I consider Altajic and Uralic as genetically related (urverwandt), I wish to point out, without going into the matter here, the numerous isoglosses between Uralic and Altajic which, even if they were due to borrowing, as the adversaries of the genetic relationship hypothesis maintain, could only be explained on the assumption of enduring, intensive and rather ancient mutual contacts between Uralic and Altajic. Contacts of this nature necessitate a contiguous area without major natural boundaries of the type of the vast plains between T'ien-Shan and Ural or Volga. In other words, the ancient Uralic-Altajic contacts, or as I would call it, the symbiosis of the nuclear Proto-Uralic and Proto-Altajic tribal groups, the descendants of a larger Proto-Ural-Altajic language community, did not take place in the eastern but in or near the western habitat of ancient Common-Altajic, concretely, on the steppes between T'ien-Shan and Ural or Volga. Mutatis mutandis, very much the same is valid for the contacts with Indo-European, which were not limited to those between, let us say, Slavic and Altajic or Iranian and Altajic, but some of which must have been older and cannot be ascribed to single-language-contacts (einzelsprachliche Berührungen) only. A further, equally weighty argument in favor of an early western habitat of ancient Common-Altajic is the relationship with the Drāviḍian languages.

As the ancient contact-zone between Indo-European and Altajic, the eastern part of the Ponto-Caspian steppes may well have been the ideal transmission area. It probably was only after the great outburst of Indo-European migrations in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C. that some early Indo-European groups, soon followed by the Proto-Indo-Iranians, pushed Altajic-speaking groups out of the Trans-Caspian, "Turanian", steppes on to the plateaux of

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Central Asia. They likewise caused the final invasion of the subcontinent of India by the Proto-Drāviḍians. This "Indo-European outburst" also brought other undoubtedly Palaeo-European, Mediterraneo-Caucasian, Europaeoids towards Central Asia and, finally, the northwestern and northern Altaj region proper. This above assumption is supported by archaeological evidence and by considerations of historical climatology.

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III. CLASSIFICATION OF THE TURKIC LANGUAGES 4

The Turkic languages may be classified differently, in accordance with different bases of classification. First, they may be classified on a geographical, or regional, basis. Such classification may constitute a mere enumeration of the languages that are found together in each contiguous area, e. g. the Turkic languages of the Caucasus, or the Turkic languages of South Siberia. In a number of instances this principle of classification would be acceptable also from a linguistic point of view, since usually, although not always, those languages of a given major linguistic group spoken in immediately adjacent areas are more closely interrelated than are members of the same group separated by greater distance. Secondly, the Turkic languages may be classified on an historical basis, with divisions such as Old Turkic, Middle Turkic, and New Turkic. Finally, the classification may be based on linguistic changes which have led naturally to all the differentiation that has developed among the Turkic languages. This last basis is the best adapted for arriving at the clearest possible representation of the relative positions of the several groups among the Turkic languages. This genetic linguistic classification tends naturally to be confirmed by evidence of the history of the various Turkic tribes and nations, especially the history of their migrations, and of their geographical, regional distribution over Eurasia.

Of the former attempts at a classification of the Turkic languages, only that of A. N. Samojłovič can be considered on the whole as sound in principle. It is still maintainable, with the exception of his groups III (Xwārazm) and VI (to which he assigns Orxon, Ujγur, Abaqan, Tuva, and Jakut), wherein his language grouping is a repetition of Radloff's error. A later attempt, that of N. A. Baskakov (Izvestija AN SSSR, XI, 1952), has the merit of some originality in its theoretical approach, but is erroneous and misleading in its factual statements. In later, revised versions of his classification (1960, 1962), Baskakov considerably attenuated some of his former statements but maintains his basic theory of a bi-partition of the Turkic languages into an East-Hunnic and a West-Hunnic group.

Since in the Turkic languages, as in all other languages of the Altajic group and in the great majority of those constituting the Uralic group, the morphology is a category of extreme resistance to historical changes, the features which can provide a basis for classification of the different subdivisions of the Turkic group are mainly those of a phonological order; next to them in order of value are those of the lexical material. In all historical periods the latter has undergone considerable change, much more, even, than the phonology. The rules of syntax, which are closely interrelated with the morphological system of the Turkic languages, are almost equally resistant to change or disintegration, and consequently have less value for classification.

In the following attempt to establish properly distinguished divisions of the Turkic languages, I make some use of designations referring to their geographical situation, as was done by Samojłovič. I arrive at six divisions (A–F) comprising twelve groups (I–XII) in all.

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A. The Central- and Southwest-Asiatic languages or Türküt languages, consisting of:

I. The Central-Asiatic group, issuing from the presumable language of the "Eastern Türküt" of the Chinese Annals. Ancient languages of the Old-Turkic period: 1) Orxon (and Jenisej) Inscriptions and Old (or Classical) Ujγur. 2) Languages of the "Middle-Turkic" period: the transitional stage from Ujγur to Čaγataj, as represented by a more eastern dialect, that of the Dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī and texts of the Qaraxanid Empire, and by a more northwestern dialect, that of Xwārazm (XI/XIIth centuries). 3) Čaγataj. Later and modern: 4) Özbek (the Iranized dialects), i. e. the continuation of Čaγataj with certain Özbek influences. 5) New-Ujγur with Taranči and other dialects; the isolated fragments of Saryγ-Ujγur and Sałar, surrounded by Mongolian and Chinese, may be considered as very close to New-Ujγur dialects. 6) Qyrγyz, with certain stronger influences from the Northwest group (B), as found in the modern literary language. Some isoglosses link Qyrγyz with Ojrot (C. VII), as e. g. -γ/-g > *-w > -ū/-ū̃, and the labial attraction.

II. The Southwest or Oγuz group, for which the presumable ancestor is the language of the "Western Türküt" of the Chinese Annals. Ancient languages: 1) Old-Anatolian (Sałǯuq) and Old-Osman. Modern: 2) Western: Osman (with its various dialects: Rumelian, Anatolian, South Crimean); Gagauz; Azerbajǯanian (with dialects, as those of Iran and the Qašqajī); 3) Eastern: Türkmenian.

B. The Northwest- or Qypčaq-Division, consisting of the following languages:

III. Old-Northwestern of the "Middle Turkic" period: 1) Qumanian, the language of the Codex Cumanicus and the Qumans (or Połovьci), and Qypčaq. The other groups consist of modern languages.

IV. Ponto-Caspian languages, most closely related with Qumanian: 2) Qarajīm; 3) Qarač'aj and Bałqar; 4) Qrym-Tatar ("Crimean proper"); 5) Qumuq (Qumyq).

V. Volga-Kama–West-Siberian languages: 6) Qazan-Tatar (or "Tatar proper", with Teptär, Mišär and Qāsimov-Tatar); 7) the West-Siberian dialects: Turały, Tobołły, Yšymły, Qūrdaq, Yrtyšły; 8) Baraba; 9) Küärik, this being a transitional link to the Central-South-Siberian languages (D. VIII); 10) Bašqurt, also with isoglosses connecting it with D. VIII.

VI. Aralo-Caspian languages: 11) Qazaq with Qaraqałpaq; 12) (non-Iranized or Qypčaq-) Özbek; 13) Noγaj; 14) Qyrγyz only insofar as certain features of the modern literary language are concerned (cf. above, A.I. 6). Qyrγyz is at least transitory from A.I. to B. VI.

C. VII. Ojrot (in the Altaj Mountains) and its dialects: (South:) Ałtaj-Kiži, Täläŋüt (and Tölös), Täläŋät; (North:) Lebed′, Qumandū, Jyš-Kiži (or Tuba). The latter is a transitory link toward Šor and the other languages of group D. VIII.

D. VIII. The Central-South-Siberian, Abaqan- or "Xaqas"-group: 1) Šor; 2) Abaqan, comprising the dialects of Saγaj, Qojbał, Qač(a), Qyzył, Bältir.

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IX. The East or Tuva group (in Taŋnū-Tuva or Uŕaŋxaj): 1) Karaγas; 2) Sojoŋ (Tuba, Tuva, Tyba, or Uŕaŋxaj-language). Transitional features from D. VIII toward E.X.

E. X. The Northeast-, East-Siberian, or Jakut-group. The Jakut (Saxā) language and the dialects of the Dołgans, the Jakutized Ṇanasan (Tavgy-) Samojeds.

F. The Volga-Bulgarian or Hunno-Bulgarian division, which may also be called the Ancient Northwest-division. It comprises:

XI. Volga-Bulgarian (fragmentary relics only), and

XII. the modern language of the Čuvaš or Ṭăvaš. Originally, this division did not form part of any genuine Proto-Turkic unit, but represented an intermediary between Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongol, as can clearly be recognized from the isoglosses linking Ṭăvaš to Mongol. For linguistic and historical reasons, it is probable that considerable relics of the language of the Huns actually survive in that of the Volga-Bulgars and the modern Ṭăvaš. The Turkicization process, however, was intensive enough to convert it into a marginal Turkic language.

A further examination of the relational connections among the Turkic groups shows that A and C form a larger unit which itself is more closely related to B than to either group D, E, or F. Further, D and E are more closely related, group IX constituting the connecting link between VIII and X. In many respects D and E are relatively distant from the majority of the Turkic languages, also from F, since here in Southern and Eastern Siberia a number of changes have taken place, caused by Turkicization of originally non-Turkic languages, as in D, and by substrata and adstrata which still remain to be examined more closely. F is clearly marginal—in spite of its geographic position—if one compares it to E; through the Turkicization process it is linked to B, in its most recent Turkic layer with B.V.6.

As long as etymological research in Turkic, as well as in any other branch of the Altajic languages, is still in an incipient stage of development—to date there does not exist a single useful etymological dictionary of the Turkic languages or of those of the other branches—relational concepts must be based largely on considerations of extra-lexical similarities, i. e. those in the categories of phonology, morphology, and syntax. Thus, apart from features of lexical agreement, isoglosses in the three domains mentioned indicate closer relations between Turkic, Mongol, and the Manǯu-Tungus languages, all of these together constituting the Altajic languages. The Turkic languages form the Western branch of the Altajic language family. The area of contact between Turkic and Mongol exceeds by far that between Turkic and Tungus; there is, however, one Turkic language, Jakut (E. X), which, for the last 400 years at least, has been in closest neigborhood with the two North-Tungus languages, Ewenki and Ewen (Lamut).

While a number of major isoglosses would indicate a closer relation between Turkic and Mongol, there are fewer but nevertheless important isoglosses linking Turkic with Manǯu-Tungus which, on the whole, occupies a special position in the Altajic world, inasmuch as it combines a number of rather archaic features together with those of a specific separate development.

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6 The problem of relationship with Korean, which is included in Altajic by such Altajicists as RAMSTEDT and POPPE, cannot be discussed here, since it cannot be treated adequately prior to the establishment of an historical phonology and grammar of Korean, and a review of its proposed relation to Indo-European. Furthermore, the problem of the non-Altajic strata in Korean is still far from solved. Much the same is true for Japanese, although structurally the latter appears more homogeneous than Korean, apart from the many problems it presents in the lexical, i. e. etymological, sphere.

In different degrees the features of Altajic indicate its external relations; to a greater degree, those of its morphology, which are the most characteristic, to a lesser degree, those of its syntax and phonology, which offer moderate resistance to change or innovation; and to an appreciable degree, still, those of its lexical stock indicate a genetic relation of Altajic to Uralic, and hence perceptibly also to Indo-European in the West. On the other hand, there are a few isoglosses which apparently connect Altajic with Indo-European directly. Like Uralic, Altajic is also related to Jukagir, and possibly to the Čukči group (i. e. Čukči, Kor'ak, and Kamčadal) in the Northeast. Manifest relational connections of a structural (morphological and syntactic) as well as etymological order, which associate Uralic and Altajic with the Drāviḍian languages, are worthy of further exploration.

The above classification can be illustrated by the following sketch of the most significant distinctive characteristica:

A. I.

Phonology, vocalism: all 8 vocalic phonemes exist and did so presumably in ancient times. Tendency toward labial harmony. Labial attraction regular in Qyrγyz only; tendencies in New-Ujγur. Consonantism: *-γ/-g*, *-q/-k* in Orxon separated, later, in Ujγur, not distinguished in the script. Coincidence into *-q/-k* in Čaγataj, N.-Ujγur, Iranized Özbek: *quruγ* "dry" > *quruq*. Suffix-initial *γ-*, *g-* exist: *-γa* (dat.), *-γan* (nom. perfecti), *-γaly* (gerund. abtemp.). No mediae (/lenes) in initial position. **đ* > Orxon, Ujγur "d", with Kāšγarī, Rabγūzī etc. ɔ (= *đ*), > *j* in Ča., N.-Uj., Özb., Qγ.

Morphology, Nomen: relatively greater amount of cases in the ancient languages (instr. *-yn*, aequat. *-ča*, comparat. *-däg*; no ablat. in Orxon, but directive cases in *-ra*, *-γa-ru*). Orxon gen. in *-yŋ*, acc. *-yγ*, but Uj., Kāš. *-nyŋ*, *-yγ/-ny*; Ča., N.-Uj., Özb., Qγ. *-nyŋ*, *-ny*; abl. in *-dyn* in Uj., preserved through Ča. and N.-Uj.; Özb. vacillates, but has now *-dan*, like Qγ. Plural, in Orx. mostly unmarked, is usual and regular in Uj. and later. Relics of other ancient pl.–suffixes. Pronomina: influences upon the nominal inflection from Uj. on, esp. in Ča., N.-Uj., Özb. (acc. *-ny*!). Pronominal inflection abandoned in N.-Uj., Özb. (dat. pron. pers. 1. sg.: *men-gä*, 2. sg. *sen-gä*), likewise abandonment of the pronominal *-n-* in the suff. possess. 3. ps. in Ča., N.-Uj., Iranized Özb. Verbum: Perfectum has *-t* and *-myš*, the latter replaced from Ča. on by *-γan*. Fut.-Opt. *-γaj*; praes.-fut. in *-a* from the Ča. period on.

Syntax: Non-Altajic influences in Ujγur (< IE, Semit.), Ča., N.-Uj., Özb. (< Arab., N.-Pers.); rise of subordination (< IE).

Lexikon: Non-Altajic influences in Orxon (< Chin., Iran.), Ujγur (< IE, Semitic, Chin.), Ča., N.-Uj., Özb., Qγ. (< Arab., N.-Pers.).

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II.

Phon.: Archaic features in Osm. and Türkmen, while Az. (and Qašqajī) show innovations, also strong non-Turkic influences. Vocalism: the 8 vocalic phonemes; strict labial harmony. Proto-Turkic length preserved in Türkmen. Conson.: *-γ* > -O, except after *a*: Osm. *daγ*, *dā*, Tkm. *dāγ* "mountain"; *-g* > *-O* or *-j*. No gutturals in suffix-anlaut: *-a* (dat.), *-an* (nom. pf.), *-ały* (ger. abtemp.). Initial mediae (/lenes): *dil* "tongue", *gör-* "to see" in all languages of this group (but, as in all Tk. languages, no initial γ-). **đ* > *j*. *s*, *z* > Tkm. *þ*, *đ*. Secondary palatalization of consonants in palatal position after Slavic pattern in Gagauz: *dönmäk* "to return" > *ďöňńäḱ*, etc.

Morph.: Nomina: Declension archaic: gen. *-yŋ*, acc. *-y* (< *-yγ*); abl. *-dan*. Pronominal inflection preserved. Verbum: Perfectum in *-t* and *-myš* preserved, the latter implying "unseen action". Compound durative present in *-yjor*, *-jōr* in Osm., Tkm. (not in Az., Gag.); fut. in *-(a)žaq*. No nomina verbalia temporis in *-a*, *-γaj*. Nom. verb. fut.-opt. in *-asy*. Comparative degree in O.-Osm., Tkm. *-raq* //*-rāq*.

Syntax: Non-Altajic influences from Iranian (N.-Pers.): subordination with *ki*, strongest in Osm.

Lexikon: Non-Altajic influences from Arabic, N.-Pers.; strongest in Osm.

B. III–VI.

Phonology: Vocalism: All 8 vocalic phonemes. Vacillations *o*/*u*, *ö*/*ü*. Vowel-sequence in Codex Cumanicus not always regular. Labial harmony. Labial attraction in VI, traces in Qypčaq-Özb.—Consonantism: *-γ* > *-u*, *-g* > *-j*; intermediary *γ*/*g* > *v*. Suffix-initial gutturals exist: *-γa*, *-γan*, ger. pf. *-γač*. **đ* > *j*. Modern languages: assimilations and dissimilations in dental-, nasal- and liquid-combinations. Special developments in Qar., due to Slavic influences: intermediary *ö*, *ü* > *'o*, *'u*, consonants in palatal position palatalized: *ölgän* > *ölǵaň*, *körgän* > *ḱorǵaň*; and in the Caucasus: aspiration of unvoiced occlusivae: Qč῾., Błq., Qmq. *q῾ałyan*, *t῾ap-*/*t῾ap῾-*, *č῾aj*. In Qq.-Qqłpq., No. *č* > *š*, *š* > *s*, *j-* > *ž-*; Qpč.-Özb. *j-* > *ž-*. Traces of this development in Qar. of Halicz. Alternation *b-*/*m-*.

Morph. Nom.: *-nyŋ*, *-ny*, *-dan*. Pronominal inflection preserved. Comparative degree in *-raq*. Verb.: Pf. *-t-ym*, *-γan-men*; *-myš* lost, only found in relics. Prs.-fut. in *-a*; opt.-fut. in *-γaj*. Nom. fut. *-γu*/*-gü* > *-ū*/*-ṻ*; nom. fut. necess. in *-asy*. Pron. personalia as enclitics or suffixes after a nomen verbale in predicative function.

Syntax: Non-Altajic features weak, accept for Lit.-Qar. with its entirely 7
Semitic syntax.

Lexikon: Non-Altajic influences from Arabic, N.-Pers., modern Russian, Polish, and Hebrew.

Special for IV and V:

Phon.: Vocal.: Same as in III; regular changes *o* > *u*, *ö* > *ü*, *u* > *o̊*, *ü* > *ȯ*, *ä*/*e* > *i*, *i* > *ɤ*, *y* > *ɤ*. Reduction of vowels in intermediary syllables, a dulling typical of the entire Volga-Kama-region, including Ťăvaš, Mari, and Udmurt. Qn. *č* > *s̄* (щ), South-Qn. *j-* > *ž-*. Alternation *b*/*m*. Morph. as in III. The

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personal pronouns after predicative nomina verbalia became suffixes. Nomen verb. in *-ū/-ū̂* much in use.

Lexikon: Non-Altajic influences from Arabic, N.-Persian, modern from Russian.

Special developments in V, 10, Bašqurt: Phon., Conson.: *č* > *s*, *s* > *h* (East), *ǯ* > *j*; *-s-*, *-s* > *þ* (South). *VdV*, *jdV*, *wdV*, *rdV*, *đdV* > *Cđ̄V/Vđ̄V*; *z* > *đ̄*. *-γ/-g* > *-w* or zero. Morph.: Nom. verb. fut. *-asaq*, nom. nec. *-ahy*. Number of irregular features due to language-mixture. Isoglosses with Tkm. (A. II, 2) and Abaqan (D. VIII).

Special development in V, 7–9, West-Siberian: Phon.: Voc.: Rather regular; labial harmony does not affect last syllable. Palatalization in palatal environment (*jäš* < *jaš* "age"). Conson.: In the majority of the languages *č* > *c*, *ǯ* > *ʒ*; Išim has *č*. Assimilations/dissimilations in liquid/nasal/dental combinations; *-z* > *-s*, remains so before vocalic suffix; sonorization of the intervocalic unvoiced consonants, as in South-Siberia.

Morphology essentially as in III–V. Pron. pers. dat. sg. Toboł *mayan* as in Qq.-Qqłpq., but also 2nd ps. *siŋä*, as against Qq-.Qqłpq. *sayan*.

Syntax: a number of disturbances, as in Bšq.; on Ugrian, later also Russian basis?

Lexikon: Non-Altajic influences from Arabic, Persian, and later esp. Russian.

V, 9 Küärik is transition-link to Abaqan, D. VIII.

C. VII.

Ojrot.

Phon. Vocal.: All 8 vocalic phonemes, labial harmony, labial attraction. Conson. *-γ/-g* > *-w/-u* (*-łγγ* > *-łū* etc.); *b-* > *p-*; *b-/m-*. Contractions typical of the South-Siberian languages: *VγV/VgV* > *V̄* (usually *ȳ* > *ī*). Intervocalic consonant must be voiced, or geminated. Assimilations/dissimilations with liquid/dental/nasal groups. **đ̄* > *j*. Lit.-Ojr. *j-* > *đ̄-*; *j-* > *ł-* in Tuba (Jyš-Kiži), pointing to VIII.

Morphol.: Nom. *-nyŋ*, *-ny*, *-dan*. Pronominal and nominal declension distinguished; suff. poss. 3rd pers. *-i-n-*. Verb.: Pf. *-γan*, in passivic function with suppression of the suffix of the passive aspect, *-ł-/-l-*; contractive suffixation of the pronominal suffixes (*-men* > *-m* etc.; 3. sg. durat. compos. *tur-a-t*); auxil. *-tur-* in compositional *-a-tur-γan* > *-attan/-ättän//-ottоn/-öttön*; gerund. pf. in *-γač* usual. Verbal composition usual and well-developed.

Syntax: regular.

Lexikon: Mongolian influences, later much from Russian.

As group, Ojrot stands between I and VIII.

D. VIII.

Abaqan. Šor is the connecting link between VII and VIII.

Phon. Voc.: Regular; weak labial harmony; labial attraction usual in the palatal series only. Contractions of the South-Siberian type; vowel-elision in the verbal composition (*kel-čâr* < *kel-ä-jat-yr* "is [now] coming"). Instances of exceptional accentuation. Cons.: *č* > *s*, *š* > *s* (excl. Šor), *j-* > *č-*, *j-* > *n-* if

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later in the word nasal follows. Intervocalic consonants are either voiced or geminated. **đ* > *z*. *-γ/-g* > *-ḡ* (*-łyḡ*); *b-* > *p-*. *b-/m-*. Strong contractions in verbal compositions.

Morph. Nom.: *-nyŋ*, *-ny*, *-dan*. Ancient directive cases, *-r-t-yn*, *-qa-r-t-yn*, in adverbially used nouns. Nominal and pronominal declensions distinguished. Suff. possess. 3. ps. *-i-n-*. Verb.: *-γan*, in passive function as in C. VII. Suff. ger. pf. *-γaš*, *-γas*. Nom. pf'i in *-ďyq/-čyq* (= Ujγ. *-juq*). Verbal composition usual and well-developed. Auxiliare durativum *čyt-* < *jat-* in the nom. aor. *-čār/-čār*; auxiliare perfectivum *ys-/yz-* (< *ȳđ-* "to send off").

Syntax: some slight vacillations.

Lexikon: influences from Mongolian and Russian; older ones from South-Samojedic and Jenisejic.

D. IX.

Tuva. Closely related to VIII.

Phon. in the main as in VIII. In Karaγas, sporadically *a* of the 1-st syllable to *y* as in Jakut. Soj., Kγ. *č* > *š*; *š* remains unchanged (intervocalically > *ž*). Develarization of *q* > *k* in Kγ., there *k-* sporadically > *x-*, *h-*. Kγ. (Castrén), Lit.-Soj. *d-* occurs as in SW (Oγuz). **đ* > *d*. *j-* > *č-*; when later in the word nasal occurs, *j-* > *ň-*. Labial harmony, no labial attraction. *b-* > *p-*; *b-/m-*. Sporadically, syllable-contraction (*pâr* > *ber-är* "giving"); sporadically, proto-Turkic length preserved in Kγ. (*dīš* "tooth" = Tkm. id.); sporadical length of unknown origin. Assimilations and dissimilations (no dissimil. of *-nn-*).

Morph. essentially as in VIII. Suff. nom. aor. always *-Vr* (*tār̄* "saying", *čīr* "eating"). Perfectivizing auxiliary *yd-* (< *ȳđ-*) common. Verbal composition usual and well-developed.

Syntax: disturbed, word-order often very free.

Lexikon: strong influences from Mongolian, later Russian; ancient influences from Samojedic and Jenisejic, this probably accounting for words of unknown origin (cf. e. g. Soj. *ałyšqy*, Kγ. *ałyškan* "brother", Soj. *tayana* "daughter", *aššaq* "husband, man", *qunujaq* "woman, wife").

Karaγas leads over to Jakut, E. X.

E. X.

Jakut.

Phon. Voc. Regular. Proto-Turkic length preserved; the lower vowels thereby dipthhongized. *a* of the 1-st syllable to *y*. Cons.: **đ* > *t*. Develarization of *q* > *x*, *k*. *-γ/-g* > zero with preceding length (*-łyγ* > *-łȳ*). *j-*, *č-* > *s-*, *s-* > zero. Lit.-Jak. *VsV* > *VhV*, as in Buŕat, Northwest-Ewenki. Proto-Turkic Orxon *ň* > *j*: *ajȳ* < *aňyγ* "schlecht, evil, bad". *z* > *s*, in special cases on its place *t*.

Morph. Nom.: Loss of the gen.-suffix; acc. *-ny*, after vowel *-y*; dat. loc. *-γa*, instr. *-nan*; recent cases: partit. *-ta*, adverbialis *-ły*, compar. *-tayar*, comit. *-łȳn*, probably after Mongol and Tungus patterns. Specific pronominal inflection. Both systems distinguished. The Verbum shows apart from its common-Turkic nature many traces of a special development of recent origin. Archaic features rare (e. g. nom. pf. *-byt* for common-Tk. *-myš*).

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Syntax: regular, partly freer.

Lexikon: strong influences from Mongolian, then, Russian, older ones from Tungus, Uralic, Palaeo-Asiatic.

F. XI. XII.

Volga-Bulgarian; Ťăvaš.

Profound disturbances in the entire system.

Phon. Voc.: Very disturbed; many vocalic changes ($a > u$, $y > a$, $ü > e$, etc.). Proto-Tk. vocalic length results in vowel-splitting and disyllabity (*kĕvak* < **kōk* "blue", Tkm. *gōk*, Mong. *kökä*) or disappearance (*pĕr*, *per* "ice" = Tkm. *būđ*, Jak. *būs*, *mūs* "id."). Extreme reduction (and dulling). Develarization. Polarization into opposition of palatalized: non-palatalized consonants (< Slavic?). Conson.: *j-* > *ś-* (occasionally > *ť'/č*; *č* > *ś*, *s-* > *š-*; **đ* > *z* > *r*; *-z-*, *-z* : *r* (as in Mong., Tung.); *š* : *l* (as in Mong., Tung.); *q-* > *x-*/ *j-*// zero. Probably two waves of Turkization: 1. a pre-Tatar (Bulgarian), and 2. a Tatar one.

Morph.: special development of a particular character, often quite different from that of Turkic, Mongol, and Tungus.

Nom.: As a result of phonological development, dat. and acc. coincided (*-γa*, *-yγ* > *-a*); new cases: direct. *-aťťa*, comit. *-pa*(*-ťa*), adverbialis *-ťa*, terminativus *-ť'ť'en*, causalis *-šăn*. Combinations of 2 or more case-suffixes are usual. Pl.-suff. *-sem*. Pronominal *-n-* in pronominal inflection preserved. The Numerals are those of common-Turkic; suff. of the ordinalia is *-m* + *-š*(*ĕ*) (poss. 3. ps.). Pron. pers. 1., 2. sg., pl. have in the nominative a proclitic, anaphoric element *e-*: *e-þĕ*, *e-zĕ*, pl. *e-þir*, *e-zir*, while in the casus obliqui they have the stem *man-*, *san,- pir-*, *sir-*. The demonstrativa elsewhere in Turkic unknown. Pron. refl., 1. ps. *xam*, 2. *xu*, 3. *xaj*(*ĕ*), pl. 1. *xaměr*, 2. *xăvăr*, 3. *xăjsem* is also unknown in Tk. Verbum: Far digressing development; different suffixes of the nomina verbalia. The common-Turkic and common-Tungus suff. nom. aor. *-r*, *-ra* seems to be lacking. Traces of an independent verbum negativum seem still to be found with *an* placed before the imperative.

Syntax: relatively regular.

Lexikon: numerous elements of Qn., Finnic, Russian, and, especially of unknown origin.

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The oldest Turkic literary monuments, the Jenisej and Orxon inscriptions, showed considerable resemblance in style to the Old Norse inscriptions, and were therefore called "Runic". The Jenisej inscriptions—the majority from the valley of present-day Taŋnū-Tuva or Uŕaŋxai, where the source rivers of the Käm, the upper Jenisej, gather—probably date largely from the 7th century, which would make them a century older than those of the Orxon and other parts of Northern Mongolia. The script consists of single letters in disjoined composition which evidently acquired their Runic shape for the same reasons as the Old Norse runes. They go back to a Semitic alphabet of the Aramaic type, very likely Aramaic itself, with which the Türküt—probably the Western Türküt—first became acquainted on the steppes north of the T'ien-shan through Soγdian-speaking Christians of the Nestorian creed who lived in that area. Inscriptions in the Ancient Turkic language have been found there in the region of the Tałas valley; however, nothing which might be compared for size and content with the Jenisej or Orxon inscriptions has so far been found.

From the Tałas region the script penetrated also to the Eastern Türküt. While the Tałas and Jenisej script is quite rich in forms—for some letters such as *š* as many as 8 forms are known—in the Orxon it was subjected to a normative treatment. Ligatures do not exist, but some letters stand for two sounds, for instance *lt*, *nt* (or *ld*, *nd* respectively), *nč* (or *nǯ*), or a vowel + a consonant in position after or even before it, as for instance *ič*/*iǯ* or *ök*/*ük*//*kö*/*kü*; however, the defective writing of many vowels even in absolute initial position, where from the viewpoint of Semitic tradition at least an aleph should be written, complicates matters considerably. In the Orxon inscriptions words are usually separated at least by punctuation.

All over Taŋnū-Tuva, rock inscriptions of the Runic type, often accompanied by primitive stylized drawings of animals or hunting scenes, are to be found, but so far they have remained illegible; sometimes it seems possible to detect words like *qaγan* or a few Turkoid words or names. "Inscriptions" of the same type, but usually much more fragmentary, are found also along the upper Lena valley north of the Bajkał. These "inscriptions" are believed by some archaeologists to be older by several centuries than the legible Jenisej and Orxon inscriptions. While those longer inscriptions of Taŋnū-Tuva certainly deserve our attention—they may perhaps be Proto-Qyrqyz or Hunnic—the fragmentary Lena "inscriptions" may well be nothing but the drawings of a few Tamγas, property marks of some tribes who were living and hunting in those places.

In Eastern Türkistan, an area so rich in languages and alphabets, the Turks soon abandoned their awkward Runic script. There are a few text relics, all of minimal size with the exception of one booklet of about a hundred pages, Šamanist in content, which was preserved and found at Ḏun-Ḥuaŋ. But there are thousands of fragments in Ujγur, i. e. Soγdian script, less numerous ones

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in Manichaean and Brāhmī script. As von Le Coq has shown in his article "Kurze Einführung in die Uigurische Schriftkunde", *M.S.O.S.*, vol. 22, pp. 1–19 (Berlin, 1919), according to F. W. K. Müller's research three types of Soγdian are discernible in the finds of Eastern Türkistan: Soγ. I, Soγ. II, and Soγ. III, the last being, in his estimation, a newer kind of Soγdian writing in which, with rare exceptions in Soγ. I and Soγ. II, all Ujγur texts that use the Soγdian script are written. This Soγ. III is therefore always called Ujγur. Which one out of the many varieties of Syriac script was the predecessor of Soγdian and hence of Ujγur cannot yet be established. It was not the Estrangelo alphabet, which represented a transitional form between the disjoined type of Aramaic and the joined type of Syriac. Estrangelo is typical in the finds of Eastern Türkistan of the Christian texts in the Soγdian language and it is the prototype of the "Manichaean" script, itself only a slightly modified form of Estrangelo. Nevertheless, the Soγdian and Ujγur scripts must go back to a writing very close to Syriac, probably a form that so far has not received attention. Early in October 1938, while spending a few days at Palmyra, I found at the entrance to a few tomb chambers, near the Funeral Temple and the Tomb of the Three Brothers situated north of the dense palm grove at the foot of the western hills on whose slopes the famous tomb towers stand, Syriac writing in a dark red color—of a shade very similar, incidentally, to that found in the Turfan area—running along the stone pillars at the very entrance, mostly on the inner side and running from top to bottom, so that they immediately gave me an impression of being Central Asiatic, Ujγur, in origin. This for two reasons: 1) the ductus was quite similar to Soγdian and Ujγur, and 2) it ran from top to bottom, a fact which undoubtedly strengthened the "Central Asiatic" impression. The language was Semitic, probably Syriac, but not Ujγur. On that trip I had no camera with me, and photographs, usually abundantly available from Palmyra through the excellent French Service d'Antiquités de Syrie et du Liban, did not exist for these tomb pillars, nor could I ever obtain any.

Apart from these three Soγdian styles of writing, there existed a cursive one used for everyday writing of texts having no literary or religious value. From the Soγdian cursiva the Ujγur cursiva originated. The legibility of the cursiva is minimal and demands a thorough acquaintance with the language; single letters are often only hinted at, and must be guessed. While the literary texts are written with the qalam—reed pen—on good paper or are printed from wooden blocks, the cursiva texts are written with the Chinese brush—bīr—(from Chinese 筆, cf. infra) on paper of greatly inferior quality. These texts are mostly juridical and commercial in content. Even in the regular Ujγur texts diacritical marks distinguishing aleph and nūn, and often also intermediary rēš, sīn and šīn, zajin and the letter for *ž*, are used only in the later period, while they are absent in the earlier. Manichaean and Christian texts differ slightly in style (ductus) from those of Buddhist content. It is typical of Manichaean texts that whatever the alphabet in which they are written, they use the same punctuation: black dots in Chinese ink in an elliptical red frame, single or double, almost infallibly reveal the texts to be Manichaean. The Soγdian, Soγdian-Ujγur, and Manichaean scripts run from right to left, as do all Semitic and the oldest of the Greek scripts; the Orxon

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inscriptions run in Chinese fashion from top to bottom, with the sequence of the lines from right to left, also as in Chinese. In the rare Runic manuscripts the lines run horizontally. In the sloppily-written Tałas inscriptions and many of the Jenisej ones, the lines are crooked and may alter in direction within the text, running both from right to left and from left to right.

With increasing Chinese influence in Eastern Türkistan, and the impact of Buddhist Ujγur texts printed in China, the Ujγur texts are written more and more from top to bottom, but with the line sequence from left to right.

Soγdian III, i. e. the Ujγur script, was adopted, after the Mongolian conquest of Eastern Türkistan, by the Mongolians themselves, who apparently staffed their growing bureaucracy almost exclusively with Ujγurs. Thus the Ujγur script also became the Mongolian script and since the Mongolians adopted it in a later phase, they also manifested the confusion in orthographical matters typical of that epoch, especially with regard to the letters tau and dālet. The Manžus, who inherited the Ujγur script from the Mongolians, introduced the diacritical marks typical of Manžu, in which they are used also for the vowel sounds. A special style of Mongolian Ujγur developed with the Qalmyqs after the reform by Zaja Pandita Lama, in 1648.

Of a completely different and phonetically rather differentiated character is the Brāhmī script. All the three or four dozen Indian alphabets go back either to Brāhmī or Nāgarī. In their system both alphabets show essential agreement. This refers particnlarly to the rendition of the vowels and the resultant syllabic character of those scripts. The Central Asiatic form of Brāhmī was used in Sanskrit texts and introduced by the Buddhist missionaries to Toxarians, Śakas, and Turks with a consequent enrichment through the addition of a few new letters to indicate sounds which the Indian languages did not possess. However, the Brāhmī script was not limited to Buddhist texts.

The script runs from left to right. As all the Indian scripts abound in ligatures, Dēvanāgarī thus having more than 300 letters, Brāhmī too is ıich in ligatures which, however, are used less for Turkic, since consonant combinations which are to be written in ligature are not common in Turkic. The letters of the palatal vowels are new combinations of j, indicating palatality, perhaps following the pattern of the jōd after wāw in Ujγur for *ö* and *ü*. While the vowels are clearly expressed—except for the *y* which is not distinct from *i* — the consonants necessitated a few new signs, for *q*, γ (and *ḡ*), *ð*, *z* and *ž*, which had already been created for Xotan-Śaka, with the exception of the *q*. The Anusvāra always stands for syllable final *n* and *m*. Other features are typically Indian, too, especially of the Nāgarī system. A certain punctuation used in the rendition of *r* or γ respectively points to the uvular nature of the *r*, typical of New-Ujγur in all its dialects. But beyond that, the rendition of the Ujγur vocalism in Brāhmī is of very specific interest to Turkology, as can now easily be seen from von Gabain's T. T. VIII and T. T. IX, and it deserves specific treatment.

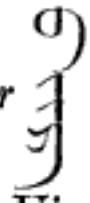
Islam found its way into Türkistan only with great difficulty, and was thus not able to stamp out all non-Arabic writing. The Ujγur literary tradition proved strong and resistant; hence the use of Ujγur script is still found in Islamic texts of the 15th century.

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With the Arabic writing of Turkic, two traditions came into being, that of "Middle Turkic" and later that of Čaγataj, which is basically a transliteration of Ujγur into Arabic letters with the strong Ujγur tendency towards plene writing without the use of the richer resources of Arabic for the rendition of the consonantism, as can be observed in the west with Osman. There Arabic was adopted by Turks who had no literacy of their own worth mentioning. Thus in the second case the Arabic consonantic means are fully exploited, while the great weakness of Arabic—the defective writing of the vowels—is only gradually abolished prior to the more radical reforms of the early 19th century. Āzerī follows the Osman pattern, while for Qazan that of Čaγataj is determinant. Aside from Arabic, Armenian and Greek have always been used for Turkic, almost exclusively for Osman, Armenian also for Qypčaq, the so-called Armeno-Qypčaq texts, and usually by Christians only; Hebrew was used for Qarajīm for quite a long period, in the Crimea as well as in Troki, Łuck, and Halicz. In the Bibliotheca Vaticana a few Turkish (Türkmen?) manuscripts in Syriac script are preserved. The use of Latin for Turkic languages was not an original idea of the Azerbaižanian innovators of 1922, which was taken over in 1928 by Kemāl Paša, the founder of the Turkish Republic, since the Latin alphabet had already been utilized by Franciscan missionaries in the Crimea in the early 14th century, as can be seen from the one extant monument of the Quman language, the Codex Cumanicus of 1303. This document showed a remarkably well devised transcription system (varying slightly with the different hands noticeable in the Codex), while the Latin alphabet was utilized between 1922 and 1938–40 with various methods of transcription and diacritical marks for the different Turkic and other languages of the Soviet Union, as well as for Jakut and Ťăvaš, which had been using the Kyrillica since the 19th century. All those varieties of Latin were abolished in the years 1938–40 in favor of the Kyrillica, which however uses about as many variations of orthography as the Latin alphabet had done, although the Kyrillica proved superior to Latin for phonetic as well as practical reasons; this is evident in the Kyrillica transcription system of the Russian Academy of Sciences as applied by Radloff and many others to the Turkic (and other) languages. But the Kyrillica was not popular as it was looked upon as a symbol of Russification. During a two-week visit to Baku in August 1929, I was invited by the Jaŋalif Qomitasy (Committee on the New Alphabet) to express my opinion on the "new alphabet". After giving due recognition to the Committee for its efforts and work, I said that in my opinion it would have been best to introduce the Kyrillica instead, inasmuch as the Academy of Sciences had devised an excellent transcription system applicable to all Turkic languages; moreover, everybody in the Soviet Union would need the Kyrillica as well as a knowledge of Russian. I shall never forget the disappointed faces of my hosts; if I had used coarse language I would certainly have committed a lesser faux pas than by this scholarly statement uttered in full conviction!

The Turks, like the other Altajians, became acquainted with the art of writing through their contacts with the Chinese. The common-Turkic expression for "to write" is *biti-*, a derivative in *-i-* from the Chinese noun **bit* < **pjět* 筆 "writing brush (from camel hair)". This verb is common-Altajic: Mong. *biči-*, in Tungus found only in South-Tungus (Manžu, Nānaj) *bičі-*

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(while North-Tungus has Ew. *dukū-*, Negidal *duki-*, Lamut *duk-* "id.", only the Upper-Amur-dialect of Ewenki has *bičі-* from South-Tungus) < **bit-i-*, while the Chinese source-word for "writing brush" has been borrowed later in its rhotacistic form, Ujγur *bīr* , as typical of the earlier, T'aŋ-time, Chinese borrowings in Ancient-Turkic, Ujγur in particular. This rhotacism of Chinese final dental occlusives is also evident in Chinese borrowings in Korean, cf. Kor. *p'il / p'ir-* "id.". While *bīr* has not survived beyond Classical Ujγur, a number of eastern Turkic languages has preserved *biti-*. The western Turkic languages have in its stead *jaz-* which is attested from Kāšγarī on, and this with the Turkic peoples of Islamic creed. It seems to have originally meant something different, such as "to adorn, embellish, design" as e. g. in Old-Osman of the XIV-th and later centuries, in the same way as the words for "to write" in many languages are of semantically secondary origin (cf. write, γράφειν, пьсати, ꙗ𞀆ѣ etc.). The use of *biti-* was probably disesteemed, if not prohibited, in Islamic milieu which tried to eliminate gradually all reminiscences of the pre-Islamic Ujγur times of جاهلّيه. But the noun *bitig* "script, writing, written document, book" quite often occurs, in the form *biti*, in Old-Osman literature down to the XVII-th ct., after which it begins to become obsolescent and bookish.

The various Turkic languages have the following forms: Ujγur *biti-*; with Kāšγarī, the simplex is lacking, but many verbal and nominal derivatives of *biti-* are found; WB AT., Ča., Qom. *biti-* "id.", *bitik* "writing, document, book", also in Qrm. and Qar.; *pit-* OT along with *pütü-* and *püt-* "id." in N.-Uj., Tar.; the Siberian Turkic languages have the Mongol loanword in the form *pičі-* in Altaj and Tel., *pižі-* in Leb., *bižі-* in Tuva (= Lit.-Soj.); in Xaqas, only the derivative noun *pičik* seems to be found. Castrén lists, apart from Karaγas *bitі-* (< Mong. *bičі-*), Qojbał *bās-*, properly "to press (down)", the modern expression for "to print" in all the Turkic languages;

Kāšγarī *jaz-*, Qom., Qrm., Qn., QarŁT., Osm. *jaz-*, Qn., Qq. *žaz-*, Özb. *jåz-*, Tkm. *jaƍ-*;

for "writing, document, book" etc. the Turkic languages use either derivatives of *biti-* such as *bitig* or *bitik*, mentioned above, along with the loanword from Mongolian, *bičik*, or, in Islamic milieu, *kitāb*, *kitap* < Ar. كتاب. Concerning these and some other words for "book, writing", cf. K. H. Menges in von-Farkas-Memorial, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, vol. XXXI, pp. 183 ff.

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V. SKETCH OF THE COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

Along with the great majority of the languages of mankind, the Altajic languages are agglutinative, and within the multitude of agglutinative languages they, as well as Uralic, Jukagir, Drāviḍian, Japanese, and Korean, show agglutination by suffixes only. Thus the first syllable of an Altajic word is also always its first stem or root syllable. Fusion or, finally, concretion of suffixal elements with stem or root syllables is generally unknown, and when it occurs, it does so due to laws of assimilation and/or contraction found in one or the other of the single languages or branches, but never in an entire group as typical or regular for that group. When in this way single Altajic languages approach the flexivic type through the rise of assimilated and contracted forms, there is still a great difference between Altajic agglutination and, for instance, Indo-European flexivity, for in no Altajic language do there exist suffixes which, like the Indo-European (Latin, Greek) verbal *-ō*, have a four- or five-fold function, that of the first singular indicative present active, while in the agglutinative languages, such as Uralic, Altajic, and many others, each function to be expressed necessitates one suffix. It is still possible to assume that I.E. *-ō*, which certainly results from contraction, contains two or perhaps three older suffixes, but the third, and a probable fourth suffix, which we can surmise as having existed in the agglutinative stage of Indo-European, can no longer be detected. Altajic forms approaching the flexivic type are, for example, in Turkic mostly forms of verbal composition such as the Özbek praesens progressivum (cf. infra) *qył(a)jappan* "I am (just now) doing", *kel(ä)jappän* "I am (just now) coming, on my way" < **qył-a—jat-yp—(tur-a-* or *tur-ur)man* etc., or, similarly, in Qyzył (from A. J. Joki, "Wörterverzeichnis der Kyzyl-Sprache", Studia Orient. Fenn., Helsinki, 1954, XIX, pp. 14, 31), prs. progress., 1. sg. *ištim* "I am drinking", 1. pl. *ištibis* "we are (just now) drinking" < **ič-ä—tur-a—*(or *tur-ur*)*—biz*, etc., 1. sg. *šurttaptym* "I am living, dwelling" < **jurt-a-p—tur-a—* (or *tur-ur*)*—biz*, 1. pl. defin. aspect *šurttapsādyfs* "we do (just) live (dwell)" < **jurt-a-p—ȳđ-a—tur-a* (or *tur-ur*)*—biz*; Mong. *mori(n)*, "horse", instr. sg. *moŕōr*, instr. sg. poss. refl. 3. ps. *mor'ōrō*; Buŕat *oro-* "to enter": imp. 2. pl. *oryt*, 3. sing. et pl. *orūža*. In the South-Tungus Nānaj conjugation forms of flexivic type are quite common.

Just as the Altajic languages are synthetical, the Turkic languages, too, are synthetical languages throughout. They have been very little influenced by the type of modern European languages, and even less so by that of Russian; the analytical type has had only a very weak influence, noticeable usually in syntax, and then mostly in fiction dialogue.

A. PHONOLOGY

Common to all three Altajic groups is the sound harmony—which in a few single languages has been reduced to simple vowel harmony—characterized by the bi-polarity of the sounds, which divides them into two opposite groups,

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a velar and a palatal one. The sound harmony is well developed in Turkic and Mongolian, less so in Tungus; the sound harmony of Uralic is basically of the same nature, but in some languages weak or completely lacking, while that of Čukči-Koŕak is of a different nature: it is vocalic only, and centers around the opposition labial: non-labial vowels. Altajic has a profound aversion to consonant clusters, considering more than two consonants an intolerable cluster. Such "clusters" are permitted in the inlaut only; they may occasionally occur in the auslaut, if one of those consonants is a nasal, liquid, or sibilant, but never in the anlaut. Nasals and liquids are generally not tolerated in word initial position, in the anlaut; the strictest language in this respect is Turkic, where no liquids or nasals are permitted in initial position, the only exception being the interrogative pronoun of matter *nä* (*ne*, *ni*), "what?", while *n-* is possible in Mongolian, and in Tungus all nasals and liquids, with the exception of *r-* are tolerated in the anlaut. In contradistinction to Indo-European, Semitic, and Caucasian, the Altajic languages are poor in consonantic phonemes, but relatively rich in vocalic ones, being inferior in this respect only to Indo-Eurpoean. With the pre-historic evolution of the palatal equivalents of the labial vowels, the sounds *ö* and *ü*, Altajic, like Uralic, possesses sounds which are lacking in the great majority of the languages of the world.

In Common Altajic, as in Common Uralic, the root syllable always retains the stress, so that the accentuation of the prima has become the rule, still followed in the great majority of the Uralic and Altajic languages. Generally it is supposed that this accent was expiratoric, a stress accent; in addition, or later in the history of the languages, a secondary accent developed on the last syllable of a word, which also was the last suffixal syllable, as a musical or tonal accent, quite similar to the accentuation in Swedish. This accentuation is supposed to have finally led in the Turkic group to a combination of expiratoric and musical stress on the last syllable, so that in Turkic today there is an ultima accentuation slightly reminiscent of French. While the Mongolian languages have prima accentuation throughout, the Tungus languages seem to have both types of accentuation: in Ewenki and Lamut, the same kind as in Mongolian, and in the south—in Nānaj—the same kind as in Turkic. There is a third, transitional type in Udihe, which corroborates the above assumption of an accentuation shift from the prima to the ultima in later historical times. That a prima accentuation may well have survived in Turkic down to historical times can be concluded from the presence of alliteration in folk poetry found in Ujγur folk songs, as well as in the epic poetry of Central Asiatic and Siberian Turkic peoples. In modern Turkic, the accentuation falls on the last syllable, with a few "exceptions" which clearly indicate the non-suffixal, enclitical nature of the unaccented syllable.

The vowel system of Turkic shows a rare degree of regularity, and is assumed to have existed as such in Proto-Turkic and Proto-Altajic. It contains four phoneme pairs divided, according to the basis of articulation, into the two primary groups of velar (posterior) and palatal (anterior) vowels, which again are sub-divided into labial/non-labial, and open/closed vowels.

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	non-labial		labial	
	open	closed	open	closed
velar	a	y	o	u
palatal	ä	i	ö	ü

The sound *e* standing qualitatively in between *ä* and *i* is not to be assumed as a Common-Turkic phoneme, since it is only a variant of either *ä* or *i*, often occurring side by side in one and the same dialect of a given language; for instance, the Özbek *ber-/bär-/bir-*, "to give", may be found in all the above three major variants in one or the other of the Iranized dialects of the cities, while other languages limit themselves to some one of these sounds, for example Qazan *bir-*, or Osman *vär-*. There are a certain number of cases in which the opposition *ä*:*i*, comparable to that of *o*:*u* and *ö*:*ü* in the labial category, has no semantic role within the word. As a matter of fact, the "indecision" or hesitation in the labial category is more widespread and typical for all the Altajic languages, e. g. *söjlä-* "to speak": *süjlä-* in many languages; or *sor(a)-/sur(a)-* "to ask a question", etc., which fact has brought about in some Turkic languages an actual vowel shift, as for example in Qazan-Tatar, which consequently developed complete regularity.

It is not possible to assume the corresponding vocalic phonemes with long quantities for Common Turkic, since traces of an ancient phonetic quantitative opposition have been preserved only in Türkmen and Jakut, with some sporadic features in Ťăvaš[1]. Insofar as the vocalic length has been investigated, it is found with a few, unclear exceptions, in the root syllables only, and there it often corresponds to a di-syllabity in Mongolian, which means that, in these instances, the length in Turkic is, in all probability, of secondary origin as a compensatory lengthening of an ancient di-syllabity in Altajic: cf. e. g. Tkm. *gȫk* "blue, heaven": Mong. *kökä* "id.", Tkm. *āb* "hunt": Mong. *aba* "id.", etc. The quantitative opposition may be assumed for Proto-Altajic—as Poppe has done—but it is on the verge of dying out in all historical Altajic languages, the only exception of a more conservative character being found, in this as in many other instances, in the North-Tungus languages, and even there we see the same tendency at work along with considerable vacillation, especially in suffixal syllables. The existence of Proto- and Common-Altajic lengths in non-first syllables can be detected from certain consonantic sound changes occurring in positions before the vowels of such syllables, as has recently been definitely established by Poppe in his "Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen" I, (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 39ff., 143ff. 9

[1] Research has been considerably hampered either by the non-existence or the inaccessibility of sufficient Türkmen oral material; moreover, it is to be stressed that in Türkmen orthography the length is not marked. Only now, in spring 1964, after this book has been completed, the new Түркмен Дилиниң Сөзлүги, 866 pp., edited by M. Ja. Xamzajev, Ašġabat 1962, became available to me. The great value of this work consists in its relative richness in examples and the indication of vocalic length.

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Common Altajic non-long vowels in final position underwent complete reduction in Turkic during the pre-historic period (cf. Poppe, op. cit., pp. 117ff.).

The nature of the vowel of the first syllable determines that of the vowels of all subsequent syllables, which thus can have only either velar or palatal vowels. From non-first syllables, the phonemes *o* and *ö* are excluded; thus the stem and suffixal vowels can only be either *a/ä* or *y/i* and *u/ü*. In the oldest stage of historical Turkic, the vowels of stem and suffixal syllables were either *a/ä* or *y/i*. All the suffixes of Turkic can be divided on the basis of their vocalism into those having *a/ä* and those having *y/i*. In time—and this is as early as the earliest Turkic texts—the suffixes with *y/i* after a preceding syllable with a labial vowel could occasionally have *u/ü*. This type of assimilation is generally called labial harmony, and it becomes quite usual in later (?) Ujγur, but the absolute rule in languages such as Osman, Qyrγyz, and Jakut. Vowel assimilation after labials is carried still further to Labial Attraction, demanding a labial vowel also in the case of the stem syllables or suffixes having *a/ä*; but this development, which has not yet reached its full strength, is generally limited in Turkic to syllables after the vowels *o/ö* of the first or root syllable. It is beginning to spread also to syllables after *ü*, but is not yet found after *u*. This Labial Attraction, regular after *o/ö* in Mongolian and certain Tungus languages, is typical of the Turkic languages from the Volga-Don triangle up to northeast Siberia, not including in this area the southwest Turkic languages, nor those of the Abaqan and Tuva groups. In Ujγur, Čaγataj and Osman, a labial vowel may occur in certain stem syllables and suffixes that follow a syllable without labial vowel (cf. Ujγur of the Qaraxanid epoch, *altun*, "gold", *xatun*, "lady"; Osman *alup*, "having taken", *gälüp*, "having come", *qapu*, "door", *aju*, "bear", *aγu*, "poison", etc.).

Basic features of vowel sequence:

The examples are common-Turkic, i. e. typical of the great majority of the Turkic languages, thus individual languages are mentioned in special instances only.

Velar: *qar* "snow", loc. sg. *qar-da*, poss. 3. ps. sg. *qar-y*; verbal derivative: *qar-ła-n-*, med. "to be, become, covered with snow", 3. sg. pf. def. *qar-ła-n-dy*, indef. *qar-ła-n-myš*;
ara "middle, midst", loc. *ara-da*, poss. 3. sg. *ara-sy*, abl. poss. 3. sg. *ara-sy-n-dan*;
qary "old", abl. *qary-dan*, poss. 3. sg. *qary-sy*;
(Orx.) *qapyγ* "door, gate", Uj., Kāš. *qapuγ* "id.", Osm., Qrm. *qapu* "id.", poss. 3. sg. Uj. *qapuγ-y*, Osm. *qapu-su*;
qyz "girl", loc. *qyz-da*, poss. 3. sg. *qyz-y*, pl. indef. *qyz-łar*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *qyz-łar-y-n-dan*;
boł- "to become", pf. indef. *boł-γan*, Osm., Az. *oł-an*, Uj. *boł-myš*, Osm., Az. *oł-muš*;
oraq "sickle", abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *oraq-łar-y-n-dan*;
ołur- "to sit down", pf. indef. *ołur-γan*, Osm. *otur-an*, Ujγ. *ołur-myš*, Osm. *otur-muš*;

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buz "ice", loc. *buz-da*, verbal deriv. *buz-ła-n-* "to be covered with, converted into, ice", pf. indef. Osm. *buz-ła-n-myš*, Central Asia *buz-ła-n-γan*, denominal noun *buz-łuγ* "icy", Osm. *buz-łu* "id.", *buz-łuq* "icy place, glaciation", poss. 3. sg. *buz-y*, Osm., Qγ. *buz-u*;
bułut "cloud(s)", abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *bułut-łar-y-n-dan*, verbal derivative, abl. poss. 3. sg. nominis perfecti, Osm. *bułut-ła-n-dyγ-y-n-dan* "after, because, (the sky) had become overcast";
Palatal: *är* "man", loc. sg. *är-dä*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *är-lär-i-n-dän*, Kāš. *är-lä-n-* "to marry (said of women)", pf. def. 3. sg. *är-lä-n-d-i*, *är-däm* "virtue", abl. sg. *ärdäm-dän*, ancient *ärdäm-din*, nom. privativum *ärdäm-siz*, deriv. noun *ärdäm-siz-lik* "virtuelessness", *är-lik* "manliness", abl. sg. *är-lik-din*, later *är-lik-dän*, abl. sg. poss. 3. ps. *är-lik-i-n-dän*;
Uj., Kāš. *äđgü* "good", abl. *äđgü-din*, poss. 3. ps. *äđgü-si*, Osm., Az. *äji*, poss. 3. sg. *äji-si*, abl. sg. *äji-dän*;
iš "matter, work", abl. sg. *iš-dän*, abl. sg. poss. 3. ps. *iš-i-n-dän*; same in pl. *iš-lär-i-n-dän*; deriv. noun *iš-či* "worker", dat. pl. poss. 3. ps. *iš-či-lär-i-n-ä*;
inäk "cow", abl. sg. *inäk-dän*, dat. pl. poss. 3. ps. *inäk-lär-i-n-ä*;
ikkiz "twin(s)", abl. sg. *ikkiz-dän*, pl. poss. 3. ps. *ikkiz-lär-i-n-dän; ičägi* "intestin(s), lung(s)", Uj., Kāš. *ičägü*, poss. 3. sg. *ičägi-si*, *ičägü-si*, same, abl. pl. *ičägü-lär-i-n-dän*;
ički "drink", Uj., Kāš. *ičkü*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *ičkü-lär-i-n-din*, *ički-lär-i-n-dän*; deriv. noun *ički-lik* "for drinking";
köl "lake", abl. sg. *köl-dän*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *köl-lär-i-n-dän*, Osm., Az. *göl*, abl. sg. *göl-dän*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *göl-lär-i-n-dän*, indef. sg. poss. 3. ps. *göl-ü*, denom. noun ("adject.") *göl-lü* "lake-", *Tuz Čöl-ü Göl-ü* "Salt-Steppe-Lake" (in Central Anatolia);
köŋül, Osm., Az. *göŋül* "heart", abl. sg. *köŋül-dän*, *göŋül-dän*, abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *köŋül-lär-i-n-dän*, Osm., Az. *göŋül-lär-i-n-dän*, indef. sg. poss. 3. ps. Uj. *köŋl-i*, Osm., Az. *göŋl-ü*, pl. *köŋül-lär-i*, *göŋül-lär-i*;
kök-är- "to become blue (*kök*)", pf. indef. Uj., Kāš. *kök-är-miš*, later *kökär-gän*;
küč "force, power", Orx., Uj., Kāš. loc. sg. *küč-dä*, loc. pl. poss. 3. ps. *küč-lär-i-n-dä*, indef. poss. 3. sg. *küč-i*, Osm. *güž-ü*, loc. sg. *güč-dä*, loc. pl. poss. 3. ps. *güč-lär-i-n-dä*, sg. *güž-ü-n-dä*, denominal nouns *güč-lü*, *güč-lük*, denominal verb *güč-sü-mäk* "(action of) causing difficulties";
küč-lä-n- "to grow strong, become powerful", pf. indef. *küč-lä-n-miš*, pf. def. 3. pl. *küč-lä-n-di-lär*;
Kāš. *kül-ünč*, *kül-üt* "laughter", abl. *kül-ünč-din*, dat. sg. *kül-ünč-kä*, poss. 3. sg. indef. *kül-ünč-i*, Osm. *gül-ünč* "ridiculous", deriv. noun *gül-ünč-lü* "id., comical", *gül-üm-sä-* "to smile", pf. ind. 3. sg. *gül-üm-sä-miš*;
Kāš. *kürgäk* "oar", abl. pl. poss. 3. ps. *kürgäk-lär-i-n-din*, Osm. *kü-räk-lär-i-n-dän*.

Vowel sequence in labial harmony (after F. G. Isxakov in "Issledovanija po sravnit. gramm. ťurkskix jazykov", I, pp. 141–143—listing, however, only forms from the modern literary languages —):
Root-vowel *o*: Indef. poss. 3. sg. of *qoł* "arm, hand": Osm. *qoł-u*, Az. *ġoł-u*, Qγ. *qoł-u*, Qmq. *qoł-u*, Lit.-Tuva *qoł-u*; Jak. *oγo* "child", indef. poss. 2. pl. *ɔγo-γut* "your child".
Root-vowel *ö*: indef. sg. poss. 3. ps. of *köl*, *göl* "lake": Osm. *göl-ü*, Az. *göl-ü* (*ǯ'öl-ü* with Isxakov, in dialects only), Qγ. *köl-ü*, Qmq. *köl-ü*, Lit.-Tuva *xöl-ü*,

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but also found in Ojrot (Alt., Tel. etc.) after "Proben", I: *köl-ü*; Jak. *kötör* "bird", indef. poss. 2. sg. *kötör-üŋ* "thy bird".
Root-vowel *u*: indef. sg. poss. 3. ps. of *quš* "bird": Osm. *quš-u*, Az. *ġuš-u*, Qγ. *quš-u*, Qmq. *quš-u*, Lit.-Tuva *quž-u*; Jak. indef. poss. 1. sg. *qus-um/quh-um* "my duck".
Root-vowel *ü*: indef. sg. 3. ps. poss. of *küč*, *güč* "force, power": Osm. *güž-ü* (with Isxakov erroneously or due to a misprint, *güč-ü*), Az. *güž-ü*, Qγ. *küč-ü*, Ojr. *küč-ü*, Qmq. *güč-ü*, Lit.-Tuva *küž-ü*; Jak. indef. sg. 1. ps. poss. *kūs-üm/kūh-üm*.

Vowel sequence in labial attraction (after F. G. Isxakov, ibidem, where no distinction is made between labial harmony and labial attraction). Indefin. pl. and indef. pl. poss. 3. ps. of the same examples:
Root-vowel *o*: Qγ. *qoł-dor*, *qoł-dor-u*; Ojr. *qoł-dor*, *qoł-dor-y* (but has in "Proben" I labial harmony, as in Qγ.: *qoł-dor-u*); Jak., suff. poss. 3. sg. *-ta*: *oγo-to* "his, her, child", after *uo* < *ō* no labial attraction: *uoł-łar* < **ōł-łar* < *oγuł-łar* "sons".
Root-vowel *ö*: Qγ. *köl-dör*, *köl-dör-ü*, Ojr. *köl-dör*, *köl-dör-i* (but in "Proben" I *köl-dör-ü*); similarly, no labial attraction is mentioned for Lit.-Qazaq, where according to "Proben", III, i. e. in the eastern dialects, it exists; likewise, it does exist in Qaraqałpaq—*köl-dör*, *köl-dör-ü*; Jak., suff. poss. 3. sg. *-a*: *kötör-ö* "his, her, bird", but after *üö* < *ō̈* no labial attraction: *küöl-lär* "lakes" < **kōl-lär*.
Root-vowel *u*: no labial attraction.
Root-vowel *ü*: Qγ. *küč-tör*, *küč-tör-ü*, Ojr. the same, but in Lit.-Ojr. no labial attraction, *küč-lär*, *küč-lär-i*; Qazaq in "Proben", III and in Qaraqałpaq, *küš-tör*, *küš-tör-ü*, while the literary languages have no labial attraction. Jakut has no labial attraction after *ü*: *kūs-ä/kūh-ä*, indef. pl. poss. 3. ps. *kūs-tär-ä*.

Like labial harmony in Osm., Az., Qmq., Qγ., Ojr. and Jakut, labial attraction comprises, in Qq.-Qqłpq., Qγ., and Ojr. usually the entire word, occasionally even a compositional group, as seen in the following Qazaq examples: *özgölögön*, pf. indef., "having changed" < *özgä-lä-gän*, *körsötülgön* "shown" < *kör-sä-t-il-gän*, *kündörünnön* "since their days" < *kün-lär-i-n-dän*; in composition: *öl'-ölmögön* "not having been able to die" < *öl-ä—at-ma-γan*, but usually not in compositions with *tuγun*: *körsötö-tuγun* "for showing" < *kör-sä-t-ä—tur-γan*.

Peculiar features of vowel sequence have been evidenced by the Ujγur texts written in Brāhmī script, which is the only writing system capable of a full and rather adequate rendition of the vocalism. These features must be ascribed to a certain dialect of Ujγur rather than to an indefinable period of the language, especially in view of similar and parallel features extant in the vocalism of the southern dialects of New Ujγur, spoken in the southern oases, preponderantly that of Xotan. Instances of *-o/-ö* in non-first syllables seem to be due to a general uncertainty in the nature of these vowels, apparently easily confused with *u/ü*, as typical of modern Northwestern languages, such as Qazaq-Qaraqałpaq. Here would belong cases such as *jerteňčö*—also *jirtinčü*, "world"; *ägsömāz*—also *ägsümäz*—"not lacking", *arttoq*—also *artuq*—"more"; *kertö*—also *kertü*, *kirtü*—"true". But there seems to have existed, apart from the usual labial attraction of the type *toło* < *toła* (full), a labial attraction of a particular kind which comes forth as a qualitative vowel assimilation: *köŋlöm-iṁ*, acc.

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poss. 1. sg. "my heart"; *köŋlömnöŋ*, gen. of this form; *oŧorop*, "sitting", and the like, for *köŋlüm-in*, *köŋlüm-niŋ*, *oŧurup*. These latter cases may likewise be due to the above-cited "uncertainty" of the true vocalic quality. In a similar way, *y* and *i* are not distinguished.

The diphthongs of Turkic, in contrast to those of Indo-European, are not independent phonemes, but are of secondary origin, either from the combination of asyllabic *i̯* (*j*) and *u̯* (*w*) with a preceding vowel, or from an older length, as in Jakut. The syllabic vowels cannot follow each other without being separated by an hiatus-eliminating element, usually the asyllabic *i̯* (*j*).

In Turkic, as in the other Altajic languages, irruptions in the vowel harmony are found, although of lesser significance than, say, in Mongolian. The first infringement of the vowel-harmonic pattern to become apparent was undoubtedly the disappearance of the velar quality of the sound *y*, and hence its coincidence with the sound *i*. While this development, which took place in Mongolian prior to the Old Mongolian period, led in that case to the develarization of the gutturals *q*, *γ* in position before *i* (< *y*), to *k*, *g*, this latter development did not take place as a consequence of the develarization of the sound *y* to *i*. This is seen in New Ujγur and the city dialects of Özbek with the status of a rule, but it occurs as a tendency in other Turkic languages too. However, in place of the ancient *y*, the majority of the Özbek dialects, as well as other Turkic languages which have lost the *y*, show a dulled, slightly reduced vowel, which in no case is identical with a palatal *i*, but only approaches it in quality. But as a rule in those same dialects or languages, the palatal phoneme *i* also loses its clearcut palatal nature, and to some extent approaches the *y*, without, however, becoming velar. This dulling or reduction leads at least to the loss of the oppositional distinction between velar and palatal nature; furthermore, if the root or stem does not contain any velar consonantic phonemes, it leads to an uncertainty in its vowel-harmonic treatment when suffixes are to be attached. This is the case, for instance, with roots such as *yš*, "matter, thing", and *yt*, "dog", which in Kāšγarī were still of a velar nature, but today are palatal everywhere; while stems such as (New Ujγur) *qiŧ*, *qiš*, *siq-* are regulary treated as velar. How early in Turkic this develarization of the sound *y* set in is impossible to say; it may have already begun with Ujγur, as a consequence of strong non-Turkic influences, but it may definitely have existed in Čaγataj, since here the non-Turkic influences were stronger because of the languages of Islam—Arabic and Persian.

A contraction of *i*-diphthongs, for instance *aj* > *â*, which sporadically occurs in the modern Turkic languages, or the regular N.-Ujγur *i*-umlaut, type *ata*: *ate-si*, is as such an infraction of the vowel harmony, but it has not led to any vacillation in the sound harmonic treatment of the suffixes.

By far the strongest irruption into the system of the vowel harmony has taken place in the so-called Iranized dialects of Özbek, spoken by the sedentary Turkic city population of Özbekistan. This is definitely due, as Polivanov assumed, to the overwhelming influence of Iranian—New Persian (Tāǯīk) in particular—upon the Turkic language of the Čaγatajians, as well as on the latest arrivals—the Özbeks. In general, the Iranization of Özbek is unparalleled in the entire Turkic group, and languages which have been strongly influenced by non-synharmonic languages, as Osman, Qarajīm, or Gagauz have been by

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Arabic and Persian, Hebrew, and Slavic, have nonetheless preserved the vowel harmony in its essential features, the Osman language—with the natural exception of the many foreign words—in almost unadulterated form.

In the Iranized dialects of Özbek, the typically Altajic, Turkic sounds *y*, *ö*, and *ü* are replaced by *i̯*/*ɔ*, *o̯*/*o*, and *u̯*/*u*, *a* by *å*/*a̯*, where always a certain degree of vacillation can be observed from one city to the other; in some dialects, no traces of *ö* and *ü* can be detected, as e. g. in the pronunciation of the literary language as described by Kononov ("Özb. Grammar", § 6, p. 16ff.). The orthography sticks, in principle, to the phonetics of the Iranized dialects; it has only и (*i*), у (*u*), and ў (*ŏ*), the latter representing the vowels going back to *o* and *ö* respectively; thus, ўт, *ŏt*, represents 4 different common-Turkic words: 1. *ot* "herb, grass", 2. *ōt* "fire", 3. *öt-* "to pass by", 4. *ȫt* "gall(bladder)", or бўл-, *bŏl-*: 1. *bol-* "to become", 2. *bȫl-* "to divide", ўр-, *ŏr-*: 1. *or-* "to reap", 2. *ȫr-* "to braid, plait". Cf. furtheron forms like: *ŏzgarganda* "when, after, changing" < *özgärgändä*, *kŏrmåq* (кўрмоқ) "seeing", *kŏrsatuči* "indicator, indicative; who usually shows, indicates" < *kör-sä-t-ig-či*, *kŏrsatilgan* "shown" < *kör-sä-t-il-gän*, *tugallanmasiga* "to its ending, finish" < *tügäl-lä-n-mä-si-gä*, *kiradigan* "who usually enters, has to enter" < *kir-ä—tur-γan*, *tušunaman* "I am thinking (at present, now)" < *tüš-ün-ä-män*, *tušunip-turaman* "I am always thinking" < *tüš-ün-ip—tur-a-man*, *ŏγliniŋ ŏlganligi xabari käldi* "the news came that his son has died" < *oγłyniŋ ölgänligi xabary käldi*. As a consequence of this, suffixes are used in one and the same form only, e. g. *kŏrmåq* "seeing", *bilmåq* "knowing", *sezmåq* "feeling, perceiving"; *qilgan*, *korgan*, *tušgan* ("having done, seen, fallen")—in cases like the latter three, the script renders, without intention, however, almost a neutral form which can be read *qi̯łγan*, *kŏrgän*, *tŭškån* as well as *qi̯lgan*, *korgan*, *tuškan*, etc.

10 While the Altajic languages do not possess vowel alternation (ablaut) as a regular and developed phonological category fulfilling morphological functions—in contradistinction to Indo-European and Semitic—there nevertheless exists in the Altajic languages a singular instance of true vocalic alternation distinguishing singular and plural in the personal pronoun: Turkic *bä-n*/*mä-n*, "I", obliquus stem *mä-n-*, pl. *bi-z*, "we", *sä-n*, "thou", *si-z*, "you", where, apart from the ablaut of the root vowel, the pronominal plural suffix *-z* is attached in Turkic; this suffix does not appear in most of the Tungus languages: cf. Ew. *bi*, "I", obliquus stem *mi-n-*: *bu*, "we", obliquus stem *mu-n-*; likewise the ablaut is found in the obliquus stems of Mongolian: 1. sg. *mi-n-*, 1. pl. *ma-n-*, 2. sing. *či-n-* (< **ti-n-*), 2. pl. *ta-n-*. An ablaut of a secondary nature is found, from the Orxon Inscriptions on, in the dat. sg. of the pronomen personale 1st and 2nd sg., *maŋa*, *saŋa*, of the roots **mä-*/*bä-* and **sä-* (cf. infra).

The same polarity found in the vocalic system of Turkic is typical of its consonantism, strictly distinguishing between velar, resp. velarized, and palatal, resp. palatalized consonantic phonemes. Vocalism and consonantism are conditioned upon each other, so that it is impossible to speak of vowel harmony alone—as is usually done in grammars of Turkic languages—, the term sound harmony as applied to the entire sound system is the proper expression.

เนื้อหาคุ้มครองลิขสิทธิ์

The consonantic phonemes of Common Turkic and Ancient Turkic are:

	occl.	spirants	sibilants	affricates	nasals	liquids
deep velar	q	(ḫ), γ				ɬ
velar					ŋ	
pre-palatal	k, g	(x)				
palato-alveolar		š		č, ǯ	ň	
dental	t, d	(δ)	s, z		n	l
labial	p, b	(f), v ?			m	
lingual						r
semi-vowels	j (asyllabic i̯)					
	w (asyllabic u̯)					

Of these approximately 20 consonantic phonemes, none has been lost in modern Turkic; instead, a few more consonantic phonemes have developed.

The profound aversion of Turkic, shared by all Altajic languages, to spirantic sounds is immediately recognizable. While there is no voiced equivalent of the deep velar occlusive *q*, the expected *ġ*—a rarely occurring sound anywhere in the languages of the world—is replaced in all Altajic languages by the spirant γ. The spirants *ḫ* and *x* seem to have occurred in Ujγur, where they were adopted from Syriac, Soγdian and/or other Iranian or Indo-European languages. The affricative tendencies in initial $q > q^x > {}^qx > ḫ\ (x)$ of a number of modern Turkic languages does not necessarily go back to the time of classical Ujγur. While there exists the palato-alveolar spirant *š*, this spirant does not possess a voiced equivalent, which in modern Turkic languages is either of foreign origin, or has developed, as it did in Siberia, from intervocalic *š*. This sound is usually of dorsal articulation, and must have been this way in the oldest period, since orthographic features of the Orxon inscriptions, as well as its replacement by the Brāhmī *ś* in Ujγur texts written in Brāhmī, provide important indications of this fact. For the palato-alveolar affricata *ǯ*, no conclusive graphic distinction exists right down to Čaγataj; while Orxon and Ujγur use the character for *č*, Čaγataj prefers instead the *c̄*. The consistent use of the same letter for Indian and Iranian *ǯ*, as well as for the sound *č*, certainly does not mean that the living pronunciation did not distinguish between the two sounds. However, in genuine Turkic words, *ǯ* never occurs in initial position, except as a result of secondary development; in intermediary position *č* may intervocalically become voiced, *ǯ*, as in Osman, for example.

The voiced dental sibilant *z* never occurs in initial position, while its unvoiced equivalent is rare as a word-final.

The labial unvoiced occlusiva *p* is rare in initial position; the spirant *v*, never original as initial, occurs in Ujγur, where it is of secondary origin from post-vocalic final *-b*. While no liquid can be found in initial position, of the nasals only *m* occurs initially, often in alternation with *b-* in Common Turkic, while *n* is found only in the interrogative pronoun *nä* (*ne*, *ni*), "what?" and its derivatives. The velar nasal *ŋ* also occurs in palatal words. The sound *ň* dis-

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appeared early, since it became *n* or *j* respectively during the Ujγur period. The sound *ň* is found originating from *j* in the modern languages of Siberia.

The language of the Orxon and Jenisej inscriptions shows only seven phonemes in the initial position, the occlusivae *b*, *t*, *q*/*k*, *č*, the dental sibilant *s*, and the semi-vowel *j*, the nasal *n* (in *nä*, "what?"), and *š* in the foreign title *šad* (< Iranian), its derivative *šadapyt*, pl., "caste of the *šad*", and the proper name *Šalčy*. In intermediary position, *p*, *b*; *t*, *d*; *q*, *γ* / *k*, *g* and *č* (probably not *ž*); *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *ň*; *j*; *s*, *z*; *š*; *ł*/*l*; and *r* were found.

As word or syllable initial, not more than one consonant is tolerated in the ancient language and in Common Turkic; in final position, two consonants are possible if one of them is a liquid, nasal, or sibilant. Thus the ancient language has the combinations of liquid or nasal plus unvoiced sounds, *-nt*, *-nč*, *-rs*, *-st*.

In the great majority of the Turkic languages, i. e. in all those which did not undergo a strong foreign phonological influence which changed their Altajic phonological system, there is a rigid distinction between sounds—also consonants—of velar and of palatal articulation. This polarity in the Turkic phonological system must have been at its height of development at the time the Turkic languages became historical, i. e. when the first texts in Turkic were written—presupposing a long period of assimilatory movement within the entire sound system—so that the "Runic" Orxon alphabet as used for the oldest Turkic inscriptions in Northern Mongolia, Taŋnū-Tuva, Southern Siberia, and Southeast Qazaqistan, has separate letters for each sound, either velar or palatal. This principle is applied with a high degree of consistency, as will be seen from the table below (p. 83). This indicates the deep velar base of articulation of consonants in position before velar vowels, and their palatal base of articulation in the opposite case. With regard to the Orxon script itself, which is of Aramaic origin, the question might be asked whether in view of the very defective rendition of the vowels—even initial vowels are often completely ignored and not designated by an aleph—this clear-cut distinction between velar and palatal sounds, which likewise extends to the category of the labials (*ḅ*:*b′*), may not have been devised as a system of matres lectionis, serving as a key for the recognition of the exact nature of the succeeding vowel. This latter may have been a concomitant element in establishing the "Runic" alphabet, as the use of two letters for *j* (in either velar or palatal position!) may well illustrate; but when we compare the Orxon script not only to the later use of the Arabic alphabet for Osman, where practically the same system is applied with the rich resources of that alphabet, but also to the living pronunciation of the modern Turkic languages, including the Central Anatolian dialects of Osman, we can perceive acoustically with relative ease the basic difference between velar and palatal articulation of most consonants. This can also be perceived most clearly outside of the guttural category proper, in the instances of *ł*:*l*, *ṭ*:*t*, and *ṣ*:*s*. At the time of the Orxon inscriptions and later still, the consonants in position before palatal vowels may well have had a palatalization effect comparable to that of modern Ťăvaš, Russian, Lithuanian, or the Volga-Finnic languages such as Mordva and Mari (Čeremis); otherwise the distinction of *ḅ*:*b′* would not be intelligible.

K. K. Judaxin, who spent most of his life in Central Asia, and with whom I once discussed the velar: palatal opposition in Qazaq, maintained in the

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face of my doubt that the consonants of the Qazaq language in palatal position are slightly palatalized, almost as the Russian consonants are, but to a weaker degree.

In spite of the strong influence of Iranization on Özbek, the consonantism has not been affected, and there is thus no develarization as is typical of the western dialects of Osman and their so-called literary pronunciation, based upon the dialect of Constantinople. In the latter, as would seem natural because of the Indo-European sub-stratum, the develarization of the *q* has led to a strong secondary palatalization of the *k*, so that the original opposition *q*:*k* has shifted to that of *k*:*ḱ*; while the *γ* has not become *g*, it has lost its deep velar quality, and has developed in the direction of a laryngal voiced spirant, or to zero. Its palatal counterpart *g* has become palatalized, *ǵ*. In those same dialects, the *ŋ* has come to coincide with *n*, while neither this *n* nor the other consonants have become palatalized in palatal position. They have merely lost their velar tinge in velar position. Both exact observations and acoustic measurements are lacking, not only for Osman, but for the great majority of the Turkic languages.

Scheme of the Orxon consonants:

Orxon consonantism				
		Velar	Ambivalent	Palatal
Guttural (post-palatal)		q γ	ŋ	k g
Dental		ṭ ḍ ṇ		t d n
Labial		ḅ	p m	b
Sibilant	hissing	ṣ	s z	s
	hushing		š	
Palato-Alveolar			č ň	
Vibrant		ṛ		r
Lateral		ɬ		l
Semivocalis		D	< j >	ϙ

The sounds which are clearly and regularly distinguished as velar and palatal (or velarized and palatalized, respectively) by special letters of the Runic Alphabet are listed within the corresponding graphs. Sounds, the graphic expression of which does not exhibit any differentiation, are designated here as Ambivalent. As the sound *j* (*i* consonans) can appear in immediate neighborhood of palatal as well as velar sounds, it is to be listed as ambivalent, although in the script it be rendered by different letters for either position; these are rather to be considered as matres lectionis, so that they are given here in the original, D and ϙ.

In a number of the Turkic languages the opposition unvoiced: voiced seems to be secondary to a perhaps older one, that of fortis: lenis, typical of most of

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the Mongolian and some Tungus languages. Apparently only the Western Turkic languages, i. e. those in closer contact with Indo-European languages having the opposition unvoiced: voiced, tend toward this same distinction, while those more to the east, i. e. also Mongolian, have a more pronounced fortis:lenis opposition.

The fact that Ancient Turkic and the majority of the Turkic languages have no media, resp. lenis, in initial position does not exclude the possibility that Proto-Turkic may well have once possessed mediae, resp. lenes, in the anlaut (cf. infra), of that kind that survive today only in the Southwestern group and in the literary dialect of Sojoŋ.

In what follows, the basic sound changes of historical Turkic will briefly be reviewed. These show the rather static nature of Turkic, and the extremely low speed of language development.

In the vocalism, with the exception of Ţăvaš, no essential changes have
11 taken place, such as partial development of labial harmony, and probably rather late, labial attraction. Loss of long quantity of the vowels is general, except for Türkmen and Jakut, in which latter the long vowels partly result in diphthongs; traces are found in Ţăvaš. Extreme perturbation of the entire vocalism is found in Ţăvaš, resulting in a vowel system deviating essentially from Common Turkic in that it possesses only sound harmony as such.

In the consonantism too—Ţăvaš being the great exception—a rather static situation is typical of the occlusivae, nasales, and liquidae, i. e. of most of the phonemes. Only the two guttural phonemes *-γ/-g* in final position, the spirant *đ* (in A.T. *d*), the sibilantes, the affricatae, and the sound *j*, show some specific developments which are also of classificatory significance.

1) *-γ/-g*: Ancient and Common Turkic *-γ/-g* are lost in the Northwestern and Southwestern groups. Sometimes the development is different in stem syllables from that of suffixal syllables, the reason being so far unknown. In the Northwestern languages, when in position after *a/ä*, they undergo labialization to *-u̯/-w*, e. g. *tayγ*, "mountain" > Qazan, Qazaq, etc. *taw* and *tau*; *bilbayγ*, "belt" > Qazaq *belbäü*, while after *e*, *-g* becomes *j*, or zero after the preceding *e* has become *ī*: *täg-* / *teg-*, "to reach", Osm. *däj-*, Qq. > *tī-*; after *o* and *u*, *-γ* becomes labialized and usually disappears, while the preceding vowel becomes long: *toγ-*, "to be born", becomes *tū-*. In the palatal series, *g* > *j*: *tüg-* > *tüj-*, "to tie, connect", when in stem auslaut; in final position usually, but always in suffix-auslaut it disappears without leaving a trace: *sary*, "yellow", *quru*, "dry", *ułu*, "great", *at-ły*, "with horse; rider", *ät-li*, "with meat, meaty", *it-li*, "with dog", *ot-łu*, "with grass", Qazaq *bor-łu*, "consisting of chalk, chalky", *tuz-łu*, "with salt, salty", *süt-lü*, "with milk, milky". But length is found, for instance, with Qazaq *urū*, "sib, clan, tribe; family name" < *uruγ*, "id.", or in Qazaq *ölū*, "dead" < *öl-üg*, Qazaq *elū*, "fifty" < **äl-liw* < **ällig*. In the Southwestern group, some minor differences can be observed. While *-γ* after *a* is on the verge of complete reduction in the western Osman dialects, it leaves some traces, usually lengths, *dā* < *dayγ*, Tkm. *dāγ* "mountain"; in intervocalic position it is often preserved as a weak voiced pharyngal fricative *ḫ* (*dayγ-y* > *daḫy*, *daʰy*); but Türkmen has *dāγ*, "mountain". After *ä*, *g* becomes *j*, except in Türkmen which here, too, has preserved an older stage: *täg-* "to reach" > Osm. Az. *däj-*, Türkmen *deg-*;

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-äg is rare in word final position. The sound group *üg* > *üj*, cf. *tüg-*, "to tie", > Osm., Tkm. *düj-*. After labial vowels the gutturals have a tendency toward labialization: Osm. *döv-*, "to beat", besides Osm., Az., *döj-*, Qrm., Qar. *dög-*, "id."; similarly in *doγ-* where in Osm. **doγ-yγ*, "place of birth, place where a star rises", > *dovu* (طوغی); these cases are typical of the Northwestern group, but are sporadic in Osman. For Uj. *ög-* "to laud", Osm. has *öj-* alongside of *öv-*; Az. has *öj-*, while Türkmen has *ev-* with delabialization of the preceding vowel. But in suffix-final position there is regular loss of *-γ/-g*: *tuz-łu* "salty", *süt-lü* "milky", *čöllü* "with steppes", *bojłu* "having a (good) figure".

The Central Asiatic languages, N.-Uj., Ča., city-Özb., show the development of final *-γ/-g* to *-q/-k*, wherewith they coincide with Ancient and Common Turkic *-q/-k*. In position after *a/ä* in stems, however, *-γ* is preserved: *taγ* and *täg*. The one form **taq*, which WB quotes as Uj. from the Qutađγu Bilig, may just as well be read *taγ*, since in Uj. the orthographic distinction of *q*:*γ*, *k*:*g* is insufficient, and if made, is done so only in the velar category, distinguishing the two sounds by two diacritical dots. If this distinction is made, one group of texts uses the diacritical dots for γ, the other for *q*. This has its counterpart later in Ča., where no orthographic rules concerning final γ or *q* exist, one time *γajn* being used, another time *qāf*.

The Arabic script at least has the possibility of distinguishing between *q* and γ, while this can be done in the Soγdo-Ujγur script only by means of diacritical marks. In the case of the palatal sounds, both scripts are equally inadequate. The orthographic vacillation between *-γ* and *-q* in Ča. is undoubtedly due to the model of Uj., for the Uj. script was known and used for a long time in Türkistan, as attested by certain major literary monuments, some even of Islamic content, written in Uj. script. In its entire system, the Arabic orthography of Ča. imitates Uj. style and writing habits.

Whether the Čaγataj and New-Ujγur desonorization and despirantization of final *-γ/-g* already began to develop in Uj. it is impossible to say. It may well have begun there toward the end of the classical period, i. e. shortly before the Mongol invasion. Thus for Uj., too, *taγ* is to be assumed as the standard form. Likewise *täg-* remains unchanged, similarly, as final in other verbal stems, for instance in *toγ-*, "to be born", *saγ-*, "to milk", *tüg-*, "to tie", etc., but in all other instances *-γ/-g* becomes *-q/-k*: *saryq*, *quruq*, *ölük*, *ällik*, *atłyq*, *ätlik*, *itlik*, *otłuq*, *tuzłuq*, *čöllük*, *sütlük*, with those the suffixes *-yγ/-ig* of the ancient ptc. praes. act., *-łyγ/-lig* of the nomina comitativa vel qualitativa coïncide with *-yq/-ik* of the ptc. pf. (pass.) and *-łyq/-lik* of the denominal nouns. Qγ. does not participate in this development, but follows the northwestern group: *sary*, *quru*, and with the same treatment of the suff. *-łyγ/-lig* as in Ojrot: *älū*, *attū*, *ättū*, *ottū*, *tuzdū*, *čöldū*, *süttū*; final *-au/-äü* < *-a-γ/-ä-g* is contracted to *-ō/-ȫ*: *tō*, "mountain", *bir-ȫ* "singulus", *ek-ȫ* "bini".

In South Siberia, Ojrot develops very much along the lines of the Northwestern group: it has *taγ* > *tū*, *saryγ* > *sary*, *quruγ* > *quru*, but in the suffix *-łyγ/-lig* length and labialization of the vowel after which *-γ/-g* disappears: *attū*, *ittū*, *ottū*, *tuzdū*, *süttū*; the group *äg/eg* > *ī* : *täg-* > *tī-*, *äg-* "to bend" > *ī-*. The length in suffixal syllables begins to disappear from the modern languages. The two other groups, Abaqan and Tuva, are quite conservative in this respect, as they show no signs of a disappearance of those sounds. In both groups the

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final γ has lost its velar quality, but not that of spirant, *ḡ*, as RADLOFF renders it, while in the palatal series the sound remains a voiced occlusive: *taγ*, *taḡ*; *saryḡ*, *quruḡ*, *attyḡ*, *ittig*, *ottuḡ*, *süttüg*, *elig* "fifty"; while there is *teg-* "to reach" and *eg-* "to bend", *toγ-* has become *tū-* "to be born", against which Sγ., Qb., Qč. *poḡ-* = N.-Uj., Tkm. *boγ-*, "to strangulate".

Jakut has loss of the final *-γ/-g* in any position, with resulting length: *ajȳ*, "sin", < *aňyγ* (Uj. "bad"), *arȳ*, "butter" (< *saryγ*, scil. *jaγ*, "yellow fat"); *tya*, "forest", < **tā* < **tāγ*, "mountain"; *diäri*, "until", < **dāri* < *teg-ir-i*, "having reach, letting reach"; *satȳ*, "on foot", < **jaðyγ* < *jaðaγ*, "id.".

Likewise, Ṭ̆avaš has lost *-γ/-g*: *tu*, stem *tĕv-*, before vocalic suffix, "mountain" < *tau* < **tāγ*; *šu̯ra*, "white" < **sāryγ* "yellow"; *alla* "fifty"; *tü-le-*, *tĕvĕ-le-* "to tie" < **tȕ̈-lä-* < **tüg-ä-lä-*.

12 Ancient Turkic and the older Turkic languages evidently did not have initial voiced occlusivae with the exception of *b-*, but only unvoiced sounds. But the entire Southwestern language group, even in its older stages, as for instance Old-Osm., did possess the initial voiced occlusivae *d-* and *g-*, but no counterpart of the *q-*. While Common Altajic **d-* has yielded *j-* in Turkic, probably through spirantization to **ð*, as is attested by the development of intermediary *d* in Turkic, there are nevertheless a certain number of instances of *d-*. Although they occur in various Turkic languages which otherwise do not possess initial *d-* or *g-*, cases of initial *d-* are found, for instance, in the verb for "to say", *dä-/de-/di-*, Uj., Orx. *ti-*, which of all the modern Turkic languages has initial unvoiced occlusiva only in the Siberian languages and Baraba; or a few words that are found in some individual languages outside of the Southwestern group, such as *doŋuz*, "swine, pig", also found in Qazaq-Qaraqałpaq; *duŋgyz* in Qn.; cf. also Osm., Qrm., Az. *düz*, "the plain", Qq. *düz*, "id."; Osm., Tkm. *düz-*, "to order", Qqłpq. *düz-*, "id."; *däjirmän* (< *dägirmän*), Tkm. *degirmän*, Özb. *tiɣɤrmån*, but Qqłpq. *dijirmän*. The same holds true for initial *g-*, although there exists no equivalent to the series with *d-* such as *dä-/de-/di-*. Thus, some stems have *g-* in languages which otherwise have only initial *k-*, such as Qqłpq. *güz* "autumn" = Osm. *güz*, Tkm. *gȗđ* "id."; Qqłpq *gürös*, "fight, struggle" = Osm., Tkm. *güräš*, Özb. *küräš*, Qq. *kürös*. Some few cases of initial voiced occlusivae in these languages can clearly be proven as loan words, for instance Qqłpq. *gȗč* "burden" < Tkm. *gȗč*, where not only the parallel regular Qqłpq. form *küš*, "power", but also the *-č* and the length testify to its being a loan word from Türkmen. The instances of initial voiced occlusivae are not always congruous in the Southwestern languages, cf. Osm. *gümüš*, "silver", Tkm. *kümiš* "id." — also found in Qqłpq. *gümüs*—,Osm. *göl*, "lake", Tkm. *kȏl*; Kāš. *kürgäk*, "oar", Osm., Tkm. *küräk*; but here Qqłpq. has *gürök* "id.". In a case such as the latter, it is always possible to suppose incontiguous assimilation of an- and auslaut to have taken place, as in Osm., Lit.-Tkm., Lit.-Soj. *tut-* "to seize, to hold", older Osm. and Tkm. *dut-*, etc.

Apart from the isolated occurrences of initial *g-*, *d-* in other groups than the Southwestern, there is a regular one, limited, however, to the dental, in the Tuva group very distant from the southwest; while RADLOFF's and KATANOV's Tuva texts do not exhibit this important feature, since it is evidently lacking in such dialects of Sojoŋ and Karaγas as were investigated by them, the Karaγas dialect with which CASTRÉN became acquainted about 120 years ago,

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as well as the Sojoŋ dialect upon which the present literary language is based, have at least initial *d-*. I first called attention to this fact in the third part of my studies on the South Siberian Turkic languages in *C.A.J.*, V (1959, p. 99). This sound is described as a lenis (tenuis media) for Lit.-Tuva by A. A. Paʌ́mbax and F. G. Isxakov in "Issledovanija po sravn. gramm. ťurkskix jaz.", I, pp. 254ff. It is especially noteworthy that throughout Tuva, initial *d-* corresponds to that of the Southwestern languages: Osm. *dayγ*, Tkm. *dāγ*, literary Sojoŋ *dayγ*; Osm. *dört*, Tkm. *dŏrt*, lit.-Soj. *dört*, "four"; Qrm. *daš*, Tkm. *dāš*, lit.-Soj. *daš*, "stone", etc. This feature is an archaism both in the Oγuz and the Tuva groups, and it points, moreover, to the possible existence of the initial mediae, resp. lenes, *d-* and *g-* in Proto-Turkic. In a few test cases made up to now—but sufficient material has not yet been gathered—initial Turkic *g-* and *d-* coincide with those of Mongolian and Tungus, which may mean that not every initial Altajic **d-* has become a *j-* in Turkic, or rather in all Turkic groups, as hitherto generally assumed; cf., e. g. Common-Turkic *toŋ-* "to freeze", Osm., Tkm., Lit.-Soj. *doŋ-*, Lit.-Soj. *dōt* "severe frost" < **doŋut*, Tung. Ew. *doŋo-* "to freeze".

While ancient Turkic intermediary *-d-* undergoes early spirantization—Bang and V. Thomsen, for example, supposed it to have already taken place in Ancient Turkic—its spirantic nature can first be ascertained in "Middle Turkic" texts written in Arabic script, e. g. in the writings of Kāšγarī. For *-d-*, resp. *-ð-*, which in Soγdo-Uj. script are not distinguished, the Brāhmī texts have either *t* or *dʿ*. The signs for the Indic mediae aspiratae are often used in Uj. apparently to indicate the lenis, since the aspiration of the Indic media contains a certain element of unvoicedness, but it is not a spirantic sound. The voiceless occlusivae of Uj., when in intermediary position, can also be rendered as aspiratae, e. g. *qapʿogi*, "its, his door". Thus the Brāhmī texts have for the Uj. *adyn/ aðyn*, "other", *atiṁ* or *adʿiṁ* (the final nasal being rendered by the anusvāra), *odʿauh* (meaning **oḍōγ*?) for *oduγ / oðuγ*, "awake". Also in cases where there was ancient *t* or *d* which never became spirantic, nor *j*, *z*, or *r*, the Brāhmī texts may have *dʿ*: *ādʿlig* (as usual *atłyγ* < **ād-łyγ* in the other texts), "with name, named"; *ādʿaš*, "comrade" (< *ād-daš*) where the *dʿ* = *d* may reflect the dental occlusive after original *ā*; cf. also the Osm. spelling آد "name", as against آط؛ آت "horse". For Common-Ancient-Turkic and Uj. *äðgü*, "good", *ätkü* appears here. This spirantic *ð* becomes *j* during the Middle Turkic period, for instance in (early) Ča. and all the other languages of Central Asia—Southwestern and Northwestern groups—while it shows special developments only in Siberia and Ṭ̆ävaš. The initial **d-* of Altajic, which in Turkic develops to *j-*, may well have gone through the same spirantization as the intermediary *-d-*. Indications of an earlier existence of initial *d-* or *ð-* in early Turkic or Proto-Turkic in place of historical initial *j-* seem to be found in cases such as Δάϊξ, the name of the Jajyq or Ural River mentioned by Ptolemaios (< **Ðaj-yq*, "spread out, extended"), rendered half a millennium later as Δαίχ by Menandros Protektor; in the later form, -χ stands for Turkic *-q*, while the form given by Ptolemaios is adapted to Greek by having the suffix nom. sg. masc. *-s* attached to it; or δόχια, the famous word for the dirge in Valentinos' report on his mission to the Qaγan of the Türküt, this word being found in Orx. and Uj. as *joγ* (*joq*), in Qazaq as *žoq*, with the deriva-

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tive verb in *-ła-*, *žoq-ta-*, "to hold a funeral ceremony", and as a loan word in both Oset'i dialect groups, Digor, *doγ*, and Iron, *dūγ*, "horse race", originally "horse race held as part of a funeral ceremony" (cf. on this Josef Markwart, "Sprach- und Kulturgeschichtliche Analekten" in Ungar. Jbb., IX, p. 81). The Old-Church-Slavic, Old-Russian дохъторъ, "προσκεφάλαιον, pillow", already connected by Mikkola (in MSFOu., vol. XXX, no. 33, p. 11) with Ṭăv. *s'ăḏar*, *s'ĭḏar*, "bedclothes, pillow", corresponds to Kāš. *joγdu* (according to him with the Γuzz and Qypčaq *žoγdu*), "beard-hair of the camel", while the loanword in Old-Church-Slavic and the Ṭăv. form show a final *-r* as a collective suffix, **doγda-r*, **ðoγda-r*, also present in the Mongolian equivalent *žoγdar*, *žoγdur*, "id.", "bunch of camel-hair for stuffing pillows", which in view of its initial *ž-* seems to be a loan word from a Northwest Turkic language or Ojrot. It is doubtful whether the name of the Hunnic πρῶτος τῶν ῥήγων: Δονᾶτος, indicated by Olympiodoros, who visited him in his residence on the Dnepr in 412, is to be connected, as Pritsak has done in the Čyževśkyj-Festschrift, p. 248, with the word for "horse", Turkic *jont* (A.-T., Uj., Ča., Osm.), Osm. also *junat*, probably < *jont* + *at*, "steed, mare in a flock", which became an early loan-word in Samojed (cf. K. H. Menges, "The Siberian Turkic Languages II: the Samojed Substratum", C.A.J., II, pp. 161ff. [1957]). We might instead expect to find a combined name; on the other hand, the name, with its *-ᾶτος*, looks Latinized, or might even be the Latin name Donatus, which, however, should be written Δωνᾶτος in Greek. The Greek forms, based on those given by Ptolemaios, may well have Δ- for *ð-*, which in all cases of borrowing by languages not possessing *ð*, such as Oset'i or Slavic, is despirantized and replaced by the occlusiva. The Ṭăv. forms exhibit the same development to *s'* as that of Turkic initial *j-*, also the Turkic initial *j-* < Common-Altajic **d-* (cf. infra). It is very possible, if not probable, that all these forms attested with *d-* or *ð-* are of Hunnic or Volga-Bulgarian origin, which leaves the question open as to whether Volga-Bulgarian, in view of its strong Hunnic adstratum, is to be considered an ancient offshoot of Turkic, or a different, independent Altajic group. Into this group of problems belongs also the early "Turkic" title of *jabγu*, appearing in Muslim sources also with *ž-*, and this quite some time before the shifting of *j-* > *ž-* began to take place in certain Northwestern Turkic languages. Moravcsik ("Byzantino-Turcica", II, p. 120) is right in assuming that this title underlies the form Ζιέβηλ of the name of a Xazarian general, ca. A.D. 625, since this name is quoted in an Armenian source as *Šebu*. There seems to be little doubt that *jabγu* is identical with the title mentioned in Chinese sources as 單于, Archaic Chin. **ďjan-ɣi̯wo* > Ancient Chin. **źjän-ji̯u* (Karlgren, Grammata Serica, nos. 147 a′, b′; 97a), Modern Chin. *šan-jü*, first attested as having been in use with the Huns, then, with the Žuan-Žuan-Avars, and finally, with the Ujγurs. In pre-literary Turkic, it might have had the form **ďabγu* (cf. furtheron Menges, "Oriental Elements in the Igor′-Tale", p. 33).

Exx. of Turkic *j-* < common-Alt. *d-*:
Kāš. *jilin*, Osm., Qrm. *jälin*, Qq. *želin*, Ṭ. *śilĕ*; Mong. *deleŋ*; Ma. *delen* "udder"; Kāš. *jal*, Tar., Tkm. *jāl*, Tar. *jajl*, Osm. *jälä*, Küärik *jäläk* (dim.), Jak. *siäl* (< **jāl*), Ṭăv. *śilxe* (dim.); M.-Mong., Mong. *del*; Ma. *delun* "mane";

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Kāš. *jaγyr*, Osm. *jaγyr*, N.-Uj. *jeγir*, Qq. *žaūr* "sore or chafed (horse's back)", Jak. *saryn* "shoulder, place between the shoulder-blades", Ṭ̆av. *śyrəm* "back"; Mong. *dayari*, Qalm. *dârĕ* "shoulder region, place where the saddle is laid, sores from it"; Ma. *darin* "sore spot", *dari-* "to chafe";
Kāš. *jyłyγ* "warm", Mong. *dułayan*, Xałxa *dułāŋ*, Tung. Ew. *dul-* "to warm (trans.)", Lamut *dul-* "to become warm";
common-Tk. *jüz* "face", Mong. *düri* "form, look", Ma., Nānaj *durun* "id.".

The further development in historical Turkic of intermediary *-d-* resp. *-đ-* is of classificatory significance. In late Uj. resp. Early-Middle-Turkic and/or Early-Čaγataj texts in Arabic script, ذ, *đ* is written by Kāšγarī, Rabγūzī ("Qyṣaṣu-'l-'Anbijā'") and in the Oγuz-Qaγan (Oγuz-Nāmä). The classical Čaγataj and general Central Asiatic development of *đ* > *j* is typical also of the entire Southwest- and Northwest groups, of West-Siberian, and Ojrot; in the Abaqan languages, in Central Čołym and in the isolated language of the Sary Jögur in Ǧan-Su, *-đ-* becomes *-z-*, in absolute final position *-s*, cf. *pos* "self; figure, body" < *bođ* "body, stature", in the Tuva languages *-d-* or *-t* resp., thus, *bođ* > *pot*, poss. 1. ps. sg. *pod-um* "myself"; in Jakut it is occlusive, too, and moreover, devoiced: Kāš. *ađaq* "foot" > *atax* "id.". Ṭ̆av. has *đ* > *r*, a development that presupposes at first **z*, as in the Abaqan group, but which at one time seems to have been more repanded, and then, like common-Turkic 13
z, to *r*, cf. *ađaq* > *ŭra* "foot", *qađyn* > *xorân* "birch", *quđuruq* "tail" > *xüre*; cf. *z* > *r*, e. g. in *pâru* "calf" < *bozaγu* "id.". In position before *r*, this develop- 14
ment does not take place: Qγ. *süjrö-* "to drag", Ča., N.-Uj. *südrä-* (< Uj.): Ṭ̆av. *södör-/sĕdĕr-*.

At Kāšγarī's times, the divergent development of *đ* was at least in an incipient state; as Kāšγarī says, the Čigil have *đ*, but Bułγar and Qyfčaq (?) *z*, the Oγuz and Qyfčaq *j*; he has also some forms with *-z-*, which are designated by him as Suvar and Arγu. While the Suvar lived in the Northwest and shifted up to the Volga, the Arγu ("glen") lived in and near the T'jän-Šan mountains between Tałas and Bałasaγun. Thus, Kāšγarī quoted *azaq* "foot" for the languages of the Qypčaq, Jämäk, Suvar and Bułγar; on the other hand, in *özlä* "Mittag, noon", < *öđlä* (= Osm. *öjlä* "id.") the language is not indicated by Kāšγarī; concerning the 2 forms *jazγuq* and *jajγuq* "tip (tit) of the steed's udder", the one with *z* is quoted by him for Qyfčaq (?). This as well as some other indications with Kāšγarī of a dialectological order are uncertain or contradictory. Interesting is the duplicity of forms with Kāšγarī *ađut/avut* "a handful", also without designation of language or dialect; it might well be Qypčaq, but likewise Oγuz where also the labialization can be expected: *ađut* > *avut*, from *ađ-* "to open wide; spread". Kāšγarī has a number of examples for the assimilation of *đ* as verbal stem-final to the *t* initial of the perfect-suffix: *tyđ-* "to hinder, hamper": *tytty*, 3. sg. pf., *kiđ-* "to disappear, save oneself": *kitti*, *ujađ-* "to be ashamed": *ujatty*—while there is no assimilation in *ujađsyłyq* "pudicous" —, *qođ-* "to let, dismiss": *qotty*, *jađ-* "to spread out, expand": *jatty*, etc.; rarely such forms are met with in Orxon, cf. *igiti* < *igiđ-ti* (Kül-Tegin-Inscr., A. v. Gabain, "Alttk. Gramm.", 251) "he took care of". This may be purely graphic and not necessarily reflect the actual phonetics of those forms, as e. g. Ujγur has permanent vacillations in the orthography: *yd-ty*, *yt-dy*, *yty* and *ydy*, 3. sg. pf. of *yđ-*, Kāš. *yđ-* < *ȳđ-*, Jak. *ȳt-*) "he sent,

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dispatched". The same is seen in Ča. or Osm.; still in modern Osman, vacillations in the perfect of verbal stems in *-t-* can be found: *gitdi, gitti, jatty, jatdy*, while the actual pronunciation has *gitḏi, jatḏy*, or *giḏḏi, jaḏḏy* for which there is no adequate graphic expression, and there was none in Ujγur. Notwithstanding purely graphic considerations, the same may account for the vacillation in Ujγur of the type *anta/anda* "there", *kantü/kändü* "self", etc., paralleled by instances like *ut-suq-/ut-zuq-* "to conquer", *osqur-/ozγur-* "to liberate", etc.

Exx.: AT., Uj., Ča. (according to WB from Rabγūzī) *jadaγ*, Kāš. *jađaγ*, Ča., N.-Uj., Sart., *jajaγ/jajaq*, Özb. *jajau*, Qγ. *jojō*, (>) *jöjü, jō*; SW: Osm. *jajā, jaja*; NW: Noγaj, Qmq., Qn., Miš., Qar., W.-Sib. *jajau*, Qq.-Qqłpq., Qč'. *žajau*; Ojrot, Tel. *jajū*; Abaqan: Ctrl. Čoł., Qyzył *jazaḡ*, Šor, Bält. *čazaḡ*, Sa., Qač., Qb. *čazaḡ*; Tuva: Soj. *čadaγ* (also WB *jadaḡ*) — with ablaut in the 2-nd syllable: Šor, Qb. *čazyγ*, Leb., Küä. *jajyḡ* —; Jak. *satȳ*, "on foot, pedestrian", Ťăv. *śyran* "on foot" = Mong. *jada-γu* "weak, poor"; Uj., M.-Tk. *küđägü*, Ča. *küjägü*, N.-Uj. *kūj, kū, küj' oγuł*, Özb. *küjäv, kijäv*; SW: Osm. *güväj(i)*, Qrm. *güjäw, güjū*, Tkm. *gijev*; NW: Qom. *küjäü*, Qč'. *k'üjöü*, Błq. *kijeü*, Qar. Tr. *küjäw*, Qn. *kiǰäw*, Qq. *küjöü*; Ojrot, Tel. *küjû*, Tel. *küjâ*; Abaqan: Šor, Sa., Qb., Qač *küzâ*, Qb. *küzō*; Jak. *kütüöt* "son-in-law" (> Ew. *kùtä, kùtät*; Ilimpija, Zeja, Aldan, Xiŋgan, Učur, Urmi, Čumikan, Saxalin "husband of the younger sister"); Ťăv. *kĕrü* (Räsänen, "Phon.", p. 123, compares Mong. *kür-degü* which Poppe considers as the source of the Turkic word [U.-A. Jbb., XXXIII, p. 138f.]). Cf. further Orx., Uj. *adyγ* "bear", Kāš. *ađyγ*, Ča. *ajyq*, N.-Uj. *ejiq*; Osm., Qrm. *aju*, Tkm. *ajy*; Qč'. *aju*, Qγ., Qom., Błq., Bar., Tob., Leb. *ajū*, Šor, Leb., Küä. *ajyḡ*, Sa. *azyḡ*, Soj. *adyḡ* "id.".

Special cases and exceptions in the development of *đ* are the following: between palatal vowels, more specifically *ä* and *i*, it occasionally becomes *j* in Ujγur and has the tendency to disappear: Uj. (later) *iä* "lord, owner" < Uj., Ča. *iđä, iđi*, "id." (beside *iä*, there are found forms like *i'ä, igä, ijä*), *kiiz* "felt" < *kiđiz*, so that later in N.-Uj., Ča. and (City-)Özbek *-g-* arises to fill in the hiatus: N.-Uj., Qγ., Özb. *egä*, Tar., Sart, Ča. *ägä*, Özb. *egä, iga, igä*, Qn. *ijä*; N.-Uj., Özb. *kigiz*, Qq. *kijiz* and *kigiz* (the latter certainly a loan from Özbek or N.-Ujγur); cf. also Kāš. *äđär* "saddle", N.-Uj., Özb. *ägär*, but Qq.-Qqłpq *ier* with contraction and secondary shortening, similarly *iđi, iđä* > Ojrot *ā* "possessor, owner, Lord-Spirit", loanword in the two other South-Siberian groups; with a further suffix, *-či* or *-si*, it has become *ičči* "Lord-Spirit, Lord-Protector" in Jakut, with suff. *-si*, poss. 3. ps. sg., *issi, isi* < **iji-si* < **iđi-si* in Older Osman (cf. Tanıklariyla Tarama Sözlüğü, s. v., where its etymology, of course, has remained unrecognized). An exceptional form is Qn., Qq. *izgi* "good, pious, righteous", Ča. *izgi, izgü*, ایزگو : ایذگو and derivatives, from Uj. *ädgü, äđgü* "good", probably, as Radloff supposes in the WB, I, 1543, due to influences from the Uj.-Ča. literature; according to Räsänen, "Phon.", 163, Radloffs view is accepted by N. N. Poppe, Ungar. Jbb., VI, 95, seeing in those forms instances of borrowing. Occurrences of *-j-* or, after original labial vowel, *-v-*, in Ťăvaš, such as *xojγə̂* "grief" and *xi̯v-* "to pour" are loanwords from Qn. *qajγy* (= Uj., Kāš. *qađγu*, late-Uj., Ča. *qajγu*) and *qəj-* = Uj., Kāš. etc. *quđ-*.

Where *d* is suffix-initial, it remains unchanged, although it may, in combinatoric position, become devoiced, and has no tendency toward spirantization, except in Bašqurt after vowels and *j, w, r, ð*, and in Ťăvaš where *r* appears

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on its place: loc. in *-ra/-rĕ*, abl. *-ran/-rĕn*, and suff. of the perfect *-rĕ-m*, 1. ps. sg. etc.; only in position after *l*, *n*, *r*, the occlusive *-d-* is preserved: cf. *ut-ra*, loc., *ut-ran*, abl. of *ut* "horse" = Tk. *at*, 1. ps. sg. pf. *poł-ḏ-ə̂m*, 2. sg. pf. *poł-ḏ-ən*, 3. sg. pf. *pol-ž̌ə* "I, you, he, became" = Tk. *boł-d-ym* etc., but: *və̂rman-ḏa* "in the forest" = Qn. *urman-da* "id.".

Among other special developments of initial consonants the following must be mentioned briefly. The voiced equivalent of *q* oppears regularly in initial position in Tkm., the rather archaic dialect of the Jõmud excepted, in Āzerī and in the Eastern and Southeastern Osman dialects of Anatolia. This sound probably occurs in Qumyq too. Exx.: **qȳz* "girl": Tkm. *ġȳḏ*, Az., Osm. (SE) *ġyz*; **qāł-* "to remain": Tkm. *ġāł-*, Osm. (SE), Az. *ġał-*. This development is due to the contact with Iranian, specifically N.-Pers., in most dialects of which this development of *q-* > *ġ-* is typical; while *q* is no Aryan sound and rarely occurs in Persian words, it undergoes the same development in Arabic words in Persian: *ġismȧt* < *qysmät* قسمت "fate", *ġåbilijȧt* "capacity" < *qābilijjat* قابلّیت along with *aqa* > *åġå/åγå* "sir" < Tk. *aqa*, etc. This feature of Iranization is not found with Özbek.

Initial *q-* becomes ʿ-, as Arabic *q-* in the Egyptian dialect, in Mišär-Tatar: *qał-* > *ʿał-*, *qaja* "whither?" > *ʿaja*; the same can be found in individual pronunciation in the Osman dialect of Ankara. Initial *q-* can become zero in some other Osman dialects: *qačan* "when?" > *ačan*, *qaja* > *aja*, furthermore in a number of instances in Middle-Qypčaq (cf. Pritsak, "Fundamenta", p. 78; extensively, Halasi-Kun, "Orta-Kıpçakça *q-*, *k-* ~ *O-* meselesi" in Türk tarihi ve dili hakkında araştirmalar, I, pp. 45–61; Ankara 1950). In this connection it is not without interest to note the particular weakness of initial *q-* in the Altajic interrogative-root **qa-* in Tungus where *a-*, *aj-* and *ē-* develops: cf. Ew. *a-w-gu* "which?", *a-n-ti* "qualis?", *a-dī* "quantus?", *a-sun* "id.", *ē* < **aj* < **qaj-* "who?, what?, which?". This phenomenon is also known in Mongolian (cf. Pelliot: "Les formes avec et sans *q-* (*k-*) initial en turc et en mongol", T'P, XXXVII, 1944. pp. 73–101). In some Ṭăv. words of originally velar nature, *q-* becomes *j-* before originally long vowel; this strange development takes place probably after the disappearance of the initial *q-* as in Mišär, spoken on an almost contiguous area, and the diphthongization of *ā* > *ya* as in Jakut; cf. *jun* "blood" < **qān* (Tkm. *ġān*), *jyr* "snow" < **qār* (Tkm. *ġār*), *jěně* "sheath" < **qȳn* (Tkm. *ġȳn*), *juł-* "to remain" < **qāł-* (Tkm. *ġāł-*, Jak. *xāł-*).

In Caucasian neighborhood, the palatals have the tendency to a strong palatalization, even with qualitative change as a result. Thus, in the Northeast-dialects of Osman not only word- but also syllable-initial *k*, *g* become *tʿ*, *dʿ* with aspiration: *šetʿär* "sugar", *dʿäl* "come!" while this goes a step further in the northwestern (and other?) Āzerī dialects where *čʿ*, *ž̌ʿ* result: *čʿäči* "goat" < *käči*, *ž̌ʿäl-* "to come" < *gäl-*. An important ingredient is the aspiration by which these secondary palato-alveolars are distinguished from the primary ones.

While these individual developments of the sounds *q-* and *k-* were not typical of any group as a whole, the changes of initial *j-* have classificatory significance. Common-Turkic initial *j-* goes back to 4 or 5 Altajic phonemes, **j-*, **d-*/**ḏ-*, **ž̌-*, **n-* and **ň-*. The sound has remained quite static in those groups with the majority of speakers, while the changes take place in the

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Northwestern group, chiefly in the Aralo-Caspian languages, in Ṭăvaš, and in Siberia, with the exception of certain languages of the Ojrot group, such as that of the Altaj-Kiži, Teleut, Lebed′ and Küärik; *j-* is preserved in all of the West-Siberian languages, and in Qumyq, Qarajīm, Aq-Noγaj, Bašqurt, and in the Northwest-dialect of Qazan-Tatar. In the Northwest-group, *j-* becomes *ž-* in Qq.-Qqłpq, Qypčaq-Özbek, Noγaj (exc. Aq-Noγaj), and in Qarač'aj: *žat-* "to lie down" < *jat-*, *žoł* "way" < *joł*; in Qn., the City of Qazan has *š-*, together with the southeastern dialects, some dialects have *j* before velar, *ž* before palatal vowels, as e. g. Ufa *jat-* "to lie down", but *žil* "wind". As a further development of *j-* > *ž-*, Bałqar has *z-*: *zoł* "way", but in palatal position *ž-* may occur, too: *žeti* "7". In Qγ., the older texts of exclusively epical folk-poetry, collected by RADLOFF ("Proben", vol. V), have initial *j-*, while the modern literary language has *ž-* (written simply as ж). Sporadical features of this development are found in N.-Uj., as *ž-*, e. g. *žiraq* "far" < *jyraq*, *žitiq* "torn, destroyed" < *jyrtyq*.

In the three South-Siberian groups, major changes take place, due, without doubt, chiefly to the Samojedic, less so to the Jenisejic, substratum. It starts, as it seems, with a *t-* or *d-*prothesis—this is found in Ojrot too: the literary language has *ď-*, *ďat-*, *ďoł*, the northern dialects, Jyš-Kiži, Qumandū etc. *ť-*: *ťat-*, *ťoł*; all the languages of the Abaqan and the Tuva groups have *č-*, while the texts gathered by CASTRÉN, 120 years ago, have generally *ť-*, some *š-*; in words containing nasals fartheron in the word, the assimilation to *n-* or *ň-* proves stronger: *jan-* "to return": Šor, Sa., Qb., Qač, Qyz., Blt. *nan-*, Jyš-Kiži, Lebed′, Küärik and in Kγ. *ňan-*; *jaŋy* "new" > **naŋy* or **ňaŋy* > *nā* or *ňā*; only Soj. and Lit.-Soj. has *čan-*, *čā* etc.; common-Tk. *jal(y)ŋyz* "alone" > Šor *naŋys*, Qyz. *naγyz*, Jyš-Kiži *ňaŋys* (also *jaŋys*), Kγ. *ňuŋus*, Soj. *čaŋγys*. In the older texts of CASTRÉN, *j* -> *m-* can be observed in a few instances in Kγ. and the Kondakov-dialect of Qb.: Kγ. *menzuk* (here through metathesis <) Qb. *nemzak* "soft" < *jumšaq*, *jumčaq*, Kondakov *mumak* besides *numak* "fairy-tale" < *jumaq* = Mong. *domoq/domaq*, cf. Tung. Ew. *ňimŋa-kā-wun* "(fairy-)tale, story", with assimilation in the anlaut (cf. infra). Jakut has a further development of this *č-* < *j-* to *s-* as common-Tk. *č-* also becomes *s-* in Jakut; in dialects, this *s-* > *h-*; cf. Tkm. *jōł* > *suoł "way"*, *Tkm. jōq* > *suox*, **jāl* "mane" > *siäl*, **jūz* "100" > *sūs*. In Ṭăv., *j-* becomes, even with a certain regularity, *ś-*: *jāš* "tear" > *śyt*, *jaŋy/jäŋi* "new" > *śine*; *jär* "earth, ground" > *śĕr*, *jel* "wind" > *śil*; occasionally, however, it has *ť-*(/*č-*) instead: *ťĕre* "heart" < *jüräk*.

The original Altajic nature of Turkic *j-* can be detected, in certain cases of Hunno-Bulgarian (proto-Bulgarian) loanwords in Hungarian: **d-* in Tk. *jyłan* "snake", Ṭăv. *śĕlen*, Danubian Bulgarian диломъ (= **ďyłåm*?); *iplik*, *jïplik* "rope" < **diplik*, Hung. *ďeplő* (gyeplő) "id."—lacking in Ṭăv. —; Hung. *ďisnō*, *disnō* "swine, pig" < **ďysnåγ*, Ṭăv. *sịsna* "id." < **śịsna* (> Mari *šösna* "id."); **ň-* in Tk. *jāz* "spring, summer", Hung. *ňār* < Hunno-Bulg. **ňār/*ňāz* = Mong. *niraj* "newly born, fresh" < **ňāraj*, Manžu *ňārxun* "id." (POPPE). Its common-Mongolian equivalent is the word for "sun, day", *nara*, whose originally palatal initial *ň-* is attested for Qytan by *njä-la* for **ňara*, in the Ljao-Šy (Qytan glossary, ch. 116 b), being thus the exact correspondence to Tk. **ňāz* > *jāz*. Otherwise, only the comparison with other Altajic languages

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indicates the original sound: *ž- in AT *jük* "burden, package", of **jü-* "to load, transport" = Mong. *žügä-* "id.", Tg. Ew. *žugū-* "id."; **n-* in Tk. Kāš. *japuryaq* "leaf", Jak. *säbirdäx*, M.-Mong. *nabčin* "leaves", Mong. *nabta-ji-* "to become flat", Tg. Ew. *napta-* "to lie flat"; **j-* in common-Tk. *jaďay* "on foot", Ṭăv. *śyran*, Mong. *jada-yu* "weak, poor". Vacillations in the anlaut may be due to incontiguous assimilation, as e. g. in the above Tk. *jumaq / numaq* : Mong. *domaq* : Tung. Ew. *ňimŋa-kā-wun* < **ďimŋa-qā-wun* < **dym-ya-qā-wun* or the like. The title *jabyu / žabyu* has already been discussed above (p. 88).

Further changes are found with the palato-alveolars and the sibilants. These, too, particularly affect the Eastern languages, not those of Central Asia, the Southwest or most of those of the Northwest group.

The affricata *č-*, everywhere in Turkic palatal, looses its affricative element and becomes *š* in the Aralo-Caspian languages of the Northwestern group, but not in Qypčaq-Özbek and not in Qγ., also, of the Abaqan group, in Šor, Qača, Qyzył, in the Sałba-dialect of Qojbał, and in the Tuva-group; *č-* > *t-* in Sojoŋ (CASTRÉN); *č* becomes *s* in Bašqurt and in Šor (of the lower valley of the Kondoma), Sa., Qb., Blt. of the Abaqan group, and in Jakut. This is an important isogloss connecting Bašqurt with the Siberian languages. In Ṭăvaš, *č-* becomes *ś-* which seems to have been preceded by *š* (or *ś́*), as evidenced by *š* in one layer (or dialect?) of Danubian Bulgarian words in Old-Church-Slavic and Hungarian; cf. O.-Ch.-Sl., O.-Russ. шатьръ, шатеръ, шаторъ "tent", Hung. *šātor*, stem *šātr-*, attested since the XII-th century, Tk., e. g. Kāš. *čatyr* "id." < Pers. *čat(a)r*, *čat(i)r* = Skŗ. *č'attra-*. Another layer of Proto-Bulgarian, found in the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions, has preserved *č-*, *-č-*: cf. ITZIPΓOY = *ičirgü* "inner", title of a high official, or the tribe name TZAKAPAPEIC etc., showing in this respect a stronger Turkic influence or affinity.

Common-Turkic *č* becomes *c* in all West-Siberian languages, elsewhere *c* in Bałqar, Qarajīm (Łuck and Halicz) and Mišär, but sporadically in Osman dialects of Northeastern Anatolia as found by RÄSÄNEN, in Az. dialects in and near Täbrīz, and in the Türkmen dialects of the Gökläŋ, the Ǯa'farbājły et all. in Northern Persia, as established by me. Exx. *ač-* "to open", Qq.- Qqłpq., Noγaj, Soj. *aš-*, Bašq., Sa., Qb., Jak. *as-*, West-Sib. *ac-*, Ṭăv. *uś-*, *yś-*; *čap-* "to beat", Qq.-Qqłpq., Noγaj, Šor, Qača *šap-*, Qb. *sap-*, W.-Sib. *cap-*, Ṭăv. *śop-* "to box on the ear"; *qač-* "to flee", Qq. etc., Šor, *qaš-*, Soj. *qaš-* (but with vocalic suffix, e. g. nom. aor., *qaž-yr*, *až-yr*), W.-Sib. *qac-*, Bšq., Sa., Qb. *qas-*; *čyq-* "to come out": Qq. etc. *šyq-*, W.-Sib. *cyq-*, Sa., Qb., Bšq. *syq-*.

Similarly, *š* becomes *s* in the same languages of the Aralo-Caspian branch, Qq.-Qqłpq. and Noγaj, in Qar.Ł.H., in Bšq., in the Abaqan-group, and in Jakut. In Ṭăvaš, it is usually *ś*, while common-Turkic *š* is represented by *l* in all cases in which Mongolian *l* corresponds to Turkic *š* (cf. infra). Exx.: *baš* "head": Qq.-Qqłpq., Qar.Ł.H., Jakut *bas*, Sa., Qb. *pas*, Ṭăv. *pyś*—but *jāš* "tear" > *śył*; *kiši* "man, person": Qq. etc., Qar.Ł.H., Jak. *kisi*, Qb., Sa. *kizi*. 16
In Kγ., common-Turkic *-š-* in intervocalic position may become *-h-* in the older texts gathered by CASTRÉN; thus, beside *baš-em* < *baš-ym* "my head", *bahem* may be found there. Where instead of the final *-š* in the suffix perfecti indefiniti *-myš*, *-t* appears in Jakut, *-byt*, this is no phonetic, but a morphological procedure due to a different suffix, **-m-yt* instead of common-Tk. *-m-yš*. In the same way, Jakut *t* instead of common-Tk. *z* is due to morphological

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conditions, not to those of a phonetic nature, as was generally assumed, cf. the pronominal plural-suffix *-z* in the possessive suffixes of the 1-st and 2nd persons pl. *-byt* and *-γyt* in Jakut with the plain nominal plural-suffix *-t* as against common-Tk. *-z* in *-ym-yz* and *-yŋ-yz*, or the Jakut *-t* in the nom. aor. negat. *-bat* with the suffix of the deverbal noun in *-t* against the *-z* of common-Tk. in *-maz*; in Common-Tk. *qyz-ar-* "to become red", Jakut has *kytar-*, also due to a suffix, in Jakut, different from that of common-Turkic: proto-Jakut **qy-t-ar-* : proto-Tk. *qy-z-ar-*, the root being **qy-*; here, the suffix *-t-* has in Jakut evidently the same function as the Tk. *-z-*.

Nevertheless, it does not seem possible to explain all Jakut *t* in place of common-Turkic *z* as representing a different suffix, but in some instances, the reasons for its existence are to be sought for in the realm of phonology. This would apply to the appearance of Jakut *t* in place of common-Turkic *z* where this Jakut *t* undergoes assimilation and dissimilation, as e. g. in the suff. 3rd ps. sg. imperat., Turkic *-zun/-sun*, Jakut *-tyn/-dyn/-łyn/-nyn*. In these cases, the Jakut correspondences for Turkic *z* resemble very closely North-Tungus (e. g. Ewenki, also Lamut) $d^r/nr/n^dr/nn$ etc. which are the North-Tungus reflex of an ancient and common-Altajic sibilant. This problem is here only touched upon, but deserves a thorough investigation in both Altajic groups.

Initial *s-* becomes *h-* in Bšq., but zero in Jakut: Bšq: *hịđ* "you" < *siz*, *hu* < *su* "water," *hâry* "yellow" < **sāryγ*; Jak. *āł* "boat" < **sāł* "raft", *as* "hair" < *sač*; *än* "thou" < *sän*, *aγys* "8" < *säkiz*. In certain Bšq. dialects (Tyqčyran and the Steppe-Bašqurts), *s-* became *þ-*: *sałam* < Russ. солома "straw" > *þałam*.

All Türkmen dialects except those of the Anauły and Xasar show the shift of *s* and *z* in all positions to *þ* and *đ*: *þiđ* "you", *þu* "water", *þāry* "yellow", *þāł* "raft", *þāč* (Gökläŋ: *þāc*) "hair", *ġȳđ* "girl", *āđ* "little, few" etc., with the isoglosse of *s* > *þ* in Bašqurt. The development of these dental fricativae *þ* and *đ* in these two languages, presumably having once been found in closer neighborhood, is evidently due to a common North- or East-Iranian substratum (Parthian, Alanic, Śaka, etc.). In Jakut, *s* in intervocalic position becomes *-h-* in the dialect of Jakutsk, and therefrom it has been adopted into the literary language, cf. Tk. *qȳz-y* > Jakut *kȳs-a* "his, her, girl, daughter" > *kȳh-a*, *bysa-byn* "I cut" > *byhabyn* (< *byč-a-män*).

In Ţăvaš, *s-* is usually maintained, but a certain (Hunnic?) layer of Ţăvaš words has *š-* in its stead, also reflected in Hunno-Bulgarian words in Old-Church-Slavic and Hungarian, as mentioned above, cf. also Tk. *sāryγ* "yellow" > Ţ. *šyra* "white", > O.-Ch.-Sl. шаръ "color"; Tk. *süpür-* "to sweap", Ţ. *šêẏêr* "broom", Hung. *söpör*, *säpär* "id."; Ţăv. *šyr* "swamp, dirt", Tkm. *þāđ* (< **sāz*) "id." > Hung. *šār* "id.".

In a number of instances, Ţăvaš has on the place of common-Turkic *z* and *š* the sounds *r* and *l*, showing, in this respect, complete agreement with the two other Altajic groups, Mongolian and Tungus. This was noticed above in the case of Hungarian *ňār* < Hunno-Bulgarian **ňār* = common-Tk. **jāz* "spring, summer". Old-Bulgarian words indicate the early existence of *r* in the place of common-Tk. *z*: КОΛОВРОС (Proto-Bulg. Inscriptions), probably < **qołobor*, **qołobur* = Tk. Kāš. *qołabuz*, *qołavuz* "leader" (Brockelmann reads *qułavuz*); cf. furtheron (with Poppe, "Vgl. Gramm. d. alt. Spr.") Mong.

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araγa "canine tooth, tusk" = Tk. Kāš. etc. *azyγ* "id.", Manǯu *arγan* "tooth"; Mong. *araj* "hardly", M.-Mong. *aran* "id.", Tg. Ew. *ara-kū-kān* "a little bit", Tk. **āz* (Tkm. *āđ*) "little, few"; Mong. *irayа* "traces (also on water), furrow", Ṭ. *jə̂ran* "furrow" < **yran*, Qn. *yzan* "id.", Ma. *irun* "furrow, bed of flowers", Kor. *iraŋ* "furrow; borderline", also Ṭ. *jə̂r* "traces, strip", Tk. **ȳz*, **īz* "traces, vestiges" (with an interesting bipartition in Tkm.: *īđ* "rails, traces of cars", deriv. *īđ-lä-* "to search, trace", and *ȳđ* "vestiges, path", *ȳđ-ła-* "to search after"); Mong. *urtu*, M.-Mong. *hurtu* < **pur-tu* "long", Monguor *fudur*, Ṭăv. *vărăm*, Tk. *uz-un* "long"; Mong. *birayu* "2 years old calf", M.-Mong. *bura'u*, Ṭ. *pə̂ru*, Tk. AT *bozaγu*, Osm. *buzaγy*, Tuv. *byzā*; > Hung. *borjū* "id.".

Tk. *š*: Ṭăv., Mong., Tung. *l*: Mong. *daɬda* "clandestinely", Ma. *dali-* "to cover the view, hide, conceal", Ew. *dal-* "to cover", AT. *jašur-* "to conceal", Ča. *jaš-un-* "to hide out (intr.)"; Mong., M.-Mong. *niɬqa* "young, fresh", Nānaj *neaɬyǰňaɬų* "fresh, uncooked", AT *jaš*, Tkm. *jāš* "fresh, young, age of life, lifespan", Ṭ. *śuɬ* "age"; M.-Mong., Mong. *niɬbusun* < **ňaɬbusun* "tear", Ṭ. *śuɬ* "id.", AT *jaš*, Tkm. *jāš*; Mong. *qaɬbaγa* "spoon", Ča. *qašuq*, Osm. *qašyq* "id."; Mong. *ele-* "to be worn out, rubbed through", *ele-sün* "sand", Ṭ. *aɬ-* "to till "< **äl-*, Ča., Osm. *äš-* "to row, scratch"; Mong. *gölige* "welp", Old-Bulgarian **köľäk* > Hung. *köľök* "id.", Tk. Osm. *köšäk* "young animal, young of a camel". The same features are seen in suffixes, e. g. with the nomen perfecti in *-myš*, appearing as that of deverbal nouns in *-maɬ/-mäl* in Mongolian.

In view of the fact that of all Altajic languages only Turkic with the exception of Ṭăvaš has the sounds *š* and *z* as genuine, independent phonemes, 17
Ramstedt who first tried to solve the problem of the Turkic phonemes *š* and *z*, came to the conclusion that this state of affairs in the great majority of the Altajic languages represented, in this respect, common-Altajic features which they had preserved, while Turkic exhibits innovations. This view is generally held by the Finnish school (Räsänen, Poppe, Aalto, Joki).

Since not all *l* and *r* of the common-Altajic proto-language are represented in Turkic as *š* and *z*, Ramstedt and his followers assume the existence in the Proto-Altajic (and probably still in the Proto-Turkic) language of two pairs of phonemes, an l^1 and l^2 and an r^1 and r^2; their distinctive features are generally supposed by them to have been those of palatalization: in Turkic, a palatalized $*r'$ yielded *z*, a palatalized $*l'$ the *š*. But these sounds, if they ever were the prototypes of *z* and *š* of the historical Turkic languages, occurred in velar words, too, and, at least for Turkic, there was no reason for the rise or development of any palatalization. But this is no strong argument in view of the fact that Ancient-Turkic *ň*, however rarely, occurred in velar words, too, as e. g. in Orx. *qoň* "sheep" = Mong. *xoni* < **qonyn* = Common-Tk. *qoj*, Osm., Qrm. *qojun* (the Ujγur spelling *qojn* may mean *qoň*!), AT *aňyγ* "bad" and a few others, in suffixes also after velar stems, as e. g. in the diminutive in *-qyňa/-kiňä* (> *-qyja/-kijä*). Examples of r' developing later to *ř* and even, with the loss of the vibrant element, to plain *ž*, are amply furnished by West-Slavic, however, neither *ř* nor *ž* ever became, in Slavic, *z*; the Mazurakanje is too limited a Lechitic phenomenon for being typical of, and, moreover, comparable to, a development that allegedly took place in the entire area of Turkic. Räsänen's reconstruction of the l^2 which became *š* in Turkic as an unvoiced spirantic lateral *ɬ* like that of Ugro-Ostjak which goes back, according to Toivonen, to a

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Proto-Uralic *ļ (= ľ, or l in palatal position), endorsed by POPPE, is much more plausible. Rhotacism is a rather repanded feature in language, and rhotacistic developments are regular in Uralic languages, e. g. in Samojed, and in IE, e.g. in Latin, Greek dialects, and Germanic (cf. BRUGMANN, "Kurze vgl. Gramm.", §§ 287, 290/1, 292/4, pp. 201ff.), not unknown in Drāviḍian (cf. T. BURROW, BSOAS, XI, 346); lambdacism is much less common. But it would certainly be possible to assume, for common- and Proto-Altajic, in these instances the Turkic sounds as original and as the survival of very archaic conditions, having been abandoned in Mongolian and Tungus, if the evidence from the Uralic parallels gathered by RÄSÄNEN ("Phon.", p. 23/4) would not support the theory of the Finnish school. Therewith, the age of these sounds *ł and *ŕ would have to be assumed as much older than if they were limited to Altajic only. Moreover, among RÄSÄNEN's 6 examples are 2 which seem to have IE parallels with *l* and *r*: Suomi *kārņa* "bark, bark of pine", or Suo. *kuori* "bark", Lapp. *goaran*, Tung. Solon. *xēr, Olcă ḫoraqta, ḫuraḫta* "id.", Tk. Kāš. *qaz, qas* < **qāz* "id." (> Samojed Sölqup *kās* "id."), Jak. *xas-tā-*, Sa. *qas-ta-* "to peel out, off" < **qāz-ła-*, cf. the IE root **(s)qor-* as found in Slav. *korá*, Lat. *cor-t-ex* "bark" and in Lithuanian *karnà* "Lindenbast" (quoted by RÄSÄNEN with an unnecessary question mark) which is related with the Uralic and Altajic words on the basis of genuine relationship; and Suo. *külmä* "cold", Tung. *kelde* "id.", Lamut. *hēlta* "cold, холод", *gẽlsi, gẽlᵈra* "cold", *hēlta-ł-*, *gẽlᵈra-ł-* "холодеть, to become cold"; Mong. *kül-dä-*, *köl-dä-* "to freeze" (intr.), Qγ. *köšü-* "to tremble", Jak. *kösüj-* "to become stiff", Qn. *küšį-k-* "to become stiff from cold", these to be connected with IE Lat. *gelu, gelid-us*, the Germanic and Slavic sibs, and with Drāviḍian (Tamiḷ, Malajāḷam, Kannaḍa) *kuḷir* "to be cool; coldness, cool".

The Uralic, and whereever possible, Drāviḍian and IE parallels will help to solve the problem of *r* : *z* and *l* : *š* for Altajic. Evidence from Altajic alone is not sufficient to support either the one or the other theory. So far, the last two
18 examples strongly support the theory of the priority of the two liquid phonemes.

Apart from the Uralic and IE examples just mentioned, the question may be asked whether one of these two sounds, r^1 or r^2, and l^1 or l^2, was a liquid or of a different origin, e. g. lateral, dental, alveolar, etc. Under this aspect, research into the nature and origin of the sounds *r* and the vibrants d^r, t^r in the Tungus languages—the latter seeming to have developed from an older **z/s*—may be of special importance for this problem.

There is no evidence for an inner-Turkic rhotacistic or zetacistic development respectively, as sometimes was assumed to be found in cases of the type Orxon *qayansyrat-* "to render *qayan*-less, deprive of the *qayan*", *elsirät-* "to deprive of the land, the nation", Qq., Ojrot *öksürö-* "to be without mother, an orphan", Qq. *qansyra-* "to be without blood" etc., which were considered to be derivatives of *qayan-syz* "without *q.*, *qayan*less", *el-siz* "nationless", *öksüz, qansyz* etc., but, as I have shown in Anthropos XLIX, p. 1111, this is wrong, since the privative suffix *-syz* consists of *-sy-/-si-* forming denominal privative verbs and of the suffix *-z* for nouns of verbal stems (cf. BANG's "2. Turkolog. Brief", p. 243), *-sy-z*, usually in adnominal position, i. e. with the function of IE adjectives; to those denominal verbal stems in *-sy-/-si-* further verbal suffixes as those of aspect, can be attached, such as the suffix *-ra-/-rä-* denoting

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the ingressive or transgressive aspect which rarely occurs alone, but usually in combination with other suffixes of an aspect-character (as *-qy-ra-* for a repetitive action), thus, *qayan-sy-ra-* is "to become *qayan*less, be deprived of the *q.*", and *qayan-sy-ra-t-*, *el-si-rä-t-* are the causatives of these forms. In the same way, the Turkic nomen aoristi in *-r* or *-Vr* as against its negative counterpart in *-maz/-mäz* uses 2 completely different suffixes, the Altajic *-r(a)* for the affirmative form, while in the negative, the suffix is that of the above deverbal noun in *-z*. These were erroneously analysed by VON GABAIN ("Alttürk. Gramm.", §§ 81, 99, pp. 66, 68), probably after a remark of BANG (in SBAW 1916, p. 1236). It is possible, of course, that the suffix aoristi negativi has been taken over, in this form, completely from the, resp. together with, the ancient verbum negativum, but even in this case the *-z* would be identical with the deverbal suffix *-z* as just mentioned.

The only clear rhotacistic development in Turkic is that of common-Turkic *đ* > *r* in Ṭăv.: **ȳđ-* > *jar-* "to send", *ađaq* > *ɣra* "foot", *jađaɣ* > *śɣran* "on foot" etc. The development of *r* from *đ* must have gone through an intermediary stage with **-z-*; cf. on this also J. MARKWART's "Sprach- und kulturgeschichtliche Analekten", UngJb., IX (1929) and his example Pahlavī *āđīnā* "Friday", on the Islamic Volga-Bulgarian tomb-stones ايرنا **irnä* > Ṭăv. *ĕrnĕ* "Sunday", which is the exact equivalent to the development of proto- and common-Turkic **z* to Ṭăv. *r*, if the Ṭăv. *r* is not the continuation of Proto-Altajic **r* (< **ŕ* or **r²* > Tk. *z*), as in the correspondences of the type Turkic **qȳz* : Ṭăv. *xĕr* "girl", Tk. *buzaɣy* : Ṭăv. *pə̂ru* "calf", etc.

As this problem is to be treated separately, a brief remark is to be added here: quite a number of the correspondences *r* : *z* and *l* : *š* can be explained on morphological grounds, so that in these cases they have probably no phonological value—some of these being Mong. *qoɣoɬoj*, Xłx. *xōɬoj* "throat", Tk. Kāš., Ča. *qoɣuš* "water-pipe, -canal"; Mong. *taułaj* "hare" < **tablaj*, Tk. *tabyšɣan* "id.", where *-š* (*-š-ɣan*) and *-ɬaj* are suffixes, as in Uj. *tüš* (Common-Tk. *tüš* < **tūš*, Tkm. *dūš*) "dream" and *tül* "id.", existing together, while Jakut has only *tūl* "id.", where *-š* and *-l* are clearly two different suffixes of deverbal nouns, **tū-š*, **tū-l*, cf. Tung. Ew. *to-l-ki-n*, Manǯu *to-l-gi-n* "id.", Ma. *to-l-gi-* "to dream"; possibly also in the above two Turkic words *jāš* < **jā-š*. This still demands a more exact knowledge of Turkic word-formation (cf. infra, and K. H. MENGES, "Altajische Studien", Islam, vol. XXXVII [1961], pp. 1–23).

Some lexical correspondences, due to borrowing or genuine relationship, of Turkic with other language groups have a certain significance for the problem *z* : *r*, *l* : *š*. One of them is the equivalent of Turkic *jüz* < **jūz* "100" in the North-Samojed languages. Here, Jurak which for a very long time has not had any direct contacts with Turkic, and probably never had any at all, has *ju'* "10" (also *lūca-ju'* "Russian 10"), *jur* "100", Ŋanasan (Tavgy) *jir* and Eňče (Jenisej) *jū'*—both equally far remote from Turkic—, as against the recent Turkic loanword in South-Samojedic Kamaš, *ťüs* < Abaqan-Tk. *ťüs* < *jüz* (for the Samojed words cf. CASTRÉN, "Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen", I, pp. 191 ff.). Is the rhotacistic form of Samojedic due to an inner-Samojedic development and/or the lack of *z* in Samojedic, or is it an early Hunno-Bulgarian loanword, **jūr* / Tk. **jūz* (> Ṭăv. *śĕr*, but Volga-Bulgarian still having *žür/čür* جور) in Samojedic? Moreover, Turkic **jūz* is interesting for its parallels

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in Drāviḍian: Tamiḷ *nūṟu*, Malajāḷam, Konḍa *nūṟu* "100", Tuḷu *nūdu* (obliquus *nūta*-), Gōṇḍī *nūr*, Telugu *nūṟu* (obl. *nūṭa*-), cf. "Draviḍian Etym. Dict.", No. 3090; in the other Drāviḍian languages, this numeral is either replaced or circumscribed. This relationship might presuppose a pre-Turkic, possibly Proto-Altajic **ň̆ürü/*ň̆üri*, i. e. it would indicate an ancient **r*; that this *r* is not a plain lingual *r*, is shown by Drāviḍian forms with alveolar *ṟ* which may alternate, in obliquus-stems, with *t* and *ṭ*. But it must be emphasized, in this connection, that *z* is almost completely unknown in Drāviḍian, and if it occurs, it generally is, like *s*, of secundary origin. The alternation of *ṟ* with *t* and *ṭ* in *nūṟu* is also of interest. In certain instances, Tamiḷ *-ḷ* corresponds to Turkic *-z*: Tamiḷ *nāḷ* "day": Mong. **ň̆ara, nara* : Turk. **ň̆āz, jaz*; Tamiḷ *tūḷ* "dust": Turk. **tōz, toz* : Mong. *toro*.

An interesting etymon is the Altajic word for the donkey, borrowed in Altajic as in IE: Mong. *älžigän* < **älžikän*, Ma. *ejxen* < **eľken* < **elžiken*
19 (Poppe), Ǯürčen *'o-ḫen* (Grube) = *oxen, ẻxen* "id.", and Tk. Kāš. *äšäk, äškäk* (and *äšjäk* which might well be from an older **äšďäk*, closer to Mong. *älži-gän*; cf. also WB Tel., Šor *äštäk* [< **äšďäk*?]) etc., the immediate source for the Altajic word being Armenian *ēš*, gen. *išoj*, ես, իշոյ, which as all the IE words goes back to an ancient Anatolian form and finally to Šumerian *anšu* "id.". This loanword which seems to be very old and to have undergone a further word-formative development in Mongolian and South-Tungus, definitely points, if not to the priority of *š* in Altajic, but to its great age in Turkic. If we assume that Armenian *ēš* was first borrowed into Turkic and then migrated to Mongolian and South-Tungus, the Mongolian and Tungus *l* might be considered on the basis of the rule, as assumed, Tk. *š*: Mong., Tung. *l*, as sound-substitution, for neither in Mongolian, nor in Tungus, *š* exists as a phoneme but only as an alternate of *s* in palatal position. The question assumes a different aspect, if *ēš* was borrowed from an earlier language into Proto-Altajic. This will remain unsolved as long as we cannot yet determine the age of this and other Armenian loanwords in Turkic or in Altajic in general.

Kamašic *šili* "sable", considered by Joki and Poppe a loanword from Turkic **kiľi* > *kiš* (WB AT., Uj., Ča., Qom., Qrm., Alt., Tel., Tob.) hardly is an instance of sound-substitution, *l* for Tk. *š*, if both words are identical, for which the initial sound-change *k* > **č* > *š* is to be assumed. This word is also found in Samojedic Sölqup, *sī* (Bajxa, Taz), *šī* (Narym) "id.". If Samojedic *l*, in this Kamašic form, is no sound-substitution, the borrowing must be very old and rather be ascribed to Proto-Altajic, which had **ḷ* for later Turkic *š*. All this points to genetic relationship rather than to borrowing.

If the numeral for "5", in Tk. **bâš* (Tkm. *bāš*, Jak. *biäs*), Ţăv. *pillĕk, pilĕk*, goes back to Old-Iranian *panča* (> N.-Pers. *panž*), as Benzing is inclined to assume, so in this case, too, although it be limited to Turkic, the *š* < *č* of the Old-Iranian loanword in proto-Turkic is represented in Ţăvaš as *l*. On the other hand, this hypothetical Old-Iranian loanword does not support the theory of Setälä and Benzing (cf. Benzing in "Fundamenta", p. 694) that this Ţ. *l* go back to **ž*, since at the time when O.-Iran. *panča* was allegedly borrowed into Proto-Turkic, the sonorization of *č* > *ǯ* as found in N.-Pers. and other modern Iranian languages had certainly not yet taken place. Moreover, there is no reason why Iranian *č* should have been replaced by *š* in Turkic.

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A weighty argument in favour of the great age of Turkic *š* comes in this case from the comparison of Turkic **bâš* with Q'išwa *pisqa, pišqa, p'išqa* "5", as established by G. Dumézil in his "Remarques sur les six premiers noms de nombre du turc" (Studia Linguistica, VIII, Lund, 1954, p. 5). This remarkable, undisputable relationship with Q'išwa dates very far back in prehistorical ages. Similarly, the second element *-myš* in the two numerals *altmyš* "60" and *jetmiš* "70", Ṭăv. *utmăl* and *śitměl*, corresponds, in this widespread ancient word for "10", to *-s* in Uralic, likewise pointing to the great age of *š*; in this word, in its stead, *-r*, *-d* is found in Drāviḍian, and *-t* in Egyptian, Algonquian and Nahuatl (cf. infra p. 117, sub Numeralia). 20

Returning to Turkic proper, we may well say that Ṭăvaš with its *r* and *l* in place of Turkic *z* and *š*—the only consistent and truly regular feature in the phonology of Ṭăvaš—stands completely apart from the Turkic group and in line with Mongolian and Tungus. Thus, this particular feature is best to be supposed as one of the more significant criteria for a strong, basically un-Turkic stratum in Ṭăvaš and Proto-Bulgarian which is to be identified with the Hunnic ethnic and linguistic element in the Proto-Bulgarian complex. The conclusion might be drawn that Hunnic was not Turkic, but another Altajic language which was, in this respect at least, most closely related with Mongolian and Tungus.

There is no "encroachment (вторжение)" of forms of a Ṭăvaš nature with *r* into Turkic, as Dmitrijev (in "Issledovanija po sravn. gramm. tk. jaz.", I, p. 324) assumed, adducing there as examples Qn., Bšq. *kükräk*, Qγ. *kökürök*, Özb. *kökräk/kukrak* "breast" which exist alongside with Özb. *kökis/kukis* or Az. *köküs* (p. 323), where the problem is not one of Phonology, but of Morphology: *köküz* is a nomen dualitatis in *-z* or *-Vz*, while *kökräk* etc. have two different suffixes: *kök-(ü)r-äk*. Türkmen *gövrä* "rump, trunk" as against Osm. *gövdä*, Qqłpq. *göüdö*, *gäüdä*, Qq. *käüdä*, *köüdö*, Qn. *gäüdä*, Bšq. *käüđä* "breast, trunk; circumference", the etymology of this word remaining uncertain, is as well as Tkm. *bajdaq* along with *bajraq* "standard, flag; prize" < **bađ-ra-q/* **bađ-daq*, cf. Uj. *bađruq* "flag", certainly also due to different suffixes. The forms of the 1st and 2nd pers. sg. et pl. aoristi negativi in Türkmen (ibid., p. 324), *al-ma-r-yn*, *al-ma-r-syŋ*, etc. "I don't take" etc. are solely due to an innovation by force of analogy with those of the positive aorist, while in the 3-rd persons (sg. et pl.) the original form with *-z* (*alma-z*) has been preserved. Thus, Dmitrijev's further reconstruction of the Osman 1st and 2nd persons aor. negat., *al-ma-m* < **al-ma-z-ym* from **al-ma-r-ym* instead of **al-ma-z-ym/* **al-ma-z—men*, is completely devious, likewise his further hypotheses concerning *sämir-* "to grow fat" and *sämiz* "fat", *kör-* "to see" and *köz* "eye" in which he saw an "alternation (чередование)" *r* : *z* (p. 325, bottom), while the word-formation proceeded thus: **sämi-* "to be fat": *sämi-r-*, intensivum or ingressivum, "to become fat", *sämi-z* "(being) fat", **kö-* "to see", *kö-r-* "to see", *kö-z* "(seeing, the seeing one >) eye", where the verbal simplex-forms **kö-* and **sämi-* have ceased to be in use, as found in many other instances, also in IE so that only words with suffixes or prefixes or both are historically attested. Also here, the problem is one of morphology, not of phonology.

In a paper read on May 5-th, 1964, in Seattle at the "Symposium on Uralo-Altaic and Slavic Linguistic Relationship", O. Pritsak proposed a solution

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of the problem of rhotacism and lambdacism in Turkic which seems basically and in principle correct, while some related problems as seen above still remain open: it can be demonstrated that in Turkic *z* and *š* originated as a result of a very ancient collision of *r* or *l* finals of roots or stems with a consonantic suffix or the consonantic initial of a suffix. For all details I refer here generally to Dr. PRITSAK's article in UAJbb., XXXV, pp. 337—349.

While in oldest Turkic, Orxon and Ujγur, in word-initial position only *q/k*, *t*, *b*, *s*, *š* (in loan- and foreign words) and *j* occurred, in intermediary and final position also *γ/g*, *d*, *đ* and *z* could be found, as they are in the modern languages. These conditions still prevail in the languages of the Central Asiatic branch, Ča., N.-Uj. and City-Özbek, while certain innovations are to be noted which seem to have begun in Uj., as the late Uj. mss. exhibit certain digressions from the original state. Here, as in the later languages of the Central Asiatic branch, the unvoiced postpalatals become voiced in position before a suffix with vocalic initial; this happens preponderantly before the possessive suffixes. Here again, as in so many instances of specific sound-changes which seem to be of an incipient nature, since they have not yet become general rules (or laws), the change seems to take place in front of much-used suffixes. Thus, there are almost regular cases of the type *qiłiq* (N.-Uj.) "way of doing, mode, character": poss. 3. pers. *qiłiγi*, *ešik* "entrance": *ešig-i*, *äšäk* "ass": *äšeg-i*, *täzäk* "dung": *täzeg-i*, *ötäk* "boot": *öteg-i* (poss. 1. pers. sg. *öteg-im*, poss. 2. sg. *öteg-iŋ*, etc.). While final *-p* is not sonorized, in general, in the intimate composition of verb plus auxiliary, in which the main verb assumes the form of the gerund in *-p*, if the auxiliary has initial vowel, this *-p* becomes sonorized and often even spirantic: N.-Uj. *sizivalγan* < *syz-yp—ał-γan* "having made lines, designed", Özb. *alival* < *ał-yp—ał* "take along!", Özb. (North-Afghan.) *ajtiboútti* < *ajt-yp—boł-up—är-di* "he (had) said" (JARRING, "Uzbek Texts from Afgh. Tkst.", passim)—together with *-p*: *ajtip-otmakčiman* "I shall just say". This development has gone further in the Oγuz and Qypčaq groups where the tendency to the sonorization of the occlusives becomes more and more general; thus, in the Oγuz group, this sonorization takes place after an originally long vowel of the root, and futher in the word after any vowel, cf. Osm. *at* "horse": *at-y*, poss. 3. ps., *at* "name", often written *ad* as it was in Arabic orthography, آد: *ad-y*, poss. 3. ps., *aq* "white", Tkm. *āġ* : *aγ-y*, *tat* "taste", Az. *dat*, Tkm. *dāt* : *dād-y*, *gök* "sky", Az. *göj*, Osm. poss. 3. ps. *göj-ü* (Tkm. *gȫk*); Osm., Az., Qrm. *odun* "firewood", Tkm. *ōdyn*, but Ča., N.-Uj. *otun*; Tkm. *âdik* "boot," N.-Uj. *ötük* "id.". In some cases, vacillations occur of the type of Osman *süt* "milk", poss. 3. ps. *süd-ü* (Tkm. *sȗt*), but also *süt-ü*, the Arabic form being سوت, rare and older سود.

In the Qypčaq group, the sonorization usually occurs after the first, root-syllable, but without any regard to the original quantity of the root-vowel; the dentals resist the sonorization, as in Karaγas and Jakut. Exx.: Qom. *ax-* "to stream", nom. aor. *aγ-ar*, *čaq* "time", possess. 3. sg. *čaq-y*; Qq.-Qqłpq. *baγ-ar*, nom. aor. of *baq-* "to look", *šyγ-ar* of *šyq-* "to go out", *oq* "arrow", 3. poss. *oγ-u*; *äk-*, *ek-* "to sow": *eg-in* "seed" — Uj., Osm., Tkm. *ekin* "id."—, Qqłpq. *bejik* (< *bäđik*) "high", compar. *bejig-iräk* "higher"; *tap-* "to find", nom. aor. *tab-ar*, *šap-* "to gallop", aor. *šab-ar-*; these latter show a further development in the forms of the gerund in *-p*: *taup* < *tab-up*, *šaup* < *šabup*,

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teüp < *tebüp* "having kicked" etc., similar to that in the above-mentioned Özbek verbal compositions. Qγ. also participates in this general development. While the SW-group has e. g. the sonorization of *-č* (Osm., Az. *ayač* "tree": poss. 3. ps. *ayaž-y*), this does not take place in the NW-group: Qn. *ayač*: *ayačy*, Qq. *ayaš*: *ayašy*.

In the South-Siberian Turkic languages, there is a general rule according to which each consonant in intervocalic position must be voiced—or be a geminate. In Ojrot, intervocalic *č* is preserved without being a geminate, while if in Abaqan *VčV* is found, this *č* is to be considered a geminate. Such a geminate usually results from assimilation. As an Abaqan rule, common-Turkic *č* becomes *š* or *s*; in the position between vowels, instead of the resulting *ž* often *ẓ* is found; the gemination seems to be due to ancient conditions of accent and/or quantity. Research in this regard is still to be expected. Some exceptions to these general South-Siberian rules are seen in the Tuva group, in Karaγas. The older materials on Karaγas as collected by CASTRÉN are here of special interest, since they show no sonorization of intervocalic *t* and *s*, as in Jakut; moreover, in the quality of the final consonants of the root-syllable the original quantity of Proto-Turkic has its effect: cf. *baš* "head", poss. 1. sg. *baš-em*, *bah-em*, *but* "foot", poss. 1. sg. *bud-um* (Tkm., Jak. *būt* "hip", Tg. Ew. *bōdi* "foot", *bōkan* "hip"), *tiš* "tooth": *tiď-im* "my tooth", cf. Tkm. *dīš*. After the 2-nd syllable, the sonorization takes place as in the other Siberian languages: *hanat* "wing": poss. 1. sg. *hanad-em* = Ojrot, Abaqan *qanad-ym*.

In Jakut, essentially the same tendencies are evident as in the Qypčaq group: *bysax* "knife" < *byč-aq*, poss. 3. sg. *bysaγ-a*, *möltöx* "rifle" = common-Tk. *myltyq*, poss. 3. sg. *möltöγ-ö*, but *t* and *s* remain unsonorized: *būt*, poss. 3. sg. *būt-a*, *bas* "head": *bas-a* and *bah-a* with the development *s* > *h* in the dialect group to which also Literary Jakut belongs. Some words of the type *aryt* "space in between", *ürüt* "upper part, upside" have e. g. *ard-yna* "at times", *ürd-ä*, poss. 3. sg.

Ţăvaš shows, at least in this respect, untypical regularity, as it has only voiceless consonants in initial and only semivoiced (lenes) in intermediary position, very similar to the conditions in the South-Siberian languages. The semivoiced quality of the consonants is typical of Ţăvaš, which does not possess any voiced consonants, but only semivoiced, tenues mediae or lenes as many of the neighboring Finnic languages and Mongolian.

The postpalatal initial of suffixes undergoes a special development which is typical of single Turkic groups. In the AT inscriptions, suffixes with initial unvoiced postpalatal were strictly distinguished from those with initial voiced, as e. g. dat. *-qa/-kä*, nomen locale *-qy/-ki* as against cas. direct. *-γaru/-gärü*, the nomina verbalia in *-γu*, *-γułuq*, *-γučy*, *-γły* and *-γma*. This distinction begins to be effaced in Ujγur, so that the suffixes *-qaq*, *-qu*, *-kün* of denominal nouns, *-qa-* and *-γar-* of denominal verbs, *-γVq*, *-γVn*, occasionally *-γły* and *-γma* of deverbal nouns, *-qur-* of the deverbal verbs, the suffixes *-γały*, *-γynča* and *-γułuq* of the verbal nouns show vacillations between voiced and unvoiced initial. As a consequence of this vacillation, in the great majority of the Turkic languages, the distribution of the original initials has been generalized according to the rule of progressive assimilation, however, with the preponderance of the unvoiced, since in most consonant-combinations the group becomes unvoiced even if both components are voiced (cf. supra).

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A special development is seen in the Southwest, Oγuz-languages, since the postpalatal suffix-initial is lacking there. After vocalic stem-final, the hiatus is filled in by the sound *-j-*. These suffixes are: dat. *-a/-ä*, direct. *-a-ry/-ä-ri*, nomen perfecti *-an/-än*, the gerundia *-aly/-äli*, *-ynža/-inžä*, the optat. *-a/-ä* (if it goes back to the suffix *-γa/-gä* found in the late Ujγur of the Qaraxanid epoch, being there the equivalent of the Uj. and common-Turkic nom. optat. in *-γaj/-gäj*; it could just as well be the suffix of the Prs.-fut. in *-a/-ä*, i. e. the gerund in *-a/-ä*, not surviving in this function in the Southwest-languages), and in some suffixes of word formation, such as *-a/-ä* (for *-γa//-qa*), *-an* (for *-γan*), *-yn/-in* (also *-γyn/-gin*), *-aq* (*-γaq*), *-yč* (*-γyč*), etc., as e. g. in Osm. *ičäri* "inside (direct.); hinein" = Uj., Ča. etc. *ičkäri*; Osm. *dyšary* "outside; hinaus" < **tyš-qa-ry* < **taš-qa-ry* = Uj., Ča. *tašqaru* "id."; *qysa* "short", Uj., Kāš., Ča. *qysγa*, *qysqa*, of *qys-* "to squeeze"; Osm. *qazan* "kettle", together with *qazγan* (DENY, "Gramm.", p. 98), Kāš., Ča. etc. *qazγan*; Osm. *jałan* "lie", Ujγ., Kāš., etc. *jałγan*; Osm., Tkm. *syčan* "mouse", Qypčaq *syčγan* (a taboo expression, properly "defecator"); Osm. *bütün* "whole, entire" < **büt-gin* or **büt-Vn* from *büt-* < *bit-* "to be accomplished"; Osm. *daraq* "comb", N.-Uj. *taryaq* "id."; Tkm. *ämäk* "labor, exertion", Uj., N.-Uj. *ämgäk*. In the suffix of the ancient participle in *-γyn/-gin*, the initial postpalatal has in many cases been preserved in the Southwest, as e. g. in Osman: *jan-γyn* "conflagration" from *jan-* "to burn (intr.)", *sür-gün* "exilee", *jor-γun* "tired", *bat-qyn* "sunken" < *bat-γyn*, *piškin* "ripe, boiled", *ilišкin* "connected with, related to", *erišкin* "perfect, mature, ripe", and many of this type from the cooperat. aspect in *-Vš-*; cf. furtheron Osm. *baš-ła-n-γyč* "beginning, start", *bas-qyč* "stairs, ladder"; *utanyač* < *uta-n-yač* "timid, bashful", *dajanyač* "resistant". In Osm. *jaqyn* "near (by)", assimilation < **jaq-γyn* is to be assumed (on the suffix *-γyn/-gin* cf. BANG's "7. Turkolog. Brief", UngJbb. XIV, 1934), while, in parallelity to cases of the type *joryun*, *batqyn*, also in the suffix *-γan* of the nomen perfecti the initial postpalatal is preserved in forms which have lost the purely verbal, participial function and meaning, such as Osm. *čałyšqan* "assiduous", of *čał-yš-*, cooper., "to work, to make efforts", *japyšqan* "sticky, importunate", *ilišкänlik* "connection, relation" of *il-iš-kän*; *erišкänlik* "majorennity", usual from the cooperative aspect, but also *äri-gän*, (>) *äri-jän* "juicy, melting in the mouth" of *äri-* "to melt". It is improbable that the forms in *(-yš)-qan*, occurring in Osman in some number, should all be borrowings from Čaγataj.

In Jakut, the originally unvoiced suffix-initials have been preserved as *x/k//γ/g* in accordance with the common-Siberian rules for intermediary consonants, while the originally voiced have disappeared after lenghtening (or ensuing Jakut diphthongization) of the vowels, cf. suffix causat. *-yar-* < *-γar-* (*-γār-*?), partic. pf. *-āt* < * *-γat* = Mong. *-γat*, and common-Turk. *-γač*.

In Ťăvaš, a reflex of *-γan* is found in the participle in *-a-ĝan* which in this form goes back to the Prtic. pf. of the iterative in *-a-*. RÄSÄNEN is right when rejecting the theory that common-Turkic *-qan/-γan* is implied in Ťăv. *-nə̂* which is either a borrowing from Mari, as RÄSÄNEN assumes, or it is genuine and has a parallel in Tungus, cf. Ew. *-na/-nə̄/-no* for a nomen perfecti.

BANG held the opinion that the original Turkic form of these suffixes might not have had the initial postpalatal, but a glottal stop that later developed into

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the postpalatal: **qaɬ-'an* "having remained" > *qaɬ-γan* etc. But since neither in Turkic nor in other Altajic languages a glottal stop had or has any phonematic value of function at any time, the reasons have to be sought for elsewhere. RÄSÄNEN assumes for the AT language two different types of suffixes, one having initial voiceless, the other initial voiced consonant; this disappeared in front of the open vowels *a/ä* in the Southwestern languages, while they were retained in front of the closed vowels *u/ü, y/i* ("Phon.", p. 156), but I think, RÄSÄNEN's alternative explanation of this change on the basis of a proto-Turkic "Stufenwechsel" (consonant-gradation), given ibidem, merely in the form of a footnote, points into the right direction, especially in view of the fact that clear traces of an Altajic Stufenwechsel can be deduced from POPPE's "Comparative Grammar of the Altajic languages", vol. I, as I shall discuss in another place. RÄSÄNEN assumes here e. g. a dative-suffix *-qa* after monosyllabic stems (roots) and *-γa* after disyllabic ones which later, in the individual Turkic languages or groups, were generalized either in favor of the one or the other sound. This alternation in suffixes as well as that in stem-final consonants certainly represents "Stufenwechsel" in Altajic, a fact to which Ernst LEWY had called attention in KZ 56, 1929, p. 150, n. 2. It should be mentioned also in this place that SETÄLÄ once had said if Stufenwechsel could be detected in Altajic, too, the assumption of genuine relationship between Uralic and Altajic would become less problematic (cf. also "Qara-qalpaq Phonology", p. 36ff.). On the other hand, the problem might be, at least in the instance of certain suffixes, if not of all of them, one of morphology, and not of phonology. Thus, POPPE (in Islamica, IV, 417f.) assumed that in Turkic the dative had originally 2 suffixes, *-a* and *-γa,* which is probable in view of the Mong. dat. in *-a*; then, the Turkic suffix *-qa/-γa* must consist of 2 elements, the Turco-Mongolian *-a* and probably a locativic suffix *-q/-k,* found e. g. in the suffix of the nomina localia *-qy/-ki* and in the North-Tungus languages, there also in combination with other suffixes (e. g. Ew. *-du-k, -š-kī*). The only clear occurrence of dat. *-a* in AT is in the Orxon-Inscriptions with the nomina loci *biri-jä* "to south", *qury-ja* "to west", while *-a/-ä* written after final *-q, -g, -ŋ* and the possessive suffixes may nevertheless go back to *-qa/-γa* etc. after assimilation and due to the avoidance of geminates in Runic orthography. But this does still not explain the reason for the vacillation between *-q-/-k-* and *-γ-/-g-* in the suffix, or, in general, between unvoiced and voiced suffix-initial. Here arises the problem of Stufenwechsel and an ancient accent-shifting.

In the domain of combinatoric sound-change, having in Turkic the aspect of neither general nor consistent regularity, varying not only from language to language, but even within one and the same language, that of assimilation and dissimilation is of a more general significance.

As to the first, consonant groups appearing in the word as a consequence of suffixation, usually undergo desonorization, even if both consonants are originally voiced; this begins in Uj., cf. *qađγu/qatqu* "grief", *ozγur-/osqur-* "to liberate", *ägzig/äksük* "need, failure, deficiency", *yddy* (= *yđ-dy*) / *ytdy/ytty/yddy/ydy*, 3. sg. pf. of *yđ-* "to send" where a number of these forms have but a graphic value as discussed above. Later, the desonorization becomes more common; cf. Soj. *čiptär* "he is eating (up)" < *čip-(i)där* < *je-p—yđ-ar*. In

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some instances, the second consonant may become a lenis as e. g. in Osman, Türkmen (e. g. Osm. *git-ḍi*, *et-ḍi* etc.).

Assimilations and dissimilations are rather common in the eastern Turkic languages, especially in Siberia where the Turkic languages belong to an extensive assimilatoric and dissimilatoric language confederacy expanding from the Caspian Sea far into Northern and Eastern Siberia, to the Pacific Coast and Kamčatka. The assimilations and dissimilations play a most important role in the Tungus languages where they reach a high degree of regularity, not found in Mongolian or Turkic. The assimilations/dissimilations always appear when liquid collides with liquid or nasal, or liquid or nasal with dental, nasal, or sibilant; in theses instances, they are rather regular, but vary considerably in quality from language to language. Also in Turkic, the assimilations and dissimilations are important in the attachment of suffixes, especially in the nominal category, since in the latter many suffixes have initial nasal or dental: gen. *-nyŋ*, acc. *-ny*, loc. *-da*, abl. *-dan*, compar. *-deg*, plural *-ŧar*, in the verbal category the suffixes of the passive aspect *-l-*, medial *-n-*, the causatives in *-dyr-*, *-t-*, and the denominal verbal suffix *-ŧa-*. Exx.: Suff. of the gen. and acc. in Qq-Qqłpq.: gen. *kisi-niŋ* "of the man", *tau-duŋ* "of the mountain", *qoj-duŋ* "of the sheep"; *at-tyŋ* "of the horse", *aŧyp-tyŋ* "of the hero", *žaŧyyz-dyŋ* "of the lonely, single one", *Ertis-tiŋ* "of the E. (= *Yrtyš*) river", *sīr-diŋ* "of the cow", *auŧ-duŋ* "of the village"; after *-m*, *-n*, *-ŋ*, the genitive-suffix retains the original form: *söz-üm-nüŋ*, possess. 1-st pers., "of my word", *qanat-ym-nyŋ* "of my wing", *qyz-yŋ-nyŋ* "of thy girl, of your daughter", with simplification of *-nn-* after stem-final *-n*: *qanyŋ* "of the Q.", *künüŋ* "of the day", *zamanyŋ* "of the time"; mixed forms due to analogy also occur: *qyz-nyŋ* "of the girl", *qoj-nuŋ* "of the sheep" etc.; accus.: *kisi-ni* "hominem", *qyz-dy* "puellam", *sū-du* "aquam" of *sū* < *suw*, AT. *sub*; *qan-dy* "the Q.", *kün-dü* "diem"; *qyz-yŋ-dy* "puellam tuam, filiam tuam", *šyn-yŋ-dy* "veritatem tuam", *at-ym-dy* "equum meum"; also here occur mixed forms. Ojrot gen.: *är-diŋ* "hominis", *jyŧ-dyŋ* "anni", *taŧaj-dyŋ* "maris", *tū-duŋ* "montis", *čärü-düŋ* "exercitūs" (< *čärū-düŋ* < *čärig-niŋ*), *su-duŋ* "aquae" (< *suw-nuŋ*); after *-m*, *-n*, *-ŋ*: *ajt-qan-ym-nyŋ* "of my saying, of what I have said", *ūŧ-um-nuŋ* "filii mei"; *-nn-* > *-n-*: *qānyŋ* "of the Q.", *jyŧanyŋ* "of the snake" etc.; acc.: *kiži-ni* "hominem, virum", *abaqaj-dy* "feminam, mulierem", *ad-ym-dy* "equum meum", *ad-yŋ-dy* "equum tuum", *qān-dy* "the Q.". Ablative: Qq.-Qqłpq. *baŧa-dan* "from the child", *tau-dan* "a monte", *ekeü-dän* "a binis, from the two", *qus-tan* "ab ave", *birlik-tän* "from the unit", *qum-nan* "ab avena, ex avena, out of the sand, from the sand", *kim-nän* "a quo? from whom?", *Türkistan-nan* "from Türkistan, out of T.", *men-nän* "a me", *sen-nän* "a te", *on-nan* "ab eo, ea"; *-nn-* > *-n-*: *ketkänän* < *ket-kän-dän* "after the departure", *sonan* "therefrom" < *šun-dan*; Ojrot: (abl.: *-daŋ/-däŋ*) *tülkü-däŋ* "a volpe, from the fox", *qys-taŋ* "a puella", *adam änäm-näŋ* "from my parents", *qān-naŋ* "from the Q."; *-nn-* > *-n-*: *mänäŋ* "a me", *sänäŋ* "abs te"; mixed forms are *qazan-daŋ* "from the kettle", *paŧa-naŋ* "from the child". From this easily results a vacillation between genitive and ablative, as it is found in Šor and its eastern neighbors. The final *-ŋ* of the ablative-suffix in Ojrot is probably also due to the analogy with the final *-ŋ* of the genitive. This has certain consequences for morphology and syntax. In order to prevent confusion with the suffix of the dative of the

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possess. 3. pers., as a result of this combinatoric sound-change, the initial of the locative never undergoes assimilation. Essentially the same conditions prevail throughout the South-Siberian languages.

Assimilations and dissimalitions appear also after syllable-reduction, thus, after reduction of intermediary syllables in front of or in suffixal syllables, e. g. *ał-yn* "forehead, front-part, front", poss. 3. pers. *ałd-y*, usually found in dat., loc., ablat.: *ałd-yna, ałd-ynda, ałd-yndan* (*-ŋ*); **taš-yn* "outside, outer side, exterior" > Sib.-Tk. *taž-yn*, dat. poss. 3. ps. *taštyna* < **taž-yn-yn-a*, abl. *taštyndan*, or cf. Soj. *saqtyp*, gerund med., < *saq-yn-yp* of common-Tk. *saq-yn-* "to think, consider", *čaštyr-*, med., causat., < *jaš-yn-yr-* "to let hide away oneself", Kγ. (KATANOV) *köstüp-tür* "is being seen, is appearing" < *köz-ü-n-üp—turur, ašty-pärgän* "(door) was (suddenly) opened" < *ač-ył-y—bär-gän* with the ger. in *-y* of the pass. of the main verb, *typtar*, nom. aor. pass., "is found, born" < *tap-ył-ar*; Abaqan, Tuva *qatty* "his wife" < *qadyn-y* < *qatyn-y*.

In Jakut, very similar changes are found on the border of morphemes, cf. *saptabyn*, 1. ps. sg. prs.-fut. "I shall (am) cover(ing) myself" < *jap-yn-a—män*; *ülläsillä*, 3. ps. sg. prs.-fut. of *ülläs-il-in-*, med. and pass., "to be distributed"; together with these, unassimilated forms may occur in Jakut, so that the two types are used for the sake of semantic differentiation: *bil-in-*, med. of *bil-* "to know", 1-st ps. sg. prs.-fut. *bil-in-ä-bin* "I am confessing, conceding", *billäbin* "I shall let know of myself". This feature is not sufficiently known as yet and seems to be a Siberian feature; it is more usual in some Tungus languages and deserves further investigation.

Incontiguous assimilations and dissimilations. The only regular development is that of *j* -> *n-* or *ň-* if nasal follows later in the word, as mentioned above; it has become a regular sound-change in Siberia. Otherwise, they are found, sporadically, everywhere in Turkic, but they, too, are numerous in the eastern part of the entire area. They appear with palato-alveolars and sibilants, respectively, where they undergo sound-changes as in Siberia; cf. common-Tk., Uj., Kāš., Ča., Osm. *sač* "hair", Özb. *čač*, Qq.-Qqłpq., Šor, Qb. *šaš*, Kγ. (CA.) *ťaš, čaš*; Soj. *čaštynda* "draußen; on the outside", loc. < *taš-yn-yn-da* resp. **taš-t-yn-da*; Uj. *jułtuz* "star", Osm., Az., Qrm. *jyłdyz*, Alt., Bar., Küär. *jyłdys*, Qb., Qač. *ťyłtys*, but Kγ., Soj., Lit.-Soj. *syłdys* "id."; Uj., Kāš. *syčyan*, Osm., Az. *syčan* "mouse", a taboo-word, nom. perfecti of *syč-* "to defecate" (cf. supra): Qq.-Qqłpq. *tyšqan* "id.", Qn. *tyčqan*, Alt., Tel. *čyčqan*, N.-Uj. *sačqan* (Lit. *čašqan*), Tar. *sašqan*; the latter two forms may have been connected with the root *sač-* "to strew, scatter", on purpose, in order to avoid the vulgar root *syč-*.

Phenomena of metathesis are quite widespread in Turkic, but nowhere regular as such; certain metatheses may be considered as regular and typical of individual languages or groups, such as metatheses of the occlusives, usually *pq/pk* > *qp/kp* in the Tuva group, sporadically also in Abaqan, almost regularly in the verbal composition where the main verb stands in the gerund in *-p* and the auxiliary has initial *q-* or *k-*: common-Tk. *ałyp-kelgän* "(having) brought" > *ap-kelgän* > Tuva *aqpälgän*, Soj. (RADL.) *kâk-pörzä* < *käl-ip—kör-sä* "when he comes to look for (after)", Kγ., Soj. *ökpä* "lungs" < *öp-kä* "id.", Soj. *čydyq-pałyan-tur* "he was (usually) lying" < *jat-yp—qał-yan—tur-ur*; *äkpä*, dat. of *äb* "tent, house", along with *öggä* from *ög* < *äb/äw* "id.". Kγ.

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(Ca.) *ďaqpès* "cover, Deckel", loanword < Qb. < *jap-qyč*. Cases with anticipation of the sibilant: Soj. *ösküs* "orphan" < *ög-süz* (Uj. *ög* "mother"), *äšpi* "woman, housewife" < *äb-či* where Kγ. has *äšpi* along with *äpši*, Soj. *asqyr* "stallion" along with *aqsyr*, loanword from Abaqan *asqyr* < *aďγyr*, Osm. etc. *ajγyr*, Jak. *atȳr*, Tar. *aryī*, this latter exhibiting a double metathesis: *r*/*γ* and the vowels (resp. diphthong) of the two syllables—if not misperceived acoustically for *āγī* < *ajγir*, Lit. N.-Uj. *ajγir*. The Siberian languages have a special inclination to metathesis, while it is rather sporadic in the other Turkic languages. The above type of the metathesis of labial and guttural occlusivae is found with great regularity in Tungus languages such as Lamut, Udi and Nānaj, but it is completely unknown in Central Asia and all the western Turkic languages. In Drāviḍian languages, e. g. in Kūī, this metathesis is regular.

Disappearance of intermediary syllables, Bang's Mittelsilbenschwund, is as common in Turkic as throughout Altajic. It is almost regular in disyllabic stems the second syllable of which contains the vowels *y*/*i* or *u*/*ü* when vocalic suffix follows, as e. g. *ał-yn* "front (part)", poss. 3. pers. sg. *ałn-y* (in the same way with *ałyn* in the meaning of "forehead", in Osm. and Az.), *qaryn* "belly", poss. 3. ps. *qarn-y*, *orun* "place", loc. poss. 3. ps. *orn-un-da*, Sib. (Abaqan, Tuva) *ord-yn-da* "on its, his, place" etc., or Osm. etc. *jałyŋyz* "alone" > Osm. *jałnyz*, Ča., Özb. *jałyuz*, Qom. *jałyyz* etc., Qq.-Qqłpq. *žumsa-* "to work" < *jumuš-a-*, *saryaj-* "to become yellow" < *saryγ-aď-*, Kγ. *ułyad-* "to become big, great" < *ułuγ-aď-*. But syllables are reduced to zero in a number of word-combinations, often compositions, especially in the verbal category in formations that occur often. Thus, in Siberia, *käl-*, *bar-*, *bär-* as auxiliaries in the nomen aoristi are usually contracted to *kār*, *pār*, *pâr*. As auxiliary in the nomen aoristi and last link of a verbal composition *jat-* contracts and usually looses its lenghth: *-čār*/*-čâr* > *-čar*/*-čär* > *-ča*/*-čä*; *jat-* as auxiliary with the gerund in *-a* in Qq.-Qqłpq., cf. *barātyr* < *bar-a—jat-yr* "he is going, is on his way"; or *et-* in compositions with pronominal stems such as Qq. *qajt-* "to do how?", *söjt-* "to do thus, in this way" < **qaju et-*, **so et-*. Of particular interest are the reductions occurring in more complex verbal compositions, as they are much used in Siberia: Lit.-Soj., praesens continuativum e. g. *ažyłdavyšān* "still being at work, immer noch am Arbeiten seiend" < **ažył-da-p—yd-a—čat-qan* < **ažył-da-p—yď-a—jat-qan*; Özbek: praesens progressivum (or continuativum), Qazaq-Najman dialect, *qył(a)jappan* "I am (just) making, doing" < < *qył-a—jat-yp—*[*tur-a—*]*män*.

One of these contracted forms is that of the present in the Southwestern languages, as found in Osman and Türkmen, which originally is a durative verbal composition, cf. Osm. *ǵäl-ä—jor-um*, 1. sg. prs. durat., "I am coming", *buł-a—jor-um* "I am finding", *bič-ä—jor-um* "I am cutting, mowing", *qon-uš-a—jor-um* "I am conversing, talking", etc. < *gäl-ä* + *jory-r—män*/*-um* etc., i. e. the gerund of contemporary action (Gleichzeitigkeit) in *-a*/*-ä*, later in *-y*/*-i*//*-u*/*-ü*, plus the contracted nomen aoristi of *jory-* "to go, walk" which as an auxiliary expresses the durative action, assuming with this the function of a durative aspect, for which there is in Turkic one specific aspect-suffix (cf. infra), *jory-r*. Through a further reduction effect in the intermediary syllables, in modern Osman the gerundial suffix of the main verb has usually the form *-y*/*-i*//*-u*/*-ü*: *ǵäl-i—jor-um*, *bič-i—jor-um*, *qonuš-u—jor-um* etc., also *bašlyjorum*

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"I begin" < *baš-ła—jor-um* < *baš-ła-j(a)—jor-um/—jory-r—män* "id.", stem *baš-ła-*. While the contraction length of the auxiliary has been lost in Osman—with the exception of some dialects —, it has generally been preserved in Türkmen, but the gerundial suffix of the main verb in most Türkmen dialects undergoes complete reduction: *ġur-jār* "is erecting, setting up", *gäl-jār* "is coming" < **qur-u—jory-r*, **gäl-i—jory-r*. In Türkmen, the auxiliary is on the way of becoming a suffix, as the tendency toward sound-harmony shows. The existence of the vowel *o* resp. *ō* in the auxiliary clearly indicates its origin from *jory-* (cf. also DENY, op. cit., § 613, p. 391), not from *tur-/dur-* "to stay, stand" as was occasionally supposed.

A palatal parallel to *jory-* is *jürü-* (Uj., Qom., Ča., Osm., QarTr.), *jüri-* (Uj.), *jür-* (Orxon, Ojrot, Qγ., Tob., N.-Uj.) "to go, run, ride, etc.", serving in some languages likewise as an auxiliary of durative action, e. g. in Qq. *žür-*, and assuming in the aorist the haplological form *žür* (or, after vowel, often *jür*) < *žür-ür/jürür*, cf. Qqłpq. *žep-žürmüs* "we are eating, we use to eat, always eat" < **je-p—jür-ür—biz*, Qq. *baryp-žür-ekän* "having been going (there, on, along), als er (sie) gerade daherkam(en)" < **bar-yp—jür-ür—är-kän*.

B. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

In their Morphology, the Turkic languages exhibit the strictest distinction between suffixes that can be attached to nominal and those that can be attached to verbal bases or stems only. In a similar way, in contradistinction to Tungus, there is only a minimal number of stems (or bases, roots) which can have the function of nouns as well as of verbs, as e. g. Tk. Kāš. *ör* "upper side, das Obere" and *ör-* "to rise" (cf. infra sub word-formation). Thus, the morphological system is clearly divided into a nominal and a verbal section. The nominal section, on its part, is subdivided into the nominal proper and the pronominal categories, the latter having preserved some features of an older pronominal inflection. In the nominal category, there exists no morphological designation of substantives, adjectives and adverbs, so that it is only possible, in Turkic, to speak of nouns, and since their function is determined by their position in the sentence only, i. e. by syntactical rules, nouns can be independent, or they can be found in adnominal or in adverbial position: thus, the adjective is simply an adnominal noun, the adverb an adverbial noun. Rarely the adverb is morphologically designated by a special suffix, as it occurs in AT. The subdivisions of the numeral category, except the cardinalia, are marked by respective suffixes: the Ordinalia, Collectiva-Distributiva and Multiplicativa. The pronouns comprise the personalia, interrogativa, demonstrativa and indefinita.

While the more archaic Altajic languages such as North-Tungus have completely preserved—or developed—grammatical agreement, it is found in a few relics only in the number-agreement of adjective and substantive in the Old-Mongolian Jüan-Č'ao Bi-Šy, but is practically lacking in later Mongolian and all over Turkic. A hint at its existence in Turkic, in some place and at some time, is found in a little Ujγur folksong, handed down in a rather late ms. in Ujγur cursiva, published at first by W. BANG and G. R. RAHMATI in Asia Major, 1933, p. 129–140, then, by A. VON GABAIN, in her "Alttürk.

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Gramm.", p. 285f. The first two strophes begin with the verse "*Aqłar bułyt örläp kökiräp* "white clouds, rising and thundering", and, the second, *qarałar bułut örläp kökiräp* "black clouds etc.", where the two adnominal nouns have the plural suffix evidencing *bułut* as a plural in *-t*. In the same way, in the late-Ujγur Oγuz Qaγan, *kik* "doe, stag" and *quš* "bird" are used as collectiva, wherewith their adnominal nouns have the plural-suffix: *bunda kilgänlär kik köp-köp / bunda učqanłar quš köp-köp* "the deer who came here, are very many / the birds who flew here are very many" (line 20/21); Bang and Rahmati consider this line as a possible reminiscence from a folksong. With *buđun* (*bođun*) "people", Kāšγarī (original editions 429, 11) has *bułar buđun* (*bođun*) "this people", so that *buđun* (*bođun*) may well be considered as an old Turkic plural in *-n*.

The pure verbal stem or root is found in the suffixless 2. pers. sg. imperat. It can have transitive or intransitive meaning even without specific suffixes. The verbal morphology is characterized by a great variety of aspect-suffixes, comprising also those designating what in Indo-European are the voices, medium and passive, while, as in Indo-European, the active is not specifically marked. The most commonly used aspects are medium, passive, causative, cooperative or reciprocal, frequentative, and negative; in some languages, as in the Southwest group, also a combination with the latter, for an impossibilitive. As the accentuation shows, the negative is no true aspect-suffix, but an ancient enclitic. Combinations of aspect-suffixes are as frequently used as in all Altajic languages. The numerous verbal nouns a verb can form designate nomina verbalia that can be used as pure nouns (verbal substantives), also being able to function syntactically as predicate, as adnominal verbal nouns (participia) or as adverbial verbal nouns (gerundia, called by some "converbia"). Some of them have acquired a real tense-significance, in some instances they hold an intermediary position between verbal nouns of tense and those of aspect, while others function as verbal nouns of the optative, conditional, and irrealis/potentialis. This clearly shows the essentially and primordially nominal nature of the verbal expression in Turkic as in all the Altajic languages. While aspect can be rendered by a plurality of suffixes, there can be only one suffix for the expression of the verbal noun. In predicative function, a verbal noun expresses person by either attaching the enclitical personal pronouns or the pronominal possessive suffixes. In the 3rd pers. sg. and pl., either may be omitted. The suffix-sequence in a finite Turkic verb is after the root (stem): aspects; nomina verbalia; personal pronouns or possessive suffixes. Since the Altajic languages have primordially no grammatical subordination but coordination only, there is no conjunctive or subjunctive mood. The optative can as well have the function of a future in the main sentence (that of the IE indicat. fut.), as that of an optative. The only true mood of Altajic is the imperative which is, as in Indo-European, heteroclitic and of very high age. Certain further developments of tenses, the verbal composition, and sporadic, secundary grammatical subordination will be discussed later.

As throughout Altajic, grammatical gender is morphologically not expressed. While in all the three Altajic groups a few rudimentary forms for the feminine gender seem to have been preserved—or created—as well recognizable in Tungus and Mongolian, the expression of grammatical gender in Turkic remains problematic.

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Nomina

The inflection of nouns and pronouns, the declension, fulfilling in languages of outspoken synthetic nature a vital task, is characterized by the existence of one type of declension using one set of suffixes only. This is equally typical of all the Altajic and Uralic languages, likewise of Drāviḍian, Japanese and Korean. The majority of the Uralic languages have developed a rich and often circumstantial system of grammatical distinctions by suffixes of local, less so of temporal, modalities, so that a great number of case suffixes became necessary. In some Uralic languages their number comes close to 30. In Altajic, this is similarly developed in Tungus only, and there espccially in the more archaic Northern group with about 20 cases, while Southern Tungus and Mongol have considerably fewer cases—not more than 10—, and their number decreases still more in Turkic which has, in a single language, seldom more than 8 cases, often less, about 6. Relics of a former, richer system of cases, local cases of course, are found in all Turkic languages, but particularly in the Siberian Turkic languages. Of the three grammatical cases, nominative, dative, and accusative, the nominative has never a suffix in any Altajic or Uralic language, or in Drāviḍian, Japanese and Korean, and is, therefore, a casus indefinitus, although it may express, and often does so, the definite subject. If for some reason the definiteness of the subject is to be stressed, it can be done only in reference to its former occurrence in the, or in one of the, preceding sentences, by attaching to it the possessive suffix of the 3rd person (sg. or pl., according to the context). In the instance of the subject, this possessivization is, however, rarely recurred to. The accusative, suffix *-yγ/-ig* in AT, *-y/-i* in the Southwest, Jakut *-y/-i*, after vowel *-ny/-ni*, in Ujγur blockprints and everywhere else the pronominal *-ny/-ni*, the case of the direct object, usually remains without suffix in Turkic when the object is not definite, i. e. when languages using an article as many modern European languages, would use the indefinite article. The genitive, suffix *-nyŋ/-niŋ*, Orx., Osm., Az. *-yŋ/-iŋ*, Ťăv. *-n/-ĕn/-nĕn/-jĕn*, in Jakut suffixless except *-yn/-in* in the possessive declension, represents, historically, a transition from the concrete local to the abstract grammatical cases. It is basically conceived of as possessivic in the Altajic languages—as in Proto-Indo-European too—, and etymologically, it is of adessivic origin. As the genitive is the adnominal noun κατ' ἐξοχήν in Altajic, there is therefor no basic difference in Altajic between genitive and adjective, a feature still best illustrated by Tungus where the suffix of the genitive and the adjectivum possessivum is one and the same, (Ew.) *-ŋī*. Its basic character *-n*, typical of all Altajic languages and Uralic, likewise of Drāviḍian, Japanese and Korean, still points to its ancient local nature. A rectum, grammatically in the genitive case, has in Turkic always to precede its regens in whichever function this latter might be found in a sentence. This is a fundamental Ural-Altajic rule from which there occur but a few exceptions only (e. g. in Northern Tungus, where the regens may be found preceding the rectum). How powerful this Ural-Altajic rule of genitive-anticipation is, can be seen from the application of this rule in the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions although they are written in Greek. If the rectum, in the genitive, is not determined, i. e. if it is indefinite, it does not assume any suffix but stands also in the form of the casus indefinitus; but the combination of rectum and regens, the so-called rectum-regens-con-

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struction—which in the Semitic grammatical terminology is called the status constructus or occasionally also اضافت *iḍāfät*—strictly demands the designation of the regens-function by attaching to the regens the possessive suffix of the 3-rd person (sg. or pl., as demanded): e. g. Osm. *äv-iŋ qapu-su* "the door of the house", *äv qapu-su* "the door of *a* house; the, a, house door", where also the semantic differentiation of individual versus generic significance is clearly recognizable. This general Altajic rule does not apply to Mongolian since it has no possessive suffixes and cannot, therefore, omit the genitive-suffix of the rectum. As there is, in Altajic, genitive anticipation, the adnominal noun in adjectival function always has to precede its regens.

The dative is a concrete, local as well as an abstract grammatical case; in the former function it is an allative, directive, terminative etc., and as a grammatical case that of the remote object. The suffix is AT *-qa/-kä*, rarely *-a/-ä*, as in Mongolian; common-Tk. *-γa/-gä//-qa/-kä*, probably a combination of 2 suffixes, that of an old locative or directive *-q/-k* which survives in other cases, also in Tungus, and *-a/-ä* which is the dative-suffix in the entire Southwestern group and in Mongol—on the other hand, Southwest-Tk. *-a/-ä* for common-Tk. *-qa//-γa* etc. might be due to purely phonological reasons (cf. supra) —. Here and there, in Siberian Turkic, regularly in Jakut, the dative is a substitute for the locative, which feature cannot be separated from the fact that in Mongol the ancient dative in *-a* has been replaced by the locative in *-dur*, and in Tungus the ancient and common-Altajic locative in *-du* also has the function of designating the remote object. In the Samojed languages, dative and locative are quite similar to each other in form. Due to phonological development, in Ťăvaš dative and accusative have coïncided into one morphem. The locative has suffix *-da/-dä* in all the Turkic languages except Jakut where it has assumed the function of the partitive, a case typical of Tungus but otherwise unknown in Turkic and Mongolian; the ablative has *-dan/-dän*, formed with the help of *-n*, an ancient Ural-Altajic lative-suffix, and the locative in *-da*. With the exception of the Inscriptions, using in its place the locative, the AT language has suffix *-tyn/-dyn* etc. preserved in Čaγataj and New-Ujγur which goes back to another suffix-composition, namely that of an old locative in *-t*, surviving otherwise either in petrified form in nomina loci having lost their case-function, such as *as-t* "below; lower part", *üs-t* "above; upper side", *ał-t* "in front; front-side", *ar-t* "behind, reverse", or in combination with further suffixes, as e. g. in *-γa-r-t-yn* "from the direction of..." etc. in Siberian Tk. languages, to which the above-mentioned lativic *-n* is attached. The instrumentalis, in *-yn/-in*, is productive in AT only, while it survives in adverbial relics in modern Turkic languages, as e. g. in Osman *jaz-yn* "in summer", *ǵüz-ün* "in fall", *qyš-yn* "in winter", or in combination with other suffixes. NB: the accentuation in Osman, *qýš-yn*, *ǵűz-ün* etc. indicates that at least there the ending *-yn/-in* has not yet become a true suffix but is still an enclitic. Similar is the case of the suffixes for the aequativus (also terminativus, mensurativus, prosecutivus), *-ča/-čä*, and comparativus *-däg//-daq/-däk*; while the first does not take on the accent in a number of Turkic languages, the latter occurs in AT and Ča. always without undergoing sound-harmony, in one form, *-däg*, only. In the function of a directivus, the suffix-combination *-γaru/-gärü* is usual in AT, and *-ary/-äri* in Osman (cf. Osm.

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dyšary "hinaus, out" = Uj. *taš-qaru* "id."; *ičäri* "hinein, into" = Uj. *ič-kärü*), consisting of that of the dative *-γa* resp. *-a* + the "pure" directivic *-ru* resp. *-ry* while besides *-ru* also *-ra* occurs, in the old languages, also in Old-Osman (cf. O.-Osm. *qan-ža-ru* "whither? wohin?", *üz-rä* "hinauf", *ič-rä* "hinein", *soŋ-ra* "afterward"), being already in a state of dying out resp. becoming petrified in adverbial usage. A variety of directivic cases is still used with a certain regularity in the South-Siberian languages only. In Ujγur, and sporadically in other languages, a loosely attached *-a* occurs as a sign of exclamation or acclamation and may thus be considered a (nascent?) vocative suffix: *Burxana* "oh Buddha!", *oγł-um-a* "oh, my son!".

In contradistinction to Uralic, Indo-European and Semitic, Turkic has, as all other Altajic languages and Drāviḍian, only 2 numeri, singular and plural, but no dual.

While in the entire historical period, the plural has been expressed with one suffix only, *-łar/-lär*, relics of a greater variety of plural-suffixes, as typical of common-Altajic, are found in AT, with Kāšγarī, and in different tribal names and titles. The plural suffix is a composition of 2 suffixes, *-ł-ar* (or *-ła-r*), the suffix *-l* being found in Tungus as the most commonly used plural-suffix, while *-(a)r* is an Altajic collective suffix, rather common with tribal names and probably identical with the suffix of the Turkic numeralia collectiva sive distributiva. Cf. e. g. with the preceding the Mongol pl.-suff. *-nar/-när*, also Samojed *-la*, Mari *-wylä*.

One of such relic-plurals in *-t* is found e. g. in the tribal name *Türk-üt*, transcribed by the Chinese as 突厥 **tuət-ki̯ʷat* > *t'u-ǵüä* (cf. Pelliot in T'oung-Pao, 1915, and Karlgren, Grammata Serica, nos. 489ᵉ and 301 c; Menges, Mīrzā Mahdī Xān, p. 16, n. 3) which could also be read, of course, **Türk-ür/-är*, while the *-t* in tribal names of Mongolian or presumably Mongolian origin is there probably of Mongolian origin, since it is a usual plural-suffix in Mongolian, cf. *Miŋγat*, *Maŋγγt*, *Qyjat*, *Käräjät*, *Quŋγrat*, all Mongolian names but common with Turkic peoples, *Šažirat*, *Dörböt*, *Toryut* etc. of "purely" Mongolian tribes; cf. further *tigit*, pl. of *tigin* "prince, heir apparent", also with double pl.-suffix: *tigitlär* (Kāšγarī); AT. *tarqat*, pl. of *tarqan*, a high dignity, *ałpaγut* "(group, class, caste of) heroes, warriors", Uj. *bajaγut* "(caste of) the rich", Kāš. *uraγut* "woman", used as pl. or collective, therefore it should be "women" like the latter, *bułut* "cloud(s)", cf. supra, also in *süt*, Tkm. *sūt* "milk": Mong. *sün* "id."; pl. in *-an/-än*: *är-än*, where Kāšγarī expressis verbis states its pluralic function, "men"; possibly also in *oγłan* as pl. of *oγuł* "son, boy", if it is not the diminutive in *-an/-än*, since it is not given as a plural by Kāšγarī, and as ancient pl. in *-Vn* in *buđun* (*bođun*) "people, nation", cf. supra. These Turkic plurals in *-an* have their counterpart in the Tungus collective plurals in *-na* usual with relationship terms. Whether the forms in *-łaq* with Kāšγarī are nominal collectiva or plurals, cannot be determined, since they are translated as Arabic plurals, likewise having collective as well as pluralic meaning: *aš-łaq* "Speisen, dishes", pl. of *aš* "food, dish", *at-łaq* "horses", *yš-łaq* "Geschäfte, matters, business", *yt-łaq* "dogs", *qyš-łaq* (pl.!) "winters", *Tat-łaq* "Persians", possibly also in *öđ-läk*, given as "time", like *öđ* "time". In common-Turkic, *-łaq* usually functions as a suffix denoting place: Osm., Ča. *su-łaq* "water-place", Ča. *qum-łaq* "sandy place, sand-spot", Özb. *qyš-låq* "winter-

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These suffixes are: sg. 1-st person *-ym/-im*, 2. *-yŋ/-iŋ*, 3. *-y/-i//-sy/-si*, pl. 1. ps. *-ym-yz/-im-iz*, 2. *-yŋ-yz/-iŋ-iz*, 3. *-y/-i*, *-lar-y/-lär-i*. In the plural, the plural-suffix of the personal pronouns *-z* is used, a fact showing the close connection of these suffixes with the pronomina personalia. In the Inscriptions, the suffix of the 3-rd person did not yet undergo sound-harmony, but always had the palatal form only; this indicates the originally enclitic nature of this element in the ancient language, being identical with the ancient Proto-Altajic pronoun **i-*, **i-n-* of the 3rd person which survives in Manžu, *i* "he, she, it", stem *i-n-*. In Ujγur and perhaps earlier Čaγataj it may still have kept its enclitic quality while later it has become a true suffix. Jakut has *-y/-i* only in the casus obliqui, while the casus indefinitus has *-a/-ä*, after preceding vowel *-ty/-ti* or *-ta/-tä* resp. In Ťăvaš the suffix is palatal, *-i/-si*, but its usage diverges from that in the other languages (cf. RÄSÄNEN, "Mat. Morph.", p. 22, top).

After vocalic stems, the suffix of the 3rd person is *-sy/-si* which is no variant of *-y/-i*, as usually and quite erroneously said, but a completely different suffix. Its initial *s* is no "euphonic" sound to "fill in the hiatus"—in Turkic, only *j*, occasionally *g*, *v* have this function —, but the root-initial of a pronoun, probably an ancient demonstrative, substituting for the pronomen personale of the 3rd person, which survives in the Uralic languages, cf. Suomi *hen* < **sen-* "he, she, it" (cf. RÄSÄNEN, Mat. Phon., 14, Mat. Morph., 18; MENGES, Anthropos XLIX, 1110). Contrary to RÄSÄNEN's statement, "Mat. Morph.", p. 21, bottom, *-sy* never occurs after consonantic stems, and his examples are to be analysed as follows: Osm. *ävväl-si sänä* "last year" is < *ävväl* (< Ar. أَوَّل) + *-i-si-*, i. e. a duplication of the possessive suffix; in this position, the possessive suffix is syntactically problematic, but occurs in a few examples as in the apparently dialectal and colloquial *birsi kün* (Osm., according to RÄSÄNEN, but not Lit.-Osm.); cf. also WB Qom. *birisi kün*, Qq. *birsügün* "after to-morrow"—where *birsi* is < *bir-i-si*, not uncommon with double possessive suffix, but only in exceptions, probably due to an analogical formation or an ellipsis ; the same is the case with Osm. *häpsi* < *häp-i-si* < **häm-i-si* (from Pers. هم *ham* "together; all"), and *bütümsi* < **büt-ün-i-si*. The possessive suffix *-sy/-si* is not explained by RÄSÄNEN. Jakut *-ta//-ty* is likewise of pronominal origin (demonstrative **t-* in Altajic, Uralic and IE.).

Since in Turkic the case-suffixes follow after the possessive ones, the pronominal declension has had an influence upon the nominal, bringing in pronominal suffixes: dat. poss. 1. ps. sg. Uj., Osm., etc. *-ym-a*, 2. ps. sg. *-yŋ-a*, 3. ps. sg. A.T., Southwest, Northwest *-yn-a*; accus. 1. ps. sg. *-ym-yn*, 2. ps. sg. *-yŋ-yn*, 3. ps. *-yn*, probably < **-yn-yn*; in the pl., all persons have *-ny/-ni*; in the 1st and 2nd pers. pl. of the dative, the pronominal *-a/-ä* is in the old language often replaced by the nominal *-qa/-γa* etc. The possessive suff. 3. pers. has always its stem-final *-n*, also in front of the case-suffixes with initial consonant: (Uj.) *älig-i-n-dä* "in his hand", *älig-i-n-din* "out of, from, his hand", *öz-i-n-čä* "as, like, himself; by himself".

In Ancient Turkic, the forms of the accusative and the instrumental of the possessive declension are completely identical; thus, *baš-yŋ-yn* "caput tuum, capite tuo", *öz-ümüz-ün* "nosmetipsos, nobis ipsis", *qyłynč-ym-yn* "peccatum meum, peccato meo" can be accusative as well as instrumental. Here, instead of the ambiguous *äđgü-lär-in*, acc. or instr. pl. poss. 3. pers., the form *äđgü-*

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10,000 is *tümän*, common-Turkic, an ancient loanword from Toxarian where it seems to be of Chinese origin (cf. infra, Lexical part). For the higher numerals, multiplicative expressions by plain juxtaposition are used: *jüz miŋ* 10^5 = 100,000, or *jüz jüz miŋ miŋ* 10^{10} = 10,000,000,000 ("ten billions") if it ever had any definite numerical value; in Ujγur, the Chinese and Sanskrit higher numerals come in very handy: *ban* (< **man* > *wan*) 萬 10,000, *koṫti* < Skṛ. कोटि *kōṭi* f. "10^7 = 10,000,000"—with a phonetically quite interesting soundsubstitution of Uj. *ṫt* for the Ind. cerebralized unvoiced unaspirated dental occlusive *ṭ*.

Only the numeral for "4", *tört/dört*, shows a clear case of relationship with the Mongolian equivalent *dörbän* "4". Turkic *on* "10" < *ōn* may well be related to Ǯürčen *ḫuan*, transcribed in Chinese as 歡, occurring as the second link in most of the compounds designating the numerals of the second decade (cf. Grube, "Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen", pp. IX, 34f., and glossary s. vv.), but neither with Korean *on* "100", nor, as Räsänen ("Mat. Morph.", p. 79) thinks, with O.-Mongolian *hon*, Dahur *hōn*, "year" = Manǯu, Ǯürčen *fon* "time" and (probably) Korean *pom* "spring". Ǯürčen *ḫuan* cannot go back to a proto-Altajic **pon*, **pōn*, since Ǯürčen has, together with Manǯu, *f-* < **p-*, as the example of O.-Mong. *hon*, Dahur *hōn*, Manǯu and Ǯürčen *fon* "time" proves.

The higher numerals *miŋ/biŋ* in Turkic and *miŋγan* in Mongolian are identical, while the latter as well as *tümän* may be due to borrowing. *Miŋγan* and *tümän* have also been borrowed from Mongolian into Tungus.

The gradual loss of the numerals from 20 to 90 and their replacement by plain multiplicative juxtapositions is typical of the Siberian Turkic languages; this goes farthest in the Tuva group, where Kγ. has lost even the equivalent of *jigirmi*, Soj. *čārbi*, having on its place (Ca.) *ihon*, *iŋ'ōn*, while Jakut still possesses *sūrbä* and *otut*. This is an outspoken Siberian feature, typical not only of Tungus and Samojedic, but also of Jenisejic. *Altmyš* and *jätmiš* are evident compositions, the second component of which was convincingly explained by Otto Schrader (in Ztschr. für Indologie und Iranistik, III, 1925, p. 108f.) from Uralic **mys* "10", extant there in Komi, Udmurt, Hungarian and Mordvinian, cf. Komi *kykja-mys* "2 (of) 10" = "8", *ok-mys* "1 (of) 10" = "9", *ńel'a-mys* "40" which he furtheron compares with Drāviḍian Telugu *-midi*, Gōṇḍī *-mur* in the numerals "8" and "9". Schrader points out the occurrence of *mit*, *met* as an archaic word for "10" found in language groups quite distant from each other such as Egyptian, Algonquian, and Nahuatl.

The Turkic languages in the Caucasus, Qarač'aj-Bałqar and Qumuq, have adopted from their Caucasian neighbors the vigesimal numerative system, typical, in general, of the Basko-Caucasian languages. In the same way, French has adopted it from Basko-Iberian.

The ordinalia have in the ancient language the suffix *-ynč/-inč*, with the exception of *iki-nti* "second", while the later and modern languages have *-ynčy//-ynžy* etc. throughout. As in many languages, "first" is expressed by etymologically different words; thus, in Turkic, beside the now common *birinči/-inži*, there is Uj. *baštynqy* < *baš-t-yn-qy* "the one from the, on the, head, beginning", Kγ. *pašky* "id.", from which in Kγ. an ordinal suffix *-šky/-ški* has been generalized: *iŋi-ški* "2.", *üž-üškü* "3." etc.; Jakut has *bas-ta-ky* "1-st", Ṭăv. *mal-ḍan-xi* "id.", Jakut also *burun-γu*, from *burun* "nose". Lit.-Soj. *baštajqy*, incorrectly analysed by Räsänen ("Morph.", p. 84), is the nomen

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locale of the gerund in *-a//-u*: < *baš-ta-ju* + *-qy*. Ṭăv. has throughout the suffix *-měš*, consisting of *-Vm* + possess. suff. 3rd pers. *-šĕ* with ensuing loss of the final vowel (cf. Benzing, Fundamenta, p. 731, but the assumption of a borrowing of the ordinal suffix *-Vm* from Iranian is not cogent; it may well be due to genuine relationship with Indo-European and/or Uralic).

The distributiva have the suffix *-ar/-är*; the ancient language does not furnish us with many examples, using also for the expression of the distributive number the duplication, *bir-bir* = *birär* "singulus". Their function in many modern languages is also that of the collectivum which in ancient Turkic and in a number of modern languages of Central Asia employs the suffix *-ayu/-ägü*, after vocalic stem either *-γu/-gü* or contraction; Uj. *bir-ägü*; *ikigü*, *ikägü*, Qq. *eköü*, Ojrot *ikkū*, *ekkū*; *üčū*; *päžū* etc. Already in Ujγur, the collectiva when in substantivic function, also when used without the possessive suffix of the 3rd person, follow the pronominal declension (cf. acc. *iki-gü-ni* "the two together, двоих"). In the later Turkic languages the collectiva show quite a variety of formations. In substantivic function, the possessive suffix 3rd pers. is attached (cf. e. g. Ojrot *ekkū*, but *ekki-läzi* "the two [of them]" etc.

While in the later and modern Turkic languages the numerals as attribute are connected with a nomen (substantivum) in the singular, AT and the older languages still may use the plural after numerals above "1".

An exceptional feature of Turkic numeration resp. counting above 10 is the combination of the unit with the word for the next decade which it always precedes: *säkiz jigirmi* "18", *biš jitmiš* "65", *toquz toquz-on* "89", *biš jüz artuqy äki otuzunč jylqa* (Manichaica I) "in the year (dat. temp.) 522" (*artuqy* "and", properly "addedly" can be inserted with combined numerals). When investigating some data of the history of the Türküt, Josef Markwart came across some unexpected chronological figures which were soon explained by Bang as due to the genuine ancient-Turkic counting method (cf. J. Markwart and W. Bang, "Zur Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften", Leipzig 1898, pp. Vff. and 1ff.). This way of numeration was abandoned toward the end of the Ujγur epoch proper, around the Mongol Invasion. The language of the Saryγ-Ujγurs (Sary-Jögur) has preserved this system with the numerals 11–29. Elsewhere in Turkic and Altajic this is unknown.

As everywhere in Altajic, the postposition is in Turkic a weak and late-developed category, since the abundance in case-suffixes keeps the demand for postpositions low. As the Turkic languages possess the fewest amount of cases, they are relatively rich in postpositions. Primary and secondary postpositions cannot easily be distinguished, without further research, since all of them are originally nouns or nominal forms of roots that have been isolated in postpositional function. The primary postpositions are of higher age, but probably they, too, go back to some nominal or verbal stem. The criterion of a postposition in this case is the quasi absence of meaning if it is found independently, e. g. SW *ilä* "with" > *-ła/-lä* and, in Osman dialects, *-(y)nan/-(i)nän* "with", as against e. g. *görä* "according to" < "looking at"; with this, the postpositions approach the function of case-suffixes and can be distinguished from the latter only etymologically, but not semantically. Only very few seem to belong to the primary postpositions, e. g. SW *ilä* "with," or Orx., Ujγ., *täg* "like" which latter already in the oldest language gradually goes over into a

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case-suffix, similarly *ilä(n)* > *-lä* "with" of the Southwestern group, while e. g. Orxon, Ujγur etc. *birlä, birlän, bilän* etc. "id." clearly exhibits its provenience from *bir* "1" and remains a postposition. Otherwise there is a great number of secondary postpositions, many of which fulfill in the language at the same time their function as noun (substantive) e. g. *alt* "front (side)", *üst* "upper part", *ič* "inner part, interior", *ara* "middle", etc. or gerund (verbal noun) e. g. Ujγ. *tägrä* (< *täg-ir-ä* "turning") "about, for, because" and the synonymous Osm. *dołajy* (< *dołа-jy* "turning") "because, on account of", Ujγ. *ötkürü* (< *öt-kür-ü* "having pass by") "after, because", etc. Likewise, petrified lativic, locativic and directivic adverbial nouns can serve as postpositions. Either kind of postposition, of verbal or of nominal origin, can be connected with the indefinitus as well as other cases, usually with the case the verb demands from which a given postposition is derived. Postpositions ruling the indefinitus of nouns, demand, as a rule, the genitive of the pronouns.

The Turkic postpositions deserve a basic, thorough study.

Pronomina

In the category of the pronoun, the **pronomina personalia** represent the oldest layer of pronouns and their declension-forms. As all the Altajic languages, also Turkic did not preserve an archaic state of affairs in this category, in contradistinction to Uralic and especially to Indo-European where the personalia have preserved forms which antedate all actual declension. In Altajic, the nominal declension has strongly modified after its pattern that of the pronomina, and this must have taken place still before the separation of the three great Altajic groups. Still, also the Turkic pronomina personalia exhibit a few peculiarities:

(The basic form is AT)

Sg. 1st pers.		Sg. 2nd pers.
Nom.	*män* (rarely *bän*; Osm. *bän*, Ṭăv. *e-b̥ĕ*, with anaphorical *e-* as in Greek ἐ-μοῦ, ἐ-μοί, ἐ-μέ)	*sän* (Bšq. *hin*; Jak. *än*; Ṭăv. *e-zĕ*;)
Gen.	*mäniŋ* (rarely *däniŋ*), Brāhmī: *mäṁ, māṁ*	*säniŋ* (*siniŋ*)
Dat.	*maŋa* (*baŋa*)	*saŋa*
Acc.	*mäni* (*mini*; *bini*)	*sini*
Loc.	*mintä*; *mintädä, mindidä*	*sintä, sintädä, sinidä, sintidä*
Abl.	*minitin*	*sinitin*
Pl. 1st pers.		**Pl., 2nd pers.**
Nom.	*biz* (Ṭ. *e-b̥ir*; Jak. *bisigi*)	*siz, sizlär* (Ṭ. *e-z̥ir*; Jak. *äsigi/isigi*)
Gen.	*biz-iŋ* (late *biz-niŋ*)	*siziŋ, sizniŋ*; *sizlärniŋ*
Dat.	*bizŋä, biziŋä* (Jenisej-Inscr. *biz-kä*)	*siz(i)ŋä* (Jenisej: *sizä*); *siz-lär-kä/-läriŋä*
Acc.	*bizni*	*sizni*; *siz-lär-ni*
Loc.	*bizintä, biznidä*	*sizintä, siznidä* (Jenisej: *sizdä*); *siz-lär-dä*
Abl.	*biznidin*	*siznidin*
Compar.	*bizni-täg*	

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Declension of the pronomina personalia, 1st (and 2-nd) ps. sg.:

	other languages	Jakut	Ṭăvaš
Nom.	*män*; *bän* (Osm., Qrm.)	*min*, 2. ps. *än*	*eḅĕ*, 2. ps. *ezĕ*
Gen.	*menim* (Qom.); *mäniŋ*; *bänim* (Osm., Qrm.)	—	*man*(*ăn*) 2. *san*(*ăn*)
Dat.	*maŋa*; *baŋa* (Osm., Qrm.) *maŋan* (Qq. etc.); *maŋar* (Qara-Noγaj); *mengä* (Özb.)	*mijiäxä* 2. *äjiäxä*	*mana* 2. *sana*
Acc.	*meni*; *bäni* (Osm.)	*mijigin* 2. *äjigin*	
Loc.	*mendä*; *bändä* (Osm., Qrm.)	(= dat.)	*manra* 2. *sanra*
Abl.	*mendän*; *bändän* (Osm., Qrm.)	*mijigittän* 2. *äjigittän*	*manran* 2. *sanran*
Instr.		*mijiginän* 2. *äjiginän*	
Comitat.		*mijiginnīn* *äjiginnīn*	*manḅa* 2. *sanḅa*
Comparat.		*mijiginnäγär* 2. *äjiginnäγär*	
Causalis			*manšăn* 2. *sanšăn*
Modalis		*mijiginni* 2. *äjiginni*	

As in Altajic and Uralic, also often in Indo-European, the 3-rd persons are substituted for by the demonstratives, usually by *o-ł*, *a-n-*. The Turkic personalia exhibit the typically Altajic features of vowel-alteration (ablaut) in the root in order to distinguish singular and plural (v. supra, Phonology), shared by Uralic and Jukagir; moreover, Turkic has the plural-suffix *-z* without equivalent in the other Altajic languages.

As the two other Altajic groups, Turkic has initial *b-* in the nominative of the pronoun of the 1-st person, while the oblique cases exhibit the root-initial *m-* which, it seems, is the older form since it is extant also in Uralic and Indo-European. In Turkic, the *b-* of the nominative has intruded into some other cases, and in the plural, all cases are formed from the root *bi-*; cf. Tungus where in Ewenki and in the majority of the other languages, the nom. pl. 1-st pers. is *bi*, but the stem of all the oblique cases is *mi*n-. The pron. pers. of the 2-nd person has in Turkic as in Tungus initial *s-*, but Mongol initial *t-*: 2. ps. sg. Mong. *či* (< **ti*), 2. ps. pl. *ta*, likewise found in many Uralic languages, in Jukagir, and in Indo-European.

The heteroclitic features of this declension, particularly numerous in Turkic, also found with the demonstratives, have not yet been investigated. In the nominative, the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd pers. sg. have the pure stem-form

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which, unlike its counterparts in Mongol and Tungus, have been generalized in Turkic. Some of the local cases are formed from a secondary, an obliquus-stem that has the same form as the accusative. The common-Turkic ablaut in the dat. sg. of the pronomina personalia was mentioned before. That this is no true, functional ablaut, in contradistinction to that of the singular and plural with the pronomina personalia, can be deduced from its occurrence with the declension of the personal pronouns; since the latter still exhibit in their heteroclisis a relatively greater age than the nominal declension, they seem to have preserved, in the dat. sg. of the 1-st and 2-nd persons a very archaic form containing a dative suffix *-γa* (or **-γ-a*), **-γ-a* (or **-γ-ā*) that did not undergo sound harmony and, moreover, provoked, later during the period of established sound-harmony, the velar assimilation of the root to the suffix: **men-γa* (or **men-γ-ā*) > *maŋa*, **sen-γa* (or **sen-γ-ā*) > *saŋa*. The non-existence of analoguous forms in the dat. pl. is plausible in view of the later origin of the plural paradigm, shaped after that of the nominal declension. The mere occurrence of a postpalatal, also one of posterior articulation, hardly produced this velarization, as A. von Gabain assumed (in the article mentioned below, ZDMG, C, p. 588). Her short but lucid study, "Die Pronomina im Alttürkischen" (ZDMG, vol. C, 1950, pp. 581–591), so far the best available, does not solve the entire problem which reaches far beyond Turkic, maybe even beyond Altajic, since the origin of the opposition rectus-stem vs. obliquus-stem found here, but being regular in Drāviḍian and Toxarian, remains to be investigated. Ṭăvaš shows a relatively unified declension of the pronomina personalia which seems to be the result of a levelling-out procedure under the influence of the nominal declension. In Jakut, the majority of the casus obliqui are formed from the basis 1. sg. *miǰigi-n-*, 2. sg. *äǰigi-n-*, itself going back to the pronomen possessivum 1. sg. *miǰigi* < **meniŋki* (**me-n-iŋ-ki*) "mine", 2. sg. *äǰigi* < **sen-iŋ-ki* "thine, your" which likewise underlies the 1. pl. *bisigi/bihigi* < **bi-z-iŋ-ki* "our", 2. pl. *äsigi/ähigi/isigi/ihigi* < **si-z-iŋ-ki* "your" (cf. Poppe, "Fundamenta", 681f., as against Räsänen, "Morph.", p. 10).

The distinction of exclusivus and inclusivus in the 1-st pers. pl., fully developed in Tungus and still recognizable in relics in Mongolian, is lacking in Turkic completely.

The demonstrativum of the 1-st person is *bu*, in the Brāhmī texts as in South-Siberian *po*; its declension is:

(AT)

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	*bu, po*	*bułar*
Gen.	*munuŋ, bunuŋ*	*bułarnyŋ*
Dat.	*muŋa* (along with the dat.-dir. *muŋar* [*buŋar*])	*bułarqa*
Acc.	*muny, buny*	*bułarny*
Loc.-Abl.	*munta, muntada, muntuda, bunda* — mostly in adverbial function	*bułarda*
		(Abl.) *bułardyn*
Compar.	*muntaγ, mundaγ; muny-täg* (the older form)	
Aequat.	*munča, bunča* (Inscr.)	

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Declension of the demonstrativa *po*, *bu*, st. *mu-n-*, Ťăv. *ku*, *ku-n-*:

	other languages	Jakut	Ťăvaš
Nom.	*po* (Š., Sa., Soj.), *bo* (QarŁ.); *bu*	*bu*	*ku* (pl.: *kĕ-ẓem*)
Gen.	*mōŋ* (Abaq., Lit.-Soj.); *munuŋ*; *mynyŋ* (Qq.); *bunuŋ* (Osm.)	—	*kun(ăn)*
Dat.	*mā*, *maŋā* (L.-Soj.), *buγan* (Qq.); *muŋa*; *buŋa* (Osm.)	*manyaxa*	*kuna*
Acc.	*monu* (L.-Soj.); *myny* (Qq.); *munu*; *bunu* (Osm.)	*many*	
Instr.	*mōn* (L.-Soj.) < **mon-yn* (usually, abl.)	*manan*	*kunḑa* (< comit.)
Loc.	*mynda* (L.-Soj.); *mynda*, *munda*; *bunda*	*manna* (or = dat.)	*kunḑa*
Abl.	= instr. in L.-Soj.; *myndan*; *mundan*; *bundan*	*mantan*	*kunḑan*
Comparat.	*myndyḡ* (Tuva); *myndaj* (Qq.); *mundaj*; *mundaq*; *bundajyn* (Osm.)	*mannayar*	
Aequat.	*mynžа* (L.-Soj.); *munžа*; *bunžа*		
Direct.	*božä*, *boduva* (L.-Soj.)		*kunḑalla* (loc.-allat)
Comitat.		*mannīŋn*	*kunḑa* (> instr.)
Partit.		*manna* (< loc.)	
Causalis		-	*kunšăn*
Modalis		*manny*	

The more recent form *munday* lives on in Central Asia as *mundaq* in Ča., N.-Uj., City-Özb., as *mundaj* in the Aralo-Caspian languages. The ancient language still possesses an ablative-prosecutive *mun-t-yr-t-yn* "da her entlang; from there along", an ablative-separative *muntyran* (< **mun-t-yr-an* or **mun-ty-ra-n*?) "from here (away)", needlessly styled "mongoloïd" by A. v. Gabain ("Fundamenta", p. 34), with the typically Altajic great variety of otherwise unknown local case-suffixes. The plural *bu-łar* shows nothing exceptional and strictly follows the nominal declension, however, with the acc. in *-ny* as the solely attested form.

The demonstrative of the 2-nd person, *šu*, is rare in the old languages, loc. *šunda* in the Jenisej-Inscr.; the demonstrative of the 3-rd person is *a-n-* which is substituted for in the nominative by *ol*. This latter has completely replaced *a-n-* in the later and modern Turkic languages. Its declension:

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(Ujγur)

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	*oł* (Ṭ. *văl*; Jak. *ōt*, *oł* besides *kini* < **kendi*)	*oŧar* (Ṭ. *vĕẓem*; Jak. *kinilär*)
Gen.	*anyŋ*	*oŧarnyŋ* regularly decl.
Dat.	*aŋa* (along with the dat.-dir. *aŋar*)	*oŧarqa*
Acc.	*any*	*oŧarny*
Loc.-Abl.	*anta*, *anda*; *antada*	*oŧarda*
Abl.	*antyn*	*oŧardyn*
Instr.	*anyn*	—
Comparat.	*antaq*, *andaq*; *any-täg*, *antäg*	
Aequ.	*anča*	
Aequ.-Loc.	*ančata*	

again with a number of special local cases: aequat. *anča* and, from the ancient pronominal root of the 3-rd person **i-*, *i-n-čä* "as, like that, it; thus; a bit", an aequ.-loc. *ančata*, usual with the postpositions *kin* or *timin* "after": *ančata kin* (or *timin*) "after that", the compar. *antaγ*, *andaγ* together with the older *any-täg*, *an-täg*; also here the abl.-prosecut. *antyrdyn* "from there (along)", abl.-separat. *andyran*, (>) *antran* "from there away". Also this pronoun has only the "regular", nominal plural, formed from the root *o-* only, without the specific local cases.

Only here, the instrumental is attested in Ujγur; it is generally rare, but still exists in Tuva, cf. *ōn*, also Lit.-Soj., < **on-yn* "with it; therewith, thus", erroneously considered as ablativ by Räsänen, Mat. Morph., p. 33, and, with doubts, by Isxakov, "Issledovanija po sravn. gr. tk. jazykov", II, p. 230.

Ṭăvaš has a great variety of non-personal pronouns, not found in the other Turkic languages at all. Jakut also shows some digressions from common-Turkic, but less than Ṭăvaš.

The personalia and demonstrativa may also occur with possessive suffixes attached, as was first noticed by Bang and briefly discussed by him in a fn. to KOSM. I, p. 5 where he adduces examples, all in the 3rd sg. poss., from Bałqar, Qazan, Tümän, Baraba and Ojrot, to which many more could be added, as e. g. Qγ. *any-sy* "this (that) of him (her); hic ejus; that his...", Qq.-Qqłpq. *onuŋ/onyŋ* "that of you", *onusu/onysy* "that of him (her)", Noγaj *so-sy* "that of that one", Qara-Noγaj *šo-šy* (*šo/šu* + *-sy*) "that of him, her; ille ejus", Karaγas *ō-zy* "that of him (her)", with complete pattern e. g. in Lit.-Soj.: 1. sg. *mō-m*, 2. *mō-ŋ*, 3. sg., pl. *mō-zu*, 1. pl. *mō-vuz*, 2. pl. *mō-ŋar*, "this of me" etc. These forms apparently originate from an obliquus-basis **mony*/**monu* which is contracted when the possessive suffixes are attached (cf. Menges, "Tuba", C A J, V, p. 110f.). These forms seem to become more usual in the recent period only, although they existed from the earliest times on, cf. AT. *siz-im-ä*, dat. poss. 1. sg. "vobis meis; Euch von mir; to you of mine, to you who are mine" (cf. von Gabain, "Fundamenta", p. 33), or Kāšγarī's *munu* "this one" and *onu* "that one", formed directly from the pronominal stem, *mu-n-*, *o-n-*. This Turkic feature has a parallel in Tungus where the demonstrative used as suppletive for the personal pronoun of the 3rd person always has the possessive suffix of the 3rd person: Ew. *nuŋa-n*, Nānaj *ňoa-ňi* "he, she, it".

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The pronomina interrogativa are *kim* "who?", AT *nä*, Ča., Qq., Ojr. *ne*, Qn. *ni* "what?" and *qaň-/qan-/qaj-* "which? который?". The latter is usually, *nä* occasionally found in attributive function. Not all cases are attested in the ancient language; these pronouns follow the pronominal declension, while, as everywhere in the pronominal category, the influence of the nominal declension is strong. They are rich in derivatives of an adverbial character. Their declension:

(Ujγur)

	Kim "who ?": sg.	pl.
Nom.	*kim*	*kim-lär* (modern)
Gen.	*kimniŋ*	regular
Dat.	*kimkä* (Orx.), *kimgä*	↓
Acc.	*kimni*	
Loc.	(modern) *kimdä*	
Abl.	(mod.) *kim-din/-dän*	

Nä etc. "what? which?" in the function of adnominal attribute does not assume any cases-endings, as Turkic does not have grammatical agreement, but, on the other hand, adverbial forms are quite numerous and often composed of more than one case- or postpositional suffix:
näkä dat., (Insc., Uj.) "wherefor? wozu? why?"; aequat. *näčä* "how?", also as indefin., "somehow", also as a kind of correlative, *näčä ... näčä* "the more ..., ... the more (or comparat.)", aequ.-loc., in *näčätä kin* "after some time", aequ.-dat.-terminat. *näčäkätägi* "up to which degree?"; aequ. with attached enclitic *ök* for emphasis, *näčük* < **näčä—ök*, "how?", the same in the instrum., *näčükin* "how?"; a further derivative, *näčüklätі* (< *näčük* + comit. *-ła* + instrum. *ti*? Or of verbal formation, *näčük-lä-t-i*, gerund in *-i* of the transitive-causative *näčük-lä-t-*?) "why? how?"; the comparat. *nätäg* can be used, in Uj., in subordinated, correlative clauses, with *ančułaju* introducing the main sentence, "as ..., thus ...", the latter being the aequ. of *a-n-* with the gerund in *-u* of a depronominal verb **an-ču-ła-* "to do thus" < **a-n-ča-ła-*, with a parallel formation, *munčułaju*, "doing like this" = "this way; thus", of the aequ. *munča*; the loc. *nädä* with the postposition *ötrü*, *nädä ötrü* "why? because of what?"; *nämän* "how?" is the instrum. of *nä* + the emphatic particle *-ma/-mä*; *närü*, direct., "whither? why? for what?"; the form *nägü* "why? why, I wonder? why, then?" is probably a composition of the interrogative with the emphatic enclitic or particle surviving in Central Asia (N.-Uj., Qq.) in the form *-γo*, *-γō*: **nä-γo* > *nägü*; it has a few derivatives: *nägül* "what (I wonder)?" (< **nä-gü* + *ol*?), *nägülük* "what kind of .. I wonder? why, I wonder?", probably < **nä-gü-lük*.

21 The situation with the interrogative *qaň-/qan-/qaj-* is essentially the same as with *nä*; hence most of the attested forms are of adverbial function, as will be seen from the examples. Its declension-stem and nominative has the form *qaňu*, (Kāšγarī) *qanu*, and *qaju*, pl. e. g. *qaju-łar*; besides, there exists the older stem *qan-/qaj-* and the pure root-form *qa-* without the pronominal stem-element *-n*: *qan-ta* "where?", *qandyn* "wherefrom?", (Inscr.), *qanča* "how much?", as prosecutive "along which way?"; *qany* = *qaňy/qaju*, Kāš. "wo?

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wohin?, where?", also in the modern languages of Central Asia; the loc. *qaňuda* may serve as abl., "wherefrom?", also in causal meaning; direct. *qaňuγaru* "against whom?"; as correlative, in the abl. *qaju-tyn syŋar* ..., *antyn syŋar* ... "in which direction ..., in that direction ..."; with the possessive of the 3-rd person: *qaju-sy* "who of them, which one?"; from the root: *qač* "how much?", often considered as secundary reduction from the aequative *qá-ča* or *qá-n-ča* (?); without interrogative meaning, in *qač qata* "often" < "[how > so] many times" and in *qačan* "so and so many times; quite often" (written *qač'an* in Manichaica I, 16, 11), with unclear suffixes; *qačan*, probably aequat.-instr. — but according to DENY (§ 1016, p. 699) < **qaj* + *čaγ-yn*, instr. of *čaq* "time; measure" —, originally means "when?" as in many modern languages, but in Ujγur it is usually found in the function of a subordinative particle, a conjunction introducing temporal clauses, "as, when, after", Lat. "cum, postquam". Osm. *haŋgy* < **xaŋγy* < **qan-γy* as also written in the older Arabic orthography قَنْغِي "which?" is a nomen loci in *-qy/-γy* etc. of *qa-n-*; in substantivic function **qanγysy* > *haŋgysy*; common-Turkic *qaju, qajy, qajsy*, etc. go back to *qaňu/qaňy*. Double possessive suffix is found in Özb. and Qq., *qajsysy* besides *qajsy*. A derivative of the same interrogative root is Uj., Kāš. *qałty* "as", a conjunction introducing modal clauses; it is probably < **qá-ła-t-y*, a form having its parallel in the above *näčükläti* "why? how?".

The Altajic interrogative root **qa-*, genuinely related with the Indo-European root **q̊i-*, **q̊o-* of the same function and meaning, has in Turkic as well as in Tungus the tendency to spirantization and, in Tungus, even complete reduction of the root initial: Osm. *ha-n-gy*, Tkm. *xajsy*; Tung. Ew., Negidal, Solon, Lamut, Oroči, Udi *adi* "how much?", Olča, Nānaj *xadu* "id.", < **qa-dy*; Ew. *ē* "what" < **ai* < **qaj*, Negidal *e-kun*, Sol. *i-xun*, Lamut. *ja-q* (< **ē-qu*[*-n*]), Oroči *ja-w*, Udi *jê'êu* "who? what?". The Turkic interrogativa are rather close in form to those of Jukagir: *kin* "who?" = Tk. *kim*, Mong. *ken*, Juk. **qa-* in *xa-du* (Dial. of the Kołymá) "who?", and *neme/nomo* "what?" = Tk. *nemä* "id.", cf. Tung. *ňī* (Ew.) "who?" (cf. A. SAUVAGEOT, UAJbb., XXXV, 109ff.).

As none of the Altajic pronomina reflexiva is extant in Turkic, the nouns *öz*, Tkm. *ŏď*, and *käntü*, Osm. *kändi* "essence, body, life, belly" > "self" assume this function. Of these two, only *käntü* has pronominally declined forms. In their stead, the later and new Turkic languages can use other nouns as well, cf. e. g. Ojr. *poj*, Abaqan *pos*, Tuva *pot* < *boď* "body, self" (Kāš.). 21a

Pronomina indefinita and quantitativa are (Uj.) *öküš* "many", *az*, Tkm. *āď*, "few, little", *barča, qamaγ* "all" (Uj. < Phlv. *hamēg* "id."), the aequ. of *bu*, *munča* "that many; tantus, tanti" in adnominal usage; likewise the interrogatives *näčä* "how many? quantus? quanti?" > "some, nonnulli" and *qač* "quantum? quantus, quanti?" > "some, nonnulli". The following are not of pronominal origin: *saju* "each", *bütün* "all", (Uj.) *ałqu* "all", *jumqy* "all (together)". The pronominal declension is preferred with them.

Verba

The Altajic verb is of nominal nature, so that even when it is found in the function of the predicate there is no real equivalent to the Indo-European or

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indicated for those verbal nouns. Some of them are in the one or other language group or individual language preponderantly found in adnominal usage, i. e. as participles, some other ones independently, as verbal substantives, and/or, with the attachment of elements denoting person, as predicats of the main sentence.

In historical Indo-European, the verbal nouns are throughout bound to a time-concept; they have some tense-connotation. As BRUGMANN showed, this was the result of a development which had come to an end only at the beginning of the historical epoch of Indo-European, but the various tenses of Indo-European did not, at the beginning, i. e. for most of their development-period prior to the historically attested Indo-European languages, always imply a tense-concept, but had rather the quality of aspects. This presumable prehistorical quality of the later Indo-European tenses is generally valid for the entire historical period of Altajic. Thus, the basic semantic quality of the Turkic verbal nouns of category I is rather that of aspect, less that of tense. The tense-connotation of the Turkic verbal noun seems to have developed during those 1200 years of Turkic language history which we can view through the texts. We see only indistinct borderlines between aspect and actual tense, rarely a clearly definable concept of time, more emphasis being laid, as it appears, upon aspect-like distinction, the primordial and basic one being that of definite vs. indefinite action, which evidently underlies the entire Ural-Altajic verbal system. Of the clearly expressed time-levels, that of the past seems to appear first with some greater distinctness. The eastern Turkic languages seem to be slower in this movement toward a tense-distinction in the sense of time than the Southwestern ones; the latter, probably under the influence of languages that distinguish clearly between the basic time-levels as Indo-European languages, achieve a more clearly defined tense-system with actual tempus connotations; this is particularly evident in the Oγuz languages, specifically in Osman.

The nomina verbalia of category I have partly a tense-like, partly a mood-like character. Of a tense-like character are those of the perfectum, the aorist, the present-future, of a mood-like are the optative which also can have the character of a future, in one and the same language, and the conditional which in many Turkic languages can likewise serve as the expression of tense in coordinated temporal or causal clauses. Clearly defined in the sense of tense is only the perfectum, distinguishing throughout Turkic, with varying rigorosity, definite and indefinite action, as in the other Altajic languages; this distinction develops, in K'art'velian neighborhood, into that of seen and unseen action (specifically in Osm.). The Aorist does not have any tense-connotation, it just expresses the action as such, going on at present or in the future or pictured as such; the aorist is, in fact, the "timeless tense". It is not correct to use for it the term "future", as is often done in Russian grammars of Turkic and Tungus languages; this does not exclude the necessity of translating a Turkic aorist, in a certain context, as a future in Russian or English, but the same aorist has in a great many instances the meaning of a Russian or English present. Generally, the Turkic languages do not possess any futurum; for its expression the aorist or the optative serve. Also in Indo-European, the futurum is of late and secundary origin and cannot be separated, morphologically, from the sub-

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< *-*a*-*n* where *a* is identical with the dative-suffix, — while RAMSTEDT ("Formenlehre", 132) considers it as instrumental. This latter assumption is possible for AT, especially since *-an* is found in the *n*- dialect of Ujγur (Manichaean texts) which often has suffixal *a*/*ä* instead of *y*/*i*//*u*/*ü* of common-Ujγur; but the occurrence of this suffix in Old-Osman with *a* speaks in favor of BANG's theory. It appears in Čaγataj and is quite common in older Osman. Exx. Orxon *süŋgü batymi qaryγ söküpän Kögmän jyšyγ toγa joryp Qyrqyz budunuγ uda bastym* "while wading through snow as (deep as) a spear (sinking in), I marched across the Kögmän range, and while persecuting (them) I conquered the Qyrqyz people", O.-Osm. "*Jā Muḥammad*!" *dejübän čaγyrdylar* "they shouted saying 'oh, Muḥammad!'" (from Süläjmān Čäläbi, after DENY), Ča. (verse of Navā'ī) *dimāγyma tüšübän taṣavvur-i pandār* "as thoughtful imagination befell my mind ...". An alternate form in *-ubany*, as it would seem, with secondarily attached suffix poss. 3. pers., occurring rarely in O.-Osm., not explained so far, might give raise to doubts in the origin of *-p-an*/*-ub-an* as an allative or instrumental, cf. *qałq-ub-an-y* "when arising" (Dädä Qorqud, after DENY, § 1311, p. 886). It illustrates the great age and petrified nature of the suffix.

Apart from its syndetic usage, the suffix *-p* is essential in the verbal composition.

In Mongol, this suffix is found implicit only in combination with other suffixes, while in Tungus it has an exact equivalent in South-Tungus Manžu and Žürčen *-fi* and Nānaj and Udi *-pi* where also the ancient proto-Altajic final vowel has been preserved, while in North-Tungus it exists, as in Mongolian, only in combination with other suffixes. As to Uralic, RÄSÄNEN ("Mat. Morph.", 191) compares it correctly, as it seems, with the Finno-Ugric suffix *-pa*/*-pä* of the Participium praesentis.

Very common is the vocalic gerund in *-a*/*-y*/*-u* etc., possibly a later differentiation due to labial harmony and assimilation of an older simple form in *-a*/*-ä*. It is most productive in AT and begins to disappear from the Čaγataj period on; it lives on in Ťăvaš. The gerund in *-a*/*-ä* has in a great many languages assumed the function of nomen praesentis, or, in Indo-European terminology, it serves as the base of the praesens (resp. praesens-futurum), but it does not survive in free adverbial position as predicate of a coordinated clause. It is, however, very common in the formation of one of the two basic types of the aspect-forming verbal composition (cf. infra). In AT, the gerund in *-u*/*-ü* is most common, less so that in *-a*/*-ä*; that in *-y*/*-i* is rare. It usually renders the action which goes on at the same time as that of the main verb, cf. Uj. *utr-u tut-* "to have face; entgegenhalten", *bäkür-ü toqa-* "to beat in fast, firmly; to fasten by beating in(to)", *kötür-ü ilt-* "to abduct, kidnap".

From the Čaγataj period on, the vowel of the gerund is connected with a vocalic stem-final by the hiatus-eliminating *j* whereupon the vowel of the suffix—and therewith the original suffix itself — undergoes complete reduction: *baš-ła-j-a* "beginning" > *bašlaj*; this became the rule in all Turkic languages except those of the Southwest; therefore, the negative nomen praesentis futuri has the suffix *-maj*/*-mäj*: Özbek etc. *qara-ma-j* "not looking", 1st pers. sg. prs.-fut. *qara-maj-man.*

Gerunds in vowel often occur in adverbial or postpositional function, cf. Abaqan, Tuva *qožo* "together" < *qoš-a* "joining", Özb., N.-Uj. etc. *toła*

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"entirely, all" < *to-ł-a* "being filled", Osm. *ǵörä*, postpos. c. dat., "according to" < *gör-ä* "looking at" = Ṭăv. *kura* "id.". The form of this gerund is not to be connected with those of the Mongolian gerundia in *-γa* and *-γaj*, as done by RAMSTEDT and KOTWICZ (cf. RÄSÄNEN, "Mat. Morph.", p. 185, bottom).

The verbal noun in *-n*, *-Vn*, though rare, should be mentioned here. It occurs in AT, and, as it seems, oftener, in Ujγur, but it is later found as a relic only; cf. Uj. *ti-jin* "saying", *ij-in* "following", also *jaq-yn* "approaching" in *jaq-yn käl-* "to come near". It is the ancient Altajic nomen praesentis in *-n/-Vn*, living on in Mongol as in Turkic in the function of a plain gerund, but in Tungus it is still found as the ancient "present-base", not only in the Manžu nomen praesentis in *-m-bi* < **-n + bi* (cf. BANG, "Études ouralo-altaïques"), but also in the older group of forms of the heteroclitic aorist in the North-Tungus languages (MENGES, "The Function and Origin of the Tungus Tense in *-ra* and some related questions of Tungus grammar", in Language, vol. XIX, pp. 237ff., after long dubitations finally and, as it appears, reluctantly endorsed by BENZING, "Die tungusischen Sprachen", pp. 129ff.).*

Forms such as *kin* "after", *öŋin-öŋin* "in a different way", *üčün* "because", and *bilän*, *birlän* "with" are not to be arranged together with the gerunds in *-in*, as done by RÄSÄNEN ("Mat. Morph.", 187), but are ancient petrified cases of **ki* "rear", *öŋi* "other", *uč* "end, aim" and *bir* "one".

The gerund in *-γaly//-qaly* is far repanded in Turkic and has a final, necessitative, supinal and abtemporal meaning. The latter is rarely encountered with in AT, while it is usual in the modern languages. In the Southwest-languages, the suffix has the form *-aly/-äli*, and in Osman the abtemporal meaning is found almost exclusively. Exx. Uj. *joldyn ärtür-gäli umaq* "the ability to keep away (transit.) from the road, way", Osm. *sän bu jerdän gid-äli üč jyl oldu* "it was three years since (after) you left this place". The two basic differences in the semantics of this suffix, final/supinal on the one hand, abtemporal on the other, points to a coincidence in this suffix of formerly differentiated forms. This suffix seems to have its equivalent in a Tungus suffix, *-gāli/-kāli* etc. (RAMSTEDT, "Form.", 91; RÄSÄNEN, "Mat. Morph.", 188).

A terminative or limitative gerund has the suffix *-γynča* etc., used in various languages from the Ujγur period on; it is probably the casus aequativus of a verbal noun in *-γyn* (BANG, "7. Turkolog. Brief", UJb. XIV). In the later development of the languages it alternates with the same case of the nomen perfecti in *-γan*, *-γan-ča*, (>) *-γanša*. Exx. Uj. *qatyγ kirtgünčlüg bol-ma-qyn-ča oŋarqaly bolmaz* (Šüan-Czaŋ) "as long as one is not firm in strength and belief, one cannot bring about any improvement". In the Southwest, the suffix is *-γynža* etc. Possessive and plural-suffixes may be found after *-γyn*, as e. g. in Čaγataj and Özbek: Ča. *kil-gün-lär-i-čä* "as much, as far, as they came", Özb. *qył-γun-ym-ča* "as much, as far, as I did", likewise the comparative suffix after the entire suffix, *-gi̯nči̯-räk* "rather, almost, as much as..." in Qazan, besides *-γynčuq* "just as much as..." < **-γyn-ča + ök* for emphasis.

* [Since I did not state the heteroclitic nature of the aorist for Manžu only, as it would appear from BENZING's quotation on p. 129, but for the entire domain of Tungus, with special emphasis on Ewenki, my article in Language XIX should have been quoted by BENZING rather sub his § 137, p. 132f.].

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The gerundium perfecti has be suffix *-γač/-gäč*, not yet attested for AT; it appears in Ča. and lives on in many Turkic languages except the Southwest and Ṭăvaš. Its correspondence in Jakut is *-āt*, having the same form as Mongol *-γat*. There is no reason to suppose an origin of *-γač* from **-γa* + *-č(a)*, while *-γynča*, attested already in Ujγur, has preserved its full form; moreover, no suffix **-γa* is found in Turkic as one of a gerund, also not a gerundium perfecti.

In the ancient language, the gerund in *-p* is not used with the negative aspect. As a negative gerundium syndeticum, the suffix *-maty/-mady//-matyn/-madyn* etc. is used which later develops as if its *d* were the original consonant into *-majyn//-mân* in the majority of the Turkic languages. The form *-majyn* can, of course, also be analysed as being from **-ma-j-y-n*, i. e. the instrumentalis (or lativus) of the vocalic gerund in *-y* or *-u* of the negative aspect, which latter assumption would be substantially supported by the fact of the occurrence of *-mân/-bân* etc. in the South Siberian languages were *-d-* does not as a rule develop into *j*. Ča. has *-madyn/-mady*, but with Rabγūzī already *-majyn*. The suffix *-maty/-matyn* originates from the nomen verbale perfecti in *-t* + the instrumentalis (or lativus) of the negative aspect, as THOMSEN, RADLOFF and BANG assumed (cf. the latter's "Das negative Verbum der Türksprachen", p. 129). Exx. Uj. *tün-saju öđ jaz-matyn muntay saqynč qylsar* "if one each night, without missing the (right) time, makes such a contemplation", Osm. زیرا اولمدین کیمسه حیات جاودان بولمز *zīrā öl-mädin kimsä ḥajāt-i žāvidān bulmaz* "for without dying nobody finds eternal life" (from: Nävādirü-'l-āþār, DENY, § 1349, p. 944). In Osm. literary language, it lives on until the XIX-th century, but is generally replaced by the suffix *-madan/-mädän*, a popular misinterpretation of the older form; besides *-madan*, the ablative of the negative nomen aoristi, *-maz-dan*, is used.

A number of other gerunds occurs in the single languages only.

The Altajic approximation at the verbum finitum of Indo-European consists either of very ancient, heteroclitical forms of an imperativic, jussivic, optativic or voluntativic character containing suffixes for the designation of person, i. e. representing forms with a full expression of person, or of one of the above nomina verbalia, implying aspect or tense, with the further addition of possessive suffixes or the enclitical pronomina personalia.

The suffixes of the optative-imperative are:

1. sg.: Orx.*-ajin/-äjin*, Uj. *-ajyn/-äjin*, after vocalic stem: *-jyn/-jin*; Orx. *bol-ajin*, Uj. *bol-ajyn* "may I become!". In later Uj. (QB) *-aj(y)* appears: *qyl-aj* "let me do!", *bar-ajy* "let me go!". With secundary attachment of suffixes for the 1-st person: (Rabγūzī) *qyl-ajym*, also *jaz-a-myn* "let me write!", together with the forms in *-ajyn* and a contamination with the optative-future, in *-γaj-yn*. The forms *-aj* and *-ajyn* live on in the later languages of Central Asia. Most languages of the Northwest and Southwest have the forms in *-ajym*, cf. Osm. *-ajym*, Qom. *-ajm*. The O.-Osm. forms of the type *salajvan* "let me throw!", *göräjvän* "let me see!" are either Southwestern correspondences to the optative-suffix in *-γaj* + pron. pers. 1. pers. *bän* > *vän*, i. e. **sal-γaj—bän*, **kör-gäj—bän*, or due to contamination of the ancient imperative in *-aj* + pron. pers. *bän*, i. e. < *sal-aj* + *bän*. Some South-Siberian languages and Jakut have contracted forms, *-ym/-im*; Ṭăvaš has *-am*: *pul-am* "let me be!" The 2nd sg. has either no suffix, or *-γyl/-gil* (Uj., Kāš., Ča., N.-Uj., Özb., O.-Osm.,

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Bšq.), cf. Uj. *aja-γył* "venerate!". The occurrence of this suffix in O.-Osm. in the form *-γył*, with preserved suffix-initial *γ*, points to its borrowing from Čaγataj. Instead of *-γył*, from Late-Ujγur and Middle-Turkic (Kāšγarī, Rabγūzī, QB) on, the form *-γyn/-gin* appears and is common in N.-Uj., Özbek, in Northwestern languages (Caucasian and Qn.). In these suffixes, the same form is extant as in the North-Tungus suffix imperat. 2. sg. *-kal/-kẻl/-kol*, 2. pl. *-kal-dᵘu/-kal-lu* etc. (cf. MENGES in Language XIX, 237ff., also U-A.Jbb., XXIV, p. 119), and, as RAMSTEDT believes, Korean *-kẹra*; thus, it is not to be assumed that in Turkic the stem i. e. imperative of *qył-* "to do, make" or *käl-/kel-/kil-* "to come" has been attached in relatively recent times to the verbal stem, as supposed by DENY (op. cit., §609, p. 390) or BANG ("Studien...", II, p. 915), but this does not entirely preclude the assumption of the etymological identity of this imperative-suffix with the Altajic root **qy-* "to do", as apparent in North-Tungus Ew. *kẻ-* "id.; to have in mind", Mong. *ki-* "id.", Turkic *qy-ł-* "to do", Jak. *ky-n-*, Volga-Bulg. *ki-n-* "id." (this latter is no loan from Iranian, *kun-* "id.", as supposed by BENZING, "Fundamenta", 745, with question mark), so that this suffix must have originated during the common-Altajic language-period. A composition with an imperative of a second verb is found in forms of the type Özb. *qył-kör*, possibly also, as BÖTHLINGK thought, in the Jakut "imperative-future" in *-ār* < **-a—kör* which is doubtful in view of the Mongolian jussive in *-āraj*. Čaγataj has, with Navā'ī, forms in *-a + kör*: e. g. *tap-a kör* "seak, search!", *oquj-kör* "read!" (cf. MENGES, MMX, p. 73), which from the morphological viewpoint are to be considered along the lines of verbal composition. A number of enclitical particles can serve to emphasize an order or wish in this or that sense; they vary from language to language.

In the 3rd pers. sg., Turkic has throughout *-sun/-sün* or *-syn/-sin*. Only AT has always *-zun/-zün*, also after unvoiced occlusives: *bäđizä-t-zün* "let him paint!" which might be simply graphic. This suffix is identical with the imperative in *-su* in O.-Mong., later in the Lit.-Mong. 1-st sg. *-su-qaj*; it cannot be connected with the possess. suff. 3rd pers. *-sy*, as done by DMITRIJEV ("Bašq. Gramm.", p. 164). Jakut has the suffix *-tyn/-dyn//-łyn/-nyn* etc. as an "imperat. praes." (BÖTHLINGK), again with suffixal *t* instead of *s/z* of the other Turkic languages, and *-yax-tyn* as "imperat. fut." (BÖTHLINGK) which is compared by KOTWICZ ("Stud. jęz. ałtajsk.", 230) with Mong. *-γtun* and Tung. Ew. *-k-tin*, Negidal *-gitin*, Oroči *-giti*, Olča *-žiti*, Nānaj *-gići*. In the Tungus forms, however, the suffix *-k* has the imperativic function, while *-tin* < *-t-in* is that of the possess. 3rd. pers. pl.—Ṭăvaš has a completely different form with suffix *-tĕr*, cf. *pul-ḍăr* "let him be!", whose origin is not clear (cf. RÄSÄNEN, "Mat. Morph.", 208 bottom, and BENZING, "Fundamenta", p. 745).

The suff. of the imperat. 1-st pers. pl. has the basic form *-ały*, as found e. g. in Ča., Qom., Qγ., Tob., Ojr., Šor, to which either *-m* (of the 1-st pers. sg.) or *-q* of the 1-st pers. pl., or *-n*, *-ŋ* may be found attached. Ujγur has *-ałym* etc., after vocalic stem *-łym*: *ötün-älim* "let us venerate!", *biti-lim* "let us write!", the same in Qoman, Qar. and Osm. (here, after vocalic stem: *-jałym*); besides, Ča. and Qom. have also *-ałyq*, Ča. also *-ałyŋ*; N.-Uj. has a great variety of forms: *-ajłi*, *-ełi*, *-elin*, *-ilin*, *-ajniŋ*, *-eni*; the Northwest prefers *-ajyq*, Siberia contracted forms, such as Bar., Küä., Qyz. *-āq*, Šor *-aq/-ax* and *-āŋnar* (< **-ałyŋ-łar*), Abaqan and Karaγas *-āł*, Tel. *-ałdar* (< **-āł-dar* < *-ałyŋ-łar*); in

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While in Ṭăvaš the negation is the same as in all the other Turkic languages, it has in the imperative the immutable *an*, preceding, as in Tungus and Uralic, the main verb. This is either due to an influence, as Benzing is inclined to assume ("Fundamenta", 745), from neighboring Volga-Finnic languages—similarly Baskakov ("Тюркские языки", p. 114) who points to Votjak (Udmurt)—or it goes back to **e-ŋ*, **e-n* or **e-ne* and is a petrified relic from common-Altajic times, as Ramstedt (MSFOu, LII, p. 210) supposes. 26

In the present-future of the negative, contractions occur in some languages, as e.g. Qar. Tr. **bar-ma-ja-men* > *bar-myj-myn/-myjm/-mym*, or Qn. 3. sg. *bar-mī*, or a qualitative change in the vowel of the negative suffix due to reduction, as in the Osm. present: *qát-ma-jorum* > *qát-my-jorum*, *gắl-mä-jorum* > *gắl-mi-jorum*, forms which have been given recognition by the new literary language. In the aorist, instead of the suffix *-r* appears *-z* (also *-s*, as in Ča. and Ṭăv.), usual otherwise as suffix of deverbal nouns, and, in its place, *-t* in Jakut. In Ṭăvaš, only one instance with the equivalent of Turkic *-maz* is found in *mar* < common-Turkic *ä(r)-mäz*. The suffix of the negative aorist in *-mas/-mes* in Ṭăvaš is due to a later borrowing from Turkic, which points to the probability of a relatively prolonged existence in Ṭăvaš of the verbum negativum with its original qualities. In Osm. dialects of Anatolia sporadically, but more commonly in Az. and regularly in Tkm., negative aorists in *-myr/-mür//-mar* etc. occur in analogy with the affirmative forms. Kotwicz's theory on the origin of the aor. negativus, *-ma-z* and *-ma-s* < **-ma-syz*, i.e. the nomen actionis + privative suffix ("Stud. Jęz. ałt.", 105) does not have the slightest probability.

The Turkic languages possess still 2 nomina negativa, *joq*, Tkm. *jōq*, and *tägül* (Kāš.), *tägil*, SW Osm. *däjil*, Tkm. *dāl*, which can serve as negated predicative noun (negated copula). While the Southwest-Turkic languages prefer, in all persons but the 3rd, *däjil* etc., *joq* is usual in all the other Turkic languages. In Central Asia, more frequently in South-Siberia, *joq* may be used instead of the negative suffix with the verb, e.g. Ojr. *qał-yan-ym joq* instead of, but along with, *qał-ba-yan—män* "I did not remain", Qq. *körbögö-* 27
nüm-žoq and *körbödüm* "I did not see", etc. The composition with *joq* is more emphatic. The Qašqajī dialects have a similar tendency; here, to the nomen negativum *joq* may be attached the possessive suffixes, even in the 3rd person where they are superfluous in most Turkic languages: *joγ-um*, *joγ-uŋ*, *joγ-u* etc., as likewise found in the positive noun *bār* "existing": Qašqajī *vār-ym*, *vār-yŋ*, etc.

Verbal composition

The verbal composition in Altajic and with that in Turkic—not yet treated thoroughly so far, but worthy of an exhaustive investigation—is basically of 2 types: I. it is the composition of one of the above-characterized nomina verbalia "temporis" (of tense or tense-like function) with a form of an auxiliary having the meaning of "to be". A verbal expression for "existence, being" can be assumed for proto- and common-Altajic in the form of **bi-* (Tung. *bi-*, Mong. *bi-*, I.-E. **bʿă-*), but it has not been preserved in Turkic and is replaced by *ä-/e-/i-*, *är-/er-/ir-* "to reach, be found, exist, be" (< **ä-r-*?) and *bol-* (<

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**bo-ł-?*) "to become; to be"; and II. the composition of a nomen verbale that usually functions only as a gerund—those are almost exclusively the gerunds in *-a* and *-p*—with an auxiliary such as *tur-* "to stand, dwell, be", *jory-* (> Qq. *žür-*) "to run, walk", *ber-* "to give", *jat-* "to lie", *qał-* "to remain", *qoj-* "to lay, place", *sał-* "to put", *ket-* "to go (away)" and many others, since a large number of verbs can be used as auxiliaries without loosing their function as main verbs.

Category I is of tense-forming character and designates "secondary tenses" expressing modifications of the "primary tenses", as e. g. tenses of the type of the I.-E. imperfectum or plusquamperfectum. Since the time-concept in the Turkic languages has not yet been clearly formed or is rather in an incipient state, and since to this category also belong conditional, irrealis and potentialis, those forms resulting from verbal composition are not always complexes to be circumscribed as tenses or tense-like formations, but they are verbal forms of a special quality which partly correspond to the modi (moods) of Indo-European, while on the other hand they cannot be clearly delimitated from aspect-like formations.

Category II expresses various modalities of an action and thus is primarily of an aspect-character. The modalities of an action are expressed with regard to the duration of an action as well as to certain concomitant circumstances of an action; these latter are designated, in Indo-European, by the verbal prefixes, mostly those of a prepositional nature. The modalities of an action are rendered by the auxiliaries which follow the main verb put into the form of the gerund in *-a, -y, -u* or that in *-p*. In Altajic, these auxiliaries have the function of the verbal prefixes or those suffixes that have aspectual character in Indo-European (cf. on this in more detail MENGES, "Drei özbekische Texte", Islam XXI, p. 163f., "Zum Özbekischen von Nord-Afghanistan", Anthropos, XLII, pp. 687ff., "Türk. Sp. Süd-Sibiriens, III", C A J, V, pp. 121ff., "Die aralo-kaspische Gruppe", Fundamenta, pp. 477ff.). The auxiliary, and if there are more than one, that in the last place within the entire compound, assumes those verbal suffixes that are needed for the designations of the predicate. The negation is usually found with the main verb, except in those instances when it is conceived of as a special ingredient of the modality complex and therefore is expressed by the auxiliary, as in Ujγur *u-ma-*, elsewhere *ał-ma-* "not to be able, nicht können".

Verbal compositions of both categories occur in Turkic from the oldest texts on, those of type I being, as it seems, more common in the ancient languages than those of type II. However, in the ancient languages, the formations of type I seem to be preponderant, while those of type II have developed more during the modern period. The Southwestern languages are still, as it seems, the only languages which have mostly compositions of type I—and these have been developed quite richly —, in contradistinction to the other Turkic languages, in order to create a rather differentiated tense-system, without doubt under non-Turkic, Indo-European influences, preponderantly those from New-Persian, while in most, if not all, other Turkic languages the compositions of type II have produced a great variety of forms. This tendency seems to be strongest in the East of the entire Turkic speach area where it has developed not only a great variety of compositions, but also the usage of more

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than one or two auxiliaries, their number occasionally amounting to five or six.

Compositions of type I have tense-character and consist of nomina verbalia "temporis" + forms of *ä-, ä-r-* and, less usual, *bol-*, rarely *tur-*:

1. the nomen aoristi + the perfectum of *ä-, ä-r-* is usually the expression of a (tempus) imperfectum; in AT, its tense-value is not clear; occasionally, those compositions are of the character of a plusquamperfectum, in a number of other instances they designate the imperfectum, cf.: Orxon *olur-ur—är-miš* "they were sitting (dwelling)", Uj. *jyđ-jypar toz-ar ön-är—bol-ty* "smells (parfums) kept spreading and rising", Kγ. *čoru-r—är-miš* "was roaming around"; Plusquamperfectum: Uj. *ozγur-ur—är-tim* "I had saved", *köŋülümtä aryta saqyn-maz—är-tim* "I never had thought in my heart", also: "I never would have thought i. m. h.", Orx. *ti-r—är-miš* "(thus) he (she) had said", Uj. *boltum—är-di jaqyn tapynγaly* "I had been able to venerate from near by" (Šüän-Czaŋ — NB: position of the words here un-Turkic!); Kγ., negative: *pär-bäs—ä-miš* "he did not give; had not given". The nomen aoristi + perfectum of *är-* has, apart from its original imperfective meaning, as it seems, very early the function of irrealis or potentialis of the predicate in the main clause: Uj. *unaqaja ölgäli jat-ur—är-di* "she would (probably) soon lie down to die" (Suvarṇaprab'āsa, A. v. Gabain, "Alttk. Gramm.", p. 271). In the modern languages, this composition is very common for the expression of irrealis or potentialis. Forms of the type Uj. *qył-ur—är-tim* "I did; used to do" is an imperfectum definitum or a durativum perfectum definitum, and with the perfectum indefinitum of the auxiliary, evidently giving the compositional complex an indefinite meaning, *qył-ur—är-miš—män* "I did, used to do", while the first form can just as well serve as predicate in an irrealis- or potentialis-sentence: *qył-ur—är-tim* "I would, could, might, do [but I don't]". In Ujγur, compositions such as *qył-ur—bol-ur—män* "I am just doing, I do right now", apparently implying an inchoative meaning through *bol-*, like the Özbek forms in *-maqči—bol-*, and *qył-ur—bol-tym* "I just did", are not synonymous with the compositions with *är-* and are rather to be considered compositions of type II.

The nomen aoristi + perfectum of *är-* is in the modern Turkic languages the usual expression for the definite durative preterite, i.e. an imperfectum definitum, cf. Özb. (Farγåna) *ålår-ịdịlär* "they were taking, used to take", *kün kečirar-ịdịlär* "they used to spend the day", *išne bitkäzär-ịdịlär* "they were doing business". In a number of languages, these forms have been contracted so that the stem- or root-element of the auxiliary disappears, cf. e.g. Osm. *ǵälijordułar* "they used to come", *oturujordułar* "they used to sit, dwell", Özb., Qq. *ałyrdy* "he would take, buy" < *gäli-jor—i-di-lär, ał-yr—är-di/i-di* etc. Sporadically, this happened in Ujγur: *taŋłardy* "it had been dawning" < *taŋ-ła-r—är-di*, even in a Manichaean text: *tytmazdy* "it was not hindered, prevented" < *tyt-maz—är-di*.

The nomen perfecti + perfectum of *är-* is in the ancient languages usually, in the modern almost regularly, the expression of the plusquamperfectum: Uj. *qył-tym—är-di* "I had done"—the nomen perfecti is here, too, constructed like a verbal substantive —, *qył-juq—är-dim* "id.", *qył-myš—är-tim* "id." but with an indefinite connotation of the perfectum of the main verb, and with

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the indefinite form in both parts of the compound: *qył-myš—är-miš—män* "id.; I apparently did; fecisse dicor, videor". Orxon: *ałp är biziŋä tägmiš-ärti* "brave men had attacked us", Uj. *ärt-miš—är-ti* "it had passed", *soquš-myš—är-miš* "it had got stuck". The great majority of the Turkic languages today has the nomen perfecti in *-γan* + *ä(r)-dim*, Osman instead of this *-myš-tym* < *-myš* + *i(r)-dim*. How indistinct the tense-character can be in Ujγur is seen from forms like *tüš-miš—tur-ur-łar* "they have fallen down (i.e. lost their standing, value)", a kind of perfectum praesens, or *säw-it-miš—är-tiŋ* "you had been, were (being) loved", a kind of a plusquamimperfectum. For the latter tense, the languages of the Aralo-Caspian branch of the Northwest-group use the composition of the gerund in *-p* with the perfectum of *ä(r)-*, or, as Noγaj does, the gerund in *-a* with the same form: Qq. *baryp-edim* (> *baryptym*), No. *barybem* "I had been going, walking, riding"; No. *bar-a—e-d-im*, a plusquamimperfectum, "I had been going".

The nomen perfecti + the aorist of the auxiliary may have the value of a perfectum praesens (like the perfect of Greek or N.-English): Uj. *qył-tym—är-ür* "I have done (and still am doing), πέπραγα", *qył-myš—är-ür—män* "I (probably) did"; with the indefinite perfect of the main verb the presentic meaning of the compound seems to recede. The Ujγur forms *qył-myš—boł-ur—män* and *qył-myš—boł-γaj—män*, rendered by VON GABAIN (op. cit., p. 162, bottom) as a futurum exactum, "I shall have done", probably imply an inchoativic meaning as well as a difference in time-level; they represent a transitional type from category I to category II.

The nomen perfecti indefiniti + the optative-future of *ä(r)-* in Ujγur has the function of a potentialis, cf. *Maxasatwyγ yčγyn-myš—är-gäj—mu—biz* "should we have lost Mahāsattva?!" (Suvarṇ., l. c., p. 279).

A nomen futuri is rarely found with an auxiliary without having the function of an irrealis or potentialis; as plain futurum it occurs more in the ancient languages, cf. Uj. *Türk buđun jazuq qył-tačy—boł-γaj-łar* "the Turkic people will be committing sin(s), will become sinful, sinners", but as an irrealis/potentialis Uj. *qył-tačy—är-tim* "I would have done", *qył-tačy—boł-γaj—män* "I would be able to do", or Qq., Qqłpq., Noγaj, nomen fut.-optat. in *-γaj*: *baryaj—e-dim* "I should go, I ought to go, should like to go".

The nomen conditionale in *-sa(r)* + auxiliary is in the modern languages the usual expression of the irrealis or potentialis; with the perfectum of *ä(r)-* it designates the irrealis of the past, cf. Qq., Noγaj *bar-sa—e-dim* "if I had gone; I would have gone", Osm. *ǵül-sä-jdim* "if I had laughed", *buł-sa-j-dyŋyz* "if you had found" < *ǵül-sä—i-dim, buł-sa—i-diŋiz*. In the ancient languages, the conditional or irrealis/potentialis is expressed by the suffix of the auxiliary: Uj. (Xwastwanift) *qył-ma-dym—är-sär* "if I did not do, commit, if I would not have done", *ärk-si-n-t-imiz—är-sär* "if we did dare, if we had ventured, had taken the liberty",—likewise in "Middle-Turkic", i.e. pre- or early Čaγataj, and Qoman, but also in Karaγas, cf. *äkkir-t-iŋ—är-zä* "if you have bettered, cured",—where the purely nominal substantivic nature of the nomen perfecti in *-t* is evident as syntactically it is the subject of the sentence. As the nomen aoristi never takes possessive suffixes, the logically demanded possessive suffix is replaced by the personal pronoun, as in predicative function:

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Uj. *u-maz—män—är-sär* "if I cannot, if I am unable", *ögir-ür—män—är-sär* "if I am glad, if I enjoy".

In Ujγur, imperativic finite forms can be composed, like any nominal forms, with *ärgäj* or *ärti* expressing irreality, cf. *körmäjin—ärti muny-täg ułuγ ačyγ ämgäkig*! "oh, had I never experienced such great bitter suffering!" (Suvarṇ., l. c. p. 281), *jir jarył-zun—ärti*! *Jirkä kir-äjin—ärti*! "oh, let the earth split! I wish, I would sink into the earth!". These compositions seem to indicate less the nominal usage or, at least, conception of the imperativic forms, but rather the development of *ärti* and *ärgäj*, in those particular instances, toward actual emphatic, desiderative particles. The later and modern languages do not have this usage.

If the nouns *bar*, Tkm. *bār* "existing, present", *joq*, Tkm. *jōq* (Southwest, Northwest often *tägil*, Osm. *däjil*, Tkm. *dāl*; Qč'. *tüjül* etc., Kāš. ["Γuzz"] *tägül*) "not being, existing; not present", *kärgäk*, Özb. *keräk*, Osm. *ġäräk* "necessary" and the like occur in the function of the predicate, the copula is expressed by either *ä(r)*- or *boł*-, while in the 3rd persons of the aorist the copula is usually omitted, and in the 1st and 2nd of the aorist, occasionally also of the present-future, the enclitical pronomina personalia may replace the copula. In Osman, this has led to a mixed type similar to that of the conjugation so that in the 1st sg. the possessive suffix *-ym* is attached, in the 1st pl. the suffix *-yz*, going back to an older *-byz/-vyz*.

The greatest variety of forms of verbal composition to designate various shades of tense has of all literary languages been produced in Osman.

The compositions with *boł*- and *tur*- as auxiliaries are of a transitional character to those of category II. In a like way, certain compositions of category II, i.e. those with a gerund, not with a nomen verbale "temporis", have rather a tense-significance, than one of aspect. Here belong the compositions in the languages of the post-Ujγur period of the gerund in *-a*, occasionally also the gerund in *-p*, with *tur*-, less commonly with Qq. etc. *žür*- (< *jürü*-) or Abaqan, Tuva *čat*- (< *jat*-). These formations, mostly with the auxiliary *tur*-, have probably their origin in the 3rd person of the praesens-futurum in *-a* which in the great majority of the Turkic languages has instead of the pronominal element of the 3rd person, *ol* or *bu* of Ujγur, the contracted and reduced form *-dur* of the 3rd sing. nom. aor. of *tur*-, cf. Özb., N.-Uj. etc. e.g. 1. sg. *qył-a—man*, 2. sg. *qył-a—san*, 3rd sg. *qył-a—dur/—du/—dө* etc., Qq. *qył-a-myn*, *qył-a-syn*, *qył-a-dy*, Qγ. *qył-a-myn*, *qył-a-syn*, *qył-a-t*, etc., but Qn. *čyγ-a-myn*, *čyγ-a-syn*, *čyγ-a*, 3rd pl. often *čyγa-łar*. In this function, *dur* spreads all over Turkic; with 2 pairs of vowel-harmonic variants in Osman, *-dyr* etc., it becomes the absolutely required form of the copula. Later, this form is generalized in the praesens-futurum and forms a paradigm of its own. Thus, forms of a durative nature arise, having, as it seems, a presentic tense-character: N.-Uj. (Northern dialects) *qił-a-dur-män* etc., only in the 3rd person they coincide, as a result of haplology, with the plain praesens-futurum: *qił-a-dө(-łar)*. Baskakov ("Qqlpq. Language", II, p. 367) supposes the forms of the Qaraqałpaq praesens-futurum to have originated from an older overall composition with *turur*, i.e. *bar-a—tur-ur—män* > *bar-a-man* etc., while only the 3rd person would have preserved traces of the auxiliary. This proves improbable in view of the fact of both the durative meaning of the compound forms versus the plain

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praesens-futurum significance of the simple forms and the existence of 2 sets of forms, a simple and a durative one, as e.g. in New-Ujγur, *qiła-män* : *qiła-dur-män*. These compound forms, not too commonly used, became in the South-Siberian languages the general expression of the present tense, while the praesens-futurum in *-a* is rare there and dying out (cf. MENGES, "Ojr. Morph.", BSOAS, XXI, p. 517f.). In South-Siberian, varying degrees of reduction and/or assimilation in the stem-final of the main verb and especially in the auxiliary have brought about a great variety of forms that seem to imply varying tense- or aspect-connotations, all of them, as throughout Turkic, by far not yet sufficiently investigated. The Ṭăvaš present, 1st sg. *puł-aḏ-ăp*, *puł-a-p*, an ancient formation, may well go back to a composition of the gerund in *-a* + *-tur-*, as RÄSÄNEN assumes ("Morph.", p. 223); it may also be from a composition with *jat-* as auxiliary; the same ambiguity is seen in the Ojrot forms of the praesens-futurum in *-a-d-ym*, considered by RÄSÄNEN (ibidem) and DYRENKOVA as compositions with *tur-*. Thus, the praesens is formed, in Qq.-Qqłpq. and South-Siberian, with the auxiliary *jat-*, attached to the gerund in *-p* of the main verb, producing a great variety of forms in the various languages and throughout having the connotation of a praesens, often still its original meaning of a praesens durativum. The Southwest-Turkic languages, having no praesens-futurum in *-a*, proceded to the composition with *jory-* for the expression of a praesens durativum; also this begins to loose its durative meaning, resulting in a simple praesens. In Osman, this development further leads to a gradual pushing back of the aorist, limiting it more and more to the sphere of conditionalis, irrealis and potentialis, while a praesens durativum is rendered by an increasing usage made of the locative of the verbal noun in *-maq* + the auxiliary *i-* (= *ä[r]-/i[r]-*) or *dur-* as copula: *jaz-maq-da—dyr-łar* "they are (just) writing, sie sind am Schreiben" etc. Forms of the uncompound praesens-futurum in *-a/-ä* are rare in the South-Siberian languages, praesens and futurum being, in general, rendered by the aorist; in Tuva, e.g., they seem to be limited to the 3rd person, cf. Kγ. *tā-dir* "he (she) says", with reduction of the length in Sojoŋ, *ti-dir* "id.", while Kγ. has, in addition, *tā-tiri* and *tā-diri* (cf. "South-Siberian languages, III", 2, p. 120).

Here belong also the durative compositions in *jatyr-*, itself a composition from *jat-a—tur-* "to be permanently lying", typical of the Aralo-Caspian languages, expressing further differentiations of aspect, cf. e.g. a kind of a completed durative action as rendered by the durativum exactum of the type Noγaj *baryp-jatyrγaman* "(at that time) I had used to go (ride)" < **bar-yp—jat-a—tur-γan—män*. In various Turkic groups there exist many more forms of this and similar types.

The compositions of category II have aspect character throughout. As there is often no clear-cut boundary-line between tense and aspect, also in category II a tense-significance may occasionally appear instead of that of aspect.

The main verb is found, in these compositions, either in the form of the gerund in *-a/-ä* or in that in *-p*, in the negative in *-maj* or *-majyn* etc., now and then also other nominal, chiefly gerundial, forms may be used. No strict rules seem to determine the usage of either the gerund in *-a* or that in *-p*, but usage seems to prefer the one or the other form. When with one and the same auxiliary verb either form is used, a certain semantic differentiation is easily

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recognizable, as will be mentioned later. While there is a group of verbs that serve as auxiliaries in a larger number of languages, there are also some that are limited to certain groups or individual languages only. To the most commonly used auxiliaries belong e.g. *tur-* "to stand", *jat-* "to lie", *otur-* "to sit, dwell", *jory-/žür-/čoru-* "to walk, run" for the durative aspect, *bär-* "to give" and *bol-* "to become" for the inchoative and ingressive, *bar-* "to go", *ket-* "to go away, leave", *sal-* "to put", *öt-* "to pass by", *qal-* "to remain", *qoj-* "to leave, put (down)", *jibär-*, *žibär-* "to send (away)"—itself a compound < **ȳđ-a—bär-* —, *al-* "to take, be able", (*ȳđ-/*)*yt-/ys-* "to send (away)", *qaγ-/kaγ-* "to beat (in), put (on, upon)" for the perfective aspect with a modification of the action in the sense of the basic meaning of the auxiliary, thus e.g. *qal-* for an action with regard to the state resulting from it, *öt-*, similarly also *sal-* and *ȳđ-* for the completion of the action conceived in the transition to its achievement, or *ket-*, *qoj-* and the like simply for the expression of the achievement of an action. In addition to those enumerated, still quite a number of verbs can serve as auxiliaries, cf. *jaz-* "to fail, to do almost", Qqłpq. *tüs-* < *tüš-* "to fall" for a movement from above, e.g. *sekir-ip—tüs-* "to jump down", the two synonyms *kör-* and *qara-* "to look" for "to make efforts, to care to" like the adhortative NHG zusehen, *bašla-* "to begin", *bitir-* "to achieve, end, finish", *čyq-*, Qq.-Qqłpq. *šyq-* "to go out" for the completion of an action, *kel-* "to come" for the quick completion of an action. Compositions exist in which the same verb can serve as main verb as well as auxiliary.

The basic meaning of the auxiliary is in all languages the same, in the same way as that of the prepositional prefix in the Indo-European languages to whose function that of the Turkic auxiliary corresponds in all respects. The original meaning of an auxiliary can recede, in given cases, it can even be completely effaced, especially if the perfectivizing function of the auxiliary is dominant. This, too, is found with the prepositional prefixes in Indo-European languages, particularly in those languages in which certain prepositional prefixes have the function of aspect-formation (cf. *po-* in Slavic languages).

Continuative or durative aspect with main verb in the gerund in *-p* + auxiliary *tur-*: Qqłpq. (SW-dialects, Türkmenized; after Baskakov) *bularnyŋ bul söjlešip-turyanlaryn majdanda bir adam ešitip-turar-edi* "when they were having those conversations, somebody on the square had been listening", Soj. (Kat.) *irâ ottap-turur* "the uncle (= bear) is (just) grazing", in Lit.-Soj. as praesens continuativum, with syllable-reduction in the auxiliary: *bižip-tur-män* (< **biči-p—tur-ur—män*) "I am (just) writing; ich bin am Schreiben", in the negative: *biži-väjn-tur-män*; Özbek (Xīwa, Menges) *išläp-turyanymda* "at the time when I was working"; *otur-*: Qqłpq. *ja mennen qorqup-oturasaŋ-ba?* "or are you afraid of me?", Kγ. *kažyryp-oturyan* "he kept on pursuing (them)"; *jory-*: Sojoŋ *kožüp-čoruj-paryaš* "after having been roaming around (for a time)", in this instance *par-* perfectivizes the durative compound with *čoru-*; *jat-*: with the gerund in *-a* of the main verb it designates the continuation of an action: Qqłpq. "*ony bizler esitip žurttan šyyyp kele-žatyrmys*" *dijdi* "they say: 'when we heard that, we left the village, and (since) we have been coming (on our way)'", *bajayyda xan-menen vazirà kele-žatsa, bir altyn žüzüktü körödi* "when, once in former times, the xan and his vezier were coming (were on their way), they [suddenly] saw (увидели) a golden ring", also with the

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expression of politeness, deference, reverence and the like, such as the media *täg-in-*, *öt-ün-* "to do (most) humbly", *jarłyqa-* "to condescend to do"—semantically = Osm. etc. *bujur-* and N.-Pers. فرمودن *farmūdan* "to order" —, usually constructed with the gerunds in *-u* or *-p* of the main verb: *qył-u—u-jur—män* "I can do, am able to do", *qył-u—täg-in-ür—män* "I dare do; I do humbly", *ti-p—öt-ün-ür—män* "I most humbly say", *inčä tip-jarłyqady* "thus he condescended to speak", *qył-u—tur-ar—män* "I keep doing, I use to do", *ärt-ip—qał-yr—män* "I am passing by, shall pass by" with a clear perfectivic significance of the auxiliary. Ujγur forms of the type *qył-qał-yr—män* "I am about doing, shall immediately do" (A. v. Gabain, "Alttk. Gramm.", §§ 259, 377) have nothing to do with the category of verbal composition, although v. Gabain placed them there, since she did not analyse them correctly; they are formed with the aspect-suffix *-qał-/-käl-* denoting the immediately impending action, the action before its completion, the action that has not yet been completed, from which is derived the gerund of identical connotation in Qyrγyz and the South-Siberian languages in *-qałaq/-käläk* etc., called by Castrén the "defective" — derived by Benzing, "Fundamenta", p. 4, quite inventively, but unnecessarily, from **-γan—älä—joq* (after Qγ. formations with *älä*) —, cf. Uj. *at-qał-yr* "he is about shooting (but has not yet shot)", *kir-käl-ir—sän* "you are about entering, will enter right away (but you did not yet)", *oqyt-qał-yr—üčün* "for immediately reciting, in order to recite immediately", Kγ. (Ca.) *ał-γałaq-men* "I was just about taking (but I did not)".

The only verbal composition of category II which occurs in all Turkic languages is that of the impossibilitive aspect. In the oldest period, Orxon and Ujγur, the composition with *ał-ma-* apparently did not yet exist, but one with *u-ma-* instead; besides, Ujγur makes use of *u-ma-* and *boł-ma-* with the nomen verbale supini in *-γały* which latter may be used to denote the intended action. The composition with *ał-ma-* appears in the early stages of Čaγataj and Osman only, and is the regular, and apparently the sole, expression of the impossibility in Qoman, where *u-* and *u-ma-* have been lost and *bil-* is generally avoided in the negative aspect, as in many other languages. The older languages have quite a number of contracted forms which cannot exclusively be traced back to compositions with *ał-ma-*, but may go back to *u-ma-* as well, as e.g. in (older) Osman دییومازم "I cannot say", ایشید ومز "he cannot hear" etc. (for more cf. Deny, op. cit., § 593, p. 379, and Menges, MMX, p. 71f.). The forms in *-a-ma-/-ä-mä-* appear in Osman later only (from the XVI-th ct. on, cf. Tanıklariyla Tarama Sözlüğü, I, 377f., II, 532f., III, 368f., IV, 421f.). As in Osman no forms in *—ał-ma-* are attested, it is not clear whether Osm. *-ama-* is to be traced back to the auxiliary *ał-ma-* or to *u-ma-*.

Occasionally, other gerundial forms than those in vowel or in *-p* may occur in composition with an auxiliary; such are e.g. that in *-γały*, the gerundium finale or supinum, in Ujγur *qył-γały—saqyn-ur—män* "I think of doing, I intend to do", similarly *qył-γały—jat-ur—män* "I am about doing, shall soon do", also with the auxiliary *tur-*: *kir-gäli—tur-* "to be about entering", *öl-gäli—jat-* "to be about dying", also with *u-*: *boł-γały—u-* "to be able to become, werden können", with *boł-ma-*: *bil-gäli—bol-ma-dy* "he could not know", *tüpkär-gäli—boł-maz* "it is impossible to fathom out, to scrutinize", or the gerundium perfecti in *-γač*, cf. Soj. *ał-γaš—par-γan* "he took along", Lit.-Soj. *ał-γaš—bar-*

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"to carry away, унести́", *xałāš-käl-* < *xały-γač—käl-* "to go to fetch; holen gehen". It is also possible, of course, to analyse the above Ujγur forms as ordinary verbal compositions of the gerund in *-y/-i* of the aspect of the immediately impending action in *-qał-/-käl-*, mentioned above, e.g. *qył-γał-y—jat-ur—män* "I am about to do, shall do immediately (but I have not yet done)" where the semantics support this interpretation. Thereupon it might well be assumed that the suffix of the gerundium supini is nothing but the plain vocalic gerund in *-y/-i* of the aspect of the immediately impending action in *-qał-/-käl-*.

The indefinitive, narrative and dubitative connotation is usually rendered by the indefinite perfect in *-γan* or *-myš* of *ä(r)-*, after a nomen perfecti in *-γan*, occasionally also by *bol-γan*. In dubitative function, *ekän* etc. stands in the place of Ujγur *ärkin*; cf. Qqłpq. *kelip-qałar-m'-eken* "he is probably on his way, coming, arriving", *ał-ma-dym—eken—men* "I probably did not take along", Qq., Noγaj *kel-ä—jat-qan—bol-γan* "was apparently coming, already on his way"; as a plain narrative without dubitative connotation: Qγ. (Radl.) *oltra-qałγan-ekän* "he was sitting (there)"; Qq. has an indefinitive praesens futurum implying slight dubitation in the form *bilä-d'-ekän, žürö-d'-ekän* < **bil-ä—tur-ur—e-kän, *jür-ä—tur-ur—e-kän* "he (probably) knows", "he seems to go (live)". Cf. further the praeteritum indefinitum durativum dubitativum of Noγaj *baryptykemen* < **bar-yp—tur-ur—e-kän—män* "I apparently always used to go". In Qarač'aj the dubitative composition with *eken* often has the connotation of an unintentional and/or unexpected action, cf. *men ary žeŋil bar-γan—eken-me* "it happened that I went there (had to go there) very soon", *biz tüjül—büz—mü—ekän?*, interrogative-dubitative, "hadn't we perhaps been . . .?!"

Apart from the composition of the gerundium in *-a* with the auxiliary *bil-* for the possibility, still quite in use at present, Osman used more compositions in older times. It, too, had durativic compositions of the gerund in *-a*, older also *-y*, with *dur-*, *jat-*, occasionally also *gör-*, *gel-* and *git-* (Deny, op. cit., § 826f.), of which only *dur-* had the most widespread application and has remained in usage to this time, cf. *gid-ä—dur-* "to be going, to continue to go, etc.", often with the gerund in *-p*, as *jaz-yp—dur-* "to write on, continue to write" beside *jaz-a—dur-* "id.". As auxiliary, *gör-* has the meaning of "to be careful, to care to, to do with care", according to Deny also a durative function, as *gel-* and *git-*, but their basic feature as auxiliary was that of definitive or perfective action. The ingressive *ver-*, common-Turkic *bär-*, has a perfective meaning combined with that of the quickness of the action: *ał-y—ver-* "prendre vite", *jazy-ver!* "écris bien vite!" (Deny, § 823); *jaz-* "to fail", as in *düš-ä—jaz-dy* "he almost fell down". Apart from a few compositions of the gerund in *-a* with *qał-* "to remain", denoting perfective action or the state reached through or together with an action, and of the same gerund with *qo-*, *qoj-* "to lay down" for the perfective action, which became rare now if not extinct, the present-day language has still the compositions *ał-y—qo-* "to hold back, fast; to arrest", *qoj-y—ver-* (older) and *qoj-ver-* (more recent) "to let out, loose, let go" and *sał-y—ver-* "id." while those three latter are already felt as one verb (so also Deny, § 828). In older and Old-Osman, compositions with all these auxiliaries were found in much greater numbers, probably to the same degree as they are customary in modern Central Asia. In other words, the differ-

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entiation in the tense and aspect-system of the Osman verb shifts gradually but irresistibly from that of aspect to that of tense: with an increase of morphological means for minute tense-differentiation, those of a corresponding aspect-differentiation as offered by the numerous auxiliaries are proportionately decreasing. On the Eastern end of the Turkic world, the prevalent differentiation is still that of aspect, and there seem to be no signs of an immanent shrinking of the aspect-category in favor of that of tense.

In general, only a few auxiliaries seem to have become fixed, during the present historical epoch, in certain limited special meanings. The preference given some auxiliaries in one and the same semantic function varies from language to language.

Not only in Osman, but also in other languages, the verbal composition has led, in a few single instances, to forms exhibiting a stronger contraction than that found in the Osman compositions of the type *qoj-ver-* < *qoj-y—ver-*, the reason being, in those cases, the establishment of usage in one and the same meaning, as of durative, continuative etc. aspect, so that the forms arising from such contractions begin to loose, in the consciousness of the speakers as well as in their morphology, the character of a compound, and to assume that of a new unit. A development of this type is seen apart from Osm. *qoj-ver-*, *saly-ver-* and *aly-qo-* in the Özbek continuative compound of the type (dialects of the Qypčaq and Najman) *qył(a)-jappan*, *kel(ä)-jappän*, (Samarqand) *qilåpmån*, *kelåpmån*, etc. < **qył-a—jat-yp—män*, **kel-ä—jat-yp—män* etc. "I am doing; ich bin am Tun; I am coming, am on my way; bin am Kommen", Qq.-Qqłpq. *kijat-* "to be on the way; am Kommen sein" < **kel-ä—jat-*, Tuva, Lit.-Soj. *biživišān-män* "I still am writting, bin noch immer am Schreiben" < **biši-p—yd-a—čyt-qan—män* < **bičі-p—yđ-a—jat-qan—män*, the above-mentioned different forms of the compound praesens in Ojrot, or the praesens in *-ī* of the Abaqan languages of the type 1. ps. sg. prs. *par-ī-m*, 2. sg. prs. *par-ī-zyŋ*, 3. sg. prs. *par-ī*, etc., continuative as well as aoristic, going back to a rigorous contraction from either the nomen aoristi + *är-ür*, as Bang ("6. Turkolog. Brief") after the Ujγur pattern assumed, or from another form, probably the gerundium in *-a/-y/-u* etc. and the aorist of *jat-*, *jad-yr-ym*. The contraction has completely obliterated the original form. So far, these latter forms in *-ī* are found with *bar-* "to go" and *kil-* "to come" only, the same verbs with which specially short forms have developed in Ojrot.

In rare cases the main verb can be a nomen verbale temporis and take *boł-* as an auxiliary, as e.g. in Ujγur *qył-ur—boł-ur—män* "I do, am doing just now", probably in some cases, not always, with a slight inchoative tinge, *qył-ur—boł-tym* "I was just doing", forms which are on the border of category I and category II, similar to the Ujγur forms *qył-myš—boł-ur—män* and *qył-myš—boł-γaj—män*, discussed above. On the other hand, the Osman forms of the type *säv-är—oł-*, *säv-miš—oł-*, and *säv-äžäk—oł-* have the value of the inchoative, anterior, and intentional action (Deny, § 812) respectively.

Verbal compositions of an aspect-character can also be formed from verbal nouns which have no tense-connotation and never occur as verbal nouns of tense. Into this category, sparsely developed that far, belong formations such as those in (e.g. Özbek etc.) *-maq-čy* + *boł-*, Qqłpq. *-maqšy-boł-* for the intended, planned action: *ketmäkči-män* "am about going; I want to go", perf. *ketmäkči-*

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boldum "I wanted to go; I was to go", or the locative of the verbal noun in *-maq* with a copula, *ä(r)-* or *bol-*, very commonly used in modern Osman for the praesens "progressivum", the action in progress, cf. *Rusłar taarruz etmäkdä-dir* "the Russians are (at present) attacking, sind im Angriff", Qqłpq. *men oqu-maq-ta—men* "I am reading, learning just now; ich bin am Lesen, Lernen", the nomen verbale in *-maq* of the verbal formations in *-γansy-* < *-γan* + *-sy-* with auxiliary *bol-* for the fictitious intention, cf. Qqłpq. *bas-ła-γan-sy-maq—bol-* "to feign starting work, to simulate as if one wanted to begin to work", and this with a rigorous contraction in Qyrγyz, cf. *bilmeksen-bol-* "to feign not knowing" < **bil-mä-gän-si-gän—bol-*.

These vary considerably from language to language and are to be relegated therefore to a treatment of the single Turkic languages, for which the "Fundamenta" or good grammars of individual Turkic languages are to be consulted.

Word-Formation

In the Turkic languages there is a strict distinction between nominal and verbal stems, so that the word formation suffixes are divided into two opposing groups: one of suffixes which are attached only to nominal stems, and another of those attached only to verbal stems. Only rarely do we find a suffix which can serve for either category, a feature more commonly observed in the Tungus languages. A complete word is generally characterized by the sound-harmony; however, in certain cases, the sound harmony may not extend to all syllables, since there are a few elements attached to words which do not undergo sound harmony, and in such cases they are also outside the regular accentuation pattern. These facts then clearly evidence such elements as enclitical particles which exercise certain morphological and/or syntactical functions, but which have not yet developed into actual suffixes obliged to conform to sound-harmony and the general accentuation pattern. Some elements of this type are the formantia of the cas. compar. in *-däg*, and the cas. aequat. (prosecut., mensurat., terminat.) in *-ča/-čä* in the nominal category, and the formans of the negative aspect in *-ma-/-mä-* in the verbal category. While the formans of the aequativus has in some languages only one form, e.g. in Lit.-Soj. only *-čä*, in other languages it has both sound-harmonic forms, but never receives the accentuation when in final position, which is always the case; the accent falls on the preceding syllable. The situation is the same for the forms of the negative aspect, while it stands in final position of the word only in the 2. ps. sing. imperat., which has no suffix in Turkic. The formans of the cas. compar. *-däg* in the nominal category is a mere enclitic, while it has become a suffix in the pronominal category: cf. Uj. *jyd-jypar-täg*, "like perfumes", *qamγaq baryr-täg* "like garlic (= smell) spreading", but *antaγ*, *muntaγ* "thus", properly "like this, that"; Qq. *ajtqan-dī* "like having said, as it was said", but *qandaj* "how?", *mundaj*, *sondaj* "thus". The non-sound-harmonic features of *-däg* are clearly recognizable in the Uj. script, while the nature of *-ča/-čä* remains obscure. These phonological facts demonstrate the gradual transition from postposition to case-suffix. A case like Uj. *ołarnyŋ-täg qyłynčtarym*, translated by VON GABAIN ("Alttk. Gramm.", § 324, p. 146, sub postpositions) as "Meine den ihrigen gleichenden Taten", clearly

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shows the postpositional function of *-täg*, and moreover implies an ellipsis of probably *ołarnyŋqy-syn-täg q.* or *ołarnyŋ qyłynčłaryn-täg qyłynčłarym*. Similar features are found with Southwestern languages in *-(y)ła/-(i)lä*, "with", which in the form *-ła/-lä* is on the point of becoming a case suffix, although it does not yet bear the accent and the palatal form is preferred by Lit.-Osm.

In so many instances a clear distinction between stem and root is still impossible in the present state of research, as is the case for all Altajic languages. The cas. indef. of the nouns, the nominative of the pronouns, and the suffixless 2. ps. sg. imperat. of the verb is identical with the stem form to which all further suffixes and suffix-like elements, such as enclitics, are attached. While the stems can be mono-, di-, and polysyllabic, the roots are monosyllabic. They may consist of one sound only if this is a vowel, e.g. (Kāšγarī) *ö-*, "to understand, know", *u-*, "to be able". This fact must have remained unknown to Baskakov, since he contests the existence of roots consisting of one vowel only; they are rare, but they do exist. For the nominal and pronominal categories, only one such root seems to be found in each: *y*, "plant", occurring in Uj. only compositely with the synonym *taryγ*, "a planting, crop"; with the suffix *-γač* it is found in the word *y-γač, jyγač*, "tree", and in the southwest with ablaut in the root, *a-γač*, "id.", which latter must be the older and Common-Altajic vocalic form of the root. However, in view of Uralic, Samojed *pa*, Hungarian *få*, "tree", the Proto-Altajic form of the root was **pa*. In the pronominal category there is *o* (and *u*) as a demonstrative and later anaphoric personal pronoun of the 3. ps. sg., as a more recent substitute for the two Proto-Turkic pronominal roots **a-* and **i-*, stem *a-n-*, *i-n-*; only the latter has been preserved in Manžu, even in the nom. sing. *i*, "he, she, it", while in Turkic it has survived only in the function of the possessive suffix of the 3. ps., *-i*, stem *-i-n-*. A root consisting of one consonant only has not yet been detected, but is also unlikely to exist in Altajic.

Further, the root can consist of one vowel only (V), of vowel + consonant (V + C), or of consonant + vowel (C + V), of vowel + 2 consonants (V + C + C), of consonant + vowel + consonant (C + V + C), but in view of the Altajic anlaut law, not of C + C + V; further on we may possibly also find C + V + C + C, while in this as in the instance of V + C + C, the second consonant may well be of a suffixal character, although it is not yet possible to determine its actual origin. But even in the case of roots of the C + V + C type, the situation is not at all clear; for instance *jan-*, "to burn (intrans.)", is clearly not a root but the derivative in the medial aspect in *-n-*: *ja-n-*, because there is the intensive *ja-q-*, "to kindle", i.e. root *ja-*, "to burn" (= IE, Indo-Iranian **dʿeǧʿ-*, "id."); but *jan-*, "to return", may well be a medium, like *jan-*, "to burn (intrans.)", but a root **ja-* cannot be detected so far in this case. In view of the noun *köz*, "eye" (S.W. *göz*), the verbal stem *kör-* (*gör-*) cannot be considered a root; this can only be **kö-*, from which both words have been derived, the noun as the deverbal noun in *-z*, and the verb as a deverbal verb in *-r-*, probably having (had) the connotation of an intensivum; thus the root **kö-/*gö-* should probably be assumed to have been verbal in nature during the Proto-Turkic period. Only a small number of cases are as clear as the following: *ögrä-n-*, "to learn", medium, *ögrä-t-*, "to teach", trans. causat., the simplex **ögrä-* not being in use in historical times; *ögrä-* is a

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denominal derivative in *-ra-/-rä-* of *ög*, "reason, mind", itself being a deverbal noun in *-g*, a nominal suffix, of the verb *ö-* (Kāšγarī), "to think", which can safely be considered a root. Features of a particular stem formation such as the so-called "root-enlarging elements" ("wurzelerweiternde Elemente"), known in IE, and also extant in Tungus where in special instances they play a certain morphological role, are not found in the Turkic languages.

Instances of identical nominal and verbal stems are rarely met with in Turkic, while in Tungus, for instance, they are quite common; thus only a few examples can be quoted from Turkic such as *ör*, WB Ča., Osm., Qq., Āz., "upper part, upper, high place, elevation"; *ör-*, Kāš. "to arise, get up, take off", for which reason it is doubtful whether they are stem or root forms, although they may be analysed as **ö-r-* and **ö-r* respectively, to which we might compare *öt-*, "to pass by", < **ö-t-* and *ön-*, "to grow", <**ö-n-*; another example of this same type is: Orx., Uj., Kāš. etc. *jük*, "load", *jük-*, "to collect, assemble"; that these are derivatives of the root **jü-* is evidenced by Kāš. *jü-đ-*, "to load, to take unto oneself", an ingressivum in *-đ-* with derivatives, *jüđ-ür-*, trans. causat., "to load (upon)", *jüđ-üš-* cooperat., "to carry (a load) together"; probably we should also include here Kāš. *saq*, "watchful, careful", *saq-*, "to consider as", probably both derivatives of the root *sa-*, "to think, to count" = Common-Altajic **sā-*, "id."; or *qat*, "side, nearness", *qat-*, "to have accompany, to send along", from a root **qa-* + *-t*, resp. *-t-*. Instances of this type are quite common in Tungus, cf. for instance Ewenki *ŋēlė*, "fear", *ŋēlė-*, "to fear"; *gōta*, "fence," *gōta-*, "to fence in, to make a fence"; *tigdė*, "rain", *tigdė-*, "to rain"; *tijė*, "narrow", *tijė-*, "to be, become narrow, to creep through with difficulty", and many others; even derivatives can be used as both nominal and verbal stems, cf. *oron* "reindeer" with suffix *-kāt/-kēt/-kōt*: *oro-kōt*, "toy reindeer (to play with)", *oro-kōt-*, "to play with a toy reindeer"; *wā-*, "to hunt, to kill", *wā-ptin*, "sacrificial offering (of a reindeer sacrifice to the Ghost of Hunting before the beginning of the hunt)", *wā-ptin-*, "to make an offering, sacrifice". Such freedom of usage would be unheard of in the Turkic languages. This latter feature is undoubtedly the reason for the generally more liberal use of suffixes in Tungus, while in the Turkic languages the strictest division between nominal and verbal suffixes is observed, without exception.

Within these two categories, there are two sub-divisions, each utilizable for the formation of either nouns or verbal stems.

I, 1. Denominal nouns are found with suffixes such as:*)

-čaq, -čyq, diminutive: WB Tel. *qys-čaq* < *qyz-čaq* "little girl", Qrm. *qys-čyq* "id."; *-čy/-či*, nomen actoris, pan-Altajic (nomen possessoris in Tungus): Uj. *aŋ-čy* "hunter", Ča. etc. *temür-či*, Osm. *dämir-ži* "smith", Ča. *quščy* "falconer", Osm. *dävä-ži* "camel-driver", *äšäk-či* "donkey-driver", Özb. *tuja-či*, *ešäkčį* "id.", Osm., Ča., Qom. etc. *balyq-čy* "fisherman", Tob. *balyqcy* "id.", Özb. *oquv-čy* "reader," *oqytuv-čy* "teacher"; in Jakut, *-ččy* and *-syt/-čyt* etc. (probably ancient plural, like Mong. *-či-n*): *timir-žit* "smith", *attan-ňyt* "copper-smith", *symyja-ččy* "liar" from *symyja* "lie"; Ťăv. *-źĕ, -ś*: *śįru-źĕ* "secretary", of *śįru* "writing";

*) In each section, only a selection of the existing suffixes is listed.

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-duq/-dük, nomen perfecti: Uj. *qo-n-duq* "settlement", of *qo-n-* "to sit, lie, down, settle, camp", *kösä-dük* "desiring, desire", of *kösä-* "to desire";
-γ, -Vγ/-Vg, originally partic. praes. (act.), result of the action as indicated by the verb: Uj. *tap-yγ* "veneration" of *tap-* "to venerate", *öt-üg* "prayer" of *öt-* "to ask, pray"; *ajγ* "word" of *aj-* "to say, speak"; *sür-üg* "flock" of *sür-* "to drive"; *bil-ig* "knowledge" of *bil-* "to know"; *ög* "thought" of *ö-* "to think"; *qap-yγ* "door" of *qap-* "to cover"; enlarged by the suffix *-ły/-li*, it designates nomina actoris: Uj. *jara-t-yγ-ły* "creator", of *jara-t-* "to create", and by the suffix *-ma/-mä*, like the preceding, but often adnominally used: Uj. *bayryn jor-yγ-ma* "(the one) creeping on the belly (instr.)", as a translation for Skṛ. *uraga-s* "belly-goer, snake"; usually adnominal: Uj. *ti-g-mä* "named, so-called", *käl-ig-mä* "coming", *käligmä öd* "future"; from denominal verbs in *-ła-*: Uj. *jaj-ła-γ* "summer camp" from *jaj* "summer" + *-ła-γ*, *qyš-ła-γ* "winter camp" of *qyš* "winter" = Osm. *jajła(γ)*, "id.", *qyšła* "barracks", alternating with deverbal *-q/-k*: Osm. *jajłaq* and *qyšłaq* "summer-, wintercamp, -pastures";
-γač etc., nomen instrumenti: Uj. *ač-qač*, Ča. etc. *ač-qyč*, *ač-quč* "key" of *ač-* "to open"; Ča., Osm., Qn. *bas-qyč*, Qq. *bas-qyš* "ladder, stairs, steps of", of *bas-* "to tread on";
-γyn/-kin, etc.: Uj. *tir-gin* "crowd", of *tir-* "to gather (trans.)"; (Man.) *baz-γan* "pressing, seizing", of *baz-/bas-* "to press, tread on";
-γaq, etc., nomen actoris: Uj. *ič-käk* "vampyre", of *ič-* "to drink"; M.-Tk. (Rabγūzī) *qač-qaq* "who runs away, deserter" = Osm. *qač-aq* "id." > Serbo-Croat. *kàčāk* "id."; Ča. (Golden Horde) *basqaq* "tax-collector", properly "oppressor", of *bas-*, > O.-Russ. баскакъ "id.", also as a present-time family name, Баскаков;
-γu/-gü, nomen actionis vel actoris: Uj. *ur-un-γu* warrior" of *ur-un-* "to fight", *byč-γu* "knife" of *byč-* "to cut (off)"; *tükä-gü-čä*, aequ. "until the end", of *tükä-* "to be finished, exhausted"; common are the derivatives *-γu-qa*, dative, for the supinum, *-γu-łuq* with gerundivic meaning, in adnominal and in predicative function: Ujγ. *byšrun-γu-łuq iš* "opus exercendum" and the negated *-γu-suz*, usually adnominal, cf. *säw-gü-süz* "undesirable", and the nomen actoris *-γu-čy* (cf. *öl-ür-gü-či* "killer" from *öl-ür-*, causat. of *öl-* "to die");
-m, -Vm: Uj. *käđ-im*, Osm. *gäj-im* "dress, garment", of *käđ-* "to dress, put on"; *istä-m* "desire" of *istä-* < **ī-z-tä-* "to desire, search for"; rather common;
-ma, rare in Uj., rather common as verbal noun in Osm.: *gäl-mä* "(action of) coming", *git-mä* "going";
-maq, nomen actionis: Uj. *uq-maq* "reason, understanding" of *uq-* "to understand", *öl-mäk* "dying" of *öl-* "to die";
-myš, nomen perfecti (cf. *-duq*): Uj. *ög-miš* "praise" of *ög-* "to laude"; often as nomen verbale in Ča., and borrowed therefrom into N.-Persian and Talyš where it together with the N.-Pers. suffix *-ī*, in the form *-mišī*, has become a suffix of nomina verbalia;
-nč/-Vnč (< **-yn-yš*, nomen in *-š* of the medial aspect): Uj. *qyłynč* "deed; कर्म (>) sin", of *qył-* "to do"; *ögrünč, ögrünčü* "joy(ous)", of *ögir-* "to enjoy"; *kirt-gü-nč* "faith, belief" of *kirt-gü-n-* "to believe";
-q/-k, originally partic. pf. (pass.): Uj. *anuq* "readiness", of **anu-* in *anu-n-* "to get ready"; *joq* "not existing", of **jō-* as e.g. in Uj. *jo-đ-un* "perishment"; *qały-q* "sky, firmament", of *qały-* "to be convex"; *süz-ük* "pure" of *süz-* "to purify,

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sieve"; *yđ-uq* "holy", Kγ. *ydyk* "sacred animal (usually a reindeer)", of *yđ-* "to send off, away";
-Vš: Uj. *ur-uš* "fight", of *ur-* "to beat"; *jara-š* "well-being" of *jara-* "to befit"; begins in the modern languages of Central Asia to replace more and more the suffixa *-ma* and *-maq*;
-Vt, nomen perfecti: Uj. *bošγu-t* "teaching", of **bošγu-* in *bošγu-n-* "to learn"; *ađyrt* "distinction", of *ađ-yr-* "to distinguish, differentiate"; *ur-un-t* "offense, beating", of *ur-un-* "to fight"; Kāš. *käđ-üt* "dress, garment", of *käđ-*; Ča. *bin-üt* "riding animal" of *bin-* "to mount" = WB Tob. *min-it*;
-z, often adnominally used: Uj. *u-z* "master" of *u-* "to be able"; *sämi-z* "fat", cf. *sämi-r-* "to grow fat"; Kāš. *jätiz* "large" of *jät-* "to reach", *jumuz* "fat (man)", of *jum(y)-* "to be fat, soft", cf. Kāš. *jum(y)-ša-q* "soft", *qutuz* "having rabies, lyssa (dog)", of **qutu-* in *qutu-r-* "to become excited"; WB NW, SW languages *ajaz* "clear, bright (sky, weather)" < *aj-a-z*, of *aj* "moon".

II, 2. Deverbal Verbs

The aspect suffixes are not listed here.

Of aspectual character is *-a-/-ä-*, as it has basically an iterative meaning; it does not occur, however, as a regular aspect-suffix; cf. Ča. *bujur-a-* "to order, command", *käs-ä-* "to cut, резывать", *sor-a-* "to ask, question", *sür-ä-* "to drag, draw", from *bujur-*, *käs-*, *sor-*, *sür-*; some of them, as *sor-a-*, *sür-ä-*, survive in Özb., N.-Uj.; a further derivative is the nomen perfecti in *-γan* forming nomina actoris or qualitatis, implying iterative action: Ča. *čał-a-γan* "burning nettle", properly "stinger", from *čał-* "to sting, bite, etc."; Noγaj, Qumyq, Tob., Özb. etc. *ałaγan* "the one who always takes; buyer", *berägän* "the one who always (usually) gives; seller"; Ṭăv. *man-a-ĝan* "oblivious";
-či-, rare: Uj. *tör-či-* "to originate" < *törü-či-* of *törü-* "to be born";
-d- (= *-đ-*), intensive or inchoative, rare, fossile: Uj. *to-đ-* "to be satisfied", (Osm. *do-j-* "id."), of the root *to-* as e.g. in (WB) Orx., Uj., Ča., Osm. etc. *to-q* "satisfied, full", *to-ł-* "to be filled", probably also *to-p*, Osm., Qrm., N.-Uj., Qγ., Qar. "multitude, heap, crowd; all together"; *qo-d-* (>) N.-Uj., Özb., Qγ., Qq. etc. *qoj-* "to lay down, put down", cf. Osm. *qo-* "id.", med. *qo-n-* "to sit down, camp, settle", probably also in *qo-p* "all";
-q-/-k-, intensive, perfective: Uj. *ök-* "to think", of *ö-* "id."; *kön-ük-* "to burn down completely (intr.)", of *kön-/köj-/*köň-*; in combination with *-sy-*, passivic: Uj. *tut-su-q-* "to be caught" of *tut-* "to seize, catch", *bil-si-k-* "to be known" (also with Kāš.), Kāš. *ut-su-q-* "to loose (in gambling)", prop.: "to be vanquished"; *sanč-yq-* "to be beaten, defeated", possibly for **sanč-sy-q-* of *sanč-* "to sting (through); perforate", although in a few instances this suffix has passivic function, apart from an ingressivic-medial one: e.g. Kāš. *tył-yq-*, intensivic "to talk to somebody for spying, obtaining intelligence", passivic "verklatscht werden, to be denounced", < **tył-y-q-* of *tył* (*til*, *dil*) "tongue"; *bas-yq- jaγy-qa* "vom Feinde überfallen werden" where in one instance *bas-sy-q-* occurs; in the construction with the dative, *bas-yq-* seems to be causativic; ingressivic medial seem to be: Kāš. *čynyq-* "sich bestätigen, to be verified", < **čyn-y-q-*, *čyn* "true", WB Qn., QarTr. *čynyq-* "to get used to"; Kāš. *sajyq-* "zur Einöde werden, to become a desert" < **saj-y-q-*, WB Qn., Tob. *sajyq-* "to become, be, shallow (river, etc.)";
-sy-/-si-, rare without further suffixes (cf. above): Uj. *äm-si-* "to suck", of *äm-* "id.", without a perceptible semantic difference between simplex and derivative.

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and in Mongolian and Turkic. As this word is lacking elsewhere in Altajic and cannot be connected, for semantic reasons, with the Altajic stem *aɬ(y)-* "to take, etc.", it is to be considered as a Qytan word whose etymology is to be sought for in Middle-Chinese.

Words such as *turma*, "beet, turnip" (= Uj. *turma*, "radish"), *saryγ turma*, "carrot" = Persian *turma*, *turub*, *turp*, *turf*, no doubt a loan word there, too, and *turmuz*, "a kind of cucumber," = Persian *tarmus*, "id.", are extremely difficult to trace, as are many words for plants, animals, dishes, etc., which are already on the border between loan words and foreign words. As to *turma*, cf. B. Laufer, "Sino-Iranica", p. 574; Munkácsi and Gombocz are wrong in *MSFOu.*, XXX, p. 131; *turmuz* is compared by Pelliot, in *T'P*, 1944, pp. 86 ff., with *tarbuz/ qarpuz/ arbuz* etc., "watermelon".

The following cross-section through the Ujγur vocabulary may well be considered typical of the language of this vast translation literature and the various linguistic, i.e. cultural influences from the outside.

To the most ancient elements belongs the basic title system, which is not limited to Turkic but is already found in Orxon and lives on for a long time, e.g. *qaγan* (*xaγan*), *qan* (*xan*), *jabγu*, *šad*, *beg*, *baγa*, *tarqan*, *baγa-tarqan*, etc., whose origin is not clear; *šad*, *beg*, and *baγa* may be of Iranian origin from Soγdian *ixšīδ*, "a high dignity", O.Pers. *baga*, "God", Āv. *baγa*, "id.", while *beg*, at least, may well be traceable to Chinese (as Ramstedt has done; cf. K. H. Menges, "Sino-Altaica", p. 137; Clauson is wrong in his "Sanglāx", p. 104); *tarqan* seems to be of western origin, the Chinese 達官 *ḍat-ĝuan* being apparently merely its Chinese transcription, but not a genuine Chinese term.

All the other foreign and loan words clearly have three sources, an eastern, a southern, and a central and western one; the first is almost exclusively Chinese and quite strong; the second Indian—mainly Sanskrit, and to a much lesser extent Prakrit or Pali—and a few Tibetan words; the central and western ones the two Toxarian languages, a number of Iranian languages such as Soγdian, Śaka, Pahlavī, and Parthian, Greek, and Syriac, the latter two usually through the medium of an Iranian language in the same way as a number of Sanskrit words were taken over in Uj. through Toxarian or Iranian, and, during the late epoch, occasionally also through Chinese mediation.

The Chinese words belong to a much lesser degree than the other borrowings to the religious sphere: cf. *baxšy*, "teacher" < 博士 *pāk-śi* > modern *ḅo-šy*, "master", translated as "Doctor"; also > Mong. and almost all Tungus languages: "master, craftsman, artisan";
ban "10000" < M.-Chin. **man* 萬 > *wan*; > Jap. *ban* "id.";
bir, *bīr* "writing brush" < **ḅīr*/**pjĕt* 筆 "id.", with rhotacism of the final dental; also in other examples; cf. also Kor. *p'il* / *p'ir-* "id."; the derivative verb in *-i-*, *bit-i-* "to write" (also > Mong., Tung.) does not show rhotacism; it must either have been borrowed from another Chinese dialect or at another (earlier?) period of the Chinese language;
buɬaŋ "verandah" < 步廊 *ḅu-ɬaŋ* "id.";
burxan "Budd'a", with rhotacism < Chin. 佛 **b'juĕt* as in Kor. *p'ul*, + *xan* "prince"; > N.-Chin. *ḅo*; > Jap. *buccu*;
bursaŋ, *bursoŋ* "community of monks, convent" < 佛僧 *b'juĕt-sĕŋ* > *ḅo-sĕŋ* < Skṛ. *budd'a-saṁg'a* "id.";

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bušy "alms" < 布施 *bu-šy* (Buddh.) "id.";
caŋ "granary" < *c'aŋ* 倉 "id." (*c* is rendered, in the Uj. script, by *tāw* plus *sīn*);
cu < 慈 *c'ŭ* "kind, benevolent" in the verbal derivative *cuj-ur-qa-* "to have mercy", and as loanword *sujurqa-* = WB Uj. (QB), Ča., Qom., Osm. *sojurγa-* "id., bestow presents, gifts", *sojurγa-ł* "present, gift", for Ča., Qom., Osm. a Mongolian mediation not being excluded;
cuj, suj "sin, atonement" < *czuj* 罪 "id."; *suj* can be considered a loanword;
cun "inch" < 寸 *c'un* "id.";
čynžu "real" < *čžěn-žu* 眞如 translating Skṛ. *tat'atā*;
čyq "foot (measure)" < **čjäk*/**čyk*(?) 尺 > *č'ъ* "id.";
xua "flower" < *ḫua* 花 "id.";
jaŋ "mood, way, method" < *jaŋ* 樣 "id.";
ła "mule" < *la* 騾 > *lo* "id."; the common-Turk. (Kāš. etc.) *qatyr* "id.", Mong. *qačir* "id.", seems not yet attested for Uj.; it is a loanword from Iran., cf. Phlv. *xar-tar*, O.-Pers. *xara-tara-* "id.", comparat. of *xara-* "donkey"; 33
likžir "calender" < *lik-*žir/-žit* 曆日 > *li-žъ* "id."; *žir* = Kor. *il*;
lin-xua "lotos" < *ljän-ḫua* 蓮花 "id.";
łuŋ, łū "dragon" < *luŋ* 龍 "id.";
mir "honey", rhotacistic, < **mjět* 蜜 > *mi* "id."; > Jap. *miccu* "id.";
pusar "Bōd'isattva" < **b'uo-sāt* 菩薩, Chin. transcription for बोधिसत्त्व;
quma jaγγ "linseed-oil", *quma* < *ḫu-ma* 胡麻 (certainly a loanword in Chin.);
quŋqiu "harp" < *k'uŋ-ḫou/ḫěu* 箜篌 "id.";
samco "Tripiṭaka" < *sam-czaŋ* 三藏 "id.", i.e. त्रिपिटक "3 baskets", literally translated;
saŋ "community of monks; a monk" < *czěŋ, sěŋ* 曾, 僧 > Jap. *sō* "id.";
sawšiŋ, siošiŋ "Hīnajāna" < *śjao-šěŋ* 小乘 "small vehicle", literally translated from the Skr. term, हीनयान;
säŋün, saŋun "general (milit.)", also in Orxon; < *ćźjaŋ-ĝün* 將軍 "id.";
sīn "thought" < *śin*, 辛 or 心, "heart, (>) thought";
su "vivid, gay, healthy" < *su* 蘇;
tajšiŋ "Mahājāna" < *t'aj-šěŋ* 大乘 "large vehicle", literally translated; Synon.: *m(a)xajan*, महायान;
taŋ "hall" < *t'aŋ* 堂 "id.";
täŋ "even, equal; scales" < *ḍěŋ* 等 "id.";
tī, ty "fast, always, constant(ly), firm" < *ḍiŋ* 定 "id.";
tuγ "banner, emblem", also (WB) N. Uj., Ča., Osm., < *duγ* 纛 > *ḍu* "id." which might well be an ancient loanword in Chinese;
tutuŋ "civilian governor" < *ḍu-t'uŋ* 都統 "id."; 34
tutuq "military governor" < **tuo-tuok* 都督 "id.";
tužy "butcher" < *t'u-czě* 屠子 "id.";
wap "law, doctrine" < **wap* 法 > *fa*, translates Skṛ. *d'arma*, धर्म;
wapšy "teacher (of Buddhist doctrine)" < **wap-śi* 法師 "id.".

The words from Soγdian often show, apart from neutral words, religious differentiation: cf. *patγamwar* "apostle" < Christ.-Soγd. *patγāmbar*, *moγuč* "one of the Magi" < Chr.-Soγd. *moγuč* "id.", *ančman* (for *anžman*) "community" < Chr.-Soγd. *anžaman* "id.", *šymnu* "devil" < Chr.-Soγd. *šim(a)nu* < O.-Pers. *Ahriman* (cf. H. JUNKER, in Ungar. Jb., V, 49ff.); *xormuzta, qormuzda*

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< Man.-Soγd. "Primordial Man"—but in Buddhist texts this stands for *Indra*; *mardaspant* "element" < Man.-So. *mardāspand*; *možag*, *možak* < Soγd. *mōčak*, in Buddhist texts "teacher, doctor", in Manichaean "archbishop"; *nyzwany*, *nyzbany* < Man. and Buddh.-Soγd. *nizβān* "passions", translates Skṛ. *klēśa*; *niγošak* < Buddh.-So. *niγōšāk* "auditor", in Manichaean texts "layman";
šamnanč, *šymnanč* "nun" < Buddh.-So. *šamnānč*, fem.; < Skṛ. *śramaṇērī* "id.";
midik, *mitik* "layman" < Buddh.-So. *miđāk* "id.";
tamu "hell, hell-dweller" < Buddh.-So. *tamu* "id.";
wixar, *wrxar* "convent, monastery" < Buddh.-So. *βarxār* (*βrγ'r*) = Skṛ. *vihāra* "id."—is usually considered as the etymology of the name of the city of Buxārā;
bača- "to keep lent, fast" < *bač-a-* from Soγd. **pāč* of *pā-* "to care, to be cautious"; deriv.: *bačaγ*, *bačaq* "lent";
čaxšapat, *čaqšapat*, *-put* "prescriptions, commandments, orders" < Soγd. *čixšāpađ* < Tox. A *śikṣāpat* < Skṛ. *śikṣāpada* "id.";
dindar, *dintar* < Buddh.-Soγd. *đēnđār* "an elect";
frišti, *brišti*, *prišti* "angel" < Soγd. *frišti*, *βrišti* "id.", Man.-Soγd. *prišti burxan* "apostle", e.g. *Mani prišti burxan*; N.-Pers. فرشته *farišta* "angel";
xatun, *qatun* "lady, queen, princess" < Soγd. *xwatēn* "id.";
käd "very" < Soγd. *kāđē* "id." < Śaka; also Kāš. "id." and derivative *käđ-lä-* "to make efforts";
kägdä "paper" < Soγd. *kagda* << Gr. χάρτη.
känt "city, town" < Soγd. *kanþ* (= Śak. *kanþā*); also in modern Tk.: Özb., Osm.; *nom* < Soγd. *nom* < Gr. νόμος, "doctrine, law, religion, dogmatic text; prayer; idea"; deriv. *nom-čy* "preacher", *nom-ła-* "to preach"; from Uj., this word has been borrowed in a northerly direction by the Ugrians and Samojeds, *num*, meaning there "heaven, God, (Kamaš. >) thunder" (cf. "Sibir. Türk-Sprachen, III", 2, pp. 140f.);
užak, *uzak*, *užik*, *uzik* "letter, syllable" < Soγd. *wžak* = Skṛ. *vaṛika* "id."; > Mong. *üzük* "id.";

While the Soγdian word-material in Ujγur contains elements of a secular character, their majority nevertheless belongs to the sphere of religion.

There is a group of Middle-Persian words, attested in Middle-Persian Turfan fragments; they are exclusively religious terms, preponderantly Christian:
avaŋliun "Gospel" < Syr.? < εὐαγγέλιον.
bogtag < M.-Pers. Turfan *boxtag* "saved", Turkic derivative *bogta-čy* "Saviour";
xiar < M.-Pers. Turfan *hijār* "helper";
išujazd < M.-Pers. Turfan *Jišu-Jazd* "Jesus God";
jazd < M.-Pers. Turfan *jazd* "God";
maxistak < M.-Pers. Turfan *mahistag* "presbyter" (3rd degree of the Manichaean hierarchy);
manistan < M.-Pers. Turfan *mānistān* "dwelling place";
noš < M.-Pers. Turfan *anōšēn* "sweet, lovely".
A Middle-Persian word that has been borrowed for good and survives in a few modern languages, is the pronoun *hamĕg* "all, entire" > *qamaγ*, *qamyγ* (also
35 written *q'mγ*, *qmγ*), in the instrum. *qamaγ-un* "entirely".

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A few Middle-Iranian words, even of secular order, have been adopted as e.g. *künčit* (*künžit*?) "sesame" < M.-Iran. *kunžit*, cf. Toxar. *kuňčit* "id.", or *šäkär* "sugar" < M.-Iran. *šakar*, cf. Toxar. Kučā *śakkār* "id.," < Skṛ. *śarkarā* "id.".

A word like *dyn, din* "religion" is either < M.-Pers. *dēn* or < Buddh. Soγd. *δēn* "id."; from M.-Pers., it was borrowed by Arabic, دِين "id.".

From Śaka seem to have come words like *šazan* "discipline (of teaching)" < Śak. *śśāśana, śśāśaṁ* "id.", a loanword from Skṛ. *śāsana* "id."; from an alternate form in Ujγur, Mong. *šašin* orginated, meaning "religion". A word that survives in all Turkic languages is *ton* "garment", in Siberia usually "fur-coat", < Śak. *t'auna* "garment"; that there was an alternate (Iranian) form with *þ-* < *t'-* is hinted at by the Jakut form *son* "id.; fur-coat", borrowed into N.-Tung. as *sun* "id.".

Parthian words seem to be rare, cf. e.g. the unaltered word *amvardišn* "collection". It is quite possible that some of them were mistaken for Soγdian, Pahlavī etc., in view of the similarity of these Iranian languages.

The number of words borrowed from the two Toxarian languages seems, in view of their cultural significance as well as their location, rather small; this fact may indicate that Toxarian was about to become extinct when the Ujγurs settled in the Tarim Basin. There are e.g.:

asaŋki "innumerable" < Kučā *asaṁk'jaj* < Skṛ. *asaṁk'jēja-* "id."—but the word might just as well have come from Skṛ. directly, as *Maitrēja* e.g. becomes *Majtri, Mitri* in Ujγur; *avyš, awyš* < Tox. *aviš* < Skṛ. *avīči*, the name of the lowest hell;

more interesting is:

banyt "molasses, crude sugar, sirop" < Kučā *panit, paňit* < Skṛ. *p'āṇita-* "id.";

lisip "dysenteric discharge", in Brāhmī texts *leśp* "mucus" < Kučā *leśp* "id.";

tümän, also in Orxon, pan-Turkic, "10000", Synon. of *ban*, < Kučā *tumane, tmane* "id."; it wandered early into Mongolian and S.-Tungus;

qaršy Uj., Kāš., "palace" is according to Brockelmann ("M.-Tk. Gramm.", p. 2) a loanword from Toxar. *kerčije* "Burg, Stadt", belonging to the IE sib of Slav. **gord-*, градъ etc.; the way of borrowing is doubtful: cf. Orbis, XIV, p. 128 f.

The Sanskrit words are quite numerous, preponderantly from the sphere of religion: some of them have become loanwords. Exx.:

arxant (a spelling *rxant* occurs) < Skṛ. *arhant-* "anachorete; who has reached the Buddhaship";

arzy, irži < Skṛ. *ṛṣi-* "anachorete, saint"; the Soγdian and Śaka forms of this Skṛ. terminus technicus may have had their effect upon Uj., cf. Soγd. *rizaj*, Śak. *riṣaji*;

ärdäni, ärdini; *rtni, radna* "jewel, preciosity" < Skṛ. *ratnam*, a loanword;

bodistaw; *bodistw* < Skṛ. *Bōd'isattva-*;

braxaswadi, brxasiwadi < Skṛ. *Bṛhaspati-* "Jupiter";

bujan "merit; good deed; kindness" < Skṛ. *puṇja*; > Kāš. *mujan* "id."; both forms are loanwords (cf. supra);

čakir (or *čäkir*?) "wheel" < Skṛ. *čakra-* "id.";

čambudiwip < Skṛ. *Ǯambudvīpa*, the name of the world;

dian, djan "contemplation" < Skṛ. *d'jāna*, "id.", one of the virtues (*pāramitā*);

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injana "knowledge" < Skṛ. *žñāna* "id."; probably also a loanword;
karmaput "ways of deed, i.e. commandment for Buddhist lay-people" < Skṛ. *karmapat'a-* "id.";
kawi "poetry" < Skṛ. *kāvja-* "id.";
kołti "immense" < Skṛ. *kōṭi-* "10,000,000" (Skṛ. *ṭ* > *łt*!);
kšanti "confession (-prayer); patience (virtue)" < Skṛ. *kṣānti-* "id.";
Majtri < Skṛ. *Maitrēja* (the Budd'a of the Future);
najut "immense" < Skṛ. *nijuta* "1,000,000";
nyrwan, nyrban (this probably a loanword) "eternal rest" < Skṛ. *nirvāṇa-* "the state beyond existence and non-existence";
rasajan "elixir of life" < Skṛ. *rasājana-* "id."; > Mong. *aršijan*, Manžu *arašan* "id.", Qalmyq, Buŕat *aršān*, lives on in a number of modern Tk. languages, e.g. Qq. *arasan* "hot, mineral spring", Ojrot, Tob., Tar. *arašan* "id.", Küärik *arazan* "vodka, brandy", Ojr. *arajan*, Tel. *araďan* "milk-brandy"; this word seems to underlie the name of a number of Caucasian mineral springs, "Narzan"; in modern Hindūstānī, *rasājan* means "chemistry";
sartawaxi "owner of a caravan; (>) big merchant", perhaps through Tox. A *sārt'avāhe, sārt'avāk* "id." < Skṛ. *sārt'avāha-* "id.", later name and nickname of the sedentary city-population of Türkistan, the Sarts;
sukšumur "cardamom" <?, goes back to Skṛ. *sūkṣmājlā* "id.";
vajduri "beryllium" < Skṛ. *vajḍūrja-* "id.", while βηρύλλιον, N.-Pers. بلّور, *billūr*, go back to another O.-Ind. form, *vēḷūrja-*; both Skṛ. forms < Drāviḍ.
višaj, fišaj "object, perceivable by the senses" < Skṛ. *viṣāja-* "id.";
Noteworthy is a translation of Budd'a, the "Awakened", *tujmyš*, nomen perfecti of *tuj-* "to notice, cognize, understand".

A few Tibetan words are also found in Ujγur literature: Appellativa as person-names, as e.g. *Isman* < *sman* "medicine", *Iqiaŋ* (better to be read, in Ujγur, as *Yqjaŋ*) < Tib. *kjaŋ* < *rkjaŋ* "wild horse"; for the Skṛ. exclamation *sad'u* "good! bravo!", *łyγ-so* < Tib. *legs-so* occurs in one text;

It is quite possible that texts were translated into Ujγur from Syriac directly. The few Syriac words in Ujγur may also have been transmitted by Iranian media, as e.g. *mšixa* "Messias" < Syr. *mĕšīḥā* "id.", in the texts usually in the compound *mšixa burxan*. It is quite improbable that Greek words were adopted directly; they must have been found as foreign words in Western sources, as e.g. *arqun* < ἄρχων "prince, ruler", denoting in Manichaean texts a power of darkness.

There remains a number of words of unclear origin, as e.g.: *pitpidi* "pepper", cf. Skṛ. *pippali-* "id." and Uj. *bytbuł* "Bitmul-pepper" (Uj. *ł* may stand for Indian cerebralized *ḍ*), which also points to India; *šabi* "Buddhist lay-friar" (> Mong. *šabi* "id., pupil"), probably going back, as to its last source, to Skṛ. *śramaṇēra* "monk"; *šatu* "ladder", found all over Central Asia (cf. K. H. Menges, "Glossar...", s.v.); *žüŋim* "brocade", <?; *syryčqa* "glass", Kāš. *syryčγa* "id.", looks as if it had some relationship with Lat. *silex, silicium*; *čadar* "ashes" <?; *küži, küzi* "incense-stick", also > Mong. *küži* "id.", <?

This extremely rich cultural heritage found its reflection in the translation literature of the Ujγurs in Eastern Türkistan which had a propitious beginning and might have been destined to exert its guiding influence upon the future literary development of many Turkic and even non-Turkic peoples; however,

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it came to a premature end with the Islamic conquest and penetration of Western, and later also Eastern, Türkistan, on top of which came the consequences of the Mongolian invasion. The significance of this cæsura in the development from Classical Ujγur to Ča., N. Uj., and even City-Öz., the separation line between Uj. and its successor languages, was chiefly and essentially to be found in the composition of the lexical material; all the Chinese, Indian, Toxarian, and Iranian words and concepts, and quite a number of genuine Turkic, Uj. words, too, were replaced by Arabic and N.-Pers., since they bore the blessing of the new religion and statecraft. The entire social, political, and spiritual life was to be modeled after Islamic borrowings, as seen everywhere in the languages conquered by the Arabs and Islam. There were still differences in degree, not in essence. The percentage of genuine Turkic words used even in difficult religious, dogmatic, and philosophical Uj. texts was considerably greater than that found later in any Turkic language subsequent to Islamic penetration. A word like *täŋri* was not tolerated in its sense of "God", since in Uj. it not only designated "heaven", but also a "god", as used in the polytheistic religions of Manichaeism or the Mahājāna, while the monotheistic Nestorian Christians did not think of replacing *täŋri* by the Syriac term. Only in poetry and folk literature, e.g. proverbs, do we find Ča. *täŋri* and Osm. *taŋry*, a velar form which seems to have existed in "Middle-Turkic", too, having only one parallel, Jak. *taŋara*, "id.". Similarly, *törü*, "law, constitution, doctrine, government, ceremony", also used as a Turkic equivalent of Skṛ. *dʿarma*, "law, object of thinking, idea, concept", was replaced by various Arabic words expressing the respective concepts from the Islamic point of view. Occasionally language played tricks on people: in Arabic, "religion", specifically the religion of Islam, is دين *dīn*, already used by Muḥammad in the Qur'ān, without Muḥammad and/or his followers being conscious of the fact that this was a borrowing from the idolatrous fire-worshippers of Iran, Āv. *daēnā* > Pahlavī *dēn*, Soγdian *đēn*, "religion". *Ažun*, *azun*, "life, form of existence", lives on in poetry down to Ča. and City-Öz. as *ažun*, meaning "world", a synonym for the Arabic دُنياء *dunjā'*, "id.". But also genuine Turkic words disappeared which had no immediate connection with religion: *ajaγ*, "honoring, honorification", *ajyq*, "vow", *ärdäm*, "virtue", semantically like the Latin *virtus*, *bört-*, "to feel, touch"—*börtmäk* translates Skṛ. *sparśa*, the 6.-th of the 12 *Nidānas*, "the interrelated causes"—and many others. In the same way, the borrowings from Iranian and Chinese were eliminated almost to the last word, and though N.-Uj. is quite rich in Chinese loan and foreign words, these were borrowed during the later years of the Cʿiŋ (Manžu) dynasty and this century. A few of the genuine Turkic words known from Uj., and also some of the Iranian borrowings, lived on in Quman, such as *täŋri*, *ärdäm* (translating in the C. C. Latin *virtus*), while some Arabic and Persian words are found in the (Christian!) texts of the C. C. With a power similar to that by which Islamic words and terms were introduced into the Turkic languages, Hebrew ones were taken over by the Qarajīm language, especially in the translations from the Old Testament and canonical literature of Judaism, but also, to a lesser degree, in the popular language. In Qarajīm, too, the abstract terminology was preponderantly Hebrew. However, in Qarajīm the situation was quite different from that of the Turkic languages of Central Asia at the

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time of Islamic penetration, since Qarajīm had no literary and cultural tradition at the time Judaism and a certain part of its literature were adopted.

While the possibility of borrowings from Mongolian cannot be excluded from the Ancient Turkic language period prior to the Mongolian invasion, Mongolian words were adopted into Turkic in large numbers only during and after the Mongolian invasion. Apart from Mongolian names and titles, and some terms of a military and administrative character, e.g. *ułus*, "state, empire, realm", originally borrowed from Uj. *ułuš*, thus in Qutađγu Bilig, then in Kāšγarī, "id.", later found in the majority of the Turkic languages, or the ubiquitous *qarauł*, "guard, watch" (> Russian караýл "id.", Persian and Hindūstānī قراول *qarāul*, *qarāval*, "id."), Ča., N. Uj., Osm. *qošun*, "army, army group", < Mong. *qošūn* < *qošiγun* "id." (> Persian قشون *qušūn* > Hindūstānī, often read *qašūn*, "brigade, division, army"), *ołža*, Ča., Qar. Tr., "booty, prisoner of war", Qum. *ołža*, Qar.Ł. *ołža*, Bar., Küärik *ołžo*, Qq. *ołža*, "id." < Mong. *ołža*, "booty", > Persian اولجا، اولجه *ūlžā*, *ūlža*, "id."; Ča. *nökär*, "comrade, servant, official, soldier", Qq. *nögör*, "id.", Tel., Leb. *nökör*, "comrade" < Mong. *nökür*, "id." — translates, in Mong., Skr. *mitra* (Kovalevskij, p. 702) — > Pers. نوکر؛ نَوْکر *nūkar*, *naukar*, "id.". Certain words of more general use were also taken over, such as *jasa-* < Mong. **jasa-* > *zasa-*, "to make, arrange, build, construct", in most of the modern Turkic languages except those of the Southwest, *jasa*, while Mong. has only *zasaγ*, Ča., "commandment, injunction, law, imperial order", in general, "the code of Činγis Qaγan" > Pers. یاسا "id.", *jasaq*, Ča. "(imperial) order, injunction, bill, code of law, punishment, fine, battle order", Ča., Qn. "tax, tribute", Osm. "prohibition, forbidding" > O.-Russ., Sib. Russ. ꙗсакъ, ꙗсакъ, ясакъ "tribute, tax"; and derivatives. From Ča. > Pers. یاساق *jāsāq*, with the same meaning as in Ča. (the form **jasa*, **zasa* apparently does not occur in Mong.); *žajsaŋ* Qq. "brave young man" < Mong. *zajsaŋ*, "district commander (formerly over all the Ojrots on Chinese territory)" > *jajzaŋ*, Alt., Tel., Leb., Tubałar, "id."; N.-Uj. *ača*, "hayfork, fork, stick" < Mong. *aca*, "fork"; *ažraš-* "to separate (from each other)", coop. asp. of *ažra-* < Mong. *ažira-* or, contracted < **āžira-* < *aŋižira-* "to separate"; *ałdira-* "to get excited, worried" < Mong. *ałdara-*, "to lose contact, courage, to disintegrate"; *žarła-/žāła-* ("to promulgate, call out") < Mong. *zarła-* "id." of *žar* "order, proclamation"; *γinža* "stick to which dogs are tied" < Mong. *ginži* "chain". The relative number of Mong. words grows with the proximity to the Mong. language area; thus the Mong. influence is stronger in the Siberian Turkic languages than in N.-Uj., Qq., or Qyrγyz. The majority of the above-enumerated words are present there too; in addition, there are words such as *sanā* "thought", < Mong. *sanaya* "id.", Abaq., Saγ., Šor *mayat* "truth" < Mong. *mayat* "id." (also in an Uj.-Chinese dictionary); *nanžy* "friend" < Mong. *namči* "party member, partisan", Abaq., Šor, Saγ., Soj. *čōq* "conversation", *čōqta-* "to converse" < Mong. *žoγoq* "amusement, pleasure"; *abaqaj* "lady, older woman" < Mong. *abaqaj* "id."; Saγ. *qajran* "dear", < Mong. *xajra*, Manžu *xajran* "id."; S.-Sib. *pičik* "writing, letter, message" < Mong. *bičik* "id." (= Turkic Uj. *bitig*); Saγ. *sirā* "table, throne" < Mong. *širägän* "id."; *tałaj* "sea" < Mong. *tałaj* "id."; Saγ. *teksi* "all", Alt., Tel. *täkši* "id.", < Mong. *tekši* "equally"; Saγ. *qapčayaj* "quickly, adroit(ly)" < Mong. *yabšiyaj* "id."; Tuva: Soj. *tomaqtaš-* "to converse, discuss", Lit.-Soj.

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domaqtaš-, "id.", *domaq* "speech, address" < Mong. *domoq* "legend, Avadāna", Lit.-Soj. *äviläl* "union, federation" < Mong. *äbläl* "id."; Lit.-Soj., Kγ. *mana-* "to expect" < from Mong. *mana-* "id."; *arγa* "means, trick" < Mong., "id."; Soj., Lit.-Soj., Kγ., N. Uj. *alban* "tax, tribute" < Mong., "id." < Manǯu "id.". Buŕat words are Kγ. *suła* "torch" < Buŕat *zuła* "id.", Mong. *ǯuła*; *sazyn* "paper" < Buŕat **sāsyn* > *sāhaŋ* < Mong. *caγāsun* "id."; Saγ. *soła* "cognomen, second name, title" < Buŕat *soła* = Mong. *coło*, *coła*, "idem" = Manǯu *čoło* "id.; nickname". Mongolian was the mediator for words from other languages, as for instance *nom*, Soj. "Holy Scriptures, book", Kγ. *łōm* "Holy Scriptures (of Lamaism or Christianity)" < Uj. *nom* < Greek νόμος (cf. supra), and other religious terms: Soj. *nama*, Kγ. *yłaba* < Mong. *łama* < Tibetan *blama* "priest"; Soj. *xūraq* "novice" < Mong. *xuvaraq* < Uj. *quvraq* "community (of monks)"; Lit.-Soj. *dip* "continent" < Mong. < Uj. *dib/dip* < Skṛ. *dvīpa* "id."; Soj. *baqšy/bašqy* "teacher" (folk-etymological metathesis: cf. Kγ. *pašqy* < *baš-qy* "first") < Uj. *baxšy/baqšy* < Middle Chinese *pāk-śi* "master" (cf. supra); Lit.-Soj. *däptär* "notebook, folder, file" < Mong. *däbtär* (> Manǯu *däbtälin* "id., volume, chapter") < N. Pers. دفتر < Greek διφθέρα "notebook"; Lit.-Soj. *däŋzi* "scales" < (?) Mong. *däŋsä* < Chinese 戥子 *dĕŋ-cze̊* > Ma. *däŋsä* "id."; Lit.-Soj. *tajbyŋ* "rest, peace" < Chinese 太平 *t'aj-p'iŋ* "great peace".

The Jakut lexikon contains a considerable number of Mongolian loanwords and foreign words, on which there is now a good monograph by Kałużyński.

No borrowings from Tungus have been ascertained so far, with the exception of a few Manǯu words that penetrated into Turkic as e.g. *alban* "tribute, tax, corvée, etc.", chiefly through Mongolian mediation, but occasionally, as in Eastern Türkistan, on Chinese territory, through direct contacts, such as the above word *alban* in N.-Ujγur, or *žiŋsa*, *ǯuŋsa* "rank button (on the mandarin's cap)" < Ma. *žiŋsa* (< Chin.), *parła-*, *pāła-*, *pāla-*, all over N.-Uj. (incl. Taranči) "to send into exile" < Manǯu *fała-*, apparently pronounced with length: *fāła-*, "to apply the law (from Chin. 法 *fa*; > Uj. *wap*, cf. supra)". The Taranči dialect of N.-Uj. which was investigated first, by Radloff, in the 70'es, may contain more Manǯu words than so far known, since in the Ili region, in and around the city of Γułǯa, two small Tungus groups, the Šibo, Southern Tungus and close to the Manǯu, and the Solon—these a North-Tungus group but using many Manǯu loanwords—have, or had been, living after the reconquest of Eastern Türkistan by the Chinese at the end of the 50'es of the 18-th century.

While of the Semitic languages, the Syriac influence is indirect and quite insignificant, Arabic has penetrated the Turkic languages of the Islamic peoples with overwhelming power; it is weaker only with the less sedentary groups in the Eurasian and West-Asiatic steppes and quickly diminishes in the east of the steppe area, ending practically at the line of the Yrtyš river. It is strongest in the literary languages of the Islamic sedentary peoples, Čaγataj, Āzerī, Osman, and Qazan-Tatar, and among these in Osman particularly.

Single Arabic words may be encountered in the South-Siberian Turkic languages, but they are rare. A peculiar word is Saγaj *iziäp*, *ziäp*, Qača *iziäp* "pocket", Qojb. (Castrén) *iziäp*, *izeäp* "id." which is Arabic جَيْب *ǯajb* "id.; (math.) sinus", having gone through a number of media until it reached South-

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Siberia. In Russian, it appears as джеб and as (older) зепъ, зепь (also with ѣ) "pocket, bag"; the older form with *z-* is apparently a borrowing from Ƭăvaš. The Volga-Finnic and Permian languages have different forms, the one group going back to those with *z-* or *ź-* as in Ƭăvaš and Russian, and another to those with *ž-* as in later Russian and Qazan-Tatar. Then, in Ugric, Ost'ak (Xanty) has *sēp* and Vogul (Maňśi) *śep*, probably from Zyŕan (Komi). From Ugric, the word seems to have been borrowed into Samojed: Jurak *seap*, Ost'ak *sēp*, *seppa*, *sepa*, *šapak*, and further on into Jenisejic: Ketó, Sym-dial., *sejf*, Im-back-dial., *seäp*, the latter being from Jurak, the former from Ost'ak-Samojed. The Siberian-Turkic forms go back to Russian, Ojrot or a West-Siberian form with *z-* which accounts for the prothetic *i-*, being unnecessary in the case of a borrowing from Jenisejic or Samojed (cf. more details in my "Qaraqalpaq Phonology", p. 95f., n. 71).

In spite of a relatively long lasting symbiosis with Caucasian peoples, their languages have left relatively little imprint upon Turkic, the reasons for this being at least two-fold: 1. Turkic was in one form or the other the language of ethnical groups ruling Caucasian lands, 2. Turkic, in a preponderantly Azerbajǯanian form, had been serving as the lingua franca not only over all of Daghestan, but farther to the Northwest just as well. While all the Turkic languages in the Caucasus have adopted the aspiration of initial consonants, Qumyq has also taken over, with loanwords, the typical Caucasian glottalized consonants, cf. *qanç* "vinegar", *łanç* "lightning", *ç̂anqa* "son of a nobleman and a serf", *ž̂iqa* "chicken", *žaqa* "pig, hog", but sporadically also in genuine Turkic words as e.g. *qyrq* "40", *ĝetmaq* "to go", *ţojmayan* "not satisfied". In Qarač'aj-Bałqar there are e.g. *qama* "(Caucasian) dagger, кинжáл, ἀκινάκης" < Northwest-Caucasian *qama* "id."—Qumyq and other languages having *xynžał* instead —, *yyłyv* "colt of donkey", *kišdik* "cat", *xojnuh* "humming-top; one who cannot sit still", *hota* "apron" (< Qabarda, Čerkes [Adyγe]), *homuh* "dirty" (< Qabarda), *hauh* "mutually, in vicem" (< Qab.), *qač* "autumn" (< ?); *t'ap'qa* "wall-shelf", *t'yp'yr* "hearth", *t'yt'yr* "chalk". The loanwords from Oset'i—however being IE and Iranian, its word-material is to a considerable degree Caucasian—are easier to ascertain: Bałqar (Baxsan-Valley) *č'egeţ* "north", Qarač'aj "forest" < Os. *c'ågat* "north"; Qarač'aj-Bałqar *łyppyr* "stack hay" < Os. *łåppår* "id.", *bittir* "bat" < Os. *xålynbyttyr* "id."; *marda-syz* "boundless" < Čerk. *mārde* "limit, quantity" + Turk. privative suffix *-syz*; *purxam* "balcony" < Čerk. *p'ərxe* "protruding roof, gable, canopy". On some more Caucasian borrowings in Qarač'aj-Bałqar, Qumyq and Noγaj cf. K. H. Menges in Poppe-Festschrift, pp. 100ff.

Of the Indo-European languages it has always been the Iranian group, — and since the expansion of Islam, New-Persian — that exerted an influence upon Turkic, usually second to Arabic; this has been changing with the expansion of the Russian Empire over more and more Turkic speaking lands, but particularly since the creation of literatures in a great number of Turkic languages of the Soviet-Union. Here, Russian either is playing, or is soon going to play, the same role as Arabic, characterized above. New-Persian words occur also beyond the expansion line of Islam, as e.g. in South-Siberia where *pazar* "market, bazaar" is found which might well have come there through Russian mediation; in general, this word is quite widespread in Europe, too.

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For "God" in Western concept, esp. that of Christianity, *Qudaj* (Ojrot, Abaqan), Qojbał *Xudaj* < Pers. *xudāj* is used (cf. also Qq., Qγ. *qudaj* "Lord God"), while the Tuva languages have *Burqan*, *Burxan*, *Buryan* (< Mong. < Uj. < Skr.). As an example of an old borrowing from Iranian that has become a loanword, might serve here Osm. *čoraq* "salty ground, dry, sterile; salty, brackish water", derived by RADLOFF from Pers. شوره *šōra* "id.", but as the final *-q* shows, *čoraq* is from a Middle-Persian form with final *-g*; the initial Turkic *č-* is sound-substitution for uncommon and alien *š-*; thus, *čoraq* < **šōrag*.

In the written texts, Russian words appear rather late; so far, no Russian words can be definitely ascribed to a literary period prior to the last century. This would seem improbable, for, the occurrence of Russian words prior to the XIX-th century is nothing less than natural, but it was probably limited to the spoken languages. Moreover, it must be assumed that some Turkic languages which had been found in nearer or immediate neighborhood of Russian and had gone down in history, such as the languages of the Torъci, Berendĕji, Kajepiči, Kovuji, east of Kijevian Russia, and Päčänäg and Quman (Połovьci), did contain a number of Russian words. As Russian elements undergo in the Turkic languages a rather strong adaptation to the phonological system of their new environment, there cannot be drawn a strict dividing line between foreign words and loanwords, as said above with regard to borrowings from other languages. In general, foreign words undergo a stronger assimilation to the borrowing languages in the East than in the West of Turkic, since in the West contacts with non-Turkic languages are more numerous, more intensive, and more diversified, i.e. with more than one or two non-Turkic languages only, and this in the spoken as well as in the written language. Thus, the Turkic languages of Western and Central Asia and Siberia, many of them languages of nomads until now or at least until the quite recent past, exhibit a still lesser degree of elasticity in the treatment of foreign words. Even in the modern literary languages there was a rather strong tendency toward Turkification, probably not subconscious at all, as can well be seen in the instance of Russian and other foreign words. For examples I refer here to the specimens in my "Qaraqalpaq Grammar, I", pp. 89ff.; their treatment does not essentially differ from that of the borrowings e.g. in the Siberian Turkic languages, such as Sa. *tärâmnä* "village" < дере́вня, *ystōlba* "pole" < столп, *ūlisa* "street" < у́лица, *pästūk* "shepherd" < пасту́х, *pyjtūq* "coq, rooster" < пету́х (while "chicken" is *taγaq*), Kγ. *kōrat* "city" < го́род, *sałyōbaj* "1-Rubel-coin" < целко́вый, *taržyna* "elder" < старшина́, Jak. *sibiniäs* "lead" < свине́ц, *sibīńńä* "swine, pig" < свинья́, *suokka* "brush" < щётка, *ürūmkä* "wineglass" < рю́мка (< NHG *Römer*), *xaňky* "skates" <конько́й, *xasājystyba*, *xahājystyba* "economy, household" < хозя́йство, *tȳsynča*, *tȳhynča* "1000" < ты́сяча, *tūppülä* "(lady's) shoe, slipper" < ту́фля (< NHG., < Fr. *pantoufle*), many of which appear thoroughly assimilated, although very few were borrowed more than 100 years ago. The above Siberian forms are all from the "Proben" by RADLOFF and KATANOV, and PEKARSKIJ's Jakut-Russian Dictionary, i.e. borrowed before the Russian Revolution. Borrowings of the type of *pästūk*, *ystōlba* or *pyjtūq* are surprising as in their cases, there is no special necessity of borrowing, since Turkic equivalents exist.

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With the script reform of 1940 and the introduction of the Kyrillica, the Russian words became, or, in many instances, remained, conspicuous, since according to the new orthographic rules all Russian words had to be written in their original Russian form, not in the assimilated one. In Siberia, this rule seems to be applied with certain major exceptions for strongly assimilated words; this is done with particular attention in Jakut where the Russian words probably have undergone the strongest assimilation; hence, their great majority is written in their Jakutized form, i.e. treated as loanwords.

A word of the type Qqlpq. *irät*, Lit.-Qq. *rät* "order, arrangement" < Russ. ряд "row, series, range" ("order": по-ря́д-ок) seems to be an older borrowing from Russian, as also the semantic divergence would indicate, and thus it might perhaps be considered a loanword; likewise, words such as Qn. *dėstä* "une dizaine" < деся́ток "id.", or *žüškä* "damper (furnace, oven)" < вью́шка "id.", Qqłpq. *kàŋse* "office" < канцеля́рия, Tob. *bałqaunyq* "colonel" < полко́вник, and many other examples.

Cases of loan-translation ("calque") are in the modern languages as numerous as in the Ujγur translation literature; here belong terms such as Qn. *ŏsqσrma* (< *üst-qurma*) "superstructure" < надстро́йка < NHG. *Überbau* (a Marxist term), the same in Özb., *ustqurma*, in the Russ.-Özb. Dict. by P. Abdurraxmanov (1954) explained as "*žamijatniŋ sijåsī, huquqī, dinī, filosofī qarašlari va šu qarašlarga muvåfiq keladigan sijåsī, huquqī va båšqa muassasalar*"; cf. also Özb. *sakrap*, ger. in *-p* of *sakra-* "to jump" in *miqdårniŋ sifatga sakrap otiši* < скачкообразный переход количества в качество, NHG. "*sprunghafter* Übergang von Qantität in Qualität", where the gerund stands in adverbial position before the nomen verbale *ot-iš* (< *öt-iš*) "transition"; or Özb. *ustama* (< *üst-ä-mä*) *fåida* "excess profit" < сверхприбыль.

Of the other Indo-European languages, it is particularly French that has begun to rank second to Arabic, spreading at the expense of the latter during the second half of the last and this century in Osman literature and sometimes much more in conversational language. Through the medium of Osman, French terms and words spread also to Āzerī, less so to Qazan-Tatar, — but noticeably to New-Persian. While in its importance Italian ranks after French, being mostly limited to commerce and navigation, the influence from the national minorities of the Osman Empire, and the present Republic of Turkey such as the Armenians and Greeks, is insignificant, because they are shunned on purpose. There are a few terms of specific meaning which cannot be well translated — of the type *papaz* "(orthodox) priest" < παπάς "id.", *pisqopos* < ἐπίσκοπος "bishop", *ajázma* "well", originally "holy well" < ἁγίασμα, *vaftiz* "baptism" < βάπτισμα, etc., and similarly with Armenian from which latter only *täkfur* as a designation of the East-Roman Emperor and one of his palaces, *Täkfur Saraj*, is extant as an older borrowing from թագաւոր *t'agavor* "emperor", properly "crown-bearing", a loanword from Pahlavī *tāg-var* "id." (Phlv. *tāg*, N.-Pers. *tāg*, Arabicized > تاج *tāž* "crown"; in all later and modern Turkic and Iranian languages). There seems to be, however, another rather ancient layer of Armeno-Turkic lexical relationships, of the type *ēš*: Tk. *äšäk* "donkey" (cf. above, Phonology, sub *š* : *l*), *oč'xar* : Tk. *qočqar* "ram", *davar* "(small) cattle" : *tavar* "movable property", or *mozi* "junges Rind, Kalb",

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compared by HÜBSCHMANN, p. 475, with Gr. μόσχος, μοσχίον: Tk. *buzaγu*, *muzaj* etc. "id.", which require thorough investigation.

Since with the anti-Hitler emigration, a number of scholars and people with special training came from Germany and Austria to Turkey, at least, for a number of years, during the 1930'es, a small growth of German words, or at least, "international" termini technici in German form, became noticeable. After the war, the influence of English has been growing, usually at the expense of French and German.

Of a more local character are influences from the Balkan languages and Hungarian, Slavic being the strongest among them. It is also from Slavic, preponderantly Polish and Ukrainian, that borrowings are made into Qarajīm, second to Hebrew.

While the influences from Uralic are all of "local character", they are of a greater significance under the aspect of historical and comparative research in Turkic. It was particularly in Ţăvaš that intimate contacts have taken place with Uralic, particularly Volga-Finnic, and not only those of a lexical nature; so much so that some scholars at first considered Ţăvaš a Finno-Ugric language. Less vivid and only of a unilateral nature were the contacts with Uralic in Western and Southern Siberia, where they have left a few traces in the South-Siberian Turkic languages only, and this preponderantly in the lexikon, much less so in other domains; possibly the syntactical structure, somewhat softened up in South-Siberia, has undergone some change through Uralic, if not Jenisejic contacts. The absorption of the South-Samojeds in South-Siberia left relatively few lexical traces in Turkic; these are i.a.: Tuva (Soj., Lit.-Soj., and Karaγas) *irä* "grandfather; (tabu:) bear" < Samoj. Jurak *jīrī* "grandfather; moon, month", Osťak *irä*, *ära* "old man", *irä*, *äre* "moon, month"; Lit.-Soj. *čāva* "wife of the elder brother": Jurak *ńaba* "id.", "step-mother; second wife of the father"; Kγ. *ot* "boot-top": Jurak *hōti'*, *hūti'* "boot" (< Tk. *ätik/ötük* "id."?); Kγ. *kēš-*, *hēš-* < **kēč-* "to say": Osťak Bajxa, Taz *ketam*, *ketejam*, Nacpumpokol'sk *kätnam*, Jurak *xe̯ttā* "id., to tell". Quite significant is the occurrence of an Uralic word that in this form is attested in Ugro-Osťak only: Soj. *paγaj*, Lit.-Soj. *baγaj*, Kγ. *bahaj*, *bak*, Ojrot Alt., Tel. *paγaj* "bad, poor, low, unclean" < Ugro-Osťak *pa̮yàj* "id." = Suomi, Ēstn. *paha* "bad", Jurak-Samojed *waewo*, *b̮u̮ē*, Osťak-Samoj. *awoj*, *awaj* "id.".

The Siberian Turkic languages contain a number of words the etymology of which remains unclear. Without doubt, they, or at least, most of them, are of Jenisejic origin. But as the material available on Jenisejic is so utterly limited, it is so far impossible to establish the Jenisejic origin of those words. In Jakut the etymologically uncertain words are of Jukagir or Palaeo-Asiatic origin for which latter, unfortunately, what has been stated for Jenisejic is also true here: the material so far available is much too limited.

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VII. STRUCTURE-CHANGING DEVELOPMENTS

Structure-changing developments are seen in phonology, syntax and the lexicon, whereas the morphology has offered tough resistance through the ages to any destructive or change-producing influences.

The phonological structure has undergone its most serious changes through infraction in sound-harmony. This has been touched upon above as typical of Özbek and there of the dialects of the sedentary city population only; but in these dialects the sound-harmony is completely dissolved. At first *y* and *i* coïncide in one phoneme which is often dulled to ъ, but this development is not sufficient to destroy the sound harmony. It recurs in N. Uj. in the same way, and is supposed by RADLOFF and others to have already existed in the Ča. period; it is regular in all the Mongolian languages, where it has also not yet caused the dissolution of the sound-harmony. The essential phase in Özb. was the abandonment through depalatalization of the sounds *ö* and *ü*, alien to the Iranian languages, predominant in the entire area of Türkistan, so that in the labial series too a serious disturbance of the equilibrium between velar and palatal sounds came into being, and the entire sound-harmonic structure was shaken and finally dissolved. As this took place upon the Iranian substratum in Türkistan, the dissolution of the Altajic sound harmony in Turkic is to be considered a consequence of Iranian linguistic influences upon the Turkic super-stratum; since POLIVANOV's research in Türkistan in 1927–30, this process has been designated as the Iranization of the Turkic languages. It is noticeable with almost equal force in Qašqajī, with lesser force in N. Uj. dialects, especially those of the southern oasis zone along the northern slopes of the K'un-Lun, and further on in eastern and southeastern Anatolian dialects of Osm., and is also present in certain Āzerī dialects, at least in all those spoken in Persia, i.e. in, or within a certain radius around, the Iranian language area. A certain dissolution of the sound harmony is typical of Qarajīm, which is found in close proximity to IE, prodominantly Slavic, languages, with compact speech areas. While here, too, the sounds *ö* and *ü* disappear except in initial position, traces of the original palatal nature are still extant in the palatalizations of the preceding consonants in full accordance with the Slavic pattern, so that in their case we cannot speak of a complete but only of a partial dissolution of the sound-harmony, by no means amounting to the complete dissolution brought about by Iranization. On the other hand, due to the Slavic influence, the sound *y* has been preserved, and hence the sound-harmonic opposition *y*:*i* exists. Ex. Qarajīm (Troki) *ölg'an'* < *ölgän*, "having died"; *k'om'ulg'ań* < *kömülgän*, "having been buried"; *śuv'umľu* < *süvümlü*, "lovely"; *ťug'al* < *tügäl*, "not existing"; *k'oz'umd'a* < *közümdä*, "in my eye", *k'or'un'at'* < *körünät*, "he, she, it appears"; in the anlaut, *ö-* and *ü-* remain intact: *öl-*, "to die", *öz'an'*, "river", *üv'r'at'-*, "to teach".

While Gagauz has preserved full sound harmony and the Common Turkic vocalism, it has taken over from Slavic the palatalization of the consonants in position before palatal vowels, in Slavic best preserved in Great-Russian:

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(ibid., p. 275, top): *qačan jirkä tägdüktä Bodisataw jana inčä tip saqynty* "when they had reached the spot (place), the Bōd'isattva again thought as follows"; in the same way, *qałty* in temporal function (from the story of Kāljāṇaṁkara and Pāpaṁkara, after v. GABAIN, l.c., p. 192, top, 284 m): *qałty tałuj ögüzkä tägip jiti kün turup kämi jaraty* "when they had come to the sea, they remained (there) seven days and made (equipped) boats"; temporal *qačan* with the conditional: (Story of the Hungry Tigress, l.c., p. 281, l. 4/5) *qačan Bodysataw-nyŋ ät'özin buśy birmiš jir-orunqa tägdilär-ärsär, anda ... tüšdilär, qamyldylar* "when they had reached the place where the Bōd'isattva had given himself as an offering, there ... they fell down"; *kim* in final function, like *ut* finale: (Kāljāṇaṁkara and Pāpaṁkara, l.c., p. 284, bottom) *män bu muntuda jigräk Čintamany ärdni atyaty barajyn, kim qaju tynłyγlarqa tüzü tükäti asyγ tusu qyłu-usar-män* "I should like to take along from here the better Čintamāni jewel, so that I be able to render fullest advantage to all living beings!" Desiderative *qałty*: (Hungry Tigress, l.c., p. 270 bottom) *inčä bołmazun, qałty bu aryγ-sämäk ičintä qadyr jawłaq käjiklär bar bołup biz joqadyułuq ämgängülük bołmałym* "it shall not be that we should have to perish or to undergo vexations, as in this forest there are savage evil beasts!" *Kim* relativum plus conditionalis: (TTIV, after l.c., p. 191) *oł ajaγ qyłynč joq, kim biz qyłmadymyz-ärsär* "that grave sin does not exist which we had not committed", similarly (from a Mahājānist exorcist formula in Uigurica II, p. 29, l. 19, cf. l.c., p. 191) *qajutyn syŋar Xormuzta täŋri ärsär, antyn syŋar jaqyn baryp ...* "he went near that place where the god Brāhma was"; generalizing *kim* cum condit. (Kālj. and Pāpaṁk., l.c., p. 284 m.): *kim ölüm adaqa qorqsar, ašnuraq joryŋlar*! "whosoever (of you) is afraid of (dat. causae) death and danger, go prior (earlier)!" With a generalizing relative expression in the subordinate clause and a well-constructed Turkic rendition of a subordinate desiderative clause as oratio recta: (op. cit. § 270, p. 134 bottom and Hungry Tigress, p. 271, top) *täk biziŋä näčükin ärsär, amraqlartyn adyryłyułuq ämgäk bołmazun-ärti tip qorqar-män* "but whatever it may be for us, I am afraid thinking (= wishing) that there should not arise for us the pain of separation from (our) beloved ones!"

Özbek, dialect of North-Afghanistan (according to Gunnar JARRING, "Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan", Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F. I; 34, 2. 246 pp.; 1938; and K. H. MENGES, "Zum Özbekischen von Nord-Afghanistan", Anthropos XLI–XLIV, pp. 673–710. Cf. here pp. 694ff.): (JARRING, p. 80, 353/7) *åxtarär-edilär, Ojγuzni ki tapsalar; tapalmas-edilär. Hukumat kop qorqar-edi, ki "oγri kopajmasun" dep* "they were searching to find Ojγuz; but they could not find him. The government was much afraid, the thieves might (still) increase [lit.: "saying: 'the thieves shall not increase'"] (I have changed JARRING's translation in some minor points); with *ki* and the subjunctive conditional (l. c., 146, 90): *mumkin, ki šu kišilärni ičida bolsa* "it is possible that he is among these people"; (24, 242) *mumkin, ki daulat quši meni bašimyä qonsä* "it is possible that the Bird of Luck will perch on my head"; *keräk boldi, ki bārsa* (26, 5) "he was compelled to go away"; (117, 3/5) *mažbur boldi, ki ... oqutsa* "he was forced to have prayers recited". In desiderative clauses, imperativic forms are preferred: (32, 153) *qiläjlik, ki men bir tašni ... atajin* "let us do (so) that I throw a stone!"; a generalizing relative

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VIII. SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

This section does not contain a full bibliography on the Turkic languages and Turkic Philology—I purposely avoid the expression complete bibliography, since bibliographies are hardly ever complete —, but it merely points out a number of publications which appeared after the Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. For the single Turkic languages I categorically refer to the respective chapters in the Fundamenta; a second listing of the works quoted there would simply be repetitious and it would moreover cause an amount of unnecessary labor and expenses. For the geographical distribution of the Turkic languages and peoples the bibliography in the Fundamenta after p. 810 may be consulted. But as the General Part of the Fundamenta with its two chapters on the classification, pp. 1–10, and one on the "Structures et tendances communes des langues turques (Sprachbau)", by L. Bazin, which is, with its 9 pages, though not bad and very succinct, but aphorismically short in comparison with the entire work of 810 pp.—at the end of this chapter only 4 works are quoted: 2 by Deny, one by Grønbech, and one by Trubeckoj, while the bibliography at the end of the classifications is of a general Turkological character —, I thought, a selected enumeration of publications on Altajic in general and Turkic languages and peoples in particular, not only linguistic and ethnological works, but also those on travel, discovery, geography and history, archaeology and art might very well serve the purpose of an introduction to Turkic studies.

General reference is made to journals specially dealing with Turkology as well as with Altajic and Uralic languages, such as "Ungarische Jahrbücher" and its continuation, "Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher", "Central Asiatic Journal", "Journal Asiatique", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", "Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne", Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne", "T'oung-Pao", and "Oriens".

The volume on the languages of the USSR which only in the recent past developed their literature, "Младописьменные языки народов СССР", АН СССР, Moscow, Leningrad, 1959, 503 pp., on the Turkic languages pp. 37–201, is valuable also as bibliographical reference, although the work of scholars outside of the USSR, especially of the last 20 years, has been given little or no attention. But publications are listed there which are completely unknown outside of the USSR and, I am afraid, will remain unknown, since the editions have long been exhausted. 38

Abbreviations of the names of journals and other serial publications, often referred to here, are:

ABAW	=	Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften (full title: Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin)
BSOS, later: BSOAS	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, University of London
CAJ	=	Central Asiatic Journal

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II. INDEX VOCABULORUM AC SUFFIXORUM

As all of the Chinese and many of the Arabic, Armenian, Persian and Sanskrit words are given in their original written form in the text, they are listed here in transcription only. Greek and Slavic words are in the original script. They are not listed separately, and follow in the sequence of the letters of the Latin alphabet. In general, Turkic Words and suffixes are not designated as such, nor are they differentiated as to language. Suffixes are usually listed in their velar form only.

M.-Chin. = Middle-Chinese which corresponds to KARLGREN's Ancient-Chinese;

A.-Chin. = Ancient-Chinese which corresponds to KARLGREN's Archaic Chinese.

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